

The War Paper for Women

VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

VOL. VIII. (Third Series), No. 351.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1914.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free)
14d.

MAKING SCAPEGOATS OF THEIR WIVES



MR. LLOYD GEORGE: "Magnificent, your Imperial Majesty! Your action in prohibiting the sale of vodka is one of the greatest acts of national heroism ever displayed."

THE TSAR: "And what are you doing in your great country to ensure the fitness of your soldiers?"

MR. LLOYD GEORGE: "We—ahem!—we are closing the public houses to women."

(Mr. Lloyd George spoke in the highest terms in his Budget speech, last week, of the action of the Russian Government in prohibiting the sale of vodka, although it means a loss to their national revenue of tens of millions.)

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

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

U.S. GOING STRONG!

The Hon. Secretary reports that an exceptionally large number of members have joined the U.S. during the past week. A good many of these are from Bolton; we mention this as an encouragement to those local centres that have hitherto felt timorous about keeping the Suffrage flag flying during the war. We are more than ever convinced that in every district a strong body of Suffragists will be found to flock to the flag as soon as it is hauled up, if only in order to stand up for the soldier's wife and other women who are suffering through the war.

The paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN, is also steadily increasing in circulation. Altogether, the U.S. is going strong!

If you are not a member, join at once by cutting out the membership form on page 72 and posting it as instructed.

TO-DAY'S AT HOME

To London Readers

A large gathering is expected at the Eustace Miles' Restaurant, Chandos Street, W.C., to-day (Friday) at 8.30, to hear Miss Beatrice Harraden speak and meet the Committee and friends, so readers are advised to apply beforehand, if possible, to the Ticket Secretary, at 3, Adam Street, for tickets (price 6d., including tea and coffee), or, if members of U.S., for invitations. Tickets can be obtained also at the door.

THE CHRISTMAS SALE

December 4: 3-11 p.m.

Only a week remains before our Christmas Sale takes place at the Eustace Miles' Restaurant, the proceeds of which are to be devoted to the upkeep of the Women's Club. Will everyone who has promised or will send contributions to the various stalls kindly do so at once, addressing them to Miss Brewster at the U.S. offices?

Miss Brewster sends the following report:— In addition to the other societies already announced, the Hampstead W.S.P.U. are taking a stall at the Sale. I have to acknowledge gifts and promises from the following:—

Farm Produce (Mrs. Harben and Miss Walford): Mrs. Aldred, Mrs. Brocklehurst, Mrs. Backhouse, Miss Chichester, Mrs. Dyne, Mrs. Fleming, Mrs. Foster, Miss Forster, Miss Green, Miss Lambert, Mrs. Merriman, Mrs. St. John, Mrs. Turner, Mrs. Walford, Miss E. Walford.

General (Mrs. Drinkwater and Amersham branch): Lady Busk, Mrs. McCall, Mrs. Moorby, Mrs. Watson, Mrs. Chester, Miss Firbank, Miss Clark, Miss Papworth, Miss Mould, Mrs. Rainger.

Miss Thornycroft, Miss Bowerly, and Mr. J. B. Manson have sent beautiful original sketches for sale.

Books (Miss Craies and Mrs. Cancellor): G. Colmore, Beatrice Harraden, Violet Hunt, Ford Madox Hueffer, Mrs. Meynell, Francis Meynell, E. V. Norman, Peggy Webling.

Toys (Miss Postlethwaite): Miss E. Hobhouse, Miss Morrison, Mrs. Manson, and Miss E. Postlethwaite (5s.).

Miss Gertrude Peppercorn, the well-known pianist and a Vice-President of the U.S., has kindly undertaken a Cake Stall, and will gladly receive contributions, to be sent the day before (December 3) to the U.S. offices.

Admission to the Sale, from 3 to 5 p.m., 1s.; after 5, 6d. Miss Cissie Loftus will open the Sale, so come early!

Entertainments

In addition to the entertainments given by the Actresses' Franchise League, we have been fortunate enough to secure the proffered services of Professor Tudor Davies, N.Y.J.S., the well-known palmist and phrenologist. Members and friends are advised not to lose this chance of consulting Professor Davies, whose skill, as

shown by his many testimonials, is undoubted. Professor Davies will be at the sale all day, so no one need miss the opportunity of seeking his advice.

THE WOMEN'S CLUB

92, Borough Road, Southwark, S.E.

We give an impression on page 69 of the informal opening of the U.S. Women's Club last Saturday, which was a huge success, twenty-six women becoming members at once at a subscription of one penny per month. Our very warm gratitude is due to all friends who helped us, and especially to Mr. Downing, who gave all the linoleum, supplied some furniture at cost price, and lent us chairs for the opening day; Miss Cook, who made curtains and gave spoons, ornaments, kitchen cloths, crockery, four cushions; and Mr. McKinlay, who gave a great deal of time to the decorations, stove and gas fixtures, &c. The following are also warmly thanked for gifts:—Messrs. Cadbury, 71b cocoa; Mrs. McCall, armchair; Lady Meyer, piano and hothouse flowers; Mrs. Ayrton Gould, vases, tea service and spoons, books, cosy corner with fittings; also to Mrs. and Miss Deane, Miss Young, Miss Reid, Miss Waterson, Mrs. Parkyn, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Miss Hickey, and others too numerous to mention.

Madame Mallia's songs, accompanied by Miss Mallia, were received with the enthusiastic applause they so richly deserved, and so were the pianoforte solos of Miss Hilda Saxe, who, by the way, has also very generously promised to arrange an entertainment one evening a week. There will also be a weekly Suffrage meeting with discussion, and on Saturday evenings dancing for the younger members.

Wanted! (1) A Gramophone; (2) Gifts of Food (tea, coffee, cocoa, bread, butter, dripping, cakes, meat pies, eggs).

AMERSHAM U.S.

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Drinkwater, Fieldtop, Amersham
Mrs. Franck Colenso gave a cordial welcome to the Amersham United Suffragists and their friends last Saturday, when Miss Irma Colenso sang, Mrs. Fox Strangways recited, and Miss Sylvia Colenso gave a pianoforte solo. Mrs. Agnes Harben announced the prize-winners in the Gift competition: Mrs. Brothers (child's frock), Miss Edgeworth (child's overall), Mrs. Northwood (working apron), Mrs. Murphy (fancy apron). Mrs. Harben then made a fine speech, dwelling on the work being done by women at the front, and on the need in these sad times for women to meet and cheer one another up; her words were warmly applauded and there were many "Antis" present. Mrs. Drinkwater thanks all helpers and generous supporters, especially the Gifts Committee (Mrs. Exell, Mrs. Weaver, and Mrs. Francks).

Competition Results

Bean Counting: Mrs. Ansell (guessed 1,020 out of 1,023).

Drawing of a Horse: 1st, Miss Molly Harben; 2nd, Miss Ichbel Macdonald.

Cake: Mrs. Murphy. Cakes were given by Mrs. Jackson, Mrs. Tyrrell, Mrs. Exell, Miss Mager, Mrs. Taylor, Mrs. Freestone, Mrs. Murphy, Mrs. Francks, Mrs. Weaver, and Mrs. Pryll.

Those who kindly gave prizes were Miss K. Williams, Miss K. M. Leighton, Mrs. B. Francks, Mrs. Watt, Mrs. Pearson, Mrs. C. Drinkwater.

Mrs. Hutt has promised a tablecloth and Miss Fox Strangways three small frocks for the General Stall on December 4.

(We regret that want of space compels us to hold over until next week an interesting report from the Bolton U.S.)

HELP U.S. TO SAVE THE CHILD!

"The Hand that Rocks the Cradle Should Help to Rule the World"

An important meeting will be held by the United Suffragists in the Caxton Hall on Thurs-

day, December 10, at 8 p.m., to show the connection between the Child and the European War, and between the Child and that Greater War at home that always goes on, whether we are at war or peace. The speakers will include Mr. Gerald Gould, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mr. Henry W. Nevinson, and others to be announced next week. Admission will be free, some seats being reserved at 1s. Apply for these to the U.S. Ticket Secretary.

WOMEN'S CLUB FUND

(Donations received up to November 19th, 1914)

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	18	0	3
A Friend, per Miss L. M. Rorison	5	0	0
Miss S. Bergman	0	5	0
Miss Burke, per Miss Hickey	0	10	0
Hon. Audrey and Phillis Coleridge	1	0	0
Miss F. Dale	0	2	0
Mrs. Douglas	5	0	0
E. R.	0	5	0
Miss E. Hickey	5	0	0
Miss M. Hill	0	10	0
Miss Jones	0	2	0
Miss G. Lees	0	4	0
Mrs. G. E. Macpherson	1	0	0
Mrs. K. E. Masters	1	0	0
Mrs. G. A. Napier	0	10	0
Miss Napier, per Miss Hickey	0	1	0
Miss Osborne	0	2	6
Miss H. Putz	0	1	0
Miss Raybold	0	5	0
Six Civil Servants	0	12	0
Per Miss Upham	0	2	6
Miss E. C. Walford	2	0	0
Miss R. T. Wells	0	2	6
Miss E. White	0	4	0
Mrs. E. Williams	0	5	0
Miss G. Williams	0	5	0
Miss A. I. Wilson	0	2	6
	£42	11	3

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(as sketch), in good quality Velveteen, designed with full tunic, and shaped yoke; the underskirt is made to allow ample room for walking and edged with a band of skunk opossum.

69/6

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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

One of the most remarkable, if not the most showy, of the Parliamentary incidents of the past week, has been Mr. Henderson's proposal, and Mr. Lloyd George's sympathetic reception of it, that a direct tax should be imposed on wages. It concerns us as suffragists because, when Mr. Lloyd George remarked that it was only in such an atmosphere as the present, with all parties at peace with one another, that such a scheme could be carried through, he was asking for a Woman Suffrage Bill. No one will pretend that, before the war caused the Tory lion to lie down with the Labour lamb, a majority could have been found in the House for a tax on wages to compare with the majority obtained two years running by the Conciliation Bill. If, therefore, the more contentious measure of the two stands a good chance of success in the present sublime atmosphere of the House, a Suffrage Bill, as we have always maintained, would get through without any difficulty at all.

A Tragic Waste of Opportunity

This is doubtless the fear in Mr. Asquith's mind. He said in the House, last week, in respect of the Plural Voting Bill, that he could not make any statement at present with regard to contentious business; and last Monday, in respect of redistribution, that "this is not a proper time for dealing with this or any other matter of domestic policy." What he means is quite clear. He does not intend that Woman Suffrage shall be dealt with when the House is at peace and the country is at war, any more than he allowed it to be dealt with when the country was at peace and the House was at war. By putting a veto upon both contentious and domestic legislation, he has safely covered all the ground on which a Suffrage Bill could be advanced. But do the men of the country realise that all electoral reform is thus being held up; and are they content that the unprecedented peace in the House should be used only for the propagation of war on the Continent? Is not this a tragic waste of opportunity?

"Women, the Country Doesn't Need You!"

Women as well as opportunity are being wasted at the present moment, as a consequence of the Government's refusal to recognise their proper status. Mr. McKenna stated in the House last Friday that his reason for deferring the operation of the Criminal Justice Administration Bill was "partly the pressure of other work in the Home Office, and partly the depletion of the offices of the clerks to the justices owing to the war." Everybody knows that the War Office advances similar reasons for its inability to grapple with the requirements of recruits and their wives; every one of our readers has probably suffered from the depletion of the Postal Departments, also owing to the war. Yet the day before Mr. McKenna made his announcement, a Government Subcommittee was appointed for dealing with unemployment in the professional classes, a large

proportion of which is among competent women clerks, accountants, and secretaries. We leave our readers to draw the inference, and merely ask them whether they really find it easy to respect a Government that would sooner employ a Boy Scout any day than a trained professional woman.

The Pensions Committee

Party interests alone have been consulted in the appointment of the Select Committee that is dealing with the whole question of allowances to be paid to the wives and widows of soldiers. Both Front Benches are represented, so that praise or blame for the findings of the Committee will be divided equally among all parties in the House, and will therefore hurt or profit no one at the next election. No woman is represented, because, of course, it does not matter what voteless women think, since, whether they starve or thrive on the allowances finally determined upon, they have no votes to cast for or against those who thus hold their whole future subsistence, and that of their children, in their hands. Mr. McKenna's name alone is enough to prove that the interests of the women were not given a moment's consideration when the Committee was selected.

The Scandal Goes On

Yet it is high time steps were taken to put an end to the present muddle. The administration of the allowances, says the *Times*, "needs inquiry quite as much as the scale." It is difficult to select when cases of flagrant maladministration of the separation allowance confront one on every side, but the following extract from a letter in the Press, from the Mayor of Reigate, is fairly typical of what is now a universal scandal:—

I would like to ask Mr. Baker if he is aware that at one of the camps just over a week ago a sergeant and several other men deserted their regiments because their wives had received no money since enlistment, and in one case the arrears were as long over due as ten weeks? In another case the wife of a man who had thrown up a permanent situation, where his wages were 35s. per week, has been receiving 12s. 1d. per week instead of 15s. Upon the paymaster's attention being called to the inaccuracy he promptly reduced the next week's payment to 9s. 9d. . . . The slump in recruiting is not at all surprising. It is really a wonder that there is any recruiting at all.

Men, Women and Drink

As our cartoonist cleverly shows this week, the authorities are still making scapegoats of the soldiers' wives in order to spare the pockets of the brewers and the susceptibilities of likely recruits. The order to place them under police supervision has not been withdrawn; more districts are proposing to exclude women from public-houses during certain hours, or have already done so, and a general impression is being given that soldiers' wives are drunken sluts. No country would dare thus to persecute its women and let the men go free, unless the women were in a state of political helplessness. The injustice of it is accentuated by the admitted increase of drunkenness among the soldiers of our new armies, which has provoked a spirited appeal in the Press from Lord Kitchener's sister for an Albert Hall Demon-

TO LONDON MEMBERS.
Come and Hear
MISS BEATRICE HARRADEN
AT
TO-DAY'S AT HOME (Friday),
in the
EUSTACE MILES RESTAURANT
(CHANDOS STREET, W.C.),
At 8.30 p.m.

(For particulars see opposite page.)

stration and restrictions on the sale of intoxicants similar to those adopted in France and Russia. We have no blame in our hearts either for men or women at this trying time. But we do insist on justice being done to both equally.

The Child and the War

Two specially poignant instances of the sufferings of children through the war have occurred this week. One is contained in a communication from Captain Lucey to the Commission for Relief in Belgium, narrating the famished state of the children in Malines, who "tear the bread from the German soldiers' hands," who, however, are ready enough to divide it with them. The other occurs in the published statement that in the next few months some 8,000 little Belgian babies will be born within our shores. What sort of a nervous heritage these children will carry with them through life can be gathered from an account given by a correspondent to the *Daily Citizen*, who relates that when a clock fell down in the night at a house in Huddersfield which was sheltering twenty refugees, most of them women, the air was filled with their screams and cries, for they thought the horrors of war were once more upon them.

A "Free" People

Sir John Simon, at a recent recruiting meeting, said that the Germans had developed the philosophy that nothing mattered except in proportion as it was backed by physical force, but they had discovered there was something far more destructive than physical force, and that was the courage and determination of a free people. We believe with Sir John Simon in the superiority of moral over physical force, and in its identification with freedom; but if he really means what he says, why does he not urge the Government, instead of adjourning this week, to remain in Session long enough to make this country into a free nation? We need not particularise further.

Items of Interest

In the recent U.S.A. elections Arizona's first woman State Senator was elected in Mrs. Frances Munda, who headed the Democratic poll and defeated the Republican candidate by 600 votes.

Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, our United States correspondent, now confirms in a cablegram the news that Woman Suffrage has been won in Montana and Nevada, and lost in the other States where it was voted on.

While others deplore drinking among the troops, the Actresses' Franchise League has got to work, and a first-rate entertainment is being provided nightly by them at Aldershot and Colchester.

The Blackburn Women's Labour League and the Women Writers' Suffrage League have passed resolutions calling upon the War Office to withdraw its proposal to place soldiers' wives under police supervision; and the Women's Local Government Society have carried a motion thanking Mr. Henderson, M.P., for opposing the proposal in the House of Commons.

Great indignation has been roused among prominent citizens of High Wycombe at the recent action of the Governors of Wycombe High School (reported in VOTES FOR WOMEN) in refusing to award a scholarship to a German girl who had fairly won it. The Board of Education has been appealed to.

The majority of the victims in the recent bombardment of Libau, says Reuter, were women. Yet women, cry the Antis, have no concern with war.

In a book published by the Women's Industrial Council, it is stated from figures compiled from the census that there are 180,000 British girl workers under fifteen.

Subscriptions to the paper should be sent to The Publisher, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

The terms are, post free, 6s. 6d. annual subscription, 3s. 3d. for six months inside the United Kingdom, 8s. 8d. (2dols. 25cents) and 4s. 4d. (1dol. 15cents) abroad, payable in advance.

The paper can be obtained from all newsagents and bookstalls. In New York, at Brentano's; Messrs. Thacker, Spink, and Co., Calcutta; and at Handel House, Ltd., Eloff Street, Johannesburg.

For quotations for Advertisements, apply to the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

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Mrs. Pankhurst

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Telegraphic Address:—Votfowom. Fleet. London. Telephone:—Holborn 5880 (2 lines).

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1914.

"ANIMATED IMPLEMENTS"

Last Saturday another of the innumerable mushroom societies that have sprung up during the war issued its manifesto. The society calls itself "The Central Committee for National Patriotic Organisations," and its queerly written document says that the object is to instruct public opinion and neutral countries as to the justice of the British cause. It is signed by a queerly assorted group of names, including Lord Rosebery, Mr. H. C. Cust, and Mr. Waldorf Astor, with Mr. Asquith as President. We have nothing here to do with the society's object, nor with any of the signatories but one. For the moment, the manifesto interests us only because it is signed by the Prime Minister and illustrates his idea of political freedom.

The document to which he gives his name begins by maintaining the British cause to be "doubly a righteous and a just one, because we fight not only in defence of our existence and freedom, but for the right of small nations to enjoy the same freedom; and for civilisation and democracy, as we understand them." We need not discuss the language of that sentence, nor the meaning of its other statements. We limit ourselves to the final phrase, "civilisation and democracy, as we understand them," and especially to the word "democracy."

Mr. Asquith was once a scholar, and he retains a respect for scholarship. At all events, only a few years ago he made a speech at Oxford, in which he deplored the decline of Greek learning, and poured a rather superior scorn upon the poor advertisers who misuse Greek or mix up Greek and Latin when trying to invent attractive names for their wares. So, when he uses Greek words himself, we may without pedantry hold him to their meaning, and it requires no depth of Greek learning to know that the word "democracy" means "government by the people." It is quite true that the Greeks did not include the multitude of slaves under their word for the people, nor in matters of government did they include women. But Mr. Asquith is not an advocate of slavery. He would hardly describe a great slave state as a democracy. On the question of slavery, he has got beyond the Greek philosopher who described slaves as "animated implements." On the question of women, he has made no such advance. He still excludes them from the democracy—that is, from a position as part of "the people." So far as government by the people is concerned, he leaves them on the level of the "animated implements" still.

When, therefore, the Prime Minister puts his

name to a document which says that the British nation is now fighting for "democracy as we understand it," we reply that we may be fighting for justice and freedom or what you will, but we are not fighting for democracy as we members of the British nation understand it, because there is no such thing. We are not such fools, or such bad scholars, as to talk about democracy, that is to say, government by the people, when rather more than half of the people are as carefully excluded from all voice in the government as the multitude of slaves were in old times. Mr. Asquith may be right in telling us that the British nation is fighting for democracy as he understands it. It may be fighting for a government of the people by the men of the people—the government of the majority of the people by the minority. We only say that he has no right to call that kind of government a democracy, or government of the people by themselves. He should find some other word. Mr. J. A. Hobson once suggested "androcacy," or government by males, and that word is now coming into general use. It does well enough. At all events, it exactly expresses "democracy" as Mr. Asquith and his gang of Anti-Suffragists understand it.

The Prime Minister's manifesto goes on to speak of "this great driving-power of public opinion, which must not be left to shift and vary as temperament and the changing fortunes of war may dictate." It extols "the task of informing and fortifying this greatest of all national assets—public opinion." Those are tremendous and stupendous words. They nearly overwhelm us with solemn awe. But recovering our composure, we would simply ask, What is public opinion? Does it mean the opinion of men only? Is it limited to males, like Mr. Asquith's "democracy"? If so, the Prime Minister's portentous language need not concern women at all. They can let it slide over them. But if women are included in the public that makes up public opinion, and if public opinion is the greatest of all national assets, as Mr. Asquith's manifesto solemnly assures us, why, in the name of decency and reason, does Mr. Asquith debar women from expressing their opinion in the only free and democratic and constitutional manner by an equal franchise at elections? Why does he deprive his country of half of "the greatest of all national assets"?

The truth of the matter peeps out in the manifesto's last paragraph. "We," it begins, that is to say, Mr. Asquith and the others, "We therefore appeal to men and women of good will . . . to make possible the fullest development of its (the Central Committee's) work by contributing according to their means." There you have it! From democracy, as Mr. Asquith understands it, all women are expressly excluded. Whether they are to be counted among the public of public opinion is left doubtful. But when it comes to contribution, of money, there is no doubt at all. In they go! Voluntary contributions, income-tax, super-tax, threepence on the pound for tea—women are summoned to pay them all. They are never excluded from the "demos," the people, or the public when the piper has to be paid. It is only when the tune is called that they are gagged.

WANTED: A COMET

By T. O'Meara

Some years ago Mr. H. G. Wells wrote an astonishingly brilliant and thoughtful book entitled, "In the Days of the Comet." Everyone, I suppose, remembers the plot—the sudden anaesthetising of the world for a few brief hours by a chance encounter with a comet's tail, to wake in all essentials the same but for one important point—the substitution of clear humane common sense for the muddle of wrong-headed emotions by which we are moved at present.

Amongst other proceedings interrupted by this heavenly visitor was a war between England, France, and Germany, described by Mr. Wells as follows:—

Here were we British, forty-one millions of people, in a state of almost incredibly aimless, economic, and moral muddle . . . and here were the Germans, over against us, fifty-six millions, in a state of confusion no whit better than our own; and the noisy little creatures who directed papers and wrote books and gave lectures, and generally in that time of world dementia pretended to be the national mind, were busy in both countries . . . exhorting the two peoples to divert such small common store of moral, material, and intellectual energy as either possessed into the purely destructive and wasteful business of war. . . . And there was not a man alive who could have told you of any real permanent benefit, or anything whatever to counterbalance the obvious waste and evil that would result from a war between England and Germany, whether England shattered Germany, or was smashed and overwhelmed, or whatever the end might be.

The Change

The change comes; the rival armies, crouching prepared for battle, sleep suddenly, and when they wake—

It had come to each man, individually, that he could not shoot. . . . They did not fall into ranks again, but sat by the roadside, or stood in groups, discussing with a novel incredulity the ostensible cause of the war. "The Emperor!" said they. "Oh, nonsense! We're civilised men! Get someone else for this job—where's the coffee?"

And now hear the Prime Minister describing (after the Change) the events which led up to the war:—

"Has it ever occurred to you to imagine the pettiness of every soul concerned in a declaration of war? . . . An undersized Oxford prig, with a tenoring voice and a garb of Greek . . . I was watching him all the time, thinking what an ass he was to be trusted with men's lives. . . . The damned little imbecile was up to his neck in the drama of the thing, he liked to trumpet it out. . . . 'Then it is war,' he said. . . . What a lot we were!

The Beginning of the World

So amazingly prophetic is this book, that when I see, tucked away in a corner of the paper, the news that a new comet is rapidly approaching the earth, I am conscious of a faint wonder as to just how far the prophecy will go. But, alas! I fear we shall have to do the job ourselves; slowly, and with incredible effort, we must work out our own Change, until the whole stupefied, bewildered world shall wake, not all at once, but in little eager groups here and there, to look back upon our present doings with a kind of ludicrous pitiful horror. It is the first and foremost work of the woman's movement to hasten that Change; you might call us, poetically, the Comet's Tail; a wonderful unprecedented phenomenon, of which men at first are very frightened—and when it sweeps upon them they think the end of the world has come. But it is only the beginning of the world. And never let us be drawn from this set

purpose of ours by any glamour of the Great Illusion. The war is upon us, we must all do what we can to relieve the distress and misery and confusion it has caused and is causing; but never let us think or say or dream that war is a good thing, or anything but a beastly and detestable thing, unworthy of a civilised world. Let us beware the infection of crowd-fever; let us remember that we are all now very much ashamed of Mafeking night! We can do so much if only, when all the grown-up schoolboys run to play at soldiers, one imitating the other, we can show them that we think it is a very silly game, and they ought to be old enough to

know better. The only excuse for the present war is, paradoxically, that it is a war against war. If it scotches or kills that hydra-monster, it may conceivably be justified—not otherwise. But it is no child's game, no new fashion or new craze—it is a stern and sickening reality. Woe to the vanquished; and woe to the victor also, with an enfeebled future generation, all the best blood gone, and a price to pay which at present we dare not contemplate.

It is for us to teach an excited, panic-stricken Europe the true patriotism, which leads towards life, not death; towards wealth, not Ruskin's "illth."

OUR WOMEN'S CLUB

The Opening Day

"The neighbourhood is in raptures about it," said one of the early arrivals, when we flung open the doors of the U.S. Women's Club for the first time last Saturday afternoon. It was a proud, if slightly anxious moment for the Committee. We dispersed ourselves about the different rooms, and tried hard not to look like a Committee. We hoped nobody would guess from our appearance that up till the last moment we had been sweeping chips of linoleum, and shavings, and nails and curtain rings into corners, where, with luck, they would remain hidden from our guests. We hoped above everything that the Club looked like a club, and not like a philanthropic institution, and that our guests would see us as friends, and not as interlopers. And they did. They put us at our ease immediately, as only real gentlefolk can.

Like a West End Club

"What I like about it," said one of our guests—we opened with a tea party—"is that it's just like a West End gentlemen's club."

Then we knew we were all right. I do not know if West End gentlemen's clubs really have white painted doors and beautiful wall-paper with bunches of pink roses all over it, and blue plush curtains, and red rugs, and padded basket-chairs, and upholstered inglenooks, and a baby's bottle (this, I admit, was an incident that nobody ever explained, but it made us all feel at home), and brand-new gas cooking-stoves, and purple, white, and orange flags, and copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN—but our Club is like that; and the lady who drew the comparison gave us exactly the assurance we needed—that we did not look like a charitable venture tempered with instruction. There is going to be no instruction in our Club unless the members demand it. They have already demanded dancing lessons on Saturday evening, and they are going to have them. Another enterprising spirit also suggested an "outing" as a good idea, but after discussion it was agreed that, as we had only just come into the Club, it was a little early to talk about getting out of it, especially in the north-east wind now prevailing. I think, however, we are going to have a book for "Suggestions," so that the Club shall be run for the members, and not the members for the Club.

King Charles's Head

Upstairs in the drawing-room, where a writing-table, a piano, and a table covered with magazines promise recreation for tired housewives in the future, we assembled in full force

on Saturday afternoon, babies and all, and were admirably entertained. Miss Hilda Saxe played glorious things on the piano that amazed and charmed us all at once; and Madame Mallia sang "Sleep, Baby, Sleep" so beautifully that the babies would have thought it most ill-advised to take her at her word; and H. W. Nevinson put up a map on the wall and told us about the war, and the soldiers, and the shells, and the life in the trenches, with all the little intimate details that the women were hungering for, and ended up with a great peroration about women's right to have a voice in the decisions of peace and war that was unanimously applauded.

Bringing It Home

And when he asked for questions, a fine old dame said: "And do you think it is fair that I should have to pay another threepence for my cup of tea?" He did not think it fair. He further agreed warmly when the soldiers' wives present protested angrily against being considered as drunkards.

There was a great crowd of women there, but scarcely one of them who had not a relative at the front or in the camps here. In many cases they had not heard a word from their man since he left home in August. A very human touch was contributed by a poor, sad mother of eight children, who was brought by a friend to be cheered up, because her husband had just enlisted in Ireland.

What She Minded Most

"I didn't mind so much at first," she told me, "but when all his clothes came home to me to-day, it fairly got me! There they all were, looking so like him—his coat and his weskit, and his blue tie—it made me cry, it did. It's worse than a death, that's what I say, because you never know in this war what's happening to 'em."

That is the kind of woman whom we hope to make a little happier through our Club in this tragic winter of 1914, that is going to be such a sad one for us women, and such a time of suffering for both men and women. E. S.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Drift and Mastery. An Attempt to Diagnose the Present Unrest." By Walter Lippman. (London: Fisher Unwin. Price 5s. net.) "Nietzsche." By J. M. Kennedy. (London: Werner Laurie. Price 1s. net.) "The Soldiers' English-French Conversation Book." Compiled by Walter M. Gallichan. (London: Werner Laurie. Price 7d. net.) "The Poor and their Rights. How to Obtain Them under Existing Legislation." By J. Theodore Dodd, M.A., J.P. (London: P. S. King. Price 6d. net.) "Our Outlook as Changed by the War." By Alice Gardner. (Cambridge: Heffer and Sons. Price 2d. net.)

CORRESPONDENCE

THE PENSIONS COMMITTEE

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—On the Select Committee which has been appointed to deal with the question of pensions to disabled soldiers and to widows, orphans, and other soldiers' dependants, every political party has been represented; but the women and children, who will form the majority of those whom the decisions of the Committee will affect, have been left out. This is a very grave omission, for the advice of women would have been most important in settling both the larger principles and smaller details of this most vital and important question. Surely it would be possible to place on the Select Committee two women, one who would be representative of the officers' wives, and the other who would be able to speak for the working women, who will form the vast majority of those to be pensioned, just as their husbands form the vast majority of the Army.

It is also most important that the Select Committee, in taking the evidence on which it will base its decisions, shall receive evidence from working women, who will be mainly affected by the result of what the Committee decides.—Yours, &c.,
E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

WOMAN IN THE HOME

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—Mr. Asquith has fairly done it now. Speaking in the House of Commons yesterday (November 18), he said: "They must have regard to the fact that a considerable number of these young widows had been in the habit of working, and would naturally continue to work, to gain their own livelihood; and if they were going to adopt the expedient of putting them all in a position in which they need not work at all, he thought it would be a very bad thing for them and for the community." Bravo! Mr. Asquith. Exactly what we have been preaching for years; but what price the sheltered sex? What price "woman's place in the home"? I seem to remember that, last year, a famous firm of universal providers exhibited a number of bathing tents for sale, with the alluring inscription, "Up in a Minute; Down in a Minute!"

This appears to sum up our position in the ever-varying mind of Mr. Asquith.—Yours, &c.,
T. O'MEARA.

DO WOMEN DRINK MORE THAN MEN?

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—In view of the Metropolitan order forbidding the sale of alcohol to women before 11.30 a.m., it may be of interest to your readers to know the proportion of women to men who are convicted for drunkenness. The latest returns available for England and Wales are for 1912, and are as follows:—

Males: Drunkenness (simple).....	7,942
Women: Drunkenness (simple).....	2,027
Males: Drunkenness (with aggravations)...	32,191
Women: Drunkenness (with aggravations)...	13,030

Taking into consideration the fact that there is an excess of the female population over that of the male, the difference in the figures becomes even more significant.

The now famous General von Bernhardi shows remarkable mental ingenuity in getting out of a difficulty. In his "Right to Make War" he quotes Christ's command, "Thou shalt love thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself," and comments on it thus: "This law can claim no significance for the relation of one country to another, since its application to politics would lead to a conflict of duties." In connection with the question under discussion, one is tempted to parody this piece of sophistry. Read "This law (the same law for men and women) can claim no significance as applied between men and women, since its application would deprive the brewer of too large an amount of his revenue.—Yours, &c.,
KATHLENE DOUGLAS SMITH.

26, Erskine Hill, N.W.

THE WAR AND THE PEOPLE

The Lambeth Egg

Mr. Herbert Samuel, in answer to questions in the House last Monday, disclaimed all responsibility for the Local Government Board in the matter of the Christmas egg for Lambeth Poor Law Children, and stated that the Guardians were going at their next meeting to reconsider their recent decision. We hope questions will also be asked with reference

to the action of the Yarmouth Poor Law Guardians, who propose to move a resolution at the coming annual meeting of the Association of Poor Law Unions suggesting that the Local Government Board should be approached with a view to decreasing the dietary of the Poor Law Unions for the purpose of exercising greater economy on account of the war. The average cost of feeding one of the poor inmates of these Unions is 4s. 6d. a week. If the European war is to be made an excuse for lowering this minimum yet further, it is indeed time that this country were demoralised and that the votes of those men who hate this kind of inhumanity at home as much as we do, were strengthened by the votes of the women.

Women and Public-Houses

It is indeed a relief to read in the *Daily Citizen* that in Hereford considerable indignation has been roused by a police handbill warning innkeepers that women had been drinking more than usual since the beginning of war, and the hours would have to be restricted. "The accusation," adds the *Citizen*, "is generally felt to be entirely unjustified."

We wish that the inhabitants of other districts where this shamefully one-sided order has been enforced would show a similar indignation. The insulting remarks of Dr. Wynn Westcott, the Hackney coroner, on the subject of drinking among the East End women deserved a condemnation they do not seem to have received, according to the report in the *News of the World*. Another instance of the unfairness now being shown to women is given in the following extract from an interview in the *Manchester Guardian* with a policewoman: "Another time she helped a heartbroken mother to take a drunken son in khaki home, and heard her bitter complaint that, while the magistrate had given a woman neighbour a fortnight for being drunk, he would not even reprimand the youth, who got drunk nearly every night."

A Timely Champion

Mr. Thomas Holmes writes a welcome letter from the Howard Association to the *Daily Chronicle* of last Wednesday, "to break a lance" for the soldiers' wives, "by publicly resenting on their behalf the many imputations that are cast upon their sobriety and honour." He also says—and his wide experience gives him authority—"Personally, I do not believe there is any truth" in the assurances that drunkenness among women is increasing.

WOMEN'S WAR ON WAR

MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE AT BOSTON

(From a Correspondent)

Mr. W. Harris Crook, who is known to many of our readers as founder of the Oxford Men's Political Union, and is now at Harvard University, sends us the following interesting account:—

On Sunday, November 8, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence spoke in a mass meeting of New England Suffragists at the Tremont Theatre, Boston, U.S.A. In a speech of characteristic power and effect she outlined her hopes for a world-wide woman's crusade against war, with a special appeal to the women of the United States to lead the way. National exhaustion and bankruptcy would, she believed, eventually draw the humanity of Europe and Asia out of the vampire grip of war, but if the governments of Europe which are now at war were permitted to negotiate the terms of the peace which will then come, then that peace will be simply a period of preparation for another war, more vast, more outrageous than the present one. Women's point of view on war has never been expressed. Go to the motherhood of each nation and find what it really thinks! Women the world over are against war fundamentally; it is an outrage upon motherhood, for it calls men to death in the order of their fitness, and leaves the maimed and the unfit to carry on the life of the world.

Secret treaties, she also said, must be abolished, and every treaty must be ratified by the whole of each democracy, by women as well as men. Armaments must be nationalised as far as production is concerned, and export of such products prohibited. Means must be found whereby territory may be obtained or exchanged without recourse to international murder. No territory shall be exchanged or acquired without the full consent of its inhabitant peoples, male and female; and a system must be evolved whereby the majority of nations shall stand at the back of any nation threatened with extinction by any greater or more powerful country. Last, and most vital of all, no permanent peace will ever be won unless and until the voice of the mother can be heard in the councils alike of the nation and also in the international councils, such as the Hague or its successors. Did but the American women give a strong and bold lead, Mrs.

Pethick Lawrence was certain that the English, French, yes, and even the German, women would follow.

The theatre was crowded out; and there seemed, from the reception given to Mrs. Lawrence's speech, every hope of a new and powerful movement being set on foot at once on this side of the water.

W. Harris Crook.

WOMEN'S PEACE MISSION

The International Women's Peace Movement, which Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has gone to America to support, has for one of its objectives an immediate appeal to the women of the neutral nations in Europe. This manifesto was drawn up and then approved at the mass meeting in the Carnegie Hall, New York, addressed by Mrs. Lawrence on October 30. The following passages from it will interest our readers:—

"In the cataclysm which has overtaken Europe we are seeing the shifting of heavy economic burdens from the shoulders of men to those of women.

Toil is the woman's war toll. In the cataclysm which overshadows civilisation the chief sufferers are children. Terrified, weary, and unfed, harried they know not why, they are driven they know not whither. In every battle zone the cry of children goes up to women.

To the women of neutral nations we turn with confidence, and appeal to them to embrace with enthusiasm the realisable ideal that humanity can devise an arbitrator other than that of battle to compose the differences between nations. Because of the burden laid on women in time of war, because of the sufferings of children, because of the breakdown of the guardianship of civilisation by men, we urge women to redouble their efforts to overcome the arrogant assumption that men alone are equipped to rule the world.

"And we appeal to women to urge on neutral governments the calling together of official representatives, men and women, to discuss and lay the foundations of a permanent international commission, with an international police to enforce its decrees."

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Admission:—Before 5, 1s.; after 5, 6d.

Proceeds to be devoted to the U.S. Women's Club, Southwark.

(UNITED SUFFRAGISTS, 3, ADAM STREET, STRAND, LONDON, W.C.)

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Assault on a Wife

The *Morning Advertiser* (November 3) reports case of a French polisher charged at Old Street Police Court before Mr. Wilberforce with assaulting his wife because his supper was cold. He struck her violently and forced her to run into the street for escape, though she was undressed. The week before he had broken two of her fingers in a row over his supper.

Sentence: Three months' hard labour.

Cruelty to a Horse

The *Derbyshire Times* (November 7) reports case of two showmen charged before the Chesterfield County magistrates with grossly ill-treating a horse by beating it and driving it in an unfit condition. When it could pull the van no longer it was taken out and made to run behind, where it soon after collapsed and died.

Sentence: Fined £2 and £1 respectively, with costs.

KEEPING THE FLAG FLYING

The Manchester Men's League for Women's Suffrage are keeping the Suffrage flag flying in spite of the war, and last Friday, on the occasion of the great recruiting meeting in the Free Trade Hall, they pointed the moral of the war by distributing an admirable little pamphlet urging readers to remember that "the worst horrors of war fall upon the women, as Belgium knows well, and that women have not been consulted about it in any way."

"You claim to be fighting for freedom," it continues; "well, 'They are slaves most base Whose love of Right is for themselves And not for all the race.' We hope that the many brave men who enlisted as a result of the Manchester meeting took this message to heart and resolved that on their return from the European War they would join in the greater war waged by the women and take the first step in it by granting women the vote with which to win that war."

HEAVY SENTENCES

Poaching

The *Derbyshire Times* (November 7) reports case of a labourer charged at the Derbyshire Assizes before Mr. Justice Avory with being on certain land armed with a stick for the purpose of taking rabbits. The keeper said he also assaulted him; the defendant denied this, and said the keeper knocked him senseless.

Sentence: Fifteen months' hard labour.

Theft

The *Morning Advertiser* (November 17) reports case of a tailor, a labourer, and a hawker, charged at the Central Criminal Court before the Recorder with stealing eighteen skirts to the total value of £2 4s. There were previous convictions against all three.

Sentence: Four years' penal servitude in each case.

COMING EVENTS

"The Reality of the Unseen and the Power of Recognising It" will be the sermon for Sunday, November 29, at the Æolian Hall, where the Rev. John Hunter, D.D., is delivering a series. The service commences at 11 a.m.

The New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage will hold a Christmas Sale at the Knightsbridge Hotel, on Tuesday, December 1. Tea, 1s.

Mrs. Mansell Moullin will be "at home" to members and friends of the Forward Cynric Suffrage Union, at 69, Wimpole Street, on Wednesday, December 2, from 4.30 to 7 p.m. Members of other Suffrage Societies are also invited to apply to the above address for invitations.

The Women's Freedom League will hold a meeting at the Suffrage Club, York Street, on Wednesday, December 2. Speakers: Mr. H. Baillie Weaver on "The Legal Position of Women" and Miss Constance Andrew on "The Fruits of Male Monopoly."

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Catalogues of Newest Winter Styles will be sent post free on request.

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A visit to our Blouse Dept. will reveal many novel adaptations in this favourite article of attire.

K 520.—USEFUL and EFFECTIVE BLOUSE in black net and lace, lined throughout net. The Medici Collar and long shoulders make it most becoming to all figures. Sizes 13 to 14; Outside 25/9. 22/6

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All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday morning. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

HIGHER THOUGHT CENTRE, 40, Courtfield Gardens, S.W. 11.30. Mr. Daniel Dunlop. "Man—the Thinker"; 7.0. Mrs. Hall Simpson. "There is but One."

REV. JOHN HUNTER, D.D. (late Trinity Church, Glasgow). Eolian Hall, New Bond Street. November 29, subject: "The Reality of the Unseen and the Power of Recognising it." 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. Please note that the Xmas Sale on Tuesday, December 1, will be held in the Knightsbridge Hotel, from 3-7 o'clock. Woolen garments and presents for the troops, clothing, Eastern goods and antiques. Tea 1s.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds Public Meetings at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, Jermyn Street, Piccadilly, every Wednesday afternoon. Speakers: Dec. 2, Mr. H. Baillie-Weaver, "The Legal Position of Women," and Miss Constance Andrews, "The Fruits of Male Monopoly." The Chair will be taken at 3.30. Admission free.

TO keep the flag flying!—A Suffrage Tea and Talk. Mrs. Mansell-Moullin "At Home" at 69, Wimpole Street, W., on Wednesday, December 2, 4.30-7, to members and friends of the Forward Cymric Suffrage Union. Members of all other Suffrage Societies will also be cordially welcomed by Mrs. Mansell-Moullin if they will write to her at above address for an invitation.

WHITE ROSE LEAGUE.—Soldiers' wives not receiving allowances address Mrs. Hugo Ames, 27, Addison Road North. Mrs. Ames has in writing definite promise from War Office for immediate enquiry. Send your names and addresses. Chairman, Sir Francis Vane of Hutton, Bart., commanding Royal Munster Fusiliers.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

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