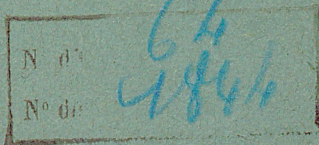


No. 11

WOMEN AND WAR

By

H. M. SWANWICK.



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THE FOUR CARDINAL POINTS IN THE POLICY OF THE UNION OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL ARE AS FOLLOWS

1. No Province shall be transferred from one Government to another without the consent, by plébiscite or otherwise, of the population of such province.

2. No Treaty, Arrangement, or Undertaking shall be entered upon in the name of Great Britain without the sanction of Parliament. Adequate machinery for ensuring democratic control of foreign policy shall be created.

3. The Foreign Policy of Great Britain shall not be aimed at creating Alliances for the purpose of maintaining the Balance of Power, but shall be directed to concerted action between the Powers, and the setting up of an International Council, whose deliberations and decisions shall be public, with such machinery for securing international agreement as shall be the guarantee of an abiding peace.

4. Great Britain shall propose as part of the Peace settlement a plan for the drastic reduction, by consent, of the armaments of all the belligerent Powers, and to facilitate that policy shall attempt to secure the general nationalisation of the manufacture of armaments by on the control of the export of armaments by on er.

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DEAR SIR OR MADAM,

The nation has voted more than £300,000,000 for the purposes of the war.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has told us that we are now spending the gigantic sum of £45,000,000 a month on the war (or say £1,500,000 a day).

Enormous sums have been collected to relieve the distress caused by the war.

How much has been given to secure that such a war shall never occur again?

Yet, surely in the midst of the appeals that are doubtless reaching you daily, no cause has so great a claim as that which aims at bringing about such a settlement at the close of the war and such changes of procedure in the system of official intercourse between nations as will lead to a permanent peace *instead of to a period of renewed armaments.*

Those are the objects for which the Union has been formed. Those are the objects for which it is labouring all over the country by every means in its power. Given adequate support the objects of the Union can be attained. But they can only be attained by the generous assistance of all who are determined that an end shall be put to the false ideas which have brought about this war; of all who are determined that this war shall mark the close of wars and be followed by a new era of international concord and peace.

If you are willing to help on this endeavour, we would ask you to make a special effort now. Peace as well as war requires preparation. It requires more preparation, because behind the forces working for war stands the great organised mechanism of States, and Peace can only be secured by a resolute, voluntary, and continued effort of the people. If but one tithe of the disinterested devotion, brain power, and prodigal expenditure of energy and wealth utilised in the perfecting and accumulation of engines of human destruction had been contributed during the past few years to the removal of the causes which were hurrying Europe into the catastrophe, an informed and enlightened Public Opinion would have prevented its occurrence. Shall we not take a lesson from the bitter past and the no less bitter present?

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WHAT YOU CAN INDIVIDUALLY DO.

You can assist the Union financially. While substantial contributions are urgently needed to enable us to spread our literature in ever-widening circles, every little helps, and any sum, however small, will be gratefully acknowledged.

You can spread the Union's literature and urge your friends to promote in every way possible the Four Cardinal Points in the Union's Policy, which are printed on the inside cover of its pamphlets. Get a bookseller in your district to stock the Union's pamphlets.

You can join the Union's branches and local groups. If there is no branch or group in your district you can help to create one.


You can assist in promoting lectures, and, when the time is ripe, public meetings.

You can make written representations to your member of Parliament, urging his support of the Union, and asking him to pledge himself to such support.

THE MATTER IS URGENT : No time must be lost if we are to create a public opinion which will insist upon such terms of peace and such changes and modifications of diplomatic procedure after peace has been declared as will ensure a lasting settlement and herald the dawn of a new era for civilised mankind.

But to do this funds are urgently needed, funds for printing, funds for organisation, funds for general propaganda throughout the length and breadth of the land. All donations and subscriptions of any amount will be gratefully received, and will be used for furthering the above objects—objects which, as we are sure you will agree, deserve the wholehearted support of every thinking man and woman.

FOR THE UNION OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL,



Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

A form of membership, which should also be used for sending subscriptions, is attached to each of the Union's pamphlets.

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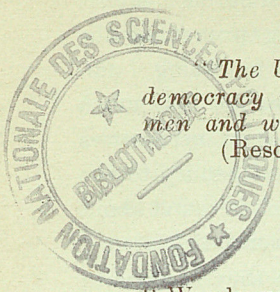
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Women and War.



The Union of Democratic Control, convinced that democracy must be based on the equal citizenship of men and women, invites the co-operation of women."

(Resolution of the General Council of the Union, February 9th, 1915.)

Women's Share.

"We do not war upon women and children!" This is a commonplace of British rhetoric at the present moment. But it is not true. War is waged by men only, but it is not possible to wage it upon men only. All wars are and must be waged upon women and children as well as upon men. When aviators drop bombs, when guns bombard fortified towns, it is not possible to avoid the women and children who may chance to be in the way. Women have to make good the economic disasters of war; they go short, they work double tides, they pay war taxes and war prices, like men, and out of smaller incomes.

There are in this country seven millions of "gainfully occupied" women and girls, and yet it is curious how officialism generally overlooks this large body of wage and salary earners and assumes that all is well if there is not extensive unemployment of men. The sea and land forces draw off a million men and thus a shortage of male labour is created and (what we are very apt to forget) a shortage of the useful things which that male labour would have created for the benefit of the country; but men and women so largely still do different work that this withdrawal of men does not create any considerable demand for female labour, and the curtailment of men's work often causes the dismissal of the women whose labour dovetails with men's. To take only the clerks and typists, we have seen how the reduction of business by the withdrawal of men has hit the women. Again, the effect of war upon all the luxury trades, in which so many women are employed, is sudden and disastrous, throwing out thousands of dressmakers, milliners, embroidresses, and so forth, while teachers, artists, and many classes of professional women suffer

terribly also. One half of these earning women have relatives dependent on them, making the strain and the suffering heavier. And, if we take the other half of the working women of the country—those who are humorously reckoned as not being “employed persons,” the working housewives—it does not take much imagination to realise what a rise in the prices of necessities amounting to 25 per cent. means of pinching and penury to the woman who is trying to housekeep on a sum which is round about a pound a week in the towns and far less in the rural districts.

But, far more heavy than the burden which they share with men, is the burden more particularly their own, which war lays upon women. Two pieces of work for the human family are peculiarly the work of women: they are the life-givers and the home-makers. War kills or maims the children born of woman and tended by her; war destroys “woman’s place”—the home. Every man killed or mangled in war has been carried for months in his mother’s body and has been tended and nourished for years of his life by women. He is the work of women: they have rights in him and in what he does with the life they have given and sustained. Here is a true description of what war does to men’s bodies:—“The primary object of this war and of all wars is to lacerate human flesh, to break bones, to inflict torture, to paralyse, and to kill. Every army in the field to-day is out for maiming and homicide, and for nothing else. . . . This is war. This is the confessed first aim of Prussia and all militarists, for no ulterior military aim can be achieved until this aim is achieved. This is what is going on daily just now in many different parts of Europe, against the outraged conscience of the world. This is the basis of military glory, and of all those other fustian things that overlords rant about. This is what overlords wish to perpetuate among the usages of mankind. Let us never forget that war is first and last the tearing of human flesh, the shattering of human bones, and the greatest source of human agony, both physical and mental.”*

And the homes of the women? Within the zone of war, what is left to the women? The best that can be done for them is to round them up with the children, like cattle, sick and old,

* *The Daily News and Leader*, March 24, 1915. Article by Arnold Bennett.

the nursing mothers and the women with child, and turn them into concentration camps, to rot and go mad and die. And the worst—Ask Belgium and East Prussia and Serbia.

These are notorious facts, which no rhetoric can abolish. Another obvious fact is that a constant state of preparedness for war requires a tremendous yearly sacrifice of the fruits of toil; wealth, which might be used to nourish and enlarge and make beautiful the life which is women's charge, is wasted in the competitive increase of armaments, yearly scrapped and replaced by fresh inventions of destruction. Men cannot afford to protect motherhood adequately and to start their children well in life, because they must expend so much wealth in making engines to destroy the children of foreign nations. Again, homicidal wars tend greatly to reduce the proportion of young men to young women, and this disproportion must result either in polygamy or in the establishment of a very large class of celibate women, or of a combination of both, such as we are at present familiar with. There are, besides, all the deep injuries to women created by the barrack system and the corrupting effect of the breaking up of homes. Moreover, when men are called upon to waste their lives in war, women are called upon to spend (and frequently to give up) their lives in child-bearing to make good the waste; the greater the waste of life the greater the waste of women in repairing life. Militarist states always tend to degrade women to the position of breeders and slaves.

In all these ways the possibility of war, the preparation for war, the militarist basis of States (whether "civilised" or "uncivilised") affect the position of women and affect it altogether evilly.

When Might Is Right.

There are, however, other less obvious ways in which women, and through women the causes of civilisation and democracy, suffer from militarism. The fact that so many people do not clearly apprehend these injuries makes them particularly insidious. They are, however, the inevitable result of a barbarous conception of the foundations of government. In militarist states, women must always, to a greater or less degree, be deprived

of liberty, security, scope, and initiative. For militarism is the enthronement of physical force as the arbiter of nations, and under such an arbitrament women must always go under. Women, whose physical force is specialised for the giving and nurture of life, will never be able to oppose men with destructive force. If destructive force is to continue to dominate the world, then man must continue to dominate woman, to his and her lasting injury. The sanction of brute force by which a strong nation "hacks its way" through a weak one is precisely the same as that by which the stronger male dictates to the weaker female. Not till the idea of public right has been accepted by the great nations will there be freedom and security for small nations; not till the idea of moral law has been accepted by the majority of men will there be freedom and security for women.

We all do lip-service, of course, to these ethical principles, and no one would deny that they do inspire most private and much public conduct; but they are not yet embodied in political institutions; they are still held on a very precarious tenure, they are at the mercy of greedy, or ambitious, or truculent individuals and classes. In his speech (Sep. 26th, 1914) in Dublin, Mr. Asquith quoted Mr. Gladstone's declaration: "The greatest triumph of our time will be the enthronement of the idea of public right as the governing idea of European politics." How is this enthronement to be accomplished? On another occasion, the Prime Minister spoke of the necessity of adequately securing France from aggression and of placing the rights of the smaller nationalities of Europe "upon an unassailable foundation." These objects are certainly good, but they do not go far enough. Not France alone, but all countries must be secured from aggression before we can flatter ourselves that public right rules in Europe. And the Prime Minister has not yet shown that he intends to lay the one unassailable foundation for the rights of the weak. That foundation is a true democracy, free and informed. No politician speaking to the common people but finds he must appeal to the principle of public right; this alone really and permanently moves the people—"not thrones and crowns, but men"—and anyone honestly desiring the enthronement of public right would recog-

nise that by the democratic control of policy, at home and abroad, by the enfranchisement and enlightenment of the people, women as well as men, by making real the sovereignty of the people, so largely still a sham, we should be establishing public right in the only way humanly possible.

It is not the abolition of physical force that is required by civilisation. It is the control of it by moral and intellectual force. As things are now, each belligerent nation appeals to the god of battles to defend the right. This, when it is honest, is honest barbarism. It is not honest in the Europe of the twentieth century. We know that the god of battles defends the best fighting machine. We know that it is only the God of love who defends the right, and He does not defend it with machine guns.

Prussianism in Great Britain.

We British have invented the name of "Prussianism" for a doctrine which we are finding very ugly and hateful. But we should not forget that it is the doctrine with which our British Anti-Suffragists have made us very familiar during the past ten years and which has been enunciated even by the Prime Minister. Suffragists call it "the Physical Force Argument." It runs:—Political power (which alone gives freedom) must always be in the hands of those who can enforce their will; women can never enforce their will as against men; therefore women can never have political power (which alone gives freedom). Once you admit the validity of the major premise, you have proved much more than the necessity for the eternal subjection of women to men; you have proved the necessity for the eternal subjection of small nations and the necessity for the eternal strife of nations, to determine which is the stronger, and the eternal necessity for competitive armaments and shifting alliances and the eternal necessity of wars like this one.—It is time that British men realised that anti-suffragism is "Prussianism"; it is time that women suffragists realised what their denial of the major premise of the anti-suffragist entails.

People who desire the enfranchisement of women will only be effective workers if they work for pacifism, or the control of physical by moral force. Pacifists will only be effective if they

admit that woman's claim to freedom is based on the same principle as the claim of small nations. The anti-suffragist's major premise of force as the basis of political power is not argument; it is man's knock-out blow. We have no right to assume that what has been always will be; that men are incapable of development; that they must always worship the god of brute force. There is no reason whatever why men should not gradually learn that they get no good, but much evil, from the uncontrolled domination of force. They have shown already in countless ways that they are learning the lesson. They will learn it much faster when women have studied the causes of war and set themselves against them; when women cease to idealise pugnacity in men and see it in its true light as fretful egotism; when, finally, women who demand citizenship join with democratic men and thus show that they understand the very foundation of their own claim and can teach men to understand better the democratic creed which they profess.

Women will then be more effective peace-makers than, with all their good will, they have been in the past. On the whole, no one can doubt that they have been more opposed to war than men, because they have had nothing to gain and all to lose in war. But they have been subjected, ignorant, inarticulate, disorganised. Those who have kept them so should be the last to blame them. British women are rapidly emerging from subjection and are catching up with men in respect of knowledge, power of organisation, and expression. The lesson of this war for women is that the causes of war will result in war, and it is too late, when men have launched their ultimatum, to talk of a "women's crusade" or a "down-tools" policy for women, as was done last August. Catastrophic reforms do not happen. Reforms must be prepared for in the human heart. Things are what they are and their consequences will be what they will be. We must deal with causes.

What are the Causes of War? Not a Desire for Security.

We are told that wars are an eternal necessity. We must take this from no one, but examine for ourselves whether it is true. Men make wars, not women. Not only do women not

fight men, but they do not fight each other. Why? We are so used to this fact that very few of us have asked why. Is it because women chiefly desire security? It is true some people will answer that women do not fight because men fight for them. Men commonly speak of "fighting for hearth and home," and it is this aspect which is commonly put forward in popular appeals. Women and children are always put into the firing line of pro-war argumentation, but it is obvious that the settlement of national quarrels by an international tribunal would provide far better security for women and children than the incessant menace of war which we call peace. The organisation of physical force will not give security until it is known that such organisation will be used only in defence of international right. It is impossible to believe that men have merely lacked the wit to devise means of attaining security (at least as against one another) if, indeed, security had been their chief desire. It has not. Men have desired other things and have striven, by physical force, to grasp their desire. Individual men, groups of men, classes of men, do sometimes attain their desire, for what it is worth, in this way. But the masses of the people and all women everywhere pay the penalty.

We sometimes talk as if Germany were the only militarist State. But all the great nations are organised on a militarist basis. All the great nations have striven to increase their preparations so as to be stronger than the others, and nations which felt themselves weaker made alliances so as to be able to crush others. Peace has been a condition of unstable equilibrium, in which there was no security even for the strongest. It is arguable that security is a base ambition, and that perpetual danger from fellow humans is the only condition of health for human beings, but it is puerile to ask us to believe that the organisation of States on a militarist basis makes for the greatest degree of security possible. Security as a result of militarism is an illusion.

What, then, drives men to war? Different people would place the motives in different order. To the present writer they appear as follows:—

- (1) A traditional conception of honour and the belief that it can be "vindicated" by force.
- (2) Love of gain and the drive of vested interests.

(3) Love of domination and what is often called glory.

(4) Fear.

These motives are the mainsprings of Governments, but they could not work the war-machine if, in the mass of men, there were strong resistance, and, indeed, if there were not, in the mass of men, other motives, which may be roughly classed as:—

(5) Indolence of mind, which leaves all thinking and planning to those whose vested interests may advantage from war.

(6) Pugnacity.

(7) Love of hazard and adventure and disgust with the drabness of daily life.

In most of these motives women have little part, yet unless they try to disentangle and understand them, to see what there is of good and bad in them, women cannot help. Glory and domination are not for women; hazard they have, but it is a one-sided hazard of loss, greater or less, never of gain. The adventures of women in war are solitary and full of horror, and such as few women would seek.

Honour at the Mercy of Force.

As for honour. It is one of the tragic results of the intellectual subjection of women that they should have been willing to accept the association of the notion of honour with that of physical force. If honour were a thing that could be taken away by force and only defended by force, it would be clear that women must always hold their honour at the mercy of men; must always, that is to say, be slaves in the spirit as well as in the flesh; have honour only lent to them by men—never possess it. Women who thought their own thoughts and men of sufficient enlightenment and sympathy to put themselves into the place of a woman have never held this view. But if it be not true of women, why then of men or nations? Women who think their own thoughts will, at any rate, ask themselves whether these points of honour for which men have waged so many public and private quarrels down all the ages are not a relic of the barbarous past, of the superstitious remnant of belief in ordeal by battle.

What About Patriotism?

Perhaps an angry militarist will say: "You have picked out all the ugly motives and none of the beautiful ones. Men fight for love of their country, for patriotism." This is perfectly true. Probably, in all countries, certainly in this, men fight for love of their country, for the ashes of their fathers and the temples of their gods, and for their wives and children. This is why it is so difficult in war time to say anything against war. (Yet it must be said in war time, first because of the peace that has to be made, if possible without the seeds of future wars, and second because it is so difficult to get people in peace time to think seriously and continuously of the causes of war; it seems such "insensate devilry" that men in their peace minds find it inconceivable).

Our men are giving their lives for their country and they may truly feel that greater love hath no man. One wants to say nothing which can even remotely suggest or be mistaken to mean that this motive is an illusion. When a State like Great Britain declares war, its men troop to battle, not from love of massacre and devastation, but as good citizens, obeying the call of the State. They feel they can do no other. They are acting from moral compulsion, and are right and admirable, and when they die, they truly die for their country. But it does not follow that wars are for the good of the countries that make them, nor even that the motives for which they are made are those of an enlightened patriotism. It is not necessary for a man to hate other countries because he loves his own and, as a matter of fact, peoples do not hate each other unless they are or believe themselves to be oppressed. When war is declared most patriotic men feel they must stand by their Government. All the motives which lead Governments to make wars of aggression may be based on wrong thinking, but in countries where democratic institutions are sufficiently developed for men to claim control, they have no right to refuse to fight at the summons of the Government they have themselves put into power. When they feel dissatisfaction the remedy is theirs: They can control foreign policy if they will, and patriotic Governments will, with the growth of enlightenment, find better ways of serving their

countries than by letting them in for the illimitable disaster of war.

It may be said: "What can women do, even if they do study the causes of war and do ardently desire to prevent them? Governments make war and women have no means of influencing Government. Even the men people cannot prevent war; how then can the voteless women people?" Certainly this war will greatly enhance the desire of women for the political power to make their needs felt, and they will come to this power with an immensely vivified will and intention to use it. For in the long struggle for the vote, British women have felt perhaps the hardest part of the whole business was the indifference of so many men towards the civic rights and duties for which their ancestors had so worked and fought. And, being fresh to it, maybe the women will realise more acutely that, in countries where the people elects its rulers the people can, if it will take the trouble, control foreign policy and the issues of peace and war. Women can even now, and without the vote, do much to affect public opinion; the discipline of their long uphill struggle, without the power of the Press or the purse, in the teeth of persecution and boycotting, condemned by church and by society, the lessons they have learned of economy and sacrifice and popular exposition—all these should stand them in good stead and make them valuable allies for the forces of democracy. British men must gradually clarify the ferment of thought which the war is throwing up and see at last what "Prussianism," as they have called it, really means, and that its home is by no means exclusively in Germany. Then they will enfranchise the women people as part of the democratisation of diplomacy and of other things as well.

Are Women Pacifists?

There remain the people who venture to doubt whether women's influence or vote would really be for peace. They will tell you that they have heard more bloodthirsty and violent talk from women than from men. These comparisons are always very difficult to check, but it would seem natural that, in militarist circles, the women should be more violent in speech than the men, because they can only relieve their feelings by words, whereas the men can go and fight. Professors and journalists and other sedentary men are notoriously more bloodthirsty in their language than the fighting men. But it does not follow that even these women would be anxious to go to war, and we

must further remember that it is the conversation of such women which sticks in the memory; the millions of heart-sore women are, for the most part, silent. They have a deep sense of loyalty to their men and are acutely aware of their sufferings and sacrifices. Not for the world will they say anything which would seem to undervalue these, or suggest that they are offered for a wrong or a mistaken cause. So that, in backing their men in the war in which they are actually engaged, many women seem to be backing warfare itself, although in their hearts they abhor it.

There are, again, among suffragist women, two groups which hold aloof from widely different causes. One says she will take no part in "men's politics" until men have enfranchised her: the other fears that, by adopting a definitely pacifist attitude, women would "antagonise" militarist men. We may think both these views wrong, but men, at least, should be tolerant of a state of mind created by their own neglect to do justice. They cannot have it all ways, and the unfree will not all have all the virtues of the free. Women have learned by bitter experience that, unless they concentrate upon winning their own liberty, they are very apt to be made merely the catspaws of political parties, and that, when the party for which they have worked is triumphant, it pushes aside the women's claim with more or less polite circumlocution. But to work for a right foundation of government; to endeavour to establish public right in control of physical force, is not to work merely for a party victory; it is to work for the very foundation of a free and secure existence for women. Every suffrage society ought to be a pacifist society and realise that pacifist propaganda is an integral part of suffrage propaganda. If there are some suffragists who do not yet see this, they are matched by some pacifists who do not see that their creed removes the only real obstacle to the enfranchisement of women.

The difficulty in seeing these connections is due to mere muddle-headedness, but there is something a little contemptible about the fear of antagonising the militarist men. No one ought to wish to get the vote on false pretences. The timid may, however, be recommended to consider this: these men who would not give women the vote if they believed women would vote pacifist are the men who would not give women the vote at any price; these are the relics of barbarism; these are the men with whom it is no use reasoning at all. It is the civilised men who are going to enfranchise women, and it is with such men that women should ally themselves.

Democratic Control.

There is no argument for the democratic control of foreign policy which should exclude women. As eternal non-combatants, women have a *primâ facie* right to be heard, as distinct from men. The chief arguments for secret diplomacy and autocratic control are that popular control would be full of indiscretions and ignorances, and it is a favourite theme of some people that women are even more ignorant and indiscreet than men. They forget that, when there is no secrecy, there is little scope for indiscretion, and there need be no ignorance. One thing women will never be so ignorant about as men, and that is—how a woman feels.

No one supposes that the man in the street will be called upon to decide highly complex and specialised details of foreign policy, nor will the woman in the home. Effective Parliamentary machinery and a reformed diplomatic service, together with an accurately and regularly-informed Press, would give the elector the kind and degree of control for which the common people is fitted. If debates in Parliament and discussions in daily and weekly papers were based upon unimpeachable facts, we should not have the absurd spectacle of a Foreign Minister, who has for eight years shrouded himself in impenetrable mystery, coming down to the People's House and declaring within forty-eight hours of his ultimatum that the issue of peace and war is in the hands of the people and subsequently hurling at the bewildered public a justificatory white book, whose diplomatic jargon is so remote from the language of common life that it is only with difficulty that the plain man can discover from it that his country has for years been committed to a policy which he—the plain man—thought had been categorically and repeatedly repudiated by the Cabinet. When the war had been declared, the Government revealed itself as extremely anxious that the people should understand the British Cause. It would have been better understood if the people had been kept informed of what was going on during all these years.

It is not ignorance which is the real danger, and if it were, the Government could remove it. The real danger lies in the factious nature of our party system. This is the real danger which politicians will not face, because so few of them are free from the factious spirit. Granted that there are different parties in the State with different ideals, it is quite clear how greatly it might be in the power of an unscrupulous opposition to wreck all and any negotiations if they became aware of them. The doctrine that it is the duty of an opposition to oppose has been

carried so far that many politicians seem to think it their duty to prevent the majority from governing at all. This very real difficulty would, however, be more completely met by the boldest and extremest frankness than by the present system of prevarication, in which dangerous half-truths get abroad and a state of twittering nervousness is chronic in the Chancelleries of Europe. The candid and the bold course of diplomacy would in the end be the safest, although, of course, there can be no security where there is not good will. At present, the good will of the great mass of the common people has no chance of penetrating the dense fog of diplomacy; when, by chance, the fog lifts for a moment, and common men and women are allowed to see the mysteries, they are more apt to be shocked at their squalor and futility than impressed by their subtlety.

It is sometimes suggested that only a very few can form right judgments, because only a very few can have studied all the precedents and know all the various ways in which human nature has failed. One does not want to depreciate the study of history, but anyone who knows how extraordinarily difficult it is to form an accurate estimate of contemporary events and persons will feel healthily sceptical of dogmatic inductions from what we are pleased to call history. We shall do well to remember that, even if conditions seem to be repeated, the human soul is always individual, and to the discouraging historian who tells us that "It is no use trying to do that; it was tried before and was a failure," the proper answer of a living person is, "If it seems good, I must try it again. Who knows why it failed before?" And women, more particularly, must feel this, because, whoever has tried to control diplomacy in the interests of peace, it has not been the women. They must take up this great new struggle with their old courage and faith—

To go on for ever and fail and go on again,
And be mauled to the earth and arise,
And contend for the shade of a word and a thing not seen with the eyes :
With the half of a broken hope for a pillow at night,
That somehow the right is the right
And the smooth shall bloom from the rough.

Men and Women Together.

It has been the object of these pages to show that women have a point of view distinct from the point of view of men towards this matter of peace and war; because so much more even than men women suffer from militarism, which excludes and enslaves them; because they win from it none of the things which make it attractive to men; and because the whole course

of their life's work gives to women a standard of values different from that of men in important particulars. Some people seem to think that women ought not to have an outlook or a standard of values different from those of men because their interests are one. This is an odd method of reasoning. No one maintains that the bodies of women are the same as those of men; everyone admits that their lives are very different; most people will admit that their characters tend to differ somewhat. Yet those who are most insistent upon these differences would impoverish life and experience by refusing their fruits. Emphatically men's and women's interests are one, and therefore men cannot afford to overlook the women's point of view, and no one can describe it so well as the women themselves. War is bad business for men in the mass, always and all the time; it is not less bad for men because it is even worse for women.

It is sometimes assumed that a "Woman's Party" is necessary. If by a woman's party is meant a party consisting only of women, this, as a permanence, does not seem desirable. Yet it will infallibly arise unless women are accepted freely as co-workers with men. It has been found necessary in the past for women to organise separately, partly because men would not have them and partly in order to attain that self-direction of thought and act, without which women become merely weak echoes of men and all the precious variations of sex are lost to public life. But this has been a temporary necessity, due to the subjection of women, and though it may continue for some time to come, progressive people should work for its extinction. But, above all else, the nature of the work which has to be done for the abolition of militarism demands the co-operation of men and women.

Now at last, when a democratic movement has got down to the basis of right government; when democracy is held to be the rule of the whole people, women, as well as men, on the only foundation upon which this is possible—the foundation of public right and moral law; when it is seen how all the things which women care for and give their lives for are at the mercy of secret diplomacy, about which none of the people have the slightest knowledge and over which none of them have the slightest control; now is the great opportunity for the whole people, women as well as men, to work together for an object which women, if only they understood it, would desire more ardently even than men.

And women, knowing that men do not and probably cannot escape from feminine influence, will hold that it is for the common good that that influence should not be purely personal. Hecuba had her opinion of Helen and the siege of Troy.

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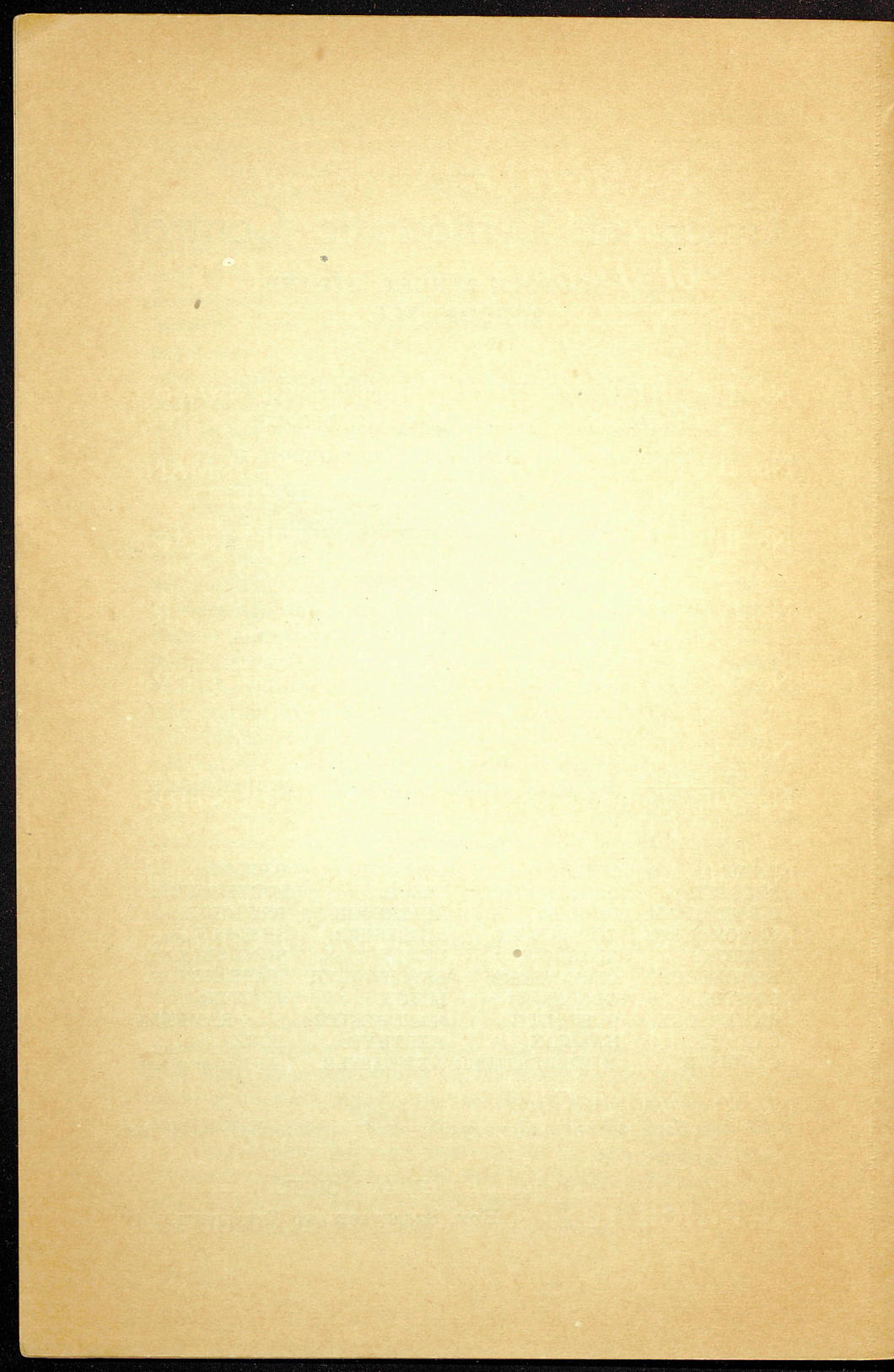
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