

The War Paper for Women

VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

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

BRAVO, N.U.R.!



An official, interviewed by a representative of the "Daily Chronicle" at the headquarters of the National Union of Railwaymen on the subject of the newly decided admission of women to the Union, said:—"I think the men will see it is to their own benefit to admit women. The Union will insist on equal pay for equal work."

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

THE OUTLOOK
 A "National" Register

Mr. Long introduced under the Ten Minutes Rule, on Tuesday, a Bill for "compulsory local registration" of the people in this country between the ages of fifteen and sixty-five. Under this Bill we are all, men and women alike, to be asked to state our age, employment, and whether we are willing to offer ourselves for any special form of labour which we are acquainted other than that in which we are engaged. It is reasonable to suppose that the promoters of the Bill have considered the enormous technical difficulties in the way of carrying out its provisions, the vast army of clerical labour it will absorb, and the length of time that must elapse before it can be even approximately coherent or complete. One has only to study an ordinary census on these points to realise their cogency. It seems therefore possible that the resulting Register cannot become useful in the present war; but the apparent intention, at any rate, is to produce a war-register, and as such, the register will give rise to the bitter reflection among women that they are once more being reminded of their ludicrously inferior status in the community. They are fit to be registered, but not to have a voice in the use or purpose of a Register!

For Voteless Women!

It is both pitiful and terrible that the Government will not realise the ideal of national unity, and so strengthen the State by extending to English women the liberty for the maintenance of which English men are fighting. The inevitable Parliament Bill, which is required in order to avert a General Election during the war, and which, we understand, will rightly modify the conditions of electoral registration in the interests of the soldiers who return from the war, will offer a unique and perfect opportunity for a non-party solution of the non-party question of Woman Suffrage. By grasping that opportunity, the Government could redress a grievous injustice and combine the enthusiasm of all who love freedom into a unity. By persistently ignoring the rights of women, the Government are shamefully putting patriotic women in an intolerable position. For any form of compulsion of the voteless is an outrage and an insult—it embodies several elements of Prussianism; and though no doubt many women will feel it right to register, we ought to warn the Government while there is yet time that, if the Bill passes, probably a very large number of women of distinction and high character, women of the deepest patriotism, women whose nearest and dearest are risking or giving their lives for the ideal of freedom abroad, will feel that they can best uphold the same ideal of freedom at home by refusing to register unless they are made citizens. It lies with the Government to recognise and establish real national unity by making liberty begin at home.

Plural Voting

"A Wayfarer," whose weekly notes in the *Nation* are generally well-informed and often betray "inside" knowledge, wrote last Saturday: "I think it may be assumed that when the Bill for extending the life of Parliament is submitted, it will ensure the abolition of plural voting." We do not profess to understand exactly what Parliamentary procedure this implies or foreshadows. If plural voting is really to be done away with, that is no casual matter of detail, but a political change of far-reaching importance. No subject occasioned bitterer party controversy before the war, and it is barely credible that a Coalition Government, founded on the principle of the party truce, means to commit itself to the side of one party on so controversial a point. If indeed "electoral reform" is to be dealt with, then the enfranchisement of women, which is a genuinely non-party and urgently necessary reform, must come first. To refuse the women's claim on the ground that it is "controversial," and at the same time to pass a bitterly controversial measure in the interests of one political party of men-voters, would be an act of open and extravagant duplicity of which we refuse to suspect the new Government, and in which it would be idle to expect women to acquiesce. It would render absurd any talk about "national unity."

Women's Hours of Work

We are glad to see that Mr. Brace, Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department, in answering a question last week relative to the notorious case of a girl being worked in Messrs. Greenwood and Batley's factory from 6 a.m. one day till 7 a.m. the next, declared: "The hours worked by this firm were such as to be injurious alike to the health of the women and to the output of the necessary supplies; but these hours have been stopped, and I have no reason to think that such excessive hours have been worked by other employers in munition factories." On this declaration several comments fall to be made. The words we have italicised emphasize a truth which has for generations been the commonplace of everyone with any real knowledge of economic facts or industrial conditions, and which women may be trusted, when they have the vote, to see expressed in legislation more boldly than it has been expressed heretofore. It is good to learn that "these hours have been stopped"; but when we are told that "such excessive hours" have not been worked in other munition factories, we cannot forget that the stress, in that statement, has unfortunately to be put upon the *such*. That excessive hours are being worked in many, if not most, munition factories is undeniable, and we imagine, un-denied. We may remind our readers that the recent deputation to Mr. Runciman put before him figures to show that many women in these factories were working, not a *maximum*, but an *average*, of eighty-four hours a week.

National Union of Railwaymen

The decision come to by the National Union of Railwaymen at their annual general meeting, held last week at Nottingham, to admit women is one of the most important and encouraging events of the year. Everyone is aware that women are largely replacing men as ticket-collectors, booking-clerks, and in other capacities on the railways; but not everyone has paused to ask whether the women are getting the same wage as the men whose places they have taken. We pointed out in our leading article last week the absolute necessity, from the point of view of national salvation, of "equal pay for equal work"; we explained, and shall not cease to explain till the evil is finally scotched, that the "under-cutting" of men by women always inevitably tends to lower the standard of life, but in war-time entails, over and above that

lowering, other dangers too vast to envisage. We insisted that, seeing how great in any case must be the dislocation of industry after the war, to complicate it still further by lowering the price of labour and by creating all the conditions of a sex-war is nothing short of criminal. By no means all men Trade Unionists have seen the true prevention of these dangers to lie, not in exclusion, but in *equality*. All the more gratifying and encouraging is the statesmanlike action of the N.U.R.

Women in Trade Unions

At the end of 1913 there were 3,987,115 members of Trade Unions altogether, and there were 1,135 Unions. The number of Unions wholly or partially consisting of women was 217, and the total of women Trade Unionists was only 356,963—and, outside the textile trades, only 99,682. This is a deplorable discrepancy, and one cause of it is unfortunately to be sought in the hostile attitude of many men Unionists and exclusively male Unions. The war, by the sudden and enormous increase it has caused in female labour, has brought things to a crisis. What was, to the view of many, merely latent before is patent now. If anybody doubts the wisdom of the action taken by the N.U.R., he should refer to the interview from which we quote underneath our cartoon this week, and which appeared in the *Daily Chronicle* of June 26.

Items of Interest

Mr. Clynes, M.P., last week asked the Financial Secretary to the War Office "whether the firm of Hepburn, Gale, and Ross, leather manufacturers, Bermondsey, hold a contract with the Department; if so, whether he is aware that the wages paid by this firm are much lower than those paid by similar firms in the neighbourhood, and that girls employed on haversack and pack sewing, who have to buy their own thread, wax, and needles, can only earn about 3d. in an hour and a half; and whether he will have enquiries made with a view to the provisions of the Fair Wages Clause being complied with?" Mr. Forster replied: "The firm named holds contracts for the War Office. I have no knowledge of the facts alleged in the question, but I will have the matter enquired into."

The Tramways Committee of the Hull Corporation has decided to employ women conductors. They are to get the same wage as men conductors—27s. a week—but the war bonus which they would receive if they were men is to be given to the men drivers! The drivers are to turn the trolley-poles for the women, apparently as a set-off against this odd distribution of wages.

Speaking in the House of Commons on June 24, Mr. Brace, Under-Secretary for the Home Department, gave the total casualties resulting from raids by hostile aircraft as: Killed—24 men, 21 women, 11 children; wounded—86 men, 35 women, and 17 children. The French Official News of June 24 spoke of nuns and nurses having been killed in the German bombardment of Arras. A girl-worker at an aircraft factory is stated to have been killed at Farnborough by a poisonous vapour thrown off from a varnish used in the making of aeroplanes. These are but a few instances of the direct casualties among women in the war; the indirect are, of course, beyond all calculation.

Lord Hylton, speaking on behalf of the Local Government Board, has explained that the allegations as to the number of "war babies" have been very grossly exaggerated. "Information from all sources indicated that there was not likely to be a very large increase in illegitimate births."

The Central (Unemployed) Body has passed, by the majority of one, a scheme for training "suitable and willing" women for farm work and providing them with board and lodging during the period of training. We understand that the scheme must be approved by the Local Government Board before it is put into execution. The National Political League proposes to hold an exhibition on July 11, 12, and 13, "to demonstrate what women have done and are capable of doing on the land." The League is rapidly supplying labour all over the country, says the *Manchester Guardian*, and over 100 women are now being trained under its auspices.

Articles and News contributed for insertion in VOTES FOR WOMEN should be sent to The Editors, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper.

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FRIDAY, JULY 2, 1915.

THE "NEUTRAL OBSERVER" ON GERMAN WOMEN

The Times last Friday had another of those interesting articles written by a "Neutral Observer" in Germany. It was the eighth of the series, and it dealt with "Woman's Share in the War." The writer began by describing the large amount of "public" work upon which German women are now engaged. As instances of this public work he mentioned agricultural labour, drainage, tram-conducting, the manufacture of shells, the packing of cartridges, the making of tents, harness, and haversacks, work at chemical stores, surgical instruments, tinned meats, clothing, tobacco, and a few other items. He said it had been pointed out to him that the German soldier goes into battle equipped by the hand of the German woman. He told a story of a group of work girls standing at the entrance of an arsenal, and as a vanload of shells went past, shouting with delight, "There go ours!" "Yes, they are ours! They are ours!"

Incidentally, the writer remarked how difficult it was for German women, brought up to limit their interests perforce to their own household, and to regard affairs of State as being beyond their sphere, now to recognise their duties, "not as individuals, but as members of the organised State at war."

If it be remembered, he continued, that the German woman's "Mann" (husband) has in the past filled the orbit of her life to a far greater extent than in other countries, and that he was suddenly torn from her side at the very outbreak of the war, and an idea of the "common good," the "needs of State," substituted for him, the upheaval in the life of the German women will be realised.

Unhappily, the "Neutral Observer" omits to tell us whether these German women are working under State compulsion, and whether they are receiving the same rate of wages as the men whose places they have taken. We believe they are not working as "labour-conscripts" under compulsion, but we have no definite information as to the rate of their wages. Both points are of vital interest to the women of our own country. We think the "Neutral Observer" exaggerates the average German woman's difficulty in realising the "common good" or the "needs of State." The whole aspect of life in Germany tends rather to the suppression of individuality, whether in man or woman, and to the common service of the State, much as ants and bees sacrifice all personal life to the life of their highly socialised communities. Is it not, in fact, against such a despotic system of life and its extension throughout Europe that our statesmen tell us we are contending in this war?

But still we may say of British women as a whole that during recent years a knowledge of public affairs has been wider and more influential among them than among the women of Germany, and that their life's orbit has not been filled to the same extent by the private and personal interests of the "Mann." In any case, British women have not shown themselves at all behind the German women in their eager wil-

lingness to undertake all forms of "public" work for the "common good" and "needs of State." Week by week we have chronicled the enormous amount of work now performed by women for the national cause, from the most highly skilled surgery down to the tying of ammunition bags.

As to the two vital points which the "Neutral Observer" omitted to mention in the case of German women, we dwelt last week upon the great social danger which exists already and will vastly increase at the end of the war, if employers are allowed to count upon a perpetual supply of women's cheap labour to undercut the men. And as to compulsion for women's labour, if, as we believe, it is not used in Germany, it is certainly less required here. Even in the case of men, who enjoy a share in their government and have the future power of the vote to support them, the idea of State compulsion, whether for military or industrial purposes, is obnoxious to large and powerful sections of our people, and the clamour of Lord Northcliffe's papers is regarded both as needless and contrary to the national spirit. To apply a labour conscription to unenfranchised women, having no voice of any kind in their government, would obviously be still more contrary to that spirit of freedom for which our statesmen call upon us to fight. To outdo Germany in Germanising our social and daily life would establish a servitude to the very system from which our national forces are now striving to deliver Europe. Vain in the endeavour to cast out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of devils.

But we pass on to notice the last, and, for us, most significant point in the "Neutral Observer's" article. In his final paragraph he describes a scene already familiar to our readers—how, when the Imperial Chancellor was to make a speech upon the return of Prince Bülow from Italy, a crowd of women gathered outside the Reichstag and greeted him with shouts of "We want peace!" "We want our men back again!" He says the women were "of the out of work type," and many were arrested. Both statements are natural. The women would probably be poor, and peacemakers are usually persecuted. "Yet," as the "Neutral Observer" significantly adds, "when the time comes and women of Germany may demand peace, they will compel attention."

That belief is supported by an article in last Saturday's Westminster Gazette, in which, concerning a noticeable change in Germany's spirit, it is said that "professors, young middle class intellectuals, workmen, and women now dare to protest and to declare themselves against the evil born of the megalomania of the Pan-Germans." As to the workmen, the outcry raised even in the aristocratic Prussian Diet last week by representatives of the working classes who shouted "We have the masses with us!" "The masses want peace!"—that outcry supplies evidence of widespread feeling and change. And as to women, the desire to end the destruction of life is always natural to them, since they best know life's value, not only from the pain and peril of childbirth, but from the long and arduous toil of rearing up children to maturity. A passage from this week's "Wayfarer's" notes in the Nation illustrates the truth, both in regard to German women and womanhood in general:—

"I fancy the women's peace movement in Germany," says "Wayfarer," "with so many personal and family tragedies behind it, though not universal, finds strong, sometimes almost violent, vent. 'Do you wonder,' said a woman to me in describing this movement, 'that women feel for all this wreck of human bodies? Did they not help to make them?'"

So, while we yield to none in admiration of all women who, in these appalling times, assist their country by public work, we remember that the cry, "There go ours! They are ours, they are ours!" is less poignantly applied by women to shells than to sons.

THE U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB

Canterbury Pilgrims of To-day

There is not much left of Chaucer's London South of the Thames to-day. But I doubt whether the Canterbury Pilgrims who met at the Tabard Inn, Southwark, on that May morning so long ago, had more of the spirit of high



THE CLUB.
At 92, Borough Road, S.E.

adventure in them than we had when we went down to the Borough, last November, and founded our United Suffragists' Women's Club. We did not know in the least if we should be welcome. We did not even know if our South London friends would be "clubbable"; for there is always the danger that if you tell women often enough that their place is the home they may come to believe it in the end, and refuse to leave it for any purpose—whether to make shells for the Government, or to read the paper over a cup of tea at their club. However, we soon found that in Southwark, as elsewhere, many women would have no homes at all unless they went out of them to earn money to keep them going. And when your home is as badly built and as uncomfortable as most of the homes of the workers are in this country, you have no difficulty in learning to be clubbable.

There was never any doubt about the popularity of our Club. We have regular members of it to-day who joined directly it was opened; and new members have been coming in ever since. There are now nearly 100 paying members (the Club subscription is 1d. per month and the entrance fee is 1d., which has to be paid afresh if the subscription becomes overdue), and every member can bring a visitor, but not the same one more than twice. Although nearly all the members are relatives of soldiers—it would be difficult to be anything else in the Borough!—membership is open to every woman, or girl over the school age; and some of those who most need the Club and all that it means are the sweated workers, or the wives of invalid husbands who are receiving rather less attention than usual just now because they are not soldiers' wives.

And what does the Club mean? Some one asked me the other day what we did to educate the women. I could not say, being only con-

scious myself of how much the Club had done, so far, to educate me. But I suppose what is really happening at the Club is that we are all helping one another to get over stiles at this most difficult and tragic time in our history; and whether we are trying to keep ideas alive at our Suffrage meeting on Tuesday evening, or listening to the cheery entertainments provided on Thursday evening by Miss Hilda Saxe, or bringing to our resourceful Secretary, Miss Cochrane, all sorts of knotty points to be settled, from the teeth of Mrs. A.'s baby to the delayed separation allowance of Mrs. Z., whether we are sharing in the activities of the Club or merely using it, as a man does, as a place in which to sit and have a meal, I suppose it is true in a way to say that the Club means good fellowship to us all.

If you walk in about four o'clock you will find mothers and babies sitting over their cup of tea and reading the papers, or working while they gossip about the last letter that came from the front. You would think that conversation might flourish more easily without the gramophone; but it doesn't really. In a competition with "Tipperary" the thrilling account of how "my Joey" developed measles just as he was off for a country holiday wins easily; and it is surprising how soon you grow accustomed to conversing under cover of a brass band "record."

The evening is our busiest time, for the workers come then, and business is very brisk on the ground floor about 9.30, when everybody is trying to get to the counter for "a cup of tea and two slices of bread and butter, or jam" (price 3d.); or "a cup of chocolate and piece of cake" (price 1d.); and there is no doubt that the excellence of the food provided is one of our greatest assets at the Club. That is why we are so grateful to the kind U.S. members and others who send us country butter and country

flowers and home-made cake and jam and marmalade. Also to those who send us books or clothes to give away, or sell at our Jumble Sales. This, for instance, is the kind of letter we like to receive—straight from the blue, as it were:—

Dear Comrade,—Parcel sent to-day—1 shirt, 1 suit, dressing-gown, collars, and ties. Good luck!—Yours, &c., A. K. P.

Or this:—

Dear Madam,—I cannot send you home-made stuff, but I will send you a case of jam if it will be of any use to you. Will you let me have a post-card?—Yours faithfully, C. W. E.



WHERE REFRESHMENTS ARE SERVED
On the right may be seen the cheese sent with a consignment of provisions from our fellow-citizens in Queensland

I have not really expressed half of what the Club does mean to all of us. You have to go there regularly to learn what a jolly place it is, and how friendly the members are, and how blessedly possible it is, even in the midst of a European war, to forget one's anxiety for a little while over the husband or son in the trenches, and to feel a gleam of hope for a happier future.

On the whole, I think the U.S. Canterbury Pilgrimage to beyond the Tabard Inn at Southwark, last November, was worth while.

One of the Pilgrims.

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A CLUB MEMBER

NEW BOOKS

ONE OF OUR POETS*

We wish we had half Miss McLeod's complaint. For her complaint is youth, and she has it in a violent and, we suspect, an incurable form. Her work is full of gusto and vehemence and ardour. Its faults are the faults of youth, and its merits the merits of a genuine and passionate inspiration. The last (and finest) poem in the book before us is entitled "Rebel," and begins:

Since I was a little child
My spirit has been swift and wild,
With pinions flapping hard on fate,
And burnt and blown with love and hate!
I've hated all that's mean and cold,
All that's dusty, tame and old,
Comfortable lies in books,
Pallid Virtue's sidelong looks,
Fear that gags the jaws of Truth,
Doubt that weights the heels of Youth,
Saints who wash their hands too clean,
And walk where only saints have been,
And mobs that blabber—Crucify!
On him who fixes heaven too high:
All of these I seek to blast.
Love's hate shall drive me to the last.

Where the inspiration is equal to the mood, the result is not merely strong, but splendid. Where it is not, the failure is caused by the mistaking of violence for strength. The poem beginning,

"I'll sit no more and weep apart,"

is an instance of this: such a phrase as

Creeping, crawling, devil's lice,

is not imaginative, it is just angry: it does not illuminate or interpret, as poetry should—it does not even "get home," as invective should: nor is "swine," as a term of abuse, æsthetically possible except in the semi-humorous use to which Browning put it! Another indication of immaturity is the uncritical alternation between good and bad in one and the same poem. Readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN will remember the profound and profoundly moving lines, "Mother and Son," which Miss McLeod contributed to these columns. The ordinariness of such a couplet as

Think you that I have lived in vain
These years of wonder, joy and pain?

is lost sight of in the music and meaning of what comes before and after—but that it should be there at all is really a wrong done by Miss McLeod to her own genius. These, though, are not vital defects; as we have said, they are the faults of youth. We wish we had room to quote "London," with its rush of magical phrases, the "Child's Prayer," with its striking alternation between word and thought, "Lone Dog," "The Sword," and "Mary's Baby"—all original and real, all essentially poetic. But lovers of poetry should get the book and see for themselves. We cannot, however, omit a mention of "Unfulfilled," where the tragedy of age is realised with all the intensity of youth:

Oh, to have the spirit when the body is full of years!
Oh, to hear the echo, and never the song!
Oh, to be old, and not to have age in my ears!
I have plucked at flowers all my days,
and they have died,
The roots were too deep,
The roots were too strong,
The roots were spread too wide!

It is, we think, unquestionable that Miss McLeod has "the real thing": if she can but learn that "the gods approve the depth, and not the tumult, of the soul," she should go very far.

THROUGH THE KEYHOLE†

It is impossible to read published love-letters and escape the feeling of having looked through a keyhole. The uncomfortable sensation is

* "Songs to Save a Soul." By Irene Rathesford McLeod. (London: Chatto and Windus. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

† "Juliette Drouet's Love Letters to Victor Hugo." Edited by Louis Guimbaud, translated by Lady Theodora Davidson. (London: Stanley Paul and Co. Price 10s. 6d. net.)

accentuated in the case of such a budget of correspondence as that of Juliette Drouet, recently edited by Louis Guimbaud, and translated by Lady Theodora Davidson. Their sincerity only intensifies one's feeling of being an eavesdropper; for no one could read these 300 pages of abandonment, of reiterated and passionate declarations of affection, without knowing with absolute certainty that they were never intended by the writer for publication, or, indeed, for any eyes but those of Victor Hugo, her "little beloved," her Toto. Since such love-letters are published, we can but conclude that there is a public that likes to look through the keyhole. But we cannot believe that many women care to read another woman's outpourings of sentiment, obviously meant for one person only, or that any true lover, man or woman, wants to discover how absurd a figure he or she would cut if a daily and intimate correspondence were suddenly exposed to the public vision and made to challenge ordinary literary criticism.

The most attractive part of the volume, in our opinion, is the interesting manner of its illustration by half-tone reproductions of various portraits of the two lovers, of delightful drawings by Pradier, and of facsimiles of handwriting.

A CAPTIOUS PROPHET*

Boon, who died, and Bliss, who edited his "remains," and Wells, who wrote the Introduction for Bliss, are one person—so much is pretty clear. The reasons of the elaborate deception (which is no deception) are not apparent: where H. G. Wells is Bliss, "tis folly for him to be Boon as well. "Bliss," says the introduction, "can write all sorts of things that Wells could not do." In other words, this extraordinary book is a calculated indiscretion. In it the trend of English and American literature, and then the trend of European life, culminating in the

* "Boon; The Mind of the Race, The Wild Asses of the Devil, and The Last Trump." By Reginald Bliss. Introduced by H. G. Wells. (London: Fisher Unwin. Price 6s.)

war, are satirised at large and in detail. There is a great deal that is very personal, and there are some enchanting thumb-nail illustrations. But what good comes of it at last we should find it rather difficult to say.

We can remember an equally critical but more helpful Mr. Wells—a Mr. Wells whose indignations issued in the constructive schemes of an impassioned idealism—the Mr. Wells of "New Worlds for Old." Here the mental gesture is that of a man who throws up his hands in despair. "These people make me sick" is the author's implicit text. We do not think the mood of a rather fretful and tired disgust is one in which any author could do himself justice: we suspect it is precisely because Mr. Wells knows he is *not* doing himself justice that he interposes Bliss and Boon. The mood is one to which man as man is liable. After a discussion about a Mr. Osborn, who, we believe, writes militant articles in the *Morning Post*, Bliss tells us: "Boon consoled himself very much for a time by making further speculative sketches of Mr. Osborn, as the embodiment of the Heroic Spirit. I append one or two of the least offensive of these drawings." This, perhaps, explains the whole book. Mr. Wells, we imagine, has "consoled himself very much for a time" by letting loose at random, without artistic care or coherence, all his objections to America, Agnosticism, Academies, Schopenhauer, Houston Chamberlain, and so forth. A good deal of the result is, of course, amusing in a mild way, but only in one place do we get to anything like a true Wells level—and that is in Bliss's comments at the end on Boon's last effort, the bitterly cynical and despairing story of "The Last Trump." Says Bliss: "I know how feebly we apprehend things, I know how we forget, but because we forget it does not follow that we never remember, because we fail to apprehend perfectly it does not follow that we have no understanding. . . . That instant vision of God would not have been dismissed altogether. People might have gone on, as Boon tells us they went on, but they would have been haunted nevertheless by a new sense of deep, tremendous things. . . ."

BOOKS RECEIVED

"School for Lovers." By E. B. de Rendon. (London: Stanley Paul. Price 6s.)
"Bank and Riches." By Archibald Marshall. (London: Stanley Paul. Price 6s.)
"The Roll of Honour." By Evelyn Close. (London: Melrose. Price 6s.)

SPECIAL U.S. CONFERENCES

MISS DOTY LAST THURSDAY

The second meeting in this series of conferences upon subjects of special interest to women was held in the Portman Rooms on Thursday, June 24, at 3 p.m.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, in the chair, introduced Miss Madeline Doty, Prison Commissioner of New York, who was the guest and chief speaker of the occasion. Miss Doty, she said, was articled and trained as a lawyer, but though brought up among the precedents and natural conservatism of the law, she had felt the "human claim," which naturally appeals most to women. She had determined to found a Children's Court on the lines of the Court established by Judge Lindsay in Denver, Colorado, in spite of the violent opposition of her excellent "graft," which he had described in his excellent book, "The Beast." Miss Doty had herself gone voluntarily to prison to learn what the whole system meant, and her reforms in the matter of the Children's Court and prison life had been extraordinarily successful. They were part of that great International Woman's Movement for true peace and the preservation of life.

Miss Doty, who spoke with conversational simplicity and ease, making no attempt at rhetoric, began by describing the Children's Court now established in New York, as at Denver, and by Miss Jane Addams in Chicago. There were four judges and about 12,000 cases, discussed rather than tried, every year. So far no woman had been appointed judge, the Bill for the appointment of women having been recently lost by ten votes only.

Life in Prison

Miss Doty then went on to describe her prison life when she was shut up under a nominal charge of forgery. Here the interest of a large part of the audience became personal and intense, for people who have suffered always like to hear the

experiences of fellow-sufferers in other countries. Miss Doty told of her admission into the gaol, the bath, the scrubbing by wardresses, the flood of kerosine poured over her hair, the general treatment apparently intended to degrade and break the spirit as much as possible. She told how the warder who wrote down her "particulars" remarked to his colleague, "All the stigmata of criminality!" Then she described the daily life—up at 6, clean cell, eat, walk half an hour, hem blankets, eat, walk half an hour, and so on. All in absolute and inhuman silence. "Stop looking at the cat!" cried a wardress to a prisoner on the walk round and round the courtyard. When Miss Doty asked for a blanket against the cold, there was an uproar of rage among the prison authorities. In consequence of her representations, reforms had been carried out, but she confessed she was almost in despair of the general movement until Mrs. Lawrence's recent visit to America inspired them all with new hope and courage.

After a few words from the chairman, pointing out the necessity of breaking through the Trade Union of Lawyers and revising the Solicitors Bill for the admission of women, Mrs. Scurr read a reasoned and very carefully prepared paper on women's wages. It was mainly statistical, and would be most valuable if issued as a pamphlet for reference. Mrs. Scurr showed that there are now about 7,000,000 women workers in Great Britain, of whom about 3,000,000 work for dependants. She discussed the whole question of the advantages and disadvantages of women's labour, and especially urged a closer connection between the political and industrial aspects of our cause.

A very interesting discussion followed upon various points raised by the speeches. The conference was very well attended. A large proportion of the audience were men, and all the speakers were listened to with deep attention.

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C. Telephone, Holborn 5880
Colours: Purple, White and Orange

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

Membership Card

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

The United Suffragists—

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

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

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

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

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

I wish to join the United Suffragists, whose object I approve.

Name (Mr., Mrs., or Miss)

Please write clearly.

Address

Fill in the above Form and post it to Hon. Sec. United Suffragists, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

THE CAMPAIGN

Indoor Meetings

THURSDAY, JULY 1: 3 to 5 p.m.—PUBLIC MEETING.—SMALL PORTMAN ROOMS, BAKER STREET, W. SPEAKERS: MRS. BEN WEBSTER and MR. PETHICK LAWRENCE. CHAIR: MRS. WHELEN. ADMISSION FREE.

Friday, July 2: At Home.—Onward Buildings, 207, Deansgate, Manchester. Speaker: Mr. J. Beanland on "The Widening Issues."

Friday, July 2: 4 to 6 p.m.—At Home.—47A, Earl's Court Road, W. Speakers: Mrs. Ayrton Gould and Mr. Laurence Housman. Chair: Mrs. Cobden Hirst.

Tuesday, July 6: 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club. Speaker: Mrs. Henderson.

THURSDAY, JULY 8: 3 to 5 p.m.—PUBLIC MEETING.—SMALL PORTMAN ROOMS, BAKER STREET, W. SPEAKERS: MR. GEORGE LANSBURY and Others. CHAIR: MRS. AYRTON GOULD. ADMISSION FREE.

Friday, July 9: 8 p.m.—At Home.—2, Crossfield Road, Hampstead. Hostess: Madame Godfrey. Speaker: Mrs. Ayrton Gould.

Thursday, July 15.—At Home.—Onward Buildings, 207, Deansgate, Manchester. Address by Mrs. Duncan.

Thursday, July 22: 3 p.m.—Working Party.—Lower Road, Chorley Wood. Hostess: Mrs. Biddle.

Outdoor Meetings

Friday, July 2: 8 p.m.—Corner of Skipton Street, London Road. Speaker: Miss Mary Phillips.

Wednesday, July 7: 8 p.m.—Corner of Sydney Street, Manchester.

Thursday, July 8: 8 p.m.—Corner of Oakley Square, Old Kent Road. Speaker: Miss Balchin.

SOUTH LONDON

Organiser, Miss M. Phillips, 92, Borough Road, S.E.

Mrs. McLeod's description of Red Cross work at the front was very much appreciated at the Club, and it was especially encouraging to hear how her suffrage ideals had inspired her in all her work, and that she still held them as firmly as ever.

Mr. William Smith, a new speaker, whom we are glad to welcome as a U.S. member and worker, gathered and held one of the largest crowds we have had at Skipton Street on Friday.

U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB

Secretary, Miss M. R. Cochrane, 92, Borough Road, S.E. Telephone: Hop 4172

Our Tuesday evening meeting was well attended, and our members were much interested in all Mrs. McLeod told them of her

NEXT WEEKLY MEETING PORTMAN ROOMS

(BAKER STREET, W.)

ON Thursday, July 8th,

from 3 to 5 p.m.

SPEAKERS:

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY
ON
THE ORGANISATION OF WOMEN'S WORK, AND OTHERS.

CHAIR:

MRS. AYRTON GOULD.

ENTRANCE FREE

DISCUSSION INVITED

experiences at the front. On Wednesday Mrs. Fox introduced "Mrs. Wiggs" to some of our members, and they were soon quite enthralled at her adventures; and on all Wednesday evenings the younger members have their old English dancing.

The Misses Fox came down to give us a concert on Thursday. They are such old friends to us now that the audience begins to laugh as soon as they appear—our members always know how much they will enjoy themselves. We have had some beautiful flowers this week from Mrs. Harben, Miss Gore Browne, and Miss Hook, but we can do with any amount more.

We have to thank an anonymous giver of some copies of the *Illustrated London News*. I wish the giver could see the members enjoying them; one said to me, "Why, the pictures talk to you."

We also want to thank Miss Wilmot for 5s. We are always glad of clothes; just now we especially want blouses, but clothes of all sorts are always useful.

BIRMINGHAM U.S.

Hon. Sec. Miss M. Haly, 103, Bunbury Road, Northfield

Miss Smith, our Treasurer, reports that she sold 54 dozen VOTES FOR WOMEN in the street last week. Who is going to beat this? Paper-sellers are badly

needed, and will all wishing to take up this very important work please send in their names to Miss Green, 379, Harborne Hill, Edgbaston, or to the Secretary? Mrs. Ryland, of 19, Hermitage Road, Edgbaston, is very kindly giving an At Home to U.S. members on Saturday, July 3. It is hoped a large number of members will turn up for this delightful afternoon.

KENSINGTON U.S.

Hon. Sec., Miss Postlethwaite, 47A, Earl's Court Road, W.

Shoppers were much interested to see the Suffrage flag again at the corner of Wrights Lane, and, thanks to Mrs. Gow and Miss Mary Phillips, a very useful little meeting was held. Handbills were readily taken and papers sold. It is hoped members and friends will make an effort to come to the at-home on Friday, July 2, four to six, at 47A, Earl's Court Road, as this is the last meeting in the shop before the holidays (see Campaign). It is proposed to hold a jumble sale at the end of July to help pay the rent of the shop. Will members kindly note this and please send contributions to the above address? Miss Grainger is welcomed as a new subscriber to VOTES FOR WOMEN.

MANCHESTER U.S.

Hon. Sec., Miss Hope Hampson, "Trevena," Bowden

Nurse Griffin was the speaker last week at the weekly Sydney Street meeting, and had a good audience. It is hoped that as many members as possible will come to the at-home on July 2 and bring their friends. Mr. J. Beanland will give an address.

HOLIDAY CAMPAIGN

In response to the VOTES FOR WOMEN Holiday Campaign suggestion in last week's paper, various letters have been received from different parts of the country. One member, living at the seaside, offers "a couple of hours each day to help the Cause," and another, in Norfolk, will lend a room for a week in July if one or two members would care to occupy it, and to do a week's work in the district. The Organiser will be glad to hear of anyone who would like to avail herself of this invitation.

More information is wanted, and wanted quickly, about members' holiday plans. A post-card will do, addressed to Holiday Campaign Organiser, United Suffragists, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., and saying

- (1) Where you are going;
- (2) Date of going and returning;
- (3) What time you can give to selling or advertising;
- (4) Whether you will subscribe towards cost of showing posters at Holiday Resorts.

The last is an excellent way of helping, especially for those who cannot do the actual selling.

Our paper is the oldest weekly Suffrage paper in existence, and we have been proud of it ever since the day of its first appearance. But we never had better cause of pride than now, when it is keeping alive the ideals of the women's movement at a most difficult and most vital time. Now is the time to work! Let the Holiday Campaign of 1915 be a rousing success!

NOTE OUR CHANGE OF ADDRESS

TO

4-7, Red Lion Court,
Fleet Street, London.

THE RECENT CONGRESS OF THE WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE GUILD

By the courtesy of the editor of the *New Statesman* we are able to reproduce large portions of an admirable article contributed to that paper last week, over the initials L. S. W., on the recent Congress of the Women's Co-operative Guild:—

The view of the working woman is that of a mother, of the mother of her class: it rarely finds expression in Westminster or the columns of the *Times*. It is characteristic of the working-class mother that she "looks ahead." . . . And so the speakers at the Congress took the long view of the war's problems. The lowering of the school-going age, the proposal to "help the farmers" by sending the children into the fields did not appeal to them in the least. . . . The Congress . . . was unanimous in condemning the use of all child labour at the present time.

It was also unanimous on the extremely important question of the employment of women. It welcomed the opening of new industries to women, but urged that "safeguards should be established against low wages, long hours, and the undercutting of men." It is to be regretted that the working-classes generally, the Government, and the whole nation, are not as alive to the dangers of the present situation as these working women. Here, again, it is a question of taking the long view. Take the munitions question. People, some of whom are in very high places, talk as if nothing should be considered at the moment but how to increase the supply of shells. The Congress did not take that view; the speakers were clear that the life and health of the girl worker in the factory are as important as the man's in the trenches. And it must be remembered that there were few women in the hall at Liverpool who had not a husband, son, or near relation among the men in the trenches. But they know that if the worker requires a job from Government, the employer requires a far bigger job. One speaker from the Midlands told how her own niece, aged seventeen, had been taken on at 2d. an hour in a new munitions factory, where the girls work from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. The most fiery patriot might hesitate to demand the relaxation of all trade union rules with such a fact staring him in the face.

The feeling of the Congress on this subject was clear—namely, that if Government is to organise an industry, the pressure of the law must be evenly distributed. Abandonment of trade union rules on one side implies and requires abandonment of private profits on the other—a very different thing from vague talk about the limitation of profits. And if the law is to be used to increase output, it must also be used to enforce a minimum living wage and reasonable hours; for the working classes have learnt this lesson from a century of industrial mismanagement: that sweating and excessive hours are not the best means of increasing output. There is no question here of loyalty; if loyalty implies cheerful sacrifice, the working woman in war time has not fallen short of the highest standard. But she is loyal alike to her country and to her class. This was shown at the Congress in the discussion on the question of the substitution of women for men in industry at the present time. Working women, it was indicated, will be glad of the opportunity of entering new industries, but if they are to take the places of men who go to the front they will regard themselves as guardians of those interests for which the men have fought so long in the trenches of industry, the trade unions. And there is most urgent need of this kind of loyalty. Government Departments are encouraging the substitution of women for men, and the Labour

Exchange Department asked the Women's Guild to urge its members to register for war service. The Guild, in consultation with other organisations, laid down the conditions which the Government should be asked to enforce in cases of women undertaking work owing to war. They included (1) An Advisory Committee with representation of industrial women's organisations; (2) the condition that all women substituted for men should join a trade union; (3) the rigid enforcement of equal pay for equal work; (4) the abolition of sweating conditions. So far Mr. Runciman has passed by these demands of organised industrial women; but the Government should take the first step towards meeting them in the new Munitions Bill—*e.g.*, by introducing safeguards against the industrially as well as socially ruinous policy of underpayment and overwork. Meanwhile there is evidence that Government Departments are actually moving in the opposite direction by trying to get women to undercut the men who leave their work in order to fight for their country. There is a real danger of the whole standard of life of the industrial classes being lowered in this way. This will enormously increase the dislocation of industry which is bound to come at the end of the war, and with which the Government will most certainly be called upon to deal. It is, therefore, essential that action in this case should be taken immediately. The Government should follow the working woman's example, and look ahead.



For 'Nerves'

(Letter from Southend resident, on file.)
 "During the recent Air Raid over Southend, Hall's Wine proved a great help to us, as I happened to have a bottle by me. It worked wonders when administered to the ladies, and prevented the nervous collapse of several when the bombs were dropping and the strain on the nerves was at its worst. I have used Hall's Wine with benefit on various occasions, but have greater faith in it now than ever."

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COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Assault on a Little Girl
The Kent Messenger and Maidstone Telegraph (June 19) reports case of a soldier charged at the Kent Assizes with an offence against a little girl aged 6, in the presence of two other children. Prisoner, who had a long list of previous convictions dating from 1897, pleaded that he was drunk at the time. He was described as "a disgrace to the army."
 Sentence: Twelve months' hard labour.

Offence Against a Girl

The Kent Messenger and Maidstone Telegraph (June 19) reports case of a soldier charged at the Kent Assizes with an offence against a girl during the month of October. It was stated that prisoner bore a good character, and that if he were discharged he would leave with the next draft for the front.
 Sentence: Bound over to come up for judgment if called upon.

No more flagrant instance could be found of the relative values which English judges tend to place on person and on property than the second of the two cases we quote above. The first contrast is bad enough, but there, at any rate, the man who committed the worse crime was punished, though more lightly than the man who committed the smaller crime. But in the second case we find a man, charged with an offence against a girl, merely bound over, apparently on the double ground that he had previously borne a good character, and that he would soon be going to the front. Does the judge really hold that such a man is fit to go to the front? If it were a German soldier who was guilty of "an offence against a girl," would not our whole Press ring with denunciations—and rightly—of licence and brutality? Turn to the case which we have contrasted with that of the fortunate soldier who was only bound over. Here we find the presumably excessive sentence of twelve months' hard labour for thefts which were apparently not on a very large scale. We do not pretend that theft, especially theft by anyone in the responsible position of a postman, is a trivial or negligible offence; but we are moved to deep indignation when we see the law of the land estimating it as precisely equal to the commission of "an offence against a little girl aged six" by a man with "a long list of previous convictions dating from 1897" (see first of the cases quoted above). Moreover, we strongly deprecate the spirit of the judge's comment, which, if it is correctly reported (and we can scarcely believe that it is), seems to imply that irrelevant circumstances may be taken into account in passing sentence for a perfectly definite crime. The judge cannot have meant that the mere fact of the temporary postman in question taking the vacated job of an enlisted man was to be counted as an aggravation of the crime: whatever one may think about the urgency of enlistment, that would be a point of view so contrary to all legality that we simply cannot credit a judge, or anybody else, with holding it. What he perhaps did mean was that the man's motive in taking the job may have been the motive of theft. Whether this was so, or whether the judge thought or meant to say it was so, we cannot tell. What we are sure of is that English

HEAVY SENTENCES

Theft by a Soldier
The Bristol Observer (June 26) reports case of a soldier charged at the Bristol Assizes with stealing £247 from his landlord. Prisoner pleaded guilty to stealing £37. There was one previous conviction for theft.
 Sentence: Eighteen months' hard labour.

Theft of Postal Packets

The Kent Messenger and Maidstone Telegraph (June 19) reports case of a temporary postman charged at the Kent Assizes with stealing a postal packet containing sixpence and a competition coupon. Other articles had also been found when his lodgings were searched. Prisoner said that it was his first mistake, and pleaded for leniency, as he wished to join the army. The judge remarked that the theft did not represent the extent of the offence. Prisoner had waited for another man to join the army, and then taken on his job.
 Sentence: Twelve months' hard labour.

WOMEN DOCTORS WANTED

At a meeting held last Monday in aid of the extension of the London School of Medicine for Women, Mr. Acland is reported to have said: "There is a great need of more medical women. The men's medical schools are practically empty, the women's schools are full." We cannot help wondering what view is taken of the national reliance upon medical women to-day by people who are opposing the free entry of women into those professions and those departments of public life which are still shut to them. Everybody knows that the pioneer women doctors were assailed with every kind of abuse and obscenity. Everybody knows that the wiseacres and platitudinarians of that day used exactly the same kind of argument against the admission of women to medicine which they use now against the admission of women to the franchise. The success of women doctors has long ago put such arguments to rout; but the war has completed the rout. For one has only to point out that, if the excluders had had their way, the country would have now suffered, in loss of life and aggravation of pain and illness, more than it is possible to calculate. Is it possible that the new excluders will not apply that lesson to the new conditions? For, beyond doubt or question, for every year that they succeed in preventing women from sharing in the organisation and salvation of the State by the direct means of the vote, they are costing the England of the future an incalculable number of lives.

WOMEN AND AGRICULTURAL WORK

So many women and girls are responding to the call for their services for hawking, harvesting, and other agricultural work that the question of what is the most sensible thing for them to wear is important. The Three Arts Women's Employment Fund (26, Somerset Street, W.) has designed a perfect garment for the purpose—the "Three Arts" overall. It is comfortable, easily washed, and becoming. Queen Alexandra bought a pale blue one when she visited the workrooms last week. They can be obtained in all colours, with pretty sun-bonnets to match. And the Fund, which finds employment for musicians, artists, and actresses, whose professions have suffered so much through the war and who can get no other work, will welcome orders.

ORGANISATION OF WOMEN WORKERS

There is no subject more urgent from the point of view of national welfare than the organisation of the women workers who, in rapidly increasing numbers, are being called upon to bear so many of the industrial burdens of to-day. Mr. Lansbury has consented to speak at the subject in the Portman Rooms, at the U.S. free meeting on July 8, at 8 p.m. The meeting is one of a weekly series which the U.S. are holding to discuss and safeguard women's interests in these changing times. The week after, on the 15th, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be the chief speaker, on her return from a speaking tour in Scotland. Many Suffragists have expressed their interest in the topical development of Suffrage activity represented by these meetings.

WOMAN'S THEATRE WAR RELIEF MATINEES

Last week the "Woman's Theatre," which owes its inception to the Actresses' Franchise League, gave four matinees at the Pavilion Theatre in aid of various funds and activities in connection with the war—the Era

War Distress Fund, the Women's Emergency Corps, the Serbian Relief Funds, and the Disabled Soldiers' and Sailors' Fund. The "Woman's Theatre," as all Suffragists know, was originally started in order "to present plays which set forth the women's point of view, to provide a new outlet for the activities of women members of the theatre profession, to run the theatre on a co-operative basis whereby subscribers participate in the profits, to help forward the woman's movement to enfranchisement and to promote unity among the suffrage and feminist societies." Lady Forbes-Robertson is the President and Miss Inez Bensusan the Hon. Organizing Secretary. Many readers of our paper will remember the highly successful inauguration of the "Woman's Theatre" in 1913, when "Woman On Her Own" (Mrs. Bernard Shaw's translation of "La Femme Seule," by Brieux), and Björnson's "The Gauntlet" were presented. But for the war, plays of a similar kind of interest would doubtless have been presented this year. As it was, that idea was abandoned in favour of a general entertainment, including numerous brief plays, songs, instrumental performances and recitations. The enthusiasm and generosity which the theatrical profession contributed its services may be gauged by the fact that the week's programme included sixty-three items, and that the names of the artists concerned included many of those most famous in connection with the stage of to-day. Where all was excellent, it seems invidious to select special items for praise. We prefer to record the fact that large audiences were delighted every afternoon of the performance, and to congratulate the hard-working and enterprising officers and members of the Actresses' Franchise League, and all those who co-operated in the performance and the arrangement, on the deserved success of their efforts. A charming souvenir programme, which was sold at "from a shilling upwards," contained contributions by Miss Elizabeth Robins, Mr. Israel Zangwill, Mrs. Flora Annie Steel, M. Chedomille Miyatovitch, and Mr. Arnold Bennett.

COMING EVENTS

The United Suffragists will hold a public meeting in the small Portman Rooms, Baker Street, W., on Thursday, July 1, from 3 to 5 p.m. Speakers: Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Ben Webster. Chair: Mrs. Elaine Whelan. Admission Free. Discussion invited.
 Miss Janette Steer will deliver a series of lectures on Psychology at the Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, on four successive Mondays, beginning on July 5, at 8 p.m. Tickets, Reserved 2s. 6d. and 2s.; Unreserved 1s., can be obtained from the Secretary, c/o Janette Steer, 130, Brompton Road, S.W.

The New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage will hold an exhibition of gifts of clothing from the British Dominion Women's Suffrage Union at the Knightsbridge Hotel, on Tuesday, July 6, at 3 p.m. Speakers: The Hon. Thomas Mackenzie (High Commissioner for New Zealand), Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Miss H. C. Newcomb, and Miss Margaret Hodge.

The United Suffragists will hold a public meeting in the small Portman Rooms, on Thursday, July 8, from 3 to 5 p.m. Speakers: Mr. George Lansbury and others. Chair: Mrs. Ayrton Gould. Admission free. Discussion invited.

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THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY will hold an exhibition of gifts of clothing from the British Dominions W.S.U. at the Knightsbridge Hotel, Tuesday, July 6, 3 p.m. Speakers: Hon. Thos. Mackenzie, High Commissioner for New Zealand, Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Miss H. C. Newcomb, and Miss Margaret Hodge.

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