

The War Paper for Women

VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

VOL. VII. (New Series), No. 341.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1914.

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AS YE HAVE SOWN



A. PATRIOT

JOHN BULL: "Excuse me, Mr. McKenna, but really, this Press Censorship—this suppression of news—is most un-British, not at all fair to the brave combatants."
Mr. McKENNA: "What? You did nothing to stop it when the women were carrying on their war. Naturally, we thought you liked a Press Censorship!" (Pushes off to suppress every fact within reach.)

(Mr. McKenna stated in the House of Commons on September 9 that he had assumed responsibility for the work of the Press Bureau)

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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

This week in Parliament has been remarkable for the placing on the Statute Book of the two contentious Bills, Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment, accompanied by a promise from Mr. Asquith of legislation deferring the operation of both Acts for twelve months, or until the war is over. If such a course is permissible and practicable in the case of two measures on which parties are sharply divided (how sharply divided Tuesday night's scene in the House of Commons amply demonstrated), we maintain that it could be also adopted with regard to

Woman Suffrage, on which a settlement by consent could far more easily be compassed, because it is not a party question and there is a majority in the House for it. We deal with this question more fully in our leading article.

The Amnesty

We publish in another part of the paper a letter from the Home Secretary to Mr. Chancellor, M.P., in which some official explanation is given of the extraordinary workings of the so-called amnesty to Suffragist prisoners. It appears now that the only way for these prisoners to ensure freedom from re-arrest by some officious constable (which is what happened to Mrs. Crowe at Newcastle) is to "report" themselves at the various prisons to which they are still legally due to return by the terms of their licence. Could officialdom sink lower than in this petty device to worry political offenders, supposed to have been granted a Royal Pardon, into a show of submission? We understand further that the four Irish suffragist prisoners are still expected to appear at the Winter Assizes. Can our Government never do the big, generous thing where women are concerned?

Atrocities at Home and Abroad

The tragedy of the war continues, and in its train follow stories of the atrocities suffered by women and

children, many of them too horrible to print. Our special correspondent in Holland, Madame Martina Kramers, sends us some ghastly extracts from the findings of the Commission appointed to enquire into the alleged excesses of the German troops in Belgium; and we publish these as being what is officially accepted in that country as true. On the other hand, Mr. Asquith stated in the House last Monday that no official confirmation of these atrocities had yet been received over here by the Secretary of State for War. Remembering that the same "official confirmation" has frequently been lacking of the torture of women political prisoners in this country, we do not attach too much importance to Mr. Asquith's non-committal statement, though we need hardly say we have no desire to disbelieve it. We should be more than glad to feel confident that the tragic sufferings of women in the recent Belgian campaign have been in any way exaggerated; we are only sorry that Ministerial pronouncements on the sufferings of women have lost the power to inspire in us that confidence.

Looking at Home

If any good is to come out of the evil of this European war we sincerely hope it may be shown in the awakening of the public conscience with regard

to all such atrocities practised upon women and children, whether by German or Briton, whether in war or peace. In our Comparison of Punishments, on page 735, we give this week the case of a man sentenced to six months' imprisonment for an assault upon a little girl of nine. It was stated that there were eight previous convictions against the man for similar offences—and at the end of six months he will be free to prey once more upon little girls. Such an "atrocious" as this should not be possible in a civilised country, and it would not be possible either in peace or war if women had the vote and the status symbolised by the vote.

Rights—Not Privileges

The actual amount of the various sums due to the wife of the soldier or sailor in her husband's absence appears to be as difficult to calculate as alarmites once found the number of the German Dreadnoughts. But it is universally conceded that even when she gets the maximum amount it is miserably inadequate for her needs; while the method of conveying it to her, sometimes through three different channels, and one of these a charitable one, is nothing short of a scandal. It is an encouraging sign of the times that the public should insist, as it has been doing lately, upon a proper recognition of the heroes' wives. But there would be no need for such insistence if women had already won the recognition of the State, for which they have fought so long in vain.

Other Relatives of Soldiers and Sailors

While the public outcry continues about the treatment of the wives of men at the front, and will probably result in some action being taken—the Prime Minister announced in the House that the matter is under consideration—there are other women whose claims should not be forgotten when their bread-winners have been taken from them. The demand for single men as recruits takes away many a son from the mother he has always supported, and for her there is no separation allowance or compulsory allotment. In a country where there is more sentiment talked about mothers and less done for them than perhaps in any other, this complete omission of the mother from the calculations of the State in war time is not surprising; but it is time that it were rectified. Then there are the women who have lived with men but are not married to them—divorces is impossible for the poor, and many of these in wealthier circles would have been able to re-marry—and who are left absolutely destitute, together with the man's children, because he is not legally the husband and father. As Miss Sylvia Pankhurst writes on this subject to the *Manchester Guardian*:—

Quibbling on this point is both mean and unjust. Surely if it can be proved that the man at the front was looked to by the children as their father, and that he was their support, he is entitled to adequate payment from his country to support them, and they are entitled to the maintenance of which his service with the colours has deprived them.

Unemployment Among Women

"Generally," admitted Mr. Herbert Samuel in the House of Commons last week, "unemployment is more prevalent among women than among men." Plain facts reach us from all sides confirming this official admission. In London alone, between 40,000 and 50,000 women and girls are estimated to be out of work, and 200,000 more are on half-time. All over the country factories are either closing down or turning off their hands in hundreds. Nor is it only the employed woman of the working class, for whom the Queen's Work for Women Fund is intended, who is a sufferer by the war. Our Special Commissioner gives pathetic details (see page 735) of cases of hardship among small employers who have suddenly lost their means of livelihood and of employing others.

And a movement is on foot, known as the Three Arts Women's Relief Employment Fund, to help the many hundreds of women artists, actors, and dramatists who have been rendered absolutely penniless through loss of employment. In some ways the middle-class wage-earner is worse off than her poorer sister, for there is no scheme of national relief that fits her case.

Items of Interest

The Women's Hospital Corps, led by the suffragist women doctors, Dr. Louisa Garrett Anderson and Dr. Flora Murray, left for Paris last Tuesday, where they are now established, under the French Government, in a base hospital in the Champs Elysees.

A brave Russian soldier, who went out under the enemy's fire and brought back a wounded comrade on horseback, was found afterwards to be a woman.

The French military authorities are reported to have sent back to her work a young laundress who had taken part as a soldier in the fighting at Mons.

While over 25,000 children received meals on school-days during the last week of July, 1913, the number during a similar period this year rose to 70,000.

NEW BOOKS

"The Social Disease"

Mrs. Creighton by her own statement does not profess to reach any final conclusions, but rather to suggest serious thought and inquiry how best to deal with and combat the social disease. In her little book there is no slurring over of the terrible results so often following on self-indulgence, and very clearly the writer points out that hitherto most of the regulations controlling the relation of the sexes have been to secure to a man legitimate descendants with a complete licence for himself so long as he does not interfere with the wives of other men. The result of this simply is, as we all know only too well, that some women have a premium put on their virtue and their lives sheltered at the terrible cost of thousands of their sisters who are given over to lives of shame and vice. This point of view cannot be put too often or too clearly, and furthermore the writer lays a heavy indictment on the Church for this state of affairs, for she says:—

We can only regret that the Christian Church has till now done so little to convince the world that the existence of prostitution itself is utterly alien to the teaching and spirit of Christ.

In view of the fact that the author has adopted rather a preaching tone towards her own sex, we may well ask who has had all the power, authority, and control of the Christian Church and to a great extent moulded her views and worldly outlook? Much as we agree with Mrs. Creighton that no good can ultimately come from any feeling of sex line or bitterness towards men, still we maintain it is useless to tell women to enlist the Church actively in the fight against prostitution until men have given women more weight in her councils and removed many barriers raised by prejudice. A beginning, it is true, has lately been made in this direction; but it is only a beginning.

Trades for Girls

This is a very complete and useful account of all trades open to girls living in London. Every trade is more or less exhaustively dealt with, full details being given as to hours of employment, conditions, wages, &c., and terms of apprenticeship, if any. In addition to these details a full list is given of schools, classes, and institutions where such trades can be studied and prepared for, and an appendix is added on all the Acts applying to industrial life. Parents and others who have the care of girls likely to enter the industrial world will find this brochure of great value. It is clearly written, and the language employed simple and free from bewildering technicalities, and thanks are due to the Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association for so useful a manual. K. D. S.

TO MAKE FUTURE WARS IMPOSSIBLE

By John Scurr

Whatever view one may take of the causes of the present war, there is one point upon which two-thirds of the people are agreed. The whole thing is stupid, brutal, and unnecessary.

This is an awful reflection to make in the twentieth century, with all its vast knowledge, and with all the conquests of mind and matter which the sons of men have achieved.

A One-sided World

The phrase, sons of men, reminds me that at the moment we are trying to run the world in a one-sided way. The sons of men control everywhere, and what a nice muddle of the business they have made!

I can imagine that the gods in Olympus are indulging in hearty laughter, and if it were not so tragic we could laugh as well. We are told all the peoples wanted peace; all the diplomats wanted peace; all the kings and emperors wanted peace. Yet they are all at war. Glorious male section of the community! Pittad to rule! Able to govern! And the battle-fields are strewn with dead and dying, the flower of manhood, and women mourn alone.

Surely this sharp lesson will teach a stupid world that it is impossible to promote the comity of nations so long as one-half of the people is excluded from doing the work of the communities. Women are not allowed to have a say in the affairs of State. Even where enfranchisement has been granted, owing to the play and interplay of international relationships the small band of free women are overwhelmed by the preponderance of the male idea elsewhere.

"A Pleasant Male Fiction"

Women are, by one of those pleasant male fictions which form the bedrock of masculine truth, supposed to be fond of the military; it is deduced that they have a passionate devotion to war. As a matter of fact, women are naturally constructors and conservers. Investigation into the ancient history of the world proves that women were the first agriculturists, the first home builders, the preservers of the race. Their instinct is against war and destruction. The male, on the other hand, is dignified and vain. He

* "The Social Disease and How to Fight it." A Rejoinder. By Louisa Creighton. (London: Longmans Green and Co. Price 1s. net.)

† "Trades for London Girls, and How to Enter Them." A companion book to "Trades for Boys." Compiled by the Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association. (London: Longmans Green and Co. 1s. net.)

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struts abroad in all the panoply of vanity, seeking to attract the female. Hence when primitive man encountered primitive man he fought. He has carried through the idea into national policy.

The House and the Nation

Today we talk glibly of Welt-politik, revanche, place in the sun, militarism, autocracy, preservation of Empire, and all the other high-falutin' phrases which sound so big and mean so little, except desolation and death. We have to preserve life, not to destroy it. We shall never do this until we have introduced into national life the ideal of the home, and this can never be realised whilst only one section of the nation concerns, or rather, is allowed to concern, itself with national affairs. Man and woman together make the home. Man and woman together must make the nation.

Talk as you will of militarism, treaties, alliances, balance of power, and all the rest of the coin of diplomatic intrigue, you are left with the sad conclusion that men value brains so highly that when they have a dispute they must blow them to the four winds of heaven! To stop war, to make it impossible in the future, we must share the helm of State with woman, the preserver, so that we may be guided clear of the rocks.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Latter Days." By J. E. Taylor. (London: H. R. Allenson, Ltd. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"Paton's List of Schools and Tutors." Seventeenth Annual Edition, 1914-1915. (London: J. and J. Paton. Price 2s.)

"The Englishwoman." September. (London: Evans Bros. Ltd. Price, 1s. net.)

"A Night in a Common Lodging House." By Nellie Best. (London: 54, Hogarth Buildings, S.W. Price 6d.)

"Woman at Home." September. (20, Tavistock Street, Covent Garden, W.C. Price 6d. net.)

"The Covenant with Hol." By Frances Swiney. (London: League of Isis, 69, Victoria Street, S.W. Price 31d.)

"Parentage and Dangerous Employments." By Frances Swiney. (London: League of Isis. Price 21d.)

"Penal Reform League Quarterly Record." (London: 68A, Park Hill Road, N.W.)

"J. F. Sutherland's First Aid to Injured and Sick." Edited by Halliday Sutherland, M.D. (London: Midgwick. Price, 3s.)

"The Latest Word in regard to Juvenile Prostitution." By Arthur W. Towne, S.P.C.K. Supt. Brooklyn. (London: 68A, Park Hill Road, N.W. Price, 1d.)

THE GREATER WAR Why the Suffrage Flag Must be Kept Flying

While the European War proceeds abroad, bringing its meed of suffering to men, women and children, the greater war goes on at home, the war against sweating, and unemployment, and immorality, which presses even more heavily upon the women than over war because it arises out of their votelessness, and no victory in it can be gained until the first outpost is conquered—the political equality of women with men. Every instance of the suffering of women that is given on this page is the outcome, direct or indirect, of the political helplessness of women. That is why we say that even during a European war the Suffrage flag must be kept flying at home.

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THE SMALL EMPLOYER

More Sufferers from the War (By Our Special Commissioner)

It would perhaps be a good thing if women of the wealthier classes, before they make resolutions, to economise as regards dress and amusements during the coming winter, could be shown for the moment the result of their well-meant intentions. One feels convinced that, had they any idea of the far-reaching effects of their withholding orders from shops, they would all feel it their duty to try to give as much employment as usual.

Last week we gave a few instances of the effect of the war on home-workers, and this week we propose to show how another link in the chain of consumer-retail-wholesale-middleman and home-worker is affected by the sudden cessation of orders. In every case the same reason for lack of work is given—the sudden drop of demand from consumers.

Some Terrible Cases

I take a few examples from one street which I visited:— Mrs. H., tailor's, used to employ two hands; both are now dismissed. She and an old husband of sixty are entirely without work, and will be forced to move from her house, where she has been for fifteen years. She gave work to one home-worker, who has also been paid off. Mrs. C. used to employ three hands; all are now dismissed. The daughter of the house, aged sixteen, is only working two mornings weekly. Mrs. G. has had no work for the last two weeks. There are three small children to keep.

Mrs. H. has two small children. She is working on half-time and her husband, who is in the wood trade, is also on half-time. She used to give work out to one home-worker, who has been paid off.

No Work for Two Weeks Mrs. L. has five young children. She and her husband are both tailors and employed one hand, who has now been dismissed. Mrs. L. has had no work for the last two weeks, though, in other years, she has been very busy at this time. They have no savings to fall back upon.

Mrs. H. works at cardboard box-making. Both she and her husband, who is a cabinet-maker, are now only working two days weekly. They are both over fifty-four, and at the best of times had a struggle to make both ends meet.

Boxes at 21d. a Gross Mrs. B., aged sixty-two, makes cardboard boxes at 21d. per gross. She only earned 3s. last week, and is entirely dependent on her earnings except for 8s. which the parish allows her.

Mrs. W. and her husband and two girls work at tailoring. They have dismissed the girl, who was brought to her parents. The next day her condition was such that the curate of the parish gave her the Last Sacrament, and she was brought to the hospital at Louvain in peril of death.

"When the Belgian troops arrived at Hofstade on August 25 they found the corpse of an old woman who had been killed by bayonet thrusts; her hand still held her needle as she was sewing when the attack came. Another woman lay there with her son of about fifteen years old, pierced by bayonets; a man had been hanged."

"In a neighbouring village, Sempst, several witnesses had seen the carbonised corpse of a workman who had been bayoneted with bayonets, and then, still alive, soaked with oil and thrown by the Germans into a house to which they set fire. A woman who had ventured out of her house had been killed in the same way."

"At Wackerzeel seven Germans are said to have successively violated a woman and then killed her."

We feel that any comment is needless when we see this official report. Women, if they were allowed to have a share in the government of nations, could not possibly manage such a mess of the world as our government by men has done up to this day.

Martina C. Kramer. Rotterdam, September 6, 1914.

OTHER SAD CASES The following sad particulars have been kindly furnished by Miss Young, of the Home-workers' Hall, 311, Cambridge

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

Table with columns: LIGHT SENTENCES (Assault on a Little Girl, Murderous Assault on a Boy) and HEAVY SENTENCES (Housebreaking and Arson, Red Cross Society).

WOMEN AND WAR (From Our Dutch Correspondent)

While discussing how women, if enfranchised, could prevent war in future, we should not neglect to investigate and clearly to state what part women actually have to play in the present war, and how great the sufferings of our Belgian sisters are, in whose country the war is being waged. Possibly we might be accused of exaggerating if we had not a report written by men, intended for men, and not published for women. The way to deal with non-combatants is a chapter of its own in the so-called code of war. We are not here concerned with the sufferings of men with those of women in belligerent countries in general; we shall confine ourselves to a few stated and proved facts concerning women which we quote from the "Report on Transgressions of International Law," presented to the Belgian Government by the State Commission of Inquiry, of which the Minister of State, Mr. Cooreman, is the President. We translate literally the facts relating to women exclusively, leaving the rest of this most interesting document to be published by the men's Press, as it is sure to create a sensation among the public.

Passages from the Report "In a neighbouring village (near Louvain), called Coorbeekloo, on Wednesday, August 19, a woman of twenty-two, whose husband is in the army, was attacked, together with several of her relatives, by a troop of German soldiers. The persons accompanying her were locked up in a distant house, whilst she was dragged into another house and successively violated by five soldiers. In the same village on Thursday, August 20, a girl of about sixteen years old was carried away from her home with her parents. They brought her to an empty building, and while some of them kept the father and mother at a distance, the others penetrated into the cellar, which they had broken open, and forced the girl to drink. They then brought her to the lawn before the house and violated her by turns. As she continued to resist, they pierced her breast with bayonets. After this atrocity they left the girl, who was brought to her parents. The next day her condition was such that the curate of the parish gave her the Last Sacrament, and she was brought to the hospital at Louvain in peril of death. When the Belgian troops arrived at Hofstade on August 25 they found the corpse of an old woman who had been killed by bayonet thrusts; her hand still held her needle as she was sewing when the attack came. Another woman lay there with her son of about fifteen years old, pierced by bayonets; a man had been hanged. In a neighbouring village, Sempst, several witnesses had seen the carbonised corpse of a workman who had been bayoneted with bayonets, and then, still alive, soaked with oil and thrown by the Germans into a house to which they set fire. A woman who had ventured out of her house had been killed in the same way. At Wackerzeel seven Germans are said to have successively violated a woman and then killed her."

The Woman Voter, Miss Vida Goldstein's paper, protests strongly against the term "hysteria" being applied to the horror roused by an "epidemic" of such cases, and it goes on to say that such a man should never be free, though "an ordinary prison is not the place for him."

It concludes by saying:—"This man is the victim of a social system which involves the degradation of womanhood, and which the woman's movement is set to destroy."

All British Suffragists look forward to the time when they can join hands with their enfranchised sisters in presenting an unbroken front to these terrible effects of a pernicious moral standard.

A GROWING CRUSADE In South Africa Gradually our crusade against the disproportion shown in the sentences imposed for offences against property and those

against the person is spreading all over the world. Suffragists in Australia, Canada, the United States have for some time been protesting against the inequality of such sentences—one of the last reforms to be assured, even in those countries where women have won the vote. Now from the South African Suffragist comes a cutting from the *South African Review* (July 3), in which attention is drawn to the contrast between two punishments inflicted by Sir John Buchanan at the Criminal Sessions in Cape Town.

"For rape," says the account, "and incidentally communicating a filthy disease to a little European girl, a Cape boy, aged eighteen years, was sentenced to receive fifteen cuts with a cane, and thereafter to be imprisoned for twelve months in a juvenile reformatory. Immediately afterwards two Cape boys, aged nineteen and sixteen years, were sentenced respectively to three years' hard labour and four years in a juvenile reformatory for housebreaking and theft of certain jewellery, nearly all of which was recovered. It would seem that property is much more valuable than the bodies of our innocent little girls."

Our correspondent informs us that the editor of the *South African Review*, as we can well believe from the paragraph quoted, is a good Suffragist, and that the tone of his paper, which used to be contemptuous, if not actively hostile to the movement, has completely changed since a protest was made to him, accompanied by a fair statement of the Suffrage case. We wish that all British editors would show a similar sense of fair play.

HEARD AT THE NORTH WALL—Soldier: "Good-bye, Mary." Wife: "Good-bye, Paddy; I'll have half of your pay when you go, anyway, an' that's more I ever saw up to this day!"—Irish Citizen.

"IT'S AN ILL WIND—" Heard at the North Wall—Soldier: "Good-bye, Mary." Wife: "Good-bye, Paddy; I'll have half of your pay when you go, anyway, an' that's more I ever saw up to this day!"—Irish Citizen.

THE "ANTI" PLATFORM A Democratic candidate for Congress in Illinois, who is an anti-Suffragist, is making his canvass on the platform: "A husband and a home for every woman." As over twenty-five hundred husbands in Chicago alone last year abandoned their wives, he should add another plank, that if he is elected all husbands must stick to home and family.—Ida Husted Harper, in "Judge."

ROYAL COURT THEATRE, SLOANE SQUARE. SATURDAY, OCTOBER 3, at 8 o'clock, MISS JANETTE STEER will present A STRONG EMOTIONAL DRAMA entitled, 'THE SPHINX,' For Seven Performances and Two Matinees. Your co-operation is asked in the production of a play which purports to present in symbolism the mystery underlying the sex problem. The production of this play has been the subject of careful thought, £400, approximately, will cover the entire work's expenses. The net profits accruing from the nine performances will belong exclusively to the Shareholders. It is hoped that the capital will be subscribed by the Members of the Suffrage Societies, and should the Play prove a success the original Shareholders will still continue to participate in the profits during the whole of the initial London run of the play. For prospectus and information, apply to JANETTE STEER, 53, Sloane Gardens, S.W. (783 Gerrard.)

Ms. M. LUCETTE RILEY.—In "The Sphinx" you have, I think, a play of strong emotional and dramatic interest. I do think you have written a very, very good play, and I hope it will receive the recognition it merits. Miss LULLAH McCARTHY.—It has touched me enormously. I want to congratulate Miss STEER on her really beautiful play. You will have a big success with it. TICKETS may be obtained from the Box Office, Royal Court Theatre, and from the usual agents. Box Office Phone, 848 Gerrard.

Articles and News contributed for insertion in VOTES FOR WOMEN should be sent to The Editors, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper.

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UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

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

OBJECT:—To secure a Government measure to give women the Vote on equal terms with men.

COMMITTEE

- Miss Lena Ashwell
Mr. A. W. Evans
Mr. Gerald Gould
Mrs. Agnes H. Harben
Mr. Henry W. Nevinson
Mrs. Pethick Lawrence
Mr. John Scurr
Miss Evelyn Sharp
Mrs. Elaine Whelen
Mrs. Ayton Gould (Hon. Secretary)
Mr. H. J. Gillespie (Hon. Treasurer)
Mr. Charles Gray (Secretary)

MEMBERSHIP CARD POLICY

The United Suffragists—
(1) Believe that men and women can usefully cooperate on equal terms in one organisation for the enfranchisement of women.

(2) Regard Woman Suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, and will work without considering the interests of any political party.

(3) Recognise various forms of suffrage activity as of value, and are ready to contribute any kind of service according to their capacity and conviction.

OBJECTS

The Objects are (1) To secure a Government Measure to enfranchise women on equal terms with men; (2) To organise a vigorous campaign of opposition to any Government that refuses or neglects to introduce and pass into law such a measure, and equally to oppose any Party giving general support to such a Government.

METHODS

(1) In view of the importance of bringing pressure to bear upon the Government from the Constituencies, one of the chief activities of the Society will be to establish an Election Campaign in Parliamentary Divisions. In pursuance of this policy a great point will be made of raising the question on all possible occasions, by demonstrations, deputations, heckling at public meetings of all kinds, and by following the advice of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman to "keep on pestering."

(2) It will be the aim of the Society throughout to avoid overlapping and to work in harmony with all existing Suffrage associations.

There is no fixed subscription or entrance fee, but members are relied upon to support the Society to the best of their ability.

Membership is open to everyone who endorses the policy of this Society, irrespective of membership of any other Society, militant or non-militant.

I wish to join the United Suffragists, whose objects and methods I approve.

Name (Mr., Mrs., or Miss)

Please write clearly.

Address

OPPOSITE THE BRITISH MUSEUM. THACKERAY HOTEL, Great Russell St., London. This large and well-appointed TEMPERANCE HOTEL has Passenger Lift, Electric Light throughout, Bath-rooms on every floor, Spacious Dining, Drawing, Writing, Reading, and Smoking Rooms. Fireproof Floors. Perfect Sanitation. Telephone, Night Porter, Bedrooms, Attendants, and Table d'Hôte Breakfast, Single from 5s. 6s., to 7s. 6d. With Table d'Hôte Dinner, from 8s. 6d. Full Tariff and Testimonials on Application. Telegraphic Address: "Thackeray, London."

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VOTES FOR WOMEN

4-7, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET

Telegraphic Address:—Votwom, Fleet, London. Telephone:—Holborn 5580 (2 lines).

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1914.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE "ON ACCOUNT"

One of the very few blessings of the war is that in all the countries engaged it has brought a certain peace at home. Old animosities have been laid aside, party contentions are suspended, the down-trodden and oppressed have shown themselves generally willing to forget their wrongs, and some despotic Governments have held out the hand of friendship with a pledge of future liberties.

To begin with the enemy, on the first day of war the Kaiser declared a political amnesty, and in person proclaimed that he freely forgave all his political critics and opponents from the bottom of his heart. In Russia, not only has the Commander-in-Chief solemnly promised freedom and union to the Poles, but the bitterest enemies in the Duma have openly embraced on the floor of the House, the most violent reactionaries talk progress, and even the Jews have ceased to fear. "Will the Russian Government seize this splendid opportunity of making a permanent peace with all its people?" asks Dr. Harold Williams, the best English student of the Russian mind. Will the British Government seize an equally splendid opportunity in our own country? is the question we ask.

In Paris, the best men in the State have joined the Ministry without consideration of party. The populace cheers the clergy, and bishops bless the populace—a reconciliation unimaginable two months ago. Class, party, and religious differences are alike forgotten. All are "enfants de la patrie." Within our own Empire we have been celebrating the splendid assistance spontaneously offered by the Indian peoples—the very peoples on whom German theorists had depended for raising troubles and rebellions. And not only have the Princes and governing classes of India contributed their troops and horses and wealth; in a letter last week the statesman, Bupendra Nath Basu, told us that "the humblest women are offering their jewellery and ornaments, things which, in India, constitute the woman's insurance fund, as they did in bygone days when religion or honour was in danger." It is impossible to suppose that such loyal generosity will not hereafter be rewarded with justice, or that Anglo-Indians can in future maintain towards their fellow-subjects the patronising and exclusive airs with which they have hitherto denied them any real share in their own country's government.

And this week we have had the case of Ireland before us again. Not merely party faction and unrest, but actual civil war in Ireland was one of the promising factors of success upon which the

German war-party counted. Yet the moment that war was declared both parties brought their unauthorised drilling and surreptitious arms into the open. Both directed them, no longer towards civil bloodshed, but to the common defence of their country. Labouring to preserve this conciliatory spirit of union in face of impending danger, the Government has devised the compromise which the Prime Minister laid before the House of Commons last Monday and Tuesday. The Home Rule Bill automatically becomes an Act, but it will not be put into force for a year or till the war ends, after which it will be open to amendment by a Government Bill.

It is not our part to discuss Irish politics, and we may admit that to pass a Bill with a pledge to alter it before it comes into action is a clumsy way of doing things. We would only point out that the Government has thought it worth while to make this sort of compromise in order to secure the complete and wholehearted support of Ireland during this time of peril. The Act is not to be enforced so long as the peril lasts, and all thoughts are directed to the country's defence. Such amendments are to be introduced as, it is hoped, will reassure those who oppose the very principle of the Act. The Opposition, it is true, made a protest in the House of Commons on Tuesday evening, showing that party is not dead but sleepeth; but, for all that, the principle is established. The main point of the controversy is settled. Home Rule is granted "on account."

The parallel with our own cause is obvious. The demand for woman suffrage was also verging on civil war. The bitterness, hatred, and indignation roused by the Government's treatment of the question and of its supporters were at least as violent as any such feelings existing on either side in Ireland. Yet with a reckless generosity equal to the Irish, all suffragists declared truce, and offered themselves to the common service of the country at the first sign of external danger. We call their generosity reckless because they made no bargain; unlike the Irish, they possessed no political power over the Government; and they did their utmost to forget that the Cabinet which represents their country during the war still contains members who are branded with outrageous cruelty towards supporters of our cause. But, reckless or not, wise or unwise, the uncalculating spirit of generosity was there. And again we ask, as Dr. Williams asked in the case of Russia, will the Government seize this splendid opportunity of making a permanent peace?

Let them answer generosity by justice. Parliament, notwithstanding the temporary resumption of hostilities on Tuesday night, claims to have risen above party now, and we have Mr. Chamberlain extolling Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Asquith smiling on Mr. F. E. Smith. Our cause is also above party. Both parties may support it. We have often been told that is why it fails. So now is evidently its opportunity, and, at all events, it has the advantage of more general consent on both sides of the House taken together than Home Rule ever had. Four times during the present so-called Liberal ascendancy the principle of woman suffrage has been accepted by the House. Let it again now be accepted and secured on the same basis as the principle of Home Rule. Let us have it "on account." We can leave its realisation and the amendments till the war is done. But before the peace let women's future position in citizenship be definitely assured. All their citizenship will be needed in the rush of legislation that will follow the conclusion of peace. And as to the intervening period of danger, great as woman's generosity in service has been, her service to the State will not merely be quadrupled by the consciousness of equal position and responsibility. It will be as incalculably multiplied as the soul is incalculable.

FIFTY YEARS AGO

A Women's Emergency Corps of the Past

By S. D. Shallard

Is there any feature of the Mid-Victorian era which has so completely disappeared as its distinctive way of regarding the employment of women? I don't doubt that in hermetically sealed parlours waxen fruits still gleam under glass domes pedastalled on woollen centre-pieces, whilst crochet-work antimacassars decently drape the surface of horse-hair upholstery, and the atmosphere of these vanished or vanishing adornments of the past can easily be recalled. But the atmosphere surrounding the whole question of women's employment in what were beautifully styled "non-domestic occupations" is not so easy to recall, and, when recalled, smells mustier than the parlour, presents an aspect more sickly pale than the wax fruit.

"At any rate," pleads a writer in a Cornhill of 1861, in eulogy of the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women: "At any rate, it must be less annoying and degrading to be occupied with work, however humble, than to contemplate narrower and narrower stintings and economies every day. . . . Scarcely any work that is honest and productive can be degrading."

Pioneer Tea Rooms

This Society, of which Lord Shaftesbury was president, and Miss Boucherett and Miss Faithfull among the active members, had its headquarters in Langham Place, where a little refreshment room provided "good tea and bread and butter for sixpence, and dinner off a joint, with potatoes, for ninepence," whilst for a small extra charge you might go upstairs and read the Times or the Englishwoman's Journal, or write letters applying for situations on the neatly stamped paper. Unfortunately, it seems that it was not the applicants for situations who patronised these rooms, but the more happily circumstanced ladies who came to town shopping and looking for governesses and cooks.

I strongly suspect that the unconscious bias of philanthropy was the chief cause of the disappointment over the tea-rooms. It seems to have been difficult for its promoters—exceptional and progressive-minded women though they were—to shake off the idea that finding "employment" for women was a charitable act towards the failures of their sex. The prospectus of the Society describes the promoters as "feeling deeply the helpless and necessitous condition of the great number of women obliged to resort to non-domestic industry as a means of subsistence." They hardly expected that they were trying to grapple, from the mid-Victorian stand-point, with the symptoms of a coming revolution.

But they were faced with a more serious trouble than their failure as precursors of Lyons and the A.B.C. This was the difficulty of finding employment for their many applicants, and right bravely did they face the problem by establishing businesses for this purpose.

Early Businesses for Women

One of these was a printing press in Great Coram Street, and another a law-copying office in Portugal Street, where Miss Rye directed the labours of a few women clerks. They were taught to carry their pens behind their ears, and when not fully occupied— which, unhappily, was sometimes the case—they filled up their time by embroidery. The picture of "young females," pen behind ear, embroidering in an office, seems to have occasioned mirth among the public, which was rebuked by their being told bluntly that "young women must live somehow, and earn their daily bread." Many of these, too, had tried and failed often before drifting into Miss Rye's office. One of the copyists was the daughter of a ruined speculator, another a widow with children, and one was a Quaker lady noted for her pennance. Of the lawyers' managing clerks, "some were averse to the poor ladies; others, however, were very kind."

A visitor to this office notices with surprise that it is clean and bright, no cobwebs or dusty files of papers, &c.—first evidence of the sweeping reform

since achieved by the general introduction of women into offices.

The printing press—called the Victoria Press— apparently employed some twenty women. One was a deaf and dumb girl, another was an Irish girl, an orphan, who had heard of the Victoria Press and begged her way to London. Once efficient, they were paid at standard rates, and might earn from 18s. to 20s. by a full week. Most of them had had £10 paid down for their apprenticeship by relations, friends, or the Society itself.

A less hopeful—and less cheerful—institution was the Needlewomen's Home in Lamb's Conduit Street, where I seem to see grey ghosts of womanhood filing silently along badly-lit passages from the gaunt work-rooms, furnished with long narrow benches and bare tables, to the underground kitchens for their meal, or upwards to their dreary dormitories. Mrs. —, a brisk worker, and said by the matron to be one of her "very best hands," could earn about 2s., less some deductions for materials, by her day's work. Others made less than a shilling. But, then, their employment at all was an act of charity. There was a "very kind" matron in this place. "A most kind and cheerful matron." There is something I distrust about that good lady—something sinister. I suspect her of having been a slave-driver, at least—probably of defrauding the unhappy ladies of their due wages, or carrying on some back-stairs form-of-"truck."

Home for Shopwomen

In Welbeck Street was the Home for Shopwomen. We have a picture of these women. They have to be young and good-looking—and, of course, genteel. Dressed in black silk dresses and vast crinolines, they glide in and out of the departments of the great millinery and habille shops, coaxing and cajoling the customers.

THE FORTUNES OF WAR

By G. Colmore

He was unconscious when he was brought into the hospital, and for long, through weakness and pain, consciousness of his surroundings remained dim. He knew vaguely that he was at the front—or had been till the crash of pain and the fall into blackness; knew that he was not far removed from the field of conflict; knew that he was in the hands of Red Cross doctors and nurses; but sometimes it seemed to him that he was back in the London streets, amidst the endless traffic, and was watching, not the marching or fighting lines of soldiers he had lately left, but streams of people passing ceaselessly by, or crowds, gathering and dispersing, or processions—processions of women, marching as soldiers marched. He had not liked those processions, and had not liked the crowds—some of the crowds—the crowds, that is to say, in which were women, struggling, panting, falling . . . like . . . like . . . The nurse, his special nurse, would pass, would stop, just shake and cool his pillow or change his position, and he would fall asleep; or she would bring him food or drink or medicine, and he would come right back to the war and his wound and know that London streets were very far away.

Gradually, as strength came back, he was always in the hospital, always saw only the rows of other patients and the nurses who tended them. His own special nurse became quite clear to him, a personality instead of just a woman's figure, though he had always known her from the other nurses because of a little limp she had. Now, as her face stood out from the other faces, it seemed, in a way, familiar to him—he supposed because in his delirium and his half-consciousness it had been constantly near him, for he did not really know it. It was a square-shaped face, not pretty, but with a certain sweetness of expression; the hair was drawn low across the forehead. Somehow it came into his head to wonder how she would look if the hair were drawn back, and the idea persisted, haunting him in a lazy sort of way till sometimes he felt almost impelled to ask her to push it up from her brow. And then one day the thing that he had thought about came to pass.

He was sitting up by that time and was almost well enough to be sent home. The thought of returning and of getting quite well, well enough to come to the

front again, had made him unusually cheerful, disposed to be unusually communicative, to talk about himself. "I am a reservist, you know," he said. "So I supposed," she answered. "I was in the force, the police." "Yes, I know." "You know? How?" "I remembered." "Remembered? I don't . . ." "I have seen you," she said, "on duty." "On my beat?" "No; special duty." He looked at her, their eyes met, and dimly, vaguely, a recollection came to him, a recollection from which memory turned away. "You were not . . ." "Yes, the last deputation—the one to the Palace. You had orders—do you remember!—not to arrest, but to terrorise." "I . . . I . . ." "They were your orders," she said. "You walk lame." She smiled. "That was not your doing, though it was done that day." Again their eyes met; the smile still hovered on her lips. His lips quivered as he spoke. "Push back your hair!" "Oh, no!" "Yes."

Tragic Failures

Here are some entries on the books of the Society: Miss A., aged 30, daughter of West Indian merchant, reduced to poverty by failure. Wants situation as nursemaid, no salary. Miss B., aged 50. Willing to do anything. Miss C., aged 30. Obligated by adverse circumstances to seek employment. Miss D., middle-aged, untrained, failed at needle-work. Mrs. E., deserted by husband, wants immediate employment. Mrs. F., aged 55, husband (clergyman's son) ill and helpless. These women, who had drunk so deep of life's bitterest draughts, were the pioneers of a great revolution—one of the greatest the world has ever seen. Yet that was but fifty years ago.

Slowly she raised her hand, and for an instant showed her forehead, then let the hair fall again. But he had seen the scar, and knew who, stooping from a horse's height, had made it; remembered, in that battle with unarmed foes, an instant when a woman's face had been raised towards his ere it sank in the mass of women; and knew why, vaguely, her face had seemed familiar. "I . . . I . . . Did you know me all the time?" She nodded. "Somehow—I don't quite know why—your face stayed with me." "I . . . I can't—" he began. "Oh, that's quite all right," she said, and smiled again. "And now you must have your tea."

GALLANT PAPER-SELLERS

Flying the Flag on the Kerbstone

If good wishes and compliments could keep our paper going there would be no fears for the future of **VOTES FOR WOMEN**. Our readers, badly hit like the rest of the world by the war, are yet sending us what they can towards its upkeep. We value their gifts very highly, knowing what such generosity means at this time of financial crisis, and we call upon all those to whom our paper is of value and who have not yet sent us a donation to do so now. And doubly valuable are such gifts when accompanied with encouraging words which show that it is no ordinary bond of sympathy, but a great cause, that unites the readers of **VOTES FOR WOMEN**.

"Never More Needed and Valuable"

An Aberdeen member of the United Suffragists sends us a cheque "towards the upkeep of the famous **VOTES FOR WOMEN** paper—never more needed and valuable than at the present terrible time."

Another, writing from Croydon, sends what she can spare, announces her intention of wearing her badge as consistently as ever before, and expresses her satisfaction that suffrage propaganda is not being dropped because of the war.

A Tribute from Massachusetts

From Massachusetts comes warm praise of all our issues since the outbreak of war—"They are so wonderfully fine, showing up in such a masterly manner the complete failure of man-made legislation, that I want extra copies to give to lukewarm suffragists."

Another member of U.S. is sorry he cannot help us just now, as he is off to the front, having "taken a commission in the army for the period of the war, but I wish you every success." Knowing what we do of the sufferings of women in war, it is good to know that there are suffragists at the front as well as in the battle-line at home.

Practical Facts for Paper-sellers

Miss Holden writes from Bolton (3, Lowerfold, Harwood) and Miss de Cadiz from Dublin (Iona, 9b, Annesley Park, Ranelagh) to say that paper-selling pitches are being maintained in those two centres. Will Bolton and Dublin paper-sellers communicate with these two captains without delay?

The following are the London pitches, with their respective captains:

Oxford Street: Mrs. Masters, 28, Oakington Road, Maida Vale.

Oxford Circus: Mrs. Ibbotson Hutt, 36, Richmond Mansions, Earl's Court.

Corner of Oxford Street and Tottenham Court Road: Miss B. Putnam, 65, Walm Lane, Cricklewood. Kensington High Street Station: Miss Postlethwaite, 27, Warwick Chambers, Pater Street, W. Hampstead Tube Station: Miss M. Armstrong, 28, Well Walk, Hampstead. Wood Green High Street: Miss E. Beagly, 14, Windsor Road, Palmer's Green. Ealing Broadway: Miss V. Crocker, 28, Woodfield Avenue, Ealing. Strand: Offices of U.S., 3, Adam Street. It is immensely important at the present crisis

that **VOTES FOR WOMEN** paper-sellers and **VOTES FOR WOMEN** posters should be seen everywhere. The woman's point of view must not be forgotten during the war. **VOTES FOR WOMEN** is the only paper that satisfactorily expresses this. That the public are ready to respond to the efforts of the paper-sellers is evident from the fact that the street sales have never been better than in the last few weeks. Everyone who can give one, two, three hours or more daily, or even weekly, is asked to communicate with the captain of the pitch nearest to her, or with Mr. Charles Gray, at the Offices of the U.S.

THE OVER-WORKED "ANTI"



With acknowledgments to the "Woman's Political World" (New York).

SHOULD WOMEN SHOOT?

To the Editors of **VOTES FOR WOMEN**.

Dear Editors.—Emphatically, yes; but not in the sense of being combatants. Some women, like some men, are born soldiers; but the average woman can never receive the long, carefully-specialised training which is required to make the ordinary man into the finished soldier. What might be done by women is what the Suffragists of Leicester are prepared to do in the event of the town being menaced by the enemy.

Application would be made to the Mayor for the use of the large Council schools with their commodious enclosed grounds. They would be properly provisioned, and organised women would undertake each department. All women and children unable to leave the town would be distributed in these schools, which would be guarded by women used to firearms. The enemy would be informed that only in the event of their showing a disposition to enter the schools for a hostile purpose would they be fired on.

In the meantime, may I say that my sister is enclosing copies of **VOTES FOR WOMEN** in every parcel of magazines she is sending to the wounded?—Yours, &c., AGNES CLARKE, Lodge House, Kirby Muxloe, Leicester.

Dear Editors.—Throughout the whole of the militant campaign, week by week and year by year, it has been instilled into us by those directing our policy that human life is sacred. Under heroic and long-drawn-out protraction we have recognised this counsel as right, and have held our hands. Let us, of all people, resist the storm that is sweeping over us and stand true to that counsel now. Again, it has always been our boast that the great sisterhood of womanhood knows no class distinction and no national boundary, that the common burden was the common bond. Are we to abandon that position at a time when sorrow and distress never later the home of someone else. Let every woman who picks up arms consider to what she is committed and what she is throwing over. It may be there are some who support the arming of

women because they believe the principle of attack upon the sex barrier must be continued to the bitter end, rather than because they approve of the methods. For such there is a solution. Let them adopt the same principle that we propose shall rule the conduct of woman to the conduct of men. It is the line we have already taken with regard to personal chastity and clean living. The diabolical ingenuity shown in the invention of the machinery of modern warfare is as surely evidence of prostitution of the intellect as evil living is of prostitution of the human body, and our campaign against it organised women would undertake each department. All women and children unable to leave the town would be distributed in these schools, which would be guarded by women used to firearms. The enemy would be informed that only in the event of their showing a disposition to enter the schools for a hostile purpose would they be fired on.

In the meantime, may I say that my sister is enclosing copies of **VOTES FOR WOMEN** in every parcel of magazines she is sending to the wounded?—Yours, &c., M. BRACKENBURY CROOK, Oxford.

Dear Editors.—For myself I absolutely agree with Mr. Perlick Lawrence in her letter on women fighting; but surely women are all different, and like men, some are born to fight with the sword, and some in other, perhaps higher, ways; and it is a pity to keep women who are long to fight out of the army, and to press men longing for other methods of work into the army. Besides, as we do so are we not once more in danger of running on to that old rock of sex disqualification? Women need to learn self-reliance, and personally I am always glad to see it in manifestation, even if I cannot approve of the act that it inspires.—Yours, &c., MISS C. S. SNEYFARD, The Little House, Mallord Street, Chelsea.

Dear Editors.—During my lifetime I have heard innumerable Christians say that we should look upon all men as our brothers—including even the Germans, I presume! Also, that we should love our enemies, and certainly not kill them as we are doing at present. But I suppose it is too much to expect Christians to practise what they preach.

The nations on this planet are not civilised, for no nation that countenances war can be called civilised, for war is simply deliberate, cold-blooded, wholesale murder. Suppose in some far-off planet there lives a really civilised people—a people who settle their national differences in a just, reasonable, and peaceful manner. Well, what would that people think if they could view us now from afar? I can imagine one of those civilised beings saying to another, "Just look at those barbarous, bloodthirsty little beasts murdering each other as fast as they can manage it! What horrible savages!"

A small mite, aged seven, the other day was telling me tales that her father had told her about the Boer War. Her father is a soldier, and had fought in that war. The little girl is really a gentle, nice little girl; but she described in a matter-of-fact way how the soldiers drank river water that was slimy, thick, and bloody, being full of slaughtered horses; how the soldiers often ate horses, sometimes cooked, sometimes raw. Then she ended her account in these words: "I do laugh at the things father tells me he did in the war in South Africa. He killed a man. They called him a Boer. You know those swords soldiers put in their guns? They call them bayonets. Father stuck his bayonet into the man, and when he lifted up his bayonet he lifted up the man, too. He had to put his foot on the man to pull it out."

Don't you think it is horrible enough for father to do such deeds? Would you like mother to follow his example?—Yours, &c., DOROTHY M. C. GRANVILLE, 14, Hford Avenue, Scacombe, Cheshire.

Dear Editors.—There are many women who are of Mrs. Haverfield's way of thinking. Suffragists have little cause to love the Government, but that does not and cannot prevent them from desiring to help in the defence of their country, and especially of the more defenceless portion of it, and of those who (as a correspondent justly pointed out last week) have more at stake than mere life. Fighting it is true, has seldom been woman's work, but fighting in self-defence against aggression is a very different matter from vanquishing warlike; and even to one who like myself looks upon war as a barbaric survival, the thought of looking on and waiting while the defending is being done by others is impossible.

Of course, it may be said, why not learn ambulance work and nursing, and help in that way? One can only reply that what is fit work for one is not for another. To me the idea of taking up arms in defence of my fellow-women appeals with greater strength. If Mrs. Haverfield would make a list of women who are prepared, if permitted, to volunteer for this work, and would then take steps to put their request in the proper quarter, I am sure that there are numbers of women who would be deeply grateful to her.—Yours, &c., MARGARET STOCKMAN, 180, Willifield Way, Hampstead Garden Suburb, N.W.

A WOMAN WHO SHOT A Hundred Years Ago

The following extract, taken from the *News* of 100 years ago, was reprinted in the *Observer* (Sept. 6), and has a special interest for us to-day in view of the correspondence being carried on in our columns.

"Wednesday, Ann Lansdown was committed to Ilchester gaol, by Chas. Crook, Esq., for stealing wearing apparel from Philip Staples of Widcombe. She is about 35 years of age, was born at Dorchester, married at the age of 19 to George Dixon, a sailor, and from regard for her husband went in disguise as jolly-boat with him on board the Levanter transport, in the expedition to Holland; she stood at the gun with her husband in an engagement; went on shore with the jolly-boat at the Heider, and with 150 men was taken prisoner and carried to Amsterdam; at the end of a month an exchange took place, and she again joined her husband in the Levanter. On going on board, she secretly carried under her trowsers half a gallon of gin, which the Master of Arms finding upon her she was tried by a Court Martial, and sentenced to receive two dozen lashes; but, on being stripped, her sex was discovered, and by order of Captain Thompson, a woman was fetched on board with clothes for her; the greatest care was taken of her, and she was landed at Blackwall in about a fortnight. She then went before the Queen who gave her a written paper, empowering her to receive 10 gu. at Greenwich. Her husband was one of the eleven sailors who were hung at Portsmouth for mutiny on the conclusion of the last peace.—*News.*"

UNITED STATES

The recent acquisition to the Suffrage cause of Secretary of State Bryan is one of the straws which show which way the wind is likely to blow in the United States next November, when the Congressional elections take place. As our readers are already aware, the Suffrage Bill will then be voted upon in seven States—Ohio, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, North and South Dakota. But the full significance of those elections is only realised when we remember that if the Referendum in all these States prove successful, the 82 Presidential votes at present controlled by States in which women vote will be increased to 149. If, further, all goes well in five other States (which include New York), 277 votes will be cast by Equal Suffrage States in 1916 at the next Presidential election. A majority of 265 only is required to elect a President, so on this computation the balance of power as far as electing the next U.S.A. President is concerned, will be in the hands of those States where women vote on equal terms with men.

The Short Cut

It is scarcely to be hoped, of course, that the Suffrage campaign will prove successful in all the twelve States concerned in 1915-16. But the above figures will show the growing importance of the woman voter in the United States, and the increased chances of success for the Federal Amendment to the Constitution, now before Congress, which in a sense a short cut for all the States to Woman Suffrage.

The *Suffragist* says:—"The problem in the Suffrage movement at the present moment is the serious one of utilising the nearly four million votes which women now possess to win the franchise for all women."

ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE

2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

President: Lady Forbes-Robertson

An excellent meeting was held in Hyde Park on Sunday, Miss Alison Neilans being listened to with close and sympathetic attention by a large crowd. Next Sunday's meeting will begin at 5 o'clock. Miss Nina Boyle has promised to speak. The stall at the White Star which has done such good work, will close on Saturday, September 19, owing to the premature conclusion of the Exhibition. Our thanks are due to the many members who did such good service there.

UNITE SUFRAGISTS

3, Adam Street, Strand, W.C.

It is quite a mistake to suppose that the public are disinclined to listen to Suffrage propaganda on account of the war. The experience of United Suffragists in South London has been all the other way. Never have such large and attentive crowds listened to U.S. speakers in South-west London as have been the case since the war broke out. Naturally the speakers show the connection between the war and the position of women; and the women in the crowd are quick to appreciate the point that much of the distress caused by the war, and the unsatisfactory way in which it is being dealt with, is the direct result of the economic and political helplessness of women.

More Speakers Wanted

More speakers are wanted for these meetings, which are held weekly as follows:

Tuesdays at 8.15: Friar Street, South-west London.

Thursdays at 8.15: Liverpool Street, Walworth Road.

Mr. Charles Gray (at 3, Adam Street) will be glad to have the names of men or women willing to speak at these meetings or courageous enough to try for the first time by taking the Chair. If sufficient speakers will send in their names it will be possible to recommence the Monday evening meetings at Heygate Street, Westminster. The speakers next Tuesday will be Miss Kitty Ennis, Miss E. Hickey, and Mr. Gray, and on Thursdays (September 24) Miss A. Somers and Mr. E. Hanson.

Join Us

We draw our readers' attention to the membership card reproduced on page 736 of this issue, and suggest that they should fill it in and despatch it at once to the Hon. Secretary, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, at 3, Adam Street. Or, if they are already members, let them see that it is filled in and despatched by some friend, man or woman. At this crisis in the nation's affairs it is essential that Suffragists, like everybody else, should present an "unbroken front." They cannot do this better than by joining U.S.

Paper Selling

Information about Paper-selling will be found on page 738.

THE AMNESTY

Letter from the Home Secretary

The following letter, sent to us for publication by Mr. Charles Chancellor, M.P., explains itself:

The Home Office,

September 8, 1914.

Dear Chancellor,—I am sorry I have not been able to reply earlier to your letter of September 1. As regards the Suffragists, as I stated in the House of Commons, all the women in prison were released and their sentences remitted. I also promised that during the war none of those released from prison on temporary discharge will be re-arrested, and if they report themselves to prison their sentences would be remitted. You will see from this that there is no real ground for irritation. In fulfilment of my promise no suffragist has been arrested, but I understand that a Mrs. Crow was detained by local police in the North of England while instructions were being obtained from a superior officer, and she was soon set free. I would point out that all risk of inconvenience would disappear if all those on temporary discharge would avail themselves of the amnesty and report themselves to their prison.

I will consider the other three points mentioned in your letter.—Yours very truly, (Signed) R. MCKENNA.

The Irish Prisoners

We learn from the *Irish Citizen* that although the amnesty for political prisoners has now been applied to the strikers in Mountjoy Prison, who have been set at liberty, the four Irish members of the W.S.P.U. who won their freedom, not through the amnesty but by means of the hunger strike, are still under orders to appear at the Winter Assizes, though Mr. Birrell hinted in the House of Commons that no further proceedings would be taken against them. The *Citizen* asks:—"Why cannot Dublin Castle be gracious and state definitely that no further proceedings will be taken instead of expressing a qualified 'hope' that such will be the case? It is the customary bureaucratic way of spoiling anything it attempts to do in the way of conciliation?"

THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY Orders Wanted to Keep Work Going

Orders for Red Cross and various other garments are needed to enable the New Constitutional Society to employ more girls at their workshop at Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge. The lack of sufficient orders prevents the employment of the maximum number of workers, which could be fifty.

MISS VIDA GOLDSTEIN

Candidate for Parliament

Miss Vida Goldstein was again the candidate for Kooyong (Victoria) in the recent elections for the Australian Federal Parliament, for the Lower House of which she unsuccessfully contested the same seat in May, 1913, polling a total of 10,000 votes. Up to the time of going to press we have received no news of the result of the Kooyong contest; but, apart from the gratitude militant Suffragists over here will always feel towards Miss Goldstein for coming to England in 1910-11 to help them by addressing meetings all over England in support of the Conciliation Bill, all Suffragists will hope that Miss Goldstein has been elected, and will feel that the women of Australia would have in her an able exponent of their point of view in Parliament.

Miss Goldstein's Programme

The five principal planks in her election programme were: (1) An equal Marriage and Divorce Law for men and women; (2) A better administration of the Maternity Allowance Act; (3) More adequate protection for deserted wives and children; (4) The appointment of a Commission to enquire into the White Slave question in Australia and to safeguard both boys and girls; (5) The extension of protection to the native women and children in Federal Territory (Papua and the New Hebrides), who are at present exploited both for commercial and immoral purposes.

Her Election Campaign

Miss Adela Pankhurst helped Miss Goldstein by speaking for her everywhere. The *Victorian* said of the election campaign that it was "a model of what politics should be. The meetings were large and enthusiastic, the candidate quiet, courageous, and gentle. She speaks for principle, explaining with perfect lucidity and honesty her political faith; she refuses to be drawn into personality or to make one promise which she cannot fulfil."

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