

The War Paper for Women

VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

VOL. VIII. (Third Series), No. 350.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1914.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free)
1½d.

HAVING IT BOTH WAYS



THE PRIME MINISTER: "Here is seven-and-sixpence for you because your husband died fighting for his country. If you cannot live on it you must go out to work."

SOLDIER'S WIDOW: "Not me! My place is the home. You always told me so when I asked you for a vote. You can't have it both ways, you know!"

(The proposed Government pension for the childless widow of a man killed in action is fixed at seven-and-sixpence a week, on the assumption that if able-bodied she will go out to work.)

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

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THE CAMPAIGN

Saturday, November 21: 3 p.m.—Informal opening of U.S. Women's Club, Southwark.
Friday, November 27: 8.30 p.m.: Committee "At Home."—Eustace Miles Restaurant, Chandos Street, W.C. Miss Beatrice Harraden and others; tea and coffee. Morning dress. Members can obtain invitations, and non-members, tickets, price 6d. each, on application to Ticket Secretary at U.S. offices.
Friday, December 4: 3-11 p.m.: Christmas Sale.—Eustace Miles Restaurant, Chandos Street, W.C. To be opened by Miss Cissie Loftus. Proceeds to be devoted to the U.S. Women's Club in Southwark.

THE PROTEST MEETING

We regret very much that space prevents our giving an account of the joint protest meeting held in the Caxton Hall last Monday evening, by the United Suffragists and the East London Federation of the Suffragettes. A strong resolution condemning the Government's treatment of soldiers' wives, calling for the instant withdrawal of the police order, and demanding an Emergency Bill for Woman Suffrage, was passed unanimously; and a total sum of £14 6s. was raised at the meeting for the funds of the two societies. Admirable speeches were made by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mr. Henry W. Nevinson, Mrs. Payne, Mrs. Drake, Mr. John Scurr, and a Soldier's Wife. Miss Evelyn Sharp took the chair. The hall was packed.

OUR NEXT "AT HOME"

Miss Beatrice Harraden will speak at the At Home of the U.S. Committee in the Eustace Miles Restaurant, Chandos Street, W.C., to be held next Friday, November 27, at 8.30 p.m. Our readers will be glad to know of this opportunity for welcoming her and for meeting one another in a friendly, informal manner. Tickets for non-members (price 6d., including tea and coffee), and invitation cards for members can be obtained on application to the Ticket Secretary, U.S. offices.

CHRISTMAS SALE

Friday, December 4: 3-11 p.m. Eustace Miles Restaurant.
Hon. Sale Secretary: Miss Brewster.
The proceeds of the Christmas sale, which will be opened on December 4 by Miss Cissie Loftus, will be devoted to the U.S. Women's Club. Miss Brewster reports:—
Promises of help have been coming in well. If only members will buy as generously as they are giving, the success of the sale is already assured. Promises and gifts have been received from the following:
Bookstall (Miss Craies): G. Colmore, Mr. W. L. George, Mr. Gerald Gould, Mr. Arthur Humphreys, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mrs. Flora Annie Steele, Miss May Sinclair, Miss Underhill, Mr. Fisher Unwin.
Farm Produce Stall (Mrs. Harben and Miss Walford): Mrs. Ayrton, Miss Alice Farmer, the Misses Philp, Miss Postlethwaite, Mrs. Hartley Withers.
General Stall (Mrs. Drinkwater, Amersham branch): Miss Eliza Brown, Miss Basherfield, Miss Cash, Miss Davies, Mrs. Fielder, Mrs. Gregory, Mrs. W. W. Jacobs, Mrs. and Miss Papworth, Mrs. Sinclair, the Misses Somers, Miss Sykes, Miss Wing, Mrs. and Miss Phyllis Withall.
Sweets (Mrs. Goodman): Mrs. Blower, Lieutenant Coombs, Miss Given, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Mrs. Hone, Mrs. Napier Prentice, Mrs. Gilbert Moss, Miss Thompson.
Toys (Miss Postlethwaite): Mrs. Brewster, Miss Gertrude Lees, Miss Martin. The Misses Fox have supplied a large number of dressed dolls at cost price. Also these donations in money:—Anon, 10s.; Mrs. Cruso, 5s.; Miss Morrison, 3s.; Miss M. Ward, 5s.
Christmas Cards and Calendars (Miss Benson): Miss Kate Olver is specially designing a Christmas card for this stall.

Messrs. Walbrook have most generously presented to us all the printed posters advertising the Women's Club and the Christmas Sale. I shall be very glad to supply members with them, and hope they will be as widely displayed as possible.

Mrs. Hutt, who has charge of the bran tubs, will be very grateful for gifts of sixpenny and penny articles. I shall be very glad if intending contributors will let me know beforehand what they propose to give; but I do not wish goods to be actually sent before November 30.
Bertha Brewster.

THE FUND

Another Promise of a Regular Subscription
It is delightful to be able to announce a promise from Lady Byron of "£100 a year while the war lasts," in order to keep VOTES FOR WOMEN going. Our readers will be interested to hear that Lady Byron came to this generous decision after reading the extracts from Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck's fine speech which were published in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FUND

Donations Received up to November 13	
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Miss A. B. Hughes 0 5 0	

THE U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB—92, Borough Road, Southwark, S.E.

The United Suffragists' Women's Club is now ready for occupation, and will be opened informally at 3 o'clock to-morrow (Saturday). An excellent caretaker has been secured, and enough furniture has been given to make a start, though the following articles are still urgently needed: Chairs, footstools, rugs, wooden tables, cushions; saucepans, kettles, kitchen utensils; knives, forks, spoons; crockery. And will anybody give or lend a gramophone? All these can now be sent straight to the Club at the above address.

Gifts of food will be gratefully received. The value of these will be doubled if friends will kindly notify them beforehand to the Hon. Sec., and make them, if possible, regular weekly gifts. Articles most wanted are tea, coffee, sugar, cocoa, biscuits, jam, butter, eggs, cakes, meat patties, materials for substantial sandwiches, pork pies. Will country members promise regular supplies of butter, eggs, &c.?

Games, such as draughts, bagatelle, and so on, are also much hoped for. Miss Oldrini has kindly promised some games.

AMERSHAM U.S.

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Drinkwater, Fieldtop, Amersham-on-the-Hill

Members are reminded of the "At Home" to be held to-morrow (Saturday) at "Elangeni," where Mrs. Frank Colenso has kindly lent her music room for a sale of useful articles, the proceeds of which will be given partly to the local funds of the U.S. and partly to aid the local poor. Mrs. Agnes Harben will present the prizes in the gift competition, and there will be music, competitions and tea.

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

The cost of the war, in men and money, has been brought home to the hearts of the people, in and out of Parliament, during the past week. On Monday the Prime Minister asked for a Vote of Credit for a further sum of £225,000,000, as the war is costing us £1,000,000 a day; and for the addition of 1,000,000 men to the Army. The new Budget proposes to double the income tax and to raise the tax on tea, increases that press particularly hardly on women and the poor. Last Friday a written answer to a question stated that the British losses up to October 31 amounted to 57,000, and this statement was followed at the week-end by grim lists of casualties that filled several columns of our newspapers. Be the war just or unjust, women as well as men are being forced to pay their share of the cost without enjoying the power that men have either to promote or to prevent it.

Casualties of Peace

Those who in the clash and clang of the European war do not forget that greater war which never ceases, will compare the figures given above with the casualties of peace just issued in the official statistics of the working of the Workmen's Compensation Act for last year. No fewer than 476,920 cases of disablement, and 3,748 cases of death from accident occurred in seven only of the principal industries of Great Britain in the year 1913. When we add to these tragic figures the hundreds of thousands of deaths traceable to bad housing, overcrowding, and underfeeding, we can only look forward to the day when the women's political support will at last be available to strengthen the hands of those reformers who already deplore these industrial losses, and would be prepared to vote as much money for their prevention as can be raised now without opposition for the purpose of destroying life and property.

Standing Up for the Soldier's Wife

Last Monday evening a fine protest was made against the Government's treatment of soldiers' wives by a crowded meeting called together in the Caxton Hall by the United Suffragists and the East London Federation of the Suffragettes. A large number of soldiers' wives were present, as well as a good proportion of strangers, and the fact that a strong resolution was passed unanimously condemning the Government, and demanding an Emergency Bill for Woman Suffrage, proved afresh the willingness of the public that women should be given this power to protect their own interests.

The Obnoxious Police Order.

The same meeting unanimously demanded the withdrawal of the obnoxious order, issued by the War Office through the Home Office, placing the soldier's wife under police supervision lest she should prove "unworthy" of receiving her separation allowance. We are glad that the whole subject of the treatment of these women was brought up in the Debate on the Address last week, when very drastic criticism

of the Government was expressed by Mr. Henderson, Mr. Long, Mr. Hogge, and others, and we hope that these gentlemen thoroughly realise by this time that if they had been more insistent on the rights of women in the past eight years they would not have to take up the time of Parliament to-day in denouncing a scandal that would never have occurred but for the political helplessness of women. But we could have wished that they had not accepted without investigation Mr. Harold Baker's lame assurance that the police order had been withdrawn for modification of its "phraseology."

The Order Still in Circulation

Some of the newspapers, the *Daily News* for one, took this to mean that the document was no longer in circulation. We do not gather this from the reply made in the House by the Under Secretary of State for War. Mr. Baker said:—

Long before any public attention was drawn to this matter, that order was withdrawn and its phraseology amended, so as to be entirely free from misconception as to what its purpose was. That order was devised by my Noble Friend the Secretary of State, simply and solely in the interests of the women themselves. . . . It was thought better, and I have the authority of my Noble Friend to say it, that he still considers it better, that for the sake of the women themselves, they should in the last resort receive this warning from the police so that they may still have a chance of obtaining the allowance.

We ourselves deduce from these words that the order is still being enforced, and will continue to be enforced unless Suffragists insist upon its complete withdrawal. As to the pitiful plea that the thing is being done in the interests of the women themselves, we can only remind Mr. Baker that the words of a Liberal statesman—"Self-government is better than good government"—apply as much to women as to men.

The Breakdown of the War Office

"As an administrator of home pay for our soldiers' families the War Office has inevitably broken down," says the *Times* in a leading article; and the string of questions on the subject of separation allowances which occupied the time of the House nearly every day this week is some indication of the truth of this remark. The *Nation*, which publishes a sweeping indictment of the Government in this matter, opens with the ironic observation:—

It was a common form of punishment a hundred years ago to sentence a man convicted of some criminal offence to serve as a soldier. The corresponding punishment of our times would be a sentence to serve as a soldier's wife.

No satisfactory answer has been given to all this criticism by the Government, Mr. Baker's most characteristic defence being a constantly reiterated "The case is being inquired into." We do not for a moment, of course, underrate the magnitude of the task undertaken by the Government; our complaint is that they refuse to call in the help of the women, though their failure to cope with it single-handed is manifest.

Anti-Suffragist Chivalry

The question and answer that passed between Lord Claud Hamilton and Mr. McKenna in the House, last Monday, were worthy of these

MISS BEATRICE HARRADEN

will SPEAK at the
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two notable Anti-Suffragists. The member for South Kensington asked if the Government would pass a measure

empowering magistrates to issue warrants for the summary arrest of women of notorious bad character who were infesting the neighbourhood of the various military camps in the United Kingdom.

To which the Home Secretary made reply that while such legislation was not contemplated, the Government would rely

partly on the organised efforts which are being made by voluntary women workers and partly on the firm enforcement of the existing law by the police and the magistrates.

It is something, no doubt, that Mr. McKenna should recognize the co-operation of women in the matter at all; but we cannot overlook the danger that lurks in the latter part of his answer. For, as we take this opportunity to remind our readers, the "existing law" here alluded to empowers a Court to pass sentences of six and nine months' imprisonment on women for "soliciting," while for the same offence a man goes scot-free.

Women and Drink

The metropolitan example has been followed in Sheffield, where an order is now in force forbidding the sale of intoxicating drink to women before 11.30 a.m.; and similar measures are being contemplated at Southampton. In view of the fact that certain newspapers have somewhat quaintly assumed that suffragists have ranged themselves in this matter against the temperance reformers, we hasten to point out that our opposition is directed, not against real temperance reform, but against restrictions on the liberty of women, the more temperate sex, while men are allowed to drink unrestrained. And judging by the evasive and discouraging replies given in the House of Commons by the Prime Minister, this week, when asked if temperance measures could not be taken by the Government similar to those adopted by the Russian Government, we can only repeat what we have often said before, that real temperance reform will not be possible until our legislators are responsible to the women as well as the men of the country. In the meantime, even at the risk of being mistaken for allies of the drink interest, we protest most emphatically against prohibition being applied to women only.

Suffrage in the United States

We believe we are right in stating that no English paper has contradicted the statement published by one or two of them last week to the effect that the elections in the United States had gone against woman suffrage in six of the States. Victory, as we announced in our last issue, has certainly been ours in Montana and Nevada, and the result still hangs in the balance in Nebraska. In Missouri and Ohio the suffrage amendment has been lost (though in Ohio it secured 600,000 votes), and in North and South Dakota it now appears also to have been defeated, though this is not surprising in the case of North Dakota, where a majority of votes cast at the whole election as well as a majority on the amendment was required. Next year this extra condition in North Dakota will not be imposed when the amendment comes up, so a victory is looked for then with confidence.

Items of Interest

The Executive Committees both of the Women's Co-operative Guild (representing 32,000 women) and the Free Church League for Woman Suffrage have passed resolutions protesting against the police supervision of soldiers' wives and their exclusion from public-houses while men are still admitted.

We are very glad to announce that Lady Muir Mackenzie has kindly consented to become a Vice-President of the United Suffragists. Her services in the suffrage cause are so well-known that her co-operation and support will be of great value to the U.S.

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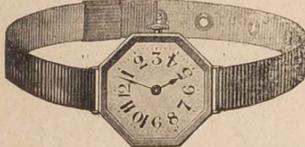
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INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB, 9, GRAFTON STREET, PICCADILLY, W. FOR MEN AND WOMEN.

Meeting, Nov. 25th, 8.30 p.m. "If our Women had had the Vote, should we be at War?"—Mr. R. F. Cholmeley.

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1914.

CHILDREN IN THE FIGHTING LINE

Every patriot will be stirred to the depths—we believe that is the correct expression—by the determination of the Lambeth Guardians, announced in the *Times* under the illuminating title, "Patriotism for Pauper Children," to deprive the Poor Law children of their breakfast egg on Christmas Day, in order to make them "appreciate the position of national affairs." The sublimity of the proposal is only dimmed by the obligation to wait nearly six weeks before there is an egg to be deducted, and by the remark of the Chairman who greatly spoils the drama of the occasion by observing that if the egg was a shop egg the children were better without it. We prefer to picture that annual egg as we know it must appear in the dreams of those little State children, as a beautiful golden egg laid in the farmyards of Fairyland, an egg that is really worth sacrificing because, like Christmas, it comes only once a year. To give it up because men (who were once children themselves) are slaughtering one another on the Continent is, in the minds of Lambeth patriots and their kind, a fitting commemoration of the Festival of the Child Who came to tell little children that they must love one another.

It sets us thinking, this fear of so-called patriots lest the child of the people should grow up without realising the fact of the European War. The mind of the child, we admit, is a queer inscrutable thing; yet we cannot help feeling that the playmates of the two children who were struck dead by a shaft from an aeroplane as they sat at breakfast in Ypres, last week, will have no difficulty in appreciating the present "position of national affairs." And those other children, the little girl and boy described in a soldier's letter a day or two ago, seen by him digging up their buried toys after the invaders had swept over their home—are they likely to forget the panic that made them flee to hide their most precious possessions before they hid themselves from scenes of death and devastation that no child should be born to see? And we do not fancy that the little girls, shown to us in a recent Press photograph, playing with bits of shell and cartridges amid a shambles that was once their village home, will need any further reminder of the position of national affairs in this year of the Christian era.

In all fairness to the Lambeth patriots and the *Times*, we must admit that both would probably agree that children like these do not need to be reminded that a war is going on. They would probably allow little boys and girls who have bombs for breakfast to have eggs too. But they would argue that the children in this happy, peaceful country, where bombs never fall at breakfast time, do require to be awakened to the realities of war. No bomb, no egg!

is their cry. And, of course, it is true that as yet the war is not being fought in this country with shells and cartridges. But it is being fought here nevertheless, and every bit as pitilessly as in the trenches abroad; it is being fought with the health and the strength of our growing children, and with the bodies and souls and brains of the babes that are yet unborn. Children are as much in the fighting line in this merrie England of ours as they are in the homes of Ypres and Dixmude.

A week or two ago it was computed by the National Education Association that any number up to a million of children would be thrown out of employment by the war during the coming winter. It is not our present business to comment on the fact that there should be a million children in the labour market of any civilised country in the twentieth century—that is an incident of the greater war in which all suffragists are soldiers, and in which they can not even begin to conquer until they win their weapon of the vote. We are concerned here only with the immediate consequences of the European War to the children of the State, and we wish to point out to patriotic paragraphists in the *Times*, and others, that they will not be able to take away the egg from the breakfast of these thousands of unemployed girls and boys this Christmas, because there will be no egg to take. A fine appeal is made in the *Herald* this week for an Emergency Bill to raise the school age, at least during the war, to sixteen, "and at the same time make provision for maintenance for those whose parents are too poor to bear the strain." Unless this wise condition is observed, there will be at least a million children this winter who will need no extra and enforced privation to recall to their minds when they grow up, if they ever do grow up, that there was a European war in the year 1914. The children whose little bits of wages have gone to make powder and shot, the children whose little bodies are being drained of their strength that the country may put more men, more engines of destruction into the field, the children who, because their fathers are dying in battle, will have to grow up on five shillingsworth a week of food and clothing and lodging, with a reduction on a quantity, as George Lansbury puts it, these are they, we fancy, who will need no municipally imposed hunger strike to make them realise to the end of their days "the position of national affairs" in 1914.

And the babes who are yet unborn? A writer in the *Nation*, signing herself A. Caroline Sewell, appeals for a new manifesto about the war, not from professors merely, but from "the doctors, neurologists and biologists of the nations." For, she says:—

"When I see the awfulness of the havoc; when I contemplate the nervous peril which is likely to be the heritage of countless numbers who are to be born to-day and tomorrow, and perhaps for months to come, I ask myself, Are the fruits of conquest—no matter with whom—to be commensurate in the slightest degree with the put-back of a whole generation feebly born?"

Here speaks the woman of all the ages, who, because she is Woman, see the future of the race before she sees the future of the map of Europe. It is because her voice has been shut out from the counsels of diplomacy that the next younger generation, crippled and maimed by terror and starvation, will come limping to the door.

MORAL FORCE

By Lorimer Royston

On a heavy August night in 1913 they were talking about the war. Not the war between Germans and Britons and their Allies; but the fight between women and the tyranny of sex-prejudice. You might have supposed reasonably that by August, 1913, everything imaginable had been uttered concerning this vexed topic, not only once, but even twice. But it is wonderful how persevering folks are with conversation.

"Where the great mistake has been made," pronounced the Rich Woman, "is in women's having thrust themselves into things, as it were. You understand me? I believe so implicitly in sweetness myself. These changes should be brought about sweetly."

"How nice!" said the Suffragette. "But mightn't that waste time?"

"Woman belongs to—ah—humanity; not to time," said the Very-Young-Gentleman-With-Ideals. "When woman begins about time and dates and facts, I mean, it's a sure sign of materialisation, of decadence—of spiritual degeneracy all round, I mean, and all that sort of thing."

"You would find your cigarettes going up in price if all the factory girls stopped looking at the clock," opined the Suffragette.

"What a rotten argument!" said the Very Young Gentleman. "Just the sort of thing to put a man's back up, I mean."

"Dear, dear!" said the Suffragette, laughing.

"You seem to feel very cheerful," observed the Motherly Person, looking at her speculatively. "I should have expected all the dreadful things you do to have a depressing effect. So shocking! One blushes for one's sex every time one takes up a paper. So unrefined!"

"Do you consider fighting less refined than slavery?" enquired the Suffragette.

"I do not understand you," said the Motherly Person.

"She is beginning about votes for women, I think," explained the Rich Woman. "Quite unnecessary, since we are all as thoroughly convinced of the—er—desirability of the franchise being extended to women as she is herself. However, may I be allowed to suggest," she continued conversationally, "that fighting and slavery are rather extravagant alternatives? Need we be so extreme? I think not. I hope not. Of course, one admits that the conditions of some of the labouring classes are distinctly deplorable. One hardly likes to contemplate it. But evil is never remedied by evil. Oppression is wrong, but violence and intolerance are wrong too. One must not overlook that, however ardent one may be."

"It is easy to be conscientiously resigned when you live in a sheltered home," said the Suffragette, who had a tiresome habit of arguing. "But have you no thought for the sweated women-workers and the kiddies, who suffer grievously through the long delay in getting our one-sided Government reformed? Is it 'evil' to fight for the weak?"

"Ah!" said the Rich Woman, looking tender and shaking her head fondly. "There you touch me in a very weak spot. I love little children—bless them!—and dare not, positively dare not let my mind dwell upon the hardships of some of these shadowed little lives; it makes me really ill. But still—violence—!"

"Do you deplore practical forms of protest on the grounds of inexpediency?" asked the Suffragette.

The Rich Woman said she did not. "We will not debate that point. To me, the whole question is one of Right and Wrong. You understand me? One feels the clinging hands of these dear, weak things to an extent that is heartbreaking; and sometimes one's feelings get the better of one, and lead one almost to anger. But one has not the right to go against one's principles—one's morals—one's religion. One

must leave these things in Other Hands. One must trust."

"Very, very true," sighed the Motherly Person. "Very wise."

"Supposing the wolf were at your own door?" suggested the Suffragette.

"There you go!" cried the Very Young Gentleman. "Women always get so personal in a discussion. I was waiting for that."

* * * * *

It was August, 1914. They had met again, and again they were talking about the war. But a different war this time, where such words as "blood" and "mangled" and "agony" recurred continually in the telling of it—Men's War.

"This is a grave and terrific crisis," said the Rich Woman, whose eyes looked haggard and quenched. "The time has come for us all to band together and gird up our strength to the uttermost. We must be brave and strong and practical. We must be ready to act if the call comes—to strike for our country."

"Should women shoot?" asked the Motherly Person, with a quaking chin.

"They should shoot," said the Rich Woman. "They should strike with the sword; they should be prepared to throw boiling oil, if necessary. I would myself." She raised her head and looked frank. "I would stop at nothing if the enemy came."

"You discard moral force in favour of physical, on occasions, then?" asked the Suffragette.

"Our country is in deadly peril," answered the Rich Woman. "Our lives—our honour—our children and our homes are in jeopardy. We must all be ready to fight."

"But fighting is violence," said the Suffragette. "And violence is opposed to your principles, your morals, and your religion. You told me that, you know. What am I to understand? I suppose I am very stupid; but what am I to understand?"

"This is hardly the best time for quibbling and hair-splitting," returned the Rich Woman, flashing scorn. "We stand face to face with a hideous danger, and we have got to realise it; the time for discussion has passed."

"Discussion!" said the Suffragette. "You tax me with talkative propensities now! Oh! mighty, marvellous King Circumstance, what miracles you work! Violence becomes Patriotism when it is ourselves who are in danger. Wrong is transformed to Right by one stroke of Fear's wand! How wonderful life is! We women must not agitate for freedom when it is only our poorer sisters who are paying the toll of brutality in blood and dishonour; we must be patient; we must have dignity; we must rely upon moral force. But when we ourselves are menaced—"

"There is no necessity to become insulting," interposed the Motherly Person, dreadfully flustered.

"She is hysterical, I think," observed the Rich Woman, raising her lorgnette. "She does not seem to grasp the situation. Do you not understand that, if the Germans came, no woman's honour would be safe—no child's even? Does that not move you?"

"Have you ever passed through Piccadilly at night?" asked the Suffragette. "And have you ever heard of institutions which are known as Homes for Fallen children?"

"Mad, I think," whispered the Motherly Person.

"Our very lives would be in peril," pressed the Rich Woman reproachfully. "I cannot imagine how any woman can speak as you are doing."

"Have you never read the statistics of phthisis amongst the sweated factory workers?" said the Suffragette. "Phthisis is quite as deadly as German shells, if not so

exciting. Only it happens to hit the other women."

"Dear me!" said the Motherly Person. "So irrelevant!"

"I don't understand what it is you mean," said the Rich Woman uncomfortably. "Do you think we ought to yield to Germany, or what?"

"I have never advocated surrender to any foe," said the Suffragette, laughing. "It was you who were so strong on the moral-force principle."

"One must defend one's home," said the Rich Woman.

The Suffragette shaded her eyes and looked towards the East. "The sun rises for us all," she said. "It is not only one's own home that counts."

MR. GEORGE'S NEW NOVEL*

In "The Second Blooming," Mr. W. L. George has tackled the problem of the unemployed, rich, married woman who is no longer a young girl but has not yet reached middle age, who is not poor enough to be obliged to work in her own household, and not educated enough to have discovered in public work outside her home anything more than a distraction. He presents to us three sisters of the middle class, all married to wealthy, successful, ordinary men, and who have all arrived at this period of disillusionment. Two of them have children: Mary, who goes on having children and seeks in this way, with rather more success than her sisters, to fulfil herself; and Grace, who sees her children pass inevitably into the care of the paid expert and gets no happiness out of motherhood at all. The third one, Clara, has no children, and flings herself into the activities of such party politics as are at the disposal of the voteless woman. The way they all succeed, or fail (according to the point of view of the reader), is very cleverly, if a little too minutely, described; and the portraits of the three husbands are admirably and remorselessly drawn. Suffragists will be a little irritated by the stupidity of the women in contriving so completely to miss the whole meaning of existence; but therein lies the suffrage moral, of course. It would not be possible in a country where women really count for three wives of average but not surpassing intelligence to form part of a rich unemployed section of the population, unless they were utterly selfish, which, of course, these women are not. We do not by any means agree with every aspect of Mr. George's feminism, which we feel in this book, as elsewhere, to show a tendency to drag women down to men's moral standard instead of raising men to the best women's standard. But the book should be read for its sincerity and its analysis of character, and above all for the masterly description of the end of Grace's love affair with Fenor, which has nothing to do with modern problems at all, and is one of the best pieces of writing Mr. George has yet given us.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Women of the Revolutionary Era." By Lt.-Col. Andrew C. P. Haggard, D.S.O. (London: Stanley Paul. Price 16s.)
"Mrs. Martin's Man." By St. John G. Ervine. (Dublin: Maunsell. Price 6s.)
"The Undying Race." By René Milan. (London: Stanley Paul. Price 6s.)
"A Water-Fly's Wooing." By Annesley Kenealy. (London: Stanley Paul. Price 6s.)
"The Plea of Pan." By Henry W. Nevinson. (London: Duckworth. Price 2s. 6d. net.)
"Philip in Fennyland." By Hubert St. Clair. (London: Francis Griffiths. Price 2s. 6d. net.)
"Daily Mail Year Book." (London: Associated Newspapers, Ltd. Price 6d.)
"The Occupations of Women." Arranged and compiled by L. Wyatt Papworth, M.A., and Dorothy M. Zimmern, M.A. (London: Women's Industrial Council. Price 6d.)
"The Second Blooming." By W. L. George. (London: Fisher Unwin. Price 6s.)

AT HOME AND ABROAD

A CHILDREN'S COURT IN NEW YORK

A Letter from Mrs. Pethick Lawrence

The following interesting account of a morning spent in the New York Children's Court with Judge Hoyt and Miss Doty, a barrister who is one of the Prison Commissioners, is taken from a letter written to a friend by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who is now travelling in America.

A Human Judge

"Arriving at the Court, seats were placed for us beside Judge Hoyt, who explained the cases to us and handed us the wonderful dossiers supplied with each little offender, giving all details as to parents, character of home, school record, health record, standard of living, and every conceivable fact to be ascertained with regard to the child, his conditions, and surroundings. The Judge has a personal talk with each child brought before him, and encourages the child to talk to him and to confess his fault. If it is confessed, he can deal with the matter without any formality. If the offence is denied, the procedure of a trial with witnesses has to be gone through; but it is very informal, the group standing right in front of the Judge, face to face; and there are no police to be seen, unless it is the officer who has arrested the culprit, who comes up to give his evidence like anybody else and goes away again as soon as he has done so. The parents of the child stand just within call, and the Probation Officers, who have first won the confidence of the children, stand beside them to encourage them, or to confer with the Judge. There are twenty-six Probation Officers attached to the Court, besides Missionaries of every denomination. There is also a Guild of 'Big Brothers,' which the Judge himself has founded, each Big Brother taking voluntary friendly charge of some wayward little brother and trying to pull him through the critical period of his life.

How the Child is Helped

"Every child is put under probation for a certain number of months; only in very hopeless cases is he (or she) sent to a reformatory, as the Judge holds that almost any sort of a home is better for a child than a semi-penal institution. The parents are visited and helped by sympathy and advice. About 10,000 children pass through this Court per annum, and the greater percentage of these turn out well under the system. A new Children's Court is now being built; here the Judge's bench is being done away with entirely, and he will see every case alone in conference with Probation Officers, parents, &c. Waiting-rooms are large, airy, and comfortable, and a special waiting-room is set aside for mothers with babies. We saw seven cases dealt with in an hour and a half. Most of these were remanded, or were being dealt with at a second or third hearing after being thoroughly investigated in the meanwhile.

"In one case a little boy was arrested by the police intolerantly and in an ill-judged way. The small boy gave his version of the story to the Judge, obviously sincerely and truthfully; and his word was taken, and the boy was discharged quite kindly and left the Court.

Miss Doty

"Before taking up the duties of Prison Commissioner, Miss Doty went to prison for a week as an ordinary criminal; no one knew of her identity except the Head Commissioner, who sent her to Sing Sing prison under the escort of two police officers. Some of her stories of prisoners were simply wonderful. One of a man who was executed for a murder (in her opinion the man was innocent of the charge) was the most touching I ever heard. They made a compact together to use his story to help to save the kids; and he was writing the story for her up to the very moment that he was taken from his cell for execution."

A WOMAN SUFFRAGE COMING OF AGE

September 19 was the twenty-first anniversary of the passage of the Electoral Act which gave the vote to the women of New Zealand; and a very interesting copy of the *Dunedin Evening Star* has just reached us, containing a symposium on the effects of woman suffrage in that time. Among the prominent women who state their opinion is Mrs. Katherine W. Sheppard, who says: "Women are working more side by side with men in many ways." She further points out the valuable legislative reforms that have been passed with the aid of women, which include the Infants' Life Protection Act, the Widows' Pensions Acts, such temperance measures as the Licensing Act Amendment, which makes 10 o'clock closing universal and does away with what is equivalent to our grocers' licences; besides many other important reforms far too many to mention.

An Opponent Converted

Mr. John Rigg, a Labour leader who originally opposed the woman's vote, confesses that he has changed his mind. "The presence of women at political meetings has had, I believe, a refining

effect," he says; and he thinks their vote has had an effect on temperance reform and industrial legislation for women.

"Making a Religion of the Vote"

Lady Stout, well known to our readers, writes of her stay in England, where she met "leading women thinkers who have made almost a religion of the vote." She agrees that many reforms have been brought about with the aid of the woman's vote, but thinks that New Zealand women have not yet made the fullest use of their power.

Space prevents our quoting more from this interesting symposium, which is ample testimony to what has been done in New Zealand by twenty-one years of equal suffrage.

IN TORONTO

Suffragists to Work for Mothers' Pensions

At a general meeting of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Associations of Canada the following resolution was passed:—
"The suffrage women of Canada, as represented by the National and supported by many of the Toronto organisations, at a well-attended meeting at the home of the National President, Mrs. L. A. Hamilton, decided, with great enthusiasm, that an appeal be sent forth to the women of Canada to rally as a unit in one great patriotic effort, on behalf of the needy and suffering women of our Dominion, through the exploitation and definite working out of the mothers' pensions."

THE AMENDING BILL AND WOMEN'S VOTES

We have received a letter from the Irish Women's Franchise League, signed by H. B. Palmer and Kathleen Houston, which is unfortunately too long for publication in full. We quote, however, the following interesting passages:—

"Now that the Home Rule Bill has become an Act, it is desirable that all who have the welfare of Ireland at heart should concentrate their attention on the Amending Bill which the Government has undertaken to introduce in the coming Session, with a view to ensuring (in the words of Mr. Redmond) that it shall be a 'real Amending Bill,' so drafted as to ensure that the Home Rule Act shall come into force (in the words of Mr. Asquith) 'amid universal goodwill.' With these objects in view, we desire to draw special attention to the need of incorporating in any Amending Bill that may be introduced a clause enabling the women of Ireland, as well as the men, to vote for the election of the Home Rule Parliament from the beginning. Irish women have admittedly deserved to share in any new liberties which the country may enjoy as well as men.

"It is impossible that the Home Rule Act can come into force 'amid universal goodwill' if the women of the country are left outside, disfranchised along with the criminal, the lunatic, and the pauper, solely because of their sex, and subjected to administrative and legislative disabilities for want of the simple and constitutional safeguard of the Vote.

"We hear much of safeguards for Ulster; but Ulstermen will have the vote, and no one proposes to take it from them. That is the only safeguard that Irishwomen demand; but it is an essential one if the point of view of their sex is to receive due attention in the new Parliament—attention which it has never received in the male-elected Parliament at Westminster. We therefore ask you and your readers to use your influence in support of our demand. We may add for your information and theirs, that the I.W.F.L. is an Irish Suffrage organisation entirely independent and unaffiliated to any other society.

SEVEN-AND-SIX A WEEK

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—The scale of allowances allotted to the dependants of our soldiers is a disgrace and crying shame to any nation. Has the Government forgotten that the children of the men who are responding to their country's call are to be the citizens who will take the place of their fathers and brothers disabled or killed on the battlefield? Surely it is the good influence of a well-organised home that contributes so largely to the making of healthy, upright citizens. And how can that influence be maintained, and the moral standard of the home upheld, if its inmates are beset by temptations which accompany the lack of customary, and in many cases bare, necessities of life?

Ask the wives of any of our leading statesmen and politicians how they could manage on 7s. 6d. or even £1 a week. I venture to think they would have something very definite to say on the matter! It is due to those of us who may be wives and mothers, and who understand what it means to keep hungry, growing boys and girls in food and clothes, to do all in our power to stop this shame being perpetrated against those to whom all honour and respect is due.

It is truly high time we had the vote!—Yours,
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COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Assault on a Daughter

John Bull (October 31) reports case of a father charged before the Wimbledon Magistrates (Chairman, Mr. Tyrrell Giles, K.C.) with "a revolting assault" upon his eleven-year-old daughter.

Sentence: One month's imprisonment.

Manslaughter of a Wife

The News of the World (November 1) reports case of a labourer charged before Mr. Justice Lawrence at the Suffolk Assizes with murdering his wife by shooting her with a gun. The charge was altered to manslaughter, and the Judge took into consideration that there had been nagging and quarrelling between them and accepted his statement that he did not mean to do it.

Sentence: Twelve months' hard labour.

Attack on a Wife

The South Wales Echo (November 1) reports case of a labourer charged at Merthyr before the Deputy Stipendiary with wounding his wife. He came home the worse for drink and struck her a violent blow in the face because his supper was not ready. She came into Court, her head swathed in bandages. The charge was reduced to assault, the Judge remarking that she "had better have his supper ready next time."

Sentence: Fined £1 and costs.

HEAVY SENTENCES

Uttering a Forged Cheque

The Morning Advertiser (November 1) reports case of an engine driver charged at the Old Bailey before the Recorder with forging and uttering a cheque for £12 10s. 3d. There were previous convictions.

Sentence: Twelve months' hard labour.

False Coining

The Times (November 12) reports case of a traveller, a dealer and an agent, charged at the Central Criminal Court before the Common Sergeant with making counterfeit coin.

Sentences: The traveller and dealer to seven years' penal servitude each; the agent to five years' penal servitude.

Firing a Stack

The Derbyshire Times (November 7) reports case of a farm labourer charged before Mr. Justice Avory at the Derbyshire Assizes with setting fire to a stack of hay. He said he was drunk at the time and thought his pipe set it alight.

Sentence: Eighteen months' hard labour.

LEGAL RIGHTS OF ALIENS

It is really time that it was definitely decided whether alien enemies have lost their rights in English courts of law or not. We gave a week or two ago the case of an Austrian woman, who was refused a summons in the Willesden Police Court against a neighbour who had insulted her, because the magistrate said she had lost those legal rights. Now we have the case of a young German domestic servant who applied to Mr. de Grey at the South-Western Police Court (see *Morning Advertiser*, November 9) for a maintenance order for her child against a private in the Bedfordshire Regiment. We are glad to be able to state that the magistrate did not wholly take the insulting view put forward by the counsel for the defendant, Mr. F. H. Stollard, who urged that the girl, as an alien enemy, was not entitled to the assistance of the English courts, "let alone against an English soldier enrolled for active service in the war between this country and Germany." We should like to ask Mr. Stollard if he would on the same grounds defend an outrage on a Belgian woman by a German soldier?

We are glad, as we have said, that Mr. de Grey did not entirely accept counsel's view of the case; but it was only "after some consideration" that he made an order in favour of the girl, and he tempered it with permission to the defendant to appeal if so advised. We should fear the worst for the girl from such an appeal under the circumstances. This is the kind of thing that makes it impossible for the English nation to condemn without hypocrisy the alleged atrocities on women committed by the enemy's soldiers.

When the Alien is a Man

We do not know if it is wholly coincidence or not that when a judge does declare boldly that alien enemies have not lost the protection of the courts, these should always be men and not women. It was so in the case of the Deptford foreign shopkeepers when attacked by rioters. And it was so again in the case of an injured German workman, entitled to receive compensation under the Workmen's Compensation Act, of whom Mr. Justice Sargant said

be done, at any rate for the male refugees." The italics are ours.

THAT "BUT"!

We understand that to fill the places of the men telegraph clerks who have gone out to the front, married women ex-telegraphists are being asked to come back and serve temporarily. "Good, but the pay is twenty-five shillings a week" is the editorial comment of *The Clerk*.

ENGLISH PIANOS

An interesting offer is being made by Mrs. M. A. Dimoline Jones, of Parkhurst Road, Holloway, who has long been an advertiser in *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. Owing to the war, a number of the best English-made pianos are being offered at greatly reduced prices, and terms may be arranged to suit intending customers. Here is an opportunity for those readers who are mindful of the purpose served by dealing with the advertisers of this paper.

COMING EVENTS

"Accepting the Inevitable" will be the sermon for Sunday, November 22, at the Eolian Hall, where the Rev. John Hunter, D.D., is delivering a series. The service commences at 11 a.m.

The New Constitutional Society will hold a meeting at Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge, on Tuesday, November 24, at 3 p.m. Miss Esther Roper will speak on "Women and War." Discussion: Mrs. Cecil Chapman and Miss Winifred Holiday. Hostess: The Hon. Mrs. Audley Blyth.

The Women's Freedom League will hold a meeting on Wednesday, November 25, at the Suffrage Club, York Street, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers: Mr. John Seurr and Mrs. Tanner.

The United Suffragists will hold an At Home at Eustace Miles' Restaurant on Friday, November 27, at 8.30 p.m. (For particulars see page 58.)

The same Society will hold a Christmas Sale at Eustace Miles' Restaurant on Friday, December 4, from 3 to 11 p.m. (See also page 58.)

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NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

HIGHER THOUGHT CENTRE, 40, Courtfield Gardens, S.W. 11.30, Mr. Troward, "The Teaching of St. Paul"; 7, Mr. Troward, "The Vine and the Branches."

ST. MARY--AT-HILL.—Church Army Church, Eastcheap. Sundays, 9 and 6, views, orchestra, band. Prebendary Carlile.

REV. JOHN HUNTER, D.D. (late Trinity Church, Glasgow). Eolian Hall, New Bond Street. November 22, subject: "Accepting the Inevitable." Worship at 11 o'clock.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

MEMORIAL HALL, Manchester, Monday, December 7, at 7.30 p.m., Hope Squire and Frank Merrick will play Unfamiliar Works for Two Pianos. Tickets 5s. (reserved), 2s. 6d., and 1s., from Messrs. Forsyth Bros., 126, Deansgate, and at the door.

MR. W. TUDOR-POLE will speak on "The Deeper Aspect of the Great War." (Chair, Mrs. Despard.) Saturday, November 28, 8 p.m., Caxton Hall, Westminster. Tickets, 2s. and 1s., from Secretary, 40, Courtfield Gardens, S.W. Some free seats.

ST. ANDREW'S DAY.—SCOTTISH PATRIOTIC CONCERT, in aid of dependents of Scots soldiers. November 30, 7.30 p.m., Fulham Town Hall. Tickets: 1s., 2s. 6d., 4s., from Margaret Grant, 36, Ridgway, Wimbledon.

THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY for Women's Suffrage. Tuesday, November 24, 3 o'clock, 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge. Miss Esther Roper, "Women and the War." Discussion. Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Miss Winifred Holiday. Hostess: The Hon. Mrs. Audley Blyth.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds Public Meetings at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, Jermyn Street, Piccadilly, every Wednesday afternoon. Speakers: Nov. 25, Mr. John Scurr and Mrs. Tanner. The Chair will be taken at 3.30. Admission free.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

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BRIGHTON.—TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. Terms from 25s. weekly.—Mrs. Gray, W.S.P.U.

LADY and GENTLEMAN wish to receive 2 paying guests; billiard room, garage for motor-cycles; no other guests.—Write B., Bookstall, Met. Railway Station, Brondesbury.

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