

# THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT

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## THE COMING REFORM BILL: *Speech by Mr. Tom Richardson, M.P.*

"I am particularly glad to have the opportunity of taking part in this Conference at this time, because I believe this Conference to be representative in a special sense of working-class men and women in the great Metropolis of London. I want to be allowed to supplement what your Chairman said when he expressed the opinion that if we are to have a Bill at all, we must have a well-organised public opinion outside Parliament that will compel the present Government to introduce a Bill and carry it through to the Statute Book. I am one of those who hold that view very strongly.

"An Electoral Reform Bill is not only necessary, but is long overdue, and I take this opportunity of urging you representative working men and women, in your various Labour and Trade Union and Socialist bodies, forthwith to commence a very vigorous and active campaign calling upon the Government to take action in this matter.

The urgency and importance of this question in my judgment does not brook delay, and we are entitled as a matter of elementary justice, to the working classes of this country in particular, even at this stage in the history of this great War, to ask the Government's immediate attention for this important subject.

"On the question of Adult Suffrage, needless to say, I am a 'whole hogger.' I believe that if our politicians and statesmen are anxious to do things in a businesslike way; and if this present Government in spirit and in truth wants to justify the name of a 'business Government' we can suggest that at least in one particular they can give very substantial evidence of their fitness for that distinction. The right of every man and woman to full enfranchisement and citizenship, surely, has been the subject of discussion and controversy so long that it ought not to be longer necessary to spend time and energy in urging the justice of that claim.

"You have been reminded that since it was decided to convene this Conference the Speaker's Committee has made a report, and may I be allowed to say that I am very much disappointed with the nature of that report. I grant that in some particulars it does make a step in advance, but as compared with the urgency and importance of the subject, I think it is a tragic failure in the very truest sense of that term, and we shall need to be very careful, we shall need to be on the alert, not to put too much faith, not only in particular Members of Parliament, but in Trade Union leaders. You need to make your Members of Parliament and Labour leaders feel that they owe a duty to the rank and file, and that they have no right, either in Conference or in the House of Commons, to commit a democracy in this country without some form of consultation with the rank and file membership.

"Without saying more on that particular point, I urge you to be on the alert. These are movements, these are tendencies, which will take concrete form. An attempt will be made in the name of Labour to commit the democracy of this country to something infinitely less, far short of that elemental principle that we admit as an act of justice, namely, Adult Suffrage, and it is up to the rank and file to anticipate the scheming politicians and give them to recognise that, whilst we may have to plead guilty to being drugged, in the name of Empire and War, to the neglect of our elemental rights as citizens, on this question we are alert and we are not prepared to lower the flag without putting up a very strenuous fight for Adult Suffrage.

"Reference has been made by the Chairman and Miss Pankhurst to the conscription of men and the probable conscription of women. Your politicians and statesmen and newspaper editors have been paying lip service to the womanhood of this country more within the last twelve or eighteen months than we have hitherto known them do. We are entitled to ask them to deliver the goods and to give some evidence of the sincerity of their professed appreciation of the heroism of the women and of the sacrifice of wifehood and of sisterhood.

"The Leader of the House of Commons, the mouthpiece of the Prime Minister and door-keeper of the Cabinet, has just asked for a Vote

of Credit for 550 million pounds sterling. Those of you who read that speech may have been making some effort to visualise the financial cost of this War. In addition to the industrial reconstruction that we must apply our intelligence to when this ghastly business is over, we have not to forget that whilst it is true that we men will have to pay in the coin of the realm, the womanhood of the nation will be called upon to pay a toll and a penalty that we have no right to impose upon them if we are to keep them outside the pale of citizenship, and, as men, to have the courage, if we are not strong enough to compel Parliament

to give us Adult Suffrage to be courageous enough to say: 'then inasmuch as we are not prepared to enfranchise the womanhood of the nation, we will be honourable to the extent that we will not ask them to pay for this terrible tragedy which is now happening in the plains of Europe.'

"The time is ripe, the call is urgent, the fight must be begun indeed, and if democracy will rise to its opportunity, notwithstanding the recommendations of the Speaker's Report, Parliament may be compelled to do justice to the citizens of this country—men and women alike."



St. DOROTHEA REFUSING TO WORSHIP THE IDOL, MARS.

By Joseph E. Soutball.

## C. H. NORMAN'S DIARY

May 23rd, 1916 (query 24th.—Met with shower of abuse on arrival. Asked for some paper to make will. They asked whether I would put on uniform—refused. Taken to cell and forcibly dressed. Repeated request to make will, as I might not be alive more than three or four days. Officer went to Commandant. I was taken to reception room and signed for things. Commandant arrived; and without a word to me ordered me to be taken to hospital and put in strait jacket. Was taken there and put in strait jacket, which was too small and caused me great pain. I told the attendant, but he could not do anything. Commandant and another officer arrived. Commandant mocked at me and spat at me. Other officer asked whether I was all right: a question which amused me in the circumstances. M.O. (? Medical Officer) came about 8 p.m., but did not explain anything. He said Commandant had said I had threatened suicide. I told him I had asked to make my will, and that was all. After a discussion of my opinions, the M.O. suddenly rushed off. I could not move myself in strait jacket, and suffered a good deal because I wanted to go to the lavatory, but was lying on the floor and could not attract the attendant's attention. I did finally, and went, and then was left standing. I had asked in the beginning for a chair, but was refused it. During the night I became unconscious with pain, and fainted, lying on the floor for an hour, as I heard last the clock strike twelve and I again remember the clock striking 1.30. Sergeant-major came in, and another officer and asked how I was. I told them I was feeling ill. M.O. came at ten, and released me on my giving my word against doing harm whilst under his authority.

May 24th.—In hospital, on asking leave to write my solicitor or friends, Commandant swore and spat at me, expressing hope the M.O. would put me in strait jacket again.

May 26th.—Commandant visited me again; cursed me and said he wished I would cut my throat; that I was a coward who ought to be shot. Also spat at me.

May 30th.—Nothing important. Commandant very annoyed that I was still at hospital.

May 31st.—Sent over to Detention Barracks. Began hunger, thirst and sleep strike.

June 1st.—Ordered to parade by Commandant, who again cursed me and said I should be sent to France; and that it was a pity I was afraid to kill myself. Commandant again said I should be put in strait jacket. Ordered P.D. 1, and put in darkish cell; bread and water diet; all "privileges" taken.

June 2nd.—Still on partial food, drink and sleep strike; eating little brown bread and drinking a drop of water. Nothing fresh. Commandant said he would report me Medical Officer, who would give me the stomach pump.

Sunday, June 4th.—Still on partial food, drink and sleep strike. Commandant said I should be ordered to parade to-morrow, and if I refused, given 21 days No. 2. Later in the day Commandant said I should be forcibly fed next week. Grossly insulted by a N.Z. m.c.o., who threatened to murder me. Commandant also said he was making special report to G.O.C., suggesting I should be more severely punished. He wants me sent to France to be quietly shot.

Diary continued of C. H. Norman at Wandsworth Detention Barracks. (This portion was seized and detained by the authorities till January, 1917.)

June 8th, 1916.—Forcibly fed through nose: very painful. Did not eat anything. Commandant said I should have the stomach pump.

(Continued on Page 682.)



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Bravely and willingly we bear our share of the World's burdens. Why, then, deny us the right to Vote, which would dignify our labour and increase our Power of Service?

THE SEXUAL CRIMES BILL

Those who shirk facing unpleasant truths have endeavoured to make themselves believe that this War has brought upon our people a great ennobling influence. To such people the introduction of the latest Criminal Law Amendment Act, to deal with the spread of venereal disease which has resulted from the War, must come with a shock, in spite of all the efforts which they may make to shut it out of their minds.

For many months the most blatant of the jingoes, who, of course, profess to know all about the War and the Army and Navy, have been demanding a sexual crimes Bill. Army officers have written to the Press demanding that women and girls shall be imprisoned, and even birched, because, it is alleged, they prey upon the soldiers, and sailors, and infect them with disease. The idea of saying to the young soldier or sailor: "My son, live virtuously; be chaste, and you will escape both physical disease and moral corruption," does not appear to enter the heads of the middle-aged officers who are so zealous in their desire to keep the young fighter fit for the front. On the contrary, the military tradition is to maintain and regulate prostitution. As soon as War broke out, such steps were at once taken by the military authorities in Cardiff and other places, but the strong and determined opposition of organised bodies of women secured the withdrawal of the Orders which had been issued.

The Home Secretary's new Bill is an attempt to placate women and those men who dislike vicious ways of life, and at the same time to introduce the regulation of prostitution which the military authorities believe is capable of robbing vice of its consequences.

PROTECTION FOR GIRLS UNDER 16.

The first clause of the Bill provides that:— Any male person of the age of 16 years or over who commits an act of indecency with a girl under the age of 16 shall be liable on conviction on indictment to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a term not exceeding six months. It shall be no defence to a charge under this section to prove that a girl consented to the act of indecency or to assert that her age was not known.

When the Bill came up for second reading, Mr. Rawlinson complained that there is no similar protection for boys, and we agree that protection should be provided for boys, as well as for girls.

Mr. Herbert Samuel, the ex-Home Secretary, urged that the age of protection should be raised from 16 to 17 years, and that a proviso should be added that a girl aged not more than 17, convicted of prostitution should be sent for a long term, not to an ordinary reformatory, but to one established for this particular purpose. His object in proposing this was to protect men from blackmail. If the man could set up that the girl under 16 was a prostitute he could save himself from a prosecution by threatening her with a reformatory. The procedure would seem very foul and tortuous altogether. Someone suggested that men also might be sent to reformatories, but Mr. Samuel replied, "The cases of men and of women are not analogous." That is probably a comfortable thought for some men.

TWO YEARS' HARD LABOUR FOR COMMUNICATING THE DISEASE.

Clause 2 gives power:— To punish with imprisonment for two years' hard labour if convicted on indictment, or for six months on summary conviction, anyone suffering from venereal disease who has or solicits sexual intercourse. No one shall be punished who had reasonable grounds

to believe that he or she was free from venereal disease when the offence was committed.

Any person convicted of a sexual offence or an offence under the Vagrancy Act may be forced by direction of the Court to submit to such medical examination or tests as may be considered requisite to ascertain whether that person is suffering from venereal disease.

Any person who on examination under this section, or under compulsory detention in a prison or other institution received a written notice stating that he or she is suffering from venereal disease in a communicable form within three months before the commission of the alleged offence will be held to have been so suffering, unless the contrary is proved.

A woman may be examined by a woman doctor if she so desires. [Poor cowed prisoners find it almost impossible to secure attention to their wishes from officials accustomed to disregard them.]

We are strongly opposed to all the provisions of this clause.

It will be urged that we should support it because it will prevent men bringing loathsome disease home to their wives and children, and that the children, at any rate, must be protected. Our reply is that in the vast majority of cases wives will not bring actions against their husbands; they would be deterred by the penalty of publicity and stoppage of the family income, as well as by their affections, which often continue to flourish in most unlikely soil. In the rare case in which a wife might take proceedings, the husband would probably be able either to establish that he did not know what he was suffering from or that he thought he was cured, or he might even turn the table on his wife and say that he had caught the disease from her. If a husband brought an action against his wife, she would probably make that defence. What a painful and sordid picture the whole thing conjures up: is this what married life is in the twentieth century? In the case of persons who are not married, the woman, whether guilty or not, would be punished in almost every case in which an action were brought, for the prejudice of the court and of society in general is always against a woman who enters into a sexual relationship out of wedlock. Only the thoroughly dissipated and cynical man would bring such an action against a prostitute, for anyone who possesses common sense and even a dash of honesty must realise that the vile trade of these unfortunate women causes them to run perpetual risk of infection, and that the only safe course is not to become one of their clients.

If passed into law, these provisions will either remain, partially or wholly a dead letter, only to be used against women who are not on good terms with the police or against whom some special complaint is made; or they will lead very shortly to the compulsory registration and examination of prostitutes, with all the sordid and degrading accompaniments of that system. This hideous alternative was advocated in the House by Sir George Greenwood, who asserted it to be "the only way to stamp out these diseases." The absurdity of his contention is sufficiently proved by the fact that in France and other countries, where vice, like education, is under the control of a Department of State, and where there is a complete system of compulsory registration and examination, venereal diseases are at least as common as they are here. Is it not largely in France that British soldiers have contracted these diseases?

HEAVIER PUNISHMENT.

Persons who use or allow premises to be used for "habitual prostitution" the Bill would punish by a fine of £100 or three months' imprisonment for a first offence, £250 or six months for a second offence, and £500 or 12 months' imprisonment for a third offence. The punishment on a second conviction for soliciting would be imprisonment for one month.

Women should remember that soliciting is only punished as such when practised by women. The fines are larger than usual as compared with such terms of imprisonment. Only the well-to-do will be able to pay: the poor must go to prison. Sir G. Greenwood characterised this part of the Bill as an "ignominious and rather contemptible method of harrising these women from pillar to post, which drives them into the arms of bullies."

He said: "If you think it possible to stamp out prostitution, then have the courage to make it a criminal offence by itself." In this we agree with him, but we do not believe that prostitution will ever be stamped out by punishment and coercion whilst only the woman's part in it is punished and the conditions which produce prostitution remain.

Commander Wedgwood said in the debate: "I detest this sort of measure... so long as you have a rotten civilisation where women are driven out to the streets to make a living and where men think it right to go with them, you are bound to have these diseases."

We entirely agree: the economic causes of prostitution are always with us—low wages, shortage of opportunity and lack of training, the risks of sickness and unemployment, the harsh "pay your way or starve" system on which society is built—all these things claim their victims. And the first step from the legal path by the young heedless girl, who cannot think that harm will ever come to her of all people, is so mercilessly punished; the way of her transgression is made more hard than she can bear.

"My sister, a girl of 18, has been cruelly deceived by a soldier who has since gone to the front. The name she knew him by was not his own. She has become a mother, and is at present in a maternity home.

"Unfortunately my father feels the disgrace very keenly, and will have nothing to do with her." So runs a letter which reached us this morning.

A common story, but what next? The orphanages and babies' homes are overcrowded: even the Workhouse will not receive the child unless its mother remains with it. Respectable landladies do not want the unmarried mother. But the underworld is organised to receive her.

Shall the State take a hand in perfecting the underworld system; giving to the woman a certificate which permits her to sell her wares on the road to Hell, and to the man a false sense of security, which lulls his misgivings with the thought that this sort of thing is quite a matter of business?

Remember that once a woman becomes a part of the vice system every effort is used by those who organise it to prevent her escape. Do not allow the underworld system to be strengthened by State protection.

We urge women to insist on securing Womanhood Suffrage: the woman voter must be organised to prevent this thing.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

FROM THE LONDON LABOUR PARTY

TEACHERS DEMAND A WAR BONUS.

This is the story of the London Teachers' fight for a War Bonus, dated 17th October 1917. On October 21st the London Teachers' Association Annual Conference resolved to ask the L.C.C. for a war bonus of 10s. a week for masters earning £235 a year or less, and for mistresses of £180 or less (with modifications above these scales), and 2s. 6d. a day for "supply" teachers. Their reasons were sound enough: the increased cost of living, and that the salaries were poor anyway.

WHAT THEY WERE OFFERED.

In due course the General Purposes Committee recommended that, subject to the teachers (and other employees of their class) proving to a Special Committee that they were suffering from special hardship by reason of obligations to dependants, or contractual liabilities, they should be awarded a war bonus not exceeding 3s. a week, provided that their total salary would not thereby exceed £200 a year. After receiving a deputation from the disgruntled teachers on February 5th, the General Purposes Committee practically withdrew the proposals at the Council meeting of February 6th, and the Education Committee (the real villains) will now see what sort of a scheme they can discover.

THE OFFER PULLED TO PIECES.

The "Special Committee" proposal was humiliating, and the whole scheme illusory, for it is estimated that, assuming the full bonus, the total amount of the proposed bonus to be voted by the Finance Committee would only have covered about 250 teachers out of 20,000! Such an offer would never have been made to a body of militant Trade Unionists of the skilled artisan class.

FOREIGN NOTES

Owing to shortage of coal the Swiss Gasworks are compelled to produce less gas. The Swiss Federal Council has authorised the administration of the gasworks to limit the use of gas for the public and to treble the price for gas used above the limited amount.

"Le Journal du Peuple."—The great War pretends to kill "Prussian militarism"; perhaps it will kill also all other European militarism. Meanwhile it has created American militarism, of which the following is the programme:—Army of two million men—compulsory military service; training camps throughout the United States; rapid production of munitions and war materials; funds of two-and-a-half milliards of francs.

The Swiss paper, "Die Familie," quotes Professor P. H. Schmidt, who remarked on the causes of the present catastrophe as follows: "The exploitation of raw materials in the overseas countries is one of the principal sources of power and wealth of the European industrial countries. Commerce and production, the investment of capital, political power and influence are their means, riches and the development of culture their aims. Since 1870 England has more than doubled the extension of its subject countries and influence. Since the beginning of the century the British Empire has been trebled. France also has subjected country after country in Asia and Africa since the last war. In France the desire for conquest was so great that the present Minister, Sembat, called it an illness—'Kilometrisme.' This desire for extension of power and influence is by no means satisfied. Russia, which has already the greatest expanse of land on earth, has still an insatiable hunger for more territory. And yet the contrast between these Powers is now of no importance in comparison with the competition between Germany and England. The German colonies are but small when compared with the colonies of the other countries, but its economic power has surprisingly developed. An entire transformation of the world's economic conditions seemed to be proclaimed by the irresistible advance of this new and powerful industrial State. It was victorious in its competition with regard to the construction of best ships, machines, the most exact apparatus and production of the finest dyes. In 1913 the German production of steel and iron was double that of England. In 1900 the English export of machines was 401 million marks; the German 183 million marks. In 1912 the English had increased to 674 and the German to 698 million marks. For the first time, in 1903 the German export to England had surpassed the English export to Germany; since then England has been worsted more and more. Between 1893 and 1912 Germany's general export trade increased by 12,599; the English diminished, since the increase shown was only 11,334. The consequences of a further peaceful course of this development seemed disastrous. . . . The real reason of the present slaughter is the antagonism of the economic Powers—the jealous hatred which was constantly increasing until there was no question of withdrawing from the fray."

THE SUFFRAGE SITUATION

CONFERENCE AT HOLBORN HALL

At the Conference of the London Labour Council for Adult Suffrage at Holborn Hall last Saturday, the chair was taken by Mr. Fred Bramley, N.A.F.T.A., who said that, notwithstanding the report of the Speaker's Conference, we should be guided by general principles of sound character. Our guiding principle should be equality of sexes, equality of voting power—one man one vote, one woman one vote. He pointed out that the recommendations issued from the Speaker's Conference are unsatisfactory, but they are not a Bill; and it is not yet certain that there will be a Bill. The Bill, if introduced, will be in the form rendered necessary by agitation outside the House of Commons.

One victory had already been won by women: the Home Office, in issuing licences to women as drivers for motor traffic, had stated that no special legislation was necessary, as the term "person" included women. The delegates laughed and applauded this point, for do we not know that for legislative purposes, and, indeed, wherever a privilege is concerned, the Courts have held that the term "person" does not include women. The uncompromising note struck by the Chairman was echoed by all the speakers. Mr. Carter, N.U.R., said that there must be no selling of the pass: the people will have to push the Business Government of all the talents if we are to obtain what we want. Mrs. Cedar Paul, W.L.L., said that the speakers at the Manchester Labour Party Conference all thought that they were discussing the Adult Suffrage question for the last time. After the War, when all the vital questions of reconstruction were pressing upon us, we could not afford to be handicapped by still having to work for franchise reform: we must get the matter settled now.

Mr. Tom Richardson's speech we print on the front page.

The following resolution, which was moved on behalf of the Executive Committee by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and seconded by Mr. Leahy (N.U.R.), was carried unanimously:— "This Conference considers that the proposals contained in the report of the Speaker's Conference are unsatisfactory, and hereby declares that no franchise measure will be satisfactory to the working class unless it provides for:— (a) Complete Adult Suffrage for men and women both for Parliamentary and Local Government purposes. (b) The abolition of plural voting and of the university franchise. (c) The abolition of the pauper disfranchisement."

THE SUFFRAGE SITUATION

"(d) Continuous registration to secure that removal from one part of the country to another shall not disqualify.

"(e) Provisions to enable absentee voters to record their votes at their home locality in the place where they happen to be at the time of the election.

This Conference urges the Government to introduce a measure embodying these provisions without delay.

The following resolution was moved by Mr. W. Carter, N.U.R., seconded by Mr. Tom Richardson, M.P., and supported by Mrs. Cedar Paul, and carried unanimously:— "This Conference of Labour, Socialist, and Suffrage bodies calls for the speedy enactment of adult suffrage and of such measures of registration reform as shall secure that every adult man and woman shall be continuously enfranchised, and also demands that every adult man and woman shall be eligible for all elective offices.

This Conference further enters its protest against the compromise suggested by the Speaker's Conference, and declares that no settlement of the Suffrage question will be satisfactory which does not include full adult suffrage for all men and women."

The following resolutions were carried by large majorities:— Moved by Mr. Carter: "This Conference urges that (a) all elections should be held on one day, which should be a public holiday; (b) returning officers' expenses should be paid out of monies provided by Parliament."

Moved by Mr. Hughes, N.U.C., seconded by Mr. A. A. Wats, B.S.P.: "This Conference declares that no system of election for Parliament and municipal bodies can be satisfactory which does not give opportunity to all parties to obtain representation in proportion to their voting strength, and urges the Government to include provision for proportional representation in the forthcoming Reform Bill, and, whilst welcoming the instalment of proportional representation recommended in the report of the Speaker's Conference, is strongly of opinion that to achieve the desired results each constituency should return at least five members, and that if any precautionary deposit is to be required of candidates, the number of 'votes polled' by each candidate must mean the number finally allocated to him, and not the number polled as first preferences."

Moved by Mr. J. A. Hobson, seconded by Miss Pankhurst: "This Conference urges that provisions for (a) establishing the Referendum, (b) the initiative, (c) the Recall, be inserted in the forthcoming Reform Bill."

Moved by Mr. Herbert Burrows, Shoreditch T.C.: "This Conference declares that any Franchise Bill which does not provide for complete adult suffrage for all men and women of the requisite legal age should be strenuously opposed."

N.U.W.S.S. MEETING

On February 20th the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies held, for the first time since the War, a meeting in support of the cause for which it claims to exist. We wish that, with a better late than never, we might accord our whole-hearted approval of this meeting; but, unfortunately, it was seriously marred by the spirit

of compromise. Mrs. Fawcett, who presided, said that the terms on which a majority of the Speaker's Conference recommended the enfranchisement of women fell short of "the plain and simple equality" for which the National Union had always asked, but the Union considered the suggested compromise "so valuable" that it would urge the Government to introduce a Bill based on the lines of the Speaker's Conference. The National Union has thus publicly declared its readiness to abandon the claim for equal suffrage, but even more unfortunate are the efforts which it is making to induce other organisations to follow its lead. On February 17th, a Caxton Hall conference of suffrage organisations, convened through the instrumentality of the National Union, passed an ambiguous and compromising resolution. Its authors insist that the resolution debars those who signed it from asking the Government to introduce a broader measure than that suggested by the Speaker's Conference, but some of the signatories insist that it cannot bind them. We strongly deprecate such agreements and resolutions, and urge the maintenance of a firm, straightforward stand for the measure we desire and intend to secure—complete adult suffrage. And we would remind those of our friends who may be inclined to feel discouraged by the tendency to compromise displayed by the officials of certain organisations, that these organisations represent merely a middle-class clique, which is numerically insignificant as compared with the vast Labour organisations which are pledged to adult suffrage and with the mass of the people which recognises the justice of Votes for All. We must not attach too much importance to the fact that the National Union has offered to compromise at this juncture, for, despite Mrs. Fawcett's assertion that it has always asked for "plain and simple equality," the Union has again and again advocated a compromise. In the eighties it split the Suffrage movement by advocating the definite exclusion of married women from the franchise. We cannot think that those who are ever ready to bargain away the right to vote of this or that section of women have any clear and deep realisation of its value; but the political unwisdom of the compromisers is clearly evidenced by the fact that their effort is directed, not to secure that the opponents of Women's Suffrage shall agree to abate their hostility, but that its supporters shall recede from their principles and weaken their demands.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

C.E. WORK

THE DEMAND FOR TARIFFS

In July, 1916, Mr. Asquith appointed a Committee to consider the commercial and industrial policy to be adopted after the War. Assuming Mr. Asquith to be a staunch Free-trader, the appointment of a Committee to inquire into this subject in the height of the War fever was hardly a wise move, whilst the composition of the Committee was a most unhappy one from the Free Trade standpoint. As might have been anticipated, the Committee has recommended the establishment of a wider range of Customs duties, which would be reduced or remitted on the products and manufactures of the Empire, and would form the basis of commercial treaties with Allied and neutral Powers. We regret to state that, whilst the Irish representatives have prepared a separate statement, and even Sir F. E. Smith has some independent words of warning to give, certain Labour leaders have appended their signatures to the majority report. Are these men Socialists? If so, they should be building the possibility of the co-operative commonwealth, not advancing the interests of capitalism. If they are not Socialists, the Labour movement will in due time leave them behind.

NOT GOOD ENOUGH, MR. BARNES

If the forecasts of Mr. Barnes's proposed Pensions Bill are correct, the measure will prove unsatisfactory. It is said that allowances will be increased by 25 per cent., but they should be increased in accordance with the cost of living. It is also said that disability pensions are to be granted where the disability is due to "extraordinary exertion or exposure." Such a phrase at once opens up the way for dispute. We shall not be satisfied until the naval and military authorities take full responsibility for every man passed for service who is invalidated out of the service.

EMPLOYERS TO ENCOURAGE SEX SPIRIT

An American journalist, Mr. Will Irving, who has visited this country to study labour in War time, has been giving his impressions in the "Saturday Evening Post." He mentions a circular letter sent out by "a certain group of employers in the engineering trades in which attention was called to the reduction of labour costs since women were employed, and in which it was suggested that 'a little careful organisation and the encouragement of a sex spirit among women workers might forestall' the men who will come back from the War demanding their old jobs.

they have varied the minimum rates of wages fixed by them on July 5th for female workers, other than home workers, from 3jd. to 4d. an hour, and for female home workers from 3jd. to 4d. an hour. Certain additions have also been made to the pay of learners, varying from 8d. to 1s. 9d. per week. The variations take effect from the 12th inst.

WHY NOT MORE WOMEN FACTORY INSPECTORS?

In receiving a deputation from the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress on February 15th, the Home Secretary, Sir George Cave, defended the cutting down of the staff of factory inspectors on the ground that it is "difficult in these days to find suitable men." Then why not employ more women?

You must not miss these!!

NATIONAL DEFENCE: A Study in Militarism. By J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P. Cr. 8vo. 2/6 net.

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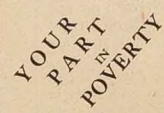
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Describing the tendencies which are steadily driving modern women out of the Churches. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 40 MUSEUM STREET, W.C.





C. H. NORMAN'S DIARY—(Continued from Front Page).

June 9th.—Forcibly fed through mouth: very painful, as the tube was too big for my throat. Ate a little dinner. Hunger strike suspended. Commandant jeered at me while in strait jacket in anticipation of reporting me for another court-martial. Spat blood in night.

June 14th.—Commandant told me I would be ordered to attend military parade on Monday. Said he did not believe any woman would speak to me.

June 16th.—Nothing fresh; but had half-an-hour's exercise first time for a fortnight. Various attempts made to persuade me to fall into line.

June 18th.—Visiting Officer told me I had been reported for court-martial. I explained my position; and he stated I should have an opportunity of making my defence on the taking of the summary of evidence to-morrow.

June 19th.—Commandant came in state of indignation to tell me that Army Council had reduced my sentence to 312 days; but expressed the hope that I should have another court-martial, which would send me away for a heavy punishment.

June 20th.—Nothing fresh; but had half-an-hour's exercise first time for a fortnight. Various attempts made to persuade me to fall into line.

June 21st.—Nothing fresh; but had half-an-hour's exercise first time for a fortnight. Various attempts made to persuade me to fall into line.

June 22nd.—Nothing fresh; but had half-an-hour's exercise first time for a fortnight. Various attempts made to persuade me to fall into line.

June 23rd.—Nothing fresh; but had half-an-hour's exercise first time for a fortnight. Various attempts made to persuade me to fall into line.

June 24th.—Nothing fresh; but had half-an-hour's exercise first time for a fortnight. Various attempts made to persuade me to fall into line.

June 25th.—Nothing fresh; but had half-an-hour's exercise first time for a fortnight. Various attempts made to persuade me to fall into line.

June 26th.—Nothing fresh; but had half-an-hour's exercise first time for a fortnight. Various attempts made to persuade me to fall into line.

June 27th.—Nothing fresh; but had half-an-hour's exercise first time for a fortnight. Various attempts made to persuade me to fall into line.

June 28th.—Nothing fresh; but had half-an-hour's exercise first time for a fortnight. Various attempts made to persuade me to fall into line.

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The action taken by the Joint Board, and the "Statement" issued by the Labour Party, which are referred to in the following pages, deserve a reply. Here it is.

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The above Books are Published by C. W. DANIEL, LTD., 3 Tudor Street, London, E.C., and are sold at the Office of "The Woman's Dreadnought."

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

February 13th.—Mr. King asked whether the Russian Government had now replied to the British Government's inquiry as to what it should do with Russian subjects of military age.

Lord Robert Cecil replied that the Russian Government had expressed its willingness to conclude an agreement, which "is at present being considered by the competent Departments."

Is Parliament to be consulted? No Department is competent to override the law of the land!

Why NOT WOMEN JURORS? Mr. Turton announced that the Attorney-General was consulting the Home Secretary as to whether farmers may be absolved from jury service.

May women take their places? The price of tea Mr. Flavin stated to have increased by over threepence since the pound during the last three weeks.

INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION. Mr. Tyson Wilson disclosed the fact that bricklayers, carpenters, painters, and plumbers who joined the Royal Engineers and passed the trade test have been transferred to the Infantry Works Company owing to physical unfitness.

THE EAST LONDON EXPLOSION. In reply to Colonel Yate, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Munitions (Sir Worthington Evans) stated that an investigation was taking place into the East London explosion.

ARMY SCANDALS. Captain Burgoyne indignantly protested against the placing of Lieutenant-Colonel Norris, D.S.O., on the unemployed list because he had reported to the proper authorities smoking on board a transport discharging shells and cordite at a French port, and because he had reported the discourteous treatment by the men of a German officer who was a prisoner of war.

WHY NOT MAKE USE OF M.P.'S? Mr. Bonar Law said that the War Cabinet secretariat consists of a secretary and ten assistants at a cost of £13,964.

OLD AGE PENSIONS. The case of the old-age pensioner was again referred to. Mr. Jonathan Samuel urged that where old-age pensioners obtain house and coal free from workmen's organisations to which they belong, such as the Durham Miners, and employees, the pension should not be reduced on that account.

ADULTALTY ALLOWANCES. February 14th.—Sir Kinloch-Cooke pointed out that Royal dockyard pensioners are getting from 10s. to £1 a week after from 25 to 40 years' service, and asked for an increase of 2s. 6d. a week for them.

Mr. Dillon urged that the dismissal of the Dublin police-men of the Dublin police force are discontented, and he thought rightly so.

Mr. Macpherson said that the discharge of Maurice Quinlan, aged 17, was refused, and that he is now in a lunatic asylum.

Mr. Byrnes stated that men interned for participating in the Irish Rebellion are now compulsorily serving in the Army because of previous residence in England.

Mr. Leif Jones appealed for the prohibition of intoxicating drink. He said that £2,000,000 had been spent on drink in 1916, that this was by far the greatest expenditure on record, and at least £18,000,000 more than that in 1915.

Mr. Arthur Sherwell argued for State purchase instead of prohibition, urging that working men regard beer as a food.

The Home Secretary, Sir G. Cave, said that the Government would maintain the food supply, and that as it had asked the people to sacrifice by limiting the consumption of certain food it would ask them to make what he implied to be the greater sacrifice of limiting the beer and spirits if need be.

Mr. Runciman, who showed no sign of adopting this policy when President of the Board of Trade came out as an advocate of prohibition, saying that necessity would lead to the suspension of manufacture, and that no harm but much good would come from prohibiting the sale of

drink. But he did not know whether the public would stand it.

Strange that the people are supposed to love their beer more dearly than their liberties or the lives of their sons!

Sir Leo Chiozza Money, who has now joined the Ministry of Shipping Control, made a very dull speech, taking care to give away no information.

Mr. King spoke most feelingly of the British wives of aliens who "for two and a-half years have suffered the hardships and restrictions of the alien enemy within our gates," and the children branded as enemies and helping to make up the 20,000 or more in London, whom Mr. Joynson Hicks had represented as a danger to the country.

The Attorney-General moved the Second Reading of a Bill to suspend Grand Jurors during the War. The function of the Grand Jury, namely, to decide whether a case shall be sent for trial, is to be transferred to the judge who will subsequently try the case.

February 15th.—Mr. Anderson urged that if 1lb. of sugar is what the Food Control thinks every person entitled to he ought to see that everyone is able to get it!

Captain Bathurst said that the Food Controller does not think the sale of sugar should be made conditional on the workman named Hallam lost £3,199, pd. in wages, in addition to cases where this is done.

Mr. Hudson stated that pending the decision of the Munitions Tribunal, which turned out to be in his favour, a workman named Hallam lost £3,199, pd. in wages, the question was, who should pay that sum to Hallam? He received no reply.

Sir G. Cave stated that the number of conscientious objectors is 3,025, 2,297 have been, or will be offered release from prison on condition that they perform work of national importance.

THE GOVERNMENT WOOL MONOPOLY. On the second reading of the Consolidated Fund, Mr. Sherwell, Mr. Theodore Taylor, and Sir W. Priestly protested against the Government control of the wool industry and the commanding of British, Australian, and New Zealand wool.

Mr. Ellison Davies also complained that the farmers were unequally treated. All the critics agreed that the Government has grossly mismanaged the business, and that its officials have no technical knowledge.

Much of the criticism may be apt, but it must be remembered that it is made by private business men, who believe their individual interests to be threatened.

THE NATIONAL SERVICE SCHEME. Mr. W. C. Anderson asked a number of questions in regard to the Ministry of National Service Bill, and Mr. Neville Chamberlain's National Service Scheme.

Mr. Anderson quoted "The Globe," which declared that the scheme "would manage to wreck voluntarism, which is perhaps what some of its friends really want."

Henderson, as usual, reminded all critics that "we are at War" and protested: "If we are going to be bound by pledges made under circumstances entirely different from our position becomes absolutely impossible."

Mr. Tyson Wilson and others declared it unnecessary that Mr. Shackleton, an ex-Labour M.P., should have the salary of £1,000 which he had as an Insurance Commissioner raised to £1,500 a year, now that he has been made Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Labour.

February 16th.—Mr. W. Thorne alleged that the employees of Messrs. Kearley and Fong, Ltd., when purchasing a half-pound of tea from the firm can buy six pounds of sugar.

Captain Bathurst replied that since October the employees of this firm have not been allowed more than three pounds of sugar a week. Since it is the Food Controller's firm, the matter ought to be cleared up.

Mr. Bonar Law announced that the Minority Report on the Dardanelles Commission will be published; but not the evidence!

The number of Ministers of the Crown, Mr. Bonar Law stated, is 34; the total amount of the salaries £133,500. Nearly £4,000 a year each! Economy!!

Mr. Hayes Fisher said that revised instructions will be issued with reference to Workhouse rations, since the bread allowance is 8 lbs. weekly, compared with 4 lbs. allowed to other persons.

The variety of diet for Workhouse inmates cannot be compared with that of the general public. What are the Workhouse inmates to have in exchange for the bread?

Treatment of Tuberculosis special grant of £27,000 was shared out by Mr. Booth as inadequate for in addition to the long waiting list of patients entitled to be treated, local authorities were doing the work that the Government had undertaken to do by the Insurance Act, and insured persons are obliged to pay by their weekly contributions and also in their rates.



### THE WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

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### WHAT'S ON? W.S.F. FIXTURES OUTDOOR

**FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23rd.**  
Lewisham Market Place, 2 p.m., Mrs. Walker.  
Poplar Women's Hall, 5 p.m., Sale.  
Poplar Women's Hall, 7.30 p.m., At Home.

**SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24th.**  
Grundy Street, 12 (noon), Miss Price.  
Fire Station (opposite Pitfield Street, Hoxton),  
12.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce, Miss Beamish.

**SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 25th.**  
Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Bouvier.  
Forest Gate Station, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Walker.  
Morpeth Street, Green Street, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Boyce.  
Hyde Park, 3 p.m., Mrs. Walker.  
Victoria Park, 3 p.m., Peace Meeting.  
Bow Women's Hall, 6 p.m., Public Meeting.

**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 26th.**  
Armagh Road, Bow, 11.30 a.m., Miss Price.

**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 27th.**  
Appian Road, Bow, 11.30 a.m., Miss Price.  
Ranwell Street, Bow, 2 p.m., Miss Price.  
Wright's Road, Bow, 2 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.

**WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 28th.**  
Ruston Street, Monier Road, Bow, 11.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.

**THURSDAY, MARCH 1st.**  
Cardigan Road, Bow, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Bouvier, Mr. Cant (B.S.P.).

**FRIDAY, MARCH 2nd.**  
Cardigan Road and Tredegar Road, 12 (noon), Mrs. Walker.

**SATURDAY, MARCH 3rd.**  
Cardigan Road, Roman Road, 11.30 a.m., Miss Price.  
Armagh Street, Roman Road, 3 p.m., Rev. Chalmers, Mrs. Boyce.  
Ford Street, Roman Road, 2.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker, Miss Price.

**SUNDAY, MARCH 4th.**  
Hyde Park, 3 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.  
Victoria Park, 3 p.m., Peace Meeting.  
Bow Women's Hall, 6 p.m., Public Meeting.

### INDOOR

**CHANDOS HALL "AT HOME,"** 21a Maiden Lane (off Bedford Street, Strand). On February 24th, at 3.30 p.m., Miss Theodora Wilson Wilson, "Alternatives"; Mr. R. E. Roper, M.A., M.Ed., "Discipline and Punishment." Chair, Mrs. Bouvier. March 3rd, Mrs. K. Outhwaite, "The Restoration of the Land"; Mr. E. J. Smith, "Can Peace be Enforced?" Chair, Miss Norah Smyth.

**BOW WOMEN'S HALL, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow.**—To-morrow (Sunday), 6 p.m., Mr. J. Arnall, Chair, Mrs. Boyce. March 4th, Mr. Edmund Fuller, "Within Prison Walls"; Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, "The Present Outlook." Miss Dorothy Matthews will give a recital from Oscar Wilde's "Ballad of Reading Gaol."

An entertainment in aid of the "Mothers' Arms," to-day (Saturday), at 8 p.m., has been kindly arranged by Nurse Hebbes and friends. Admission by programme, 3d. and 6d.

Friends and supporters will be pleased to hear that improved heating arrangements have been made at the Bow Women's Hall.

**POPLAR WOMEN'S HALL, 20 Railway St., Poplar** (opposite South Bromley Station, N.L.R.).—Wednesday, February 28th, at 8.15 p.m., Mr. John Scurr will lecture.

Admission free. All are welcome!

### OTHER ORGANISATIONS

To-morrow, Sunday, 8.15 p.m., at Kingsley Hall, Bow, Miss Theodora Wilson Wilson will speak. Bar and open discussion 9.30 p.m.

All Societies are cordially invited to send in notices of forthcoming events for our "What's On" column. Fee, 1d. per word.

### PEACE MEETING Victoria Park, To-Morrow SUNDAY, 3 p.m.

Speaker, Miss PRICE.  
Chair, Miss LYNCH.

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ARE YOU AN ACTIVE WORKING MEMBER?  
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**BARKING.**—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Langford, Ailsa Craig, 97 Essex Road.  
**BOW.**—400 Old Ford Road, E. Hon. Secretary: Miss Stevens. Branch meetings will be held every second and fourth Monday. Next meeting, February 26th, at 8 p.m. DREADNOUGHT sales week ending February 17th, 655. Miss O'Brien, 174; Miss Harriet, 131; Mrs. Holloway, 126; Miss Beamish, 47; Mrs. Greer, 42; Miss Price, 24; general, 111.  
**BROMLEY.**—53 St. Leonard's Street. Hon. Secs.: Mrs. Lansbury, Mrs. Wood.  
**CANNING TOWN.**—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Parsons, 94 Ravenscroft Road.  
**ENFIELD AND EDMONTON.**—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Beavis, 171 Church Street, Lower Edmonton.  
**LEYTON.**—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Hart, 73 Calderon Road. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 52.  
**POPLAR.**—Hon. Sec.: Miss E. Lagsding, 20 Railway Street. DREADNOUGHTS sold, per Mrs. Shlette, 78.  
**TIDAL BASIN.**—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Drake, 49 Crediton Road. DREADNOUGHT sales, average, 35.  
**ST. PANCRAS.**—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Redgrove, B.S.P. Hall, 44 Malden Road, Kentish Town. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 13.  
**WILLESDEN.**—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Sheppard, 141 Villiers Road. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 12.

### PROVINCES.

**BIRMINGHAM.**—Hon. Sec.: Miss A. F. Boden, 10 Sandhurst Road, Moseley. Four fortnightly lectures will be held in Sturleigh Institute at 7.30 p.m.  
**BRADFORD.**—Hon. Sec.: Miss McHale, 13 Airedale College Terrace. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 26.  
**BRISBANE AND NANTWYLO.**—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Hayward, Coedcae, Garn Fack.  
**BURNLEY.**—Hon. Sec. pro tem.; Mrs. Mortimer Holden, The Nurseries, Accrington.  
**CHESTER-LE-STREET.**—Hon. Sec.: Miss Faulkner, 14 Hilda Terrace, South Pelaw, Chester-le-Street.  
**CHOPWELL.**—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Bell, 62 Forth Street. Fortnightly meetings are to be held to discuss such books as "Woman and Economics," "Woman and Labour," etc. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 12.  
**CORNSAY AND QUEBEC.**—Hon. Sec. pro tem.: Miss Ellis, Dundalk House, Neville's Cross. Branch meeting, Monday, at 107 High Street, Cornsay. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 30.  
**DONCASTER.**—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Kent, 32 St. Sepulchre Gate.  
**DURHAM.**—Hon. Sec.: Miss C. Ellis, Dundalk House, Neville's Cross.  
**FERRVILL.**—Hon. Sec.: Miss Ruby Stoddart, 12 Hackworth Street, Dean Bank. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 12.  
**HUDERSFIELD, ROCHSTERHAM, WAKEFIELD.**—Organiser: Miss Stephen, c/o Mrs. Gee, 15 Springwood Terrace, Huddersfield.  
**LEEDS.**—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Hunter, 7 Sugdenfold, Armley. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 84.  
**LEICESTER.**—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Hill, 12 Sweetbriar Road.  
**MANCHESTER.**—Hon. Sec.: Miss E. Wastlewick, 13 Broughton Street. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 26.  
**MEDOMSLEY.**—Hon. Sec.: Tom Orr, Esq., 6 Derwent Cottages, Durham. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 24.  
**NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.**—Hon. Sec.: Mr. Nicholson, 19 Alexandra Road, North Heaton.  
**PORTSMOUTH.**—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Clarges, 200 Westfield Road, E. Southsea. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 8.  
**SHEFFIELD.**—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Chandler, 23 Abbey Lane, Woodseats. Members' meetings are held alternate Thursdays, at 7.30 p.m., Trades Hall, Charles Street. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 104.  
**SOUTHAMPTON.**—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Samuel, 33 Mount Street. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 12.  
**YORK.**—Sec.: Mrs. Hall, 43 Lowther Street. On Wednesday, 14th February, a branch of the W.S.F. was formed in York. The meeting which was held in the I.L.P. Rooms, Micklegate, was addressed by Miss Stephen, the Yorkshire organiser. Mrs. Hall was appointed secretary, and Mr. C. Rich, president. Both are energetic workers, so that the York Branch starts scratch. Intending members should attend the next meeting which will be held in the I.L.P. Rooms on Wednesday, 28th February, at 7.30 p.m.

### SCOTLAND.

**GLASGOW.**—Hon. Sec.: Lachlan Smith, Esq., 126 Bothwell Street.

### ELECTORAL REFORM

In the House of Commons on Tuesday, February 20th, Mr. Bonar Law said:

"It is clear that the House ought to have an early opportunity of deciding what action should be taken in connection with the report of the conference over which you, Sir, presided. After endeavouring to ascertain by unofficial inquiries what course would be most acceptable to the House, the Government have come to the conclusion that the best method of procedure would be that a resolution or resolutions embodying its decisions should be moved on behalf of the conference. If a motion to that effect is placed upon the Order Paper the Government will give an early opportunity for its discussion."

Dear Miss Pankhurst,—It seems to me that you are perfectly right with regard to "no compromise" on the Woman Adult Suffrage question. I belong to another Suffrage Society, but I enclose £1 is. for your "No Compromise" Campaign, and wish it all success.

Yours sincerely,  
MARY WILLOCK.

### VICTORIA PARK PEACE MEETING

On Sunday, February 18th, a Peace meeting was held in Victoria Park. There was a good deal of organised opposition, and while Mr. Fowler Shone was speaking this reached its height; the platform was rushed and there was considerable roughness used.

We appeal to those who are interested in the Peace Movement to support these meetings. The presence of a body of sympathisers serves to keep in check the more thoughtless elements of the crowd and make it impossible for the few who are consistently hostile to disorganise meetings.

### DEPUTATION TO ADMIRALTY

On Monday, February 19th, Dr. Macnamara received at the Admiralty a deputation from the League of Rights for Soldiers' and Sailors' Wives and Relatives. Dr. Macnamara promised certain concessions, and agreed that a number of points should be re-considered.

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Dr. Tchaykovsky, or to the Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E. All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

### GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED

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