

# The War Paper for Women

# VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

VOL. VIII. (Third Series), No. 358.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 15, 1915.

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

## NEW SONGS FOR OLD



A PATRIOT

**SINGER (sings):** "Sing me the de-ear old songs  
Of de-ar old Eng-e-land . . ."

**WOMAN (sending him away):** "Oh, go into the next street, do! We women  
mean to have a new song and a new England when the War is over."

(The "Nation" hopes that at the end of the War we shall come to the consideration of peace "essentially the same England, inspired by the same vision and governed by the same institutions, as the England which entered on the War.")

# UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

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

## THE CAMPAIGN U.S. Meetings

To protest against the Government's Treatment of Soldiers' Wives and other Voteless Women

**Friday, January 22, 8.30 p.m. — U.S. Committee At Home** to U.S. members and friends. Enstace Miles Restaurant, Chandos Street, W.C. Cards of admission (price 6d., including refreshments) for non-members, and invitation cards for members, on application to U.S. Ticket Secretary.

**Saturday, January 23, 7 p.m. — Public Meeting.** — Public Hall, Chesham. Speakers: Mr. Henry W. Nevinson and Mrs. Elaine Whelen. Admission free. A few reserved seats at 2s. and 1s., on application to the Hon. Sec., Amersham U.S. (See below.)

**Wednesday, January 27, 8 p.m. — Public Meeting.** — Association Hall, Manchester (in co-operation with the Manchester Men's League for Women's Suffrage). Chair: Mr. Bealand (Hon. Sec. Manchester M. L. W. S.). Speakers: Miss Nina Boyle, Miss Evelyn Sharp, and Mr. H. W. Nevinson. Admission free. Reserved seats, 1s. and 6d., on application to Mr. Bealand, 52, Princess Road, Urmiston, Manchester.

**Thursday, January 28, 8 p.m. — Public Meeting.** — Chorley Wood Hotel, Masonic Room. Speaker: Miss Evelyn Sharp. Admission free.

In addition to the above public meetings, smaller meetings are being held in various places, including one every Tuesday evening, at the U.S. Women's Club.

### OUTDOOR

**Thursday, January 14, 8 p.m. — Regency Street, Westminster.** Speakers: Mrs. Gregory, Miss Somers, Mr. Mackinlay.

**Friday, January 15, 3 p.m. — Corner of Liverpool Street and Walworth Road.** Speakers: Mrs. Thomson, Miss Mary Phillips. **8 p.m. — Corner of Earl Street and London Road.** Speakers: Miss Somers, Mr. Mackinlay.

**Monday, January 18, 3 p.m. — Corner of Larcom Street and Walworth Road.**

**Tuesday, January 19, 3 p.m. — Corner of Tachbrook Street and Warwick Street.**

**Wednesday, January 20, 8 p.m. — Larcom Street and Walworth Road.** Speakers: Miss Phoebe Rickard, Miss Phillips.

**Thursday, January 21, 8 p.m. — Regency Square.** Miss Phillips, Mr. Mackinlay.

**Saturday, January 23, 3 p.m. — Open-Air Demonstration.** — The Mound, Edinburgh. Speakers: Members of Edinburgh U.S., and others.

**Sunday, January 24, 3 p.m. — Trafalgar Square Demonstration, inaugurated by the United Suffragists, Women's Freedom League, East London Federation of the Suffragettes and Northern Men's Federation, to protest against Insults to Soldiers' Wives and attempts to revise the State Regulation of Vice. U.S. Speakers.** — Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mr. Charles Gray, Miss Kitty Ennis, Mr. John Scurr. **Other Speakers.** — Miss Nina Boyle, Mrs. Hunter (of Preston), Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mrs. Arncliffe-Sennett, Mrs. Walker, Mrs. Drake, Mrs. Tanner, and Mr. Ben Tillett.

The above list of meetings will show that the U.S. campaign is once more in full swing. The Committee heartily invite all members to attend, and to urge their friends to take tickets for the At Home on Friday evening in next week, when Mr. Lansbury and others will speak and a general discussion will be held on the coming campaign.

## "VOTES FOR WOMEN" Another Poster Inspector

Another splendid poster inspector has come forward in Miss A. Greenall, who has not only promised to inspect the VOTES FOR WOMEN poster

at Nottingham Station, but has induced a local newsagent to show one, and has further canvassed her friends and received several promises to buy the paper from local agents. This is an admirable way of building up the circulation permanently; and we shall be glad to publish any more names of readers willing to help us as splendidly as Miss Greenall.

### To Kensington Paper-sellers

Will Kensington paper-sellers now apply to Miss Postlethwaite at 27, Warwick Chambers, Pater Street, Kensington, W.?

### "VOTES FOR WOMEN" FUND

Donations Received up to January 8		£ s. d.	
Already acknowledged	391 4 6	Per International Suffrage Shop	0 2 6
A. and M.	0 2 6	J. S.	0 1 0
Mrs. W. Allen	0 3 0	Mrs. Faunty	0 3 0
Miss A. C. Ball	1 6 0	Mrs. J. Jenkins	0 3 6
Mrs. Baillie		Mrs. Kelsey	0 5 0
Weaver	2 0 0	Miss M. Kingston	0 1 0
Miss B. E. Bear	1 1 0	Miss E. I.	
Miss Benett	0 10 0	Langley	0 10 0
Miss I. Boulbee	0 2 0	F. W. Pethick	
Miss C. C.		Lawrence, Esq.	50 0 0
Miss B. Brewster	0 5 0	Mrs. Frances Livingstone	0 10 0
Miss M.	0 10 0	Miss G. B. Loftie	0 5 8
Chadwick	1 1 0	Mrs. Mansell	1 0 0
Miss M. A.		Mrs. Moullin	0 2 6
Chambers	0 2 6	Miss J. Moore	0 2 6
Mrs. Christie	0 10 0	Professor	
Mrs. A. J. Cooper	0 5 0	Edith Morley	0 10 0
Dr. A. Corthorn	0 15 0	Mrs. J. Ovenden	0 2 0
Miss Cox	0 4 0	Mrs. S. G.	
Miss A. L.		Parkyn	0 4 6
Miss Dalgliesh	0 1 6	Miss K. A.	0 5 0
Miss M. E. Davies	0 2 6	Miss E. S.	0 2 6
Miss K. Ellison	0 1 0	Miss Schirges	0 2 6
Miss Engall	0 5 0	Miss Evelyn Sharp	1 0 0
Mrs. B. Everett	0 5 0	Miss E. Slay	0 2 0
Miss J. P. Forbes	0 10 0	Mrs. Wolfenden	0 5 0
Miss H. E.		Essex Hall Meeting	
Gannaway	1 1 0	Collection	5 0 7
Miss Hadley	0 5 0	Tickets	2 18 0
Miss Alice Halliday	1 0 0	Sales	0 10 4
Mrs Evelyn Hewart	0 10 6		
Mr. E. Haviland Hillman	1 5 0		
			£469 7 1

### WOMEN'S CLUB FUND

Donations Received up to January 8		£ s. d.	
Already acknowledged	57 0 3		
A. and M.	0 2 6		
Mrs. A. Bridgen	0 15 8		
Dr. A. Corthorn	0 7 0		
Miss Cox	0 2 6		
Miss A. H. Dalgliesh	0 1 0		
Miss A. Halliday	1 0 0		
Mrs. Henry	1 0 0		
Per Miss Hickey	0 13 11		
Mrs. Hutt (Sale)	0 2 6		
Mrs. Ley	1 0 0		
Mrs. K. Masters	1 0 0		
Professor Edith Morley	1 0 0		
Miss Page	0 2 6		
Rent for Stall at Sale F.C.L.W.S.	1 1 0		
Miss E. Slay	0 2 0		
Mrs. Davan Walton	2 0 0		
Miss M. Ward	0 10 0		
Mrs. Davan Wetton	0 10 0		
Miss E. Wilmot	2 0 0		
Refreshments and Club Fees	0 13 6		
Xmas Sale	105 11 7		
Xmas Sale (Office)	12 10 0		
			£192 1 2

### LOCAL WORK Two New Branches

We have great pleasure in announcing that the Chorley Wood and District Women's Suffrage Society, which has done such admirable work for the cause under a Committee presided over by Mrs. Agnes H. Harben, decided at the last meeting of its Executive to become the Chorley Wood and District U.S. The first meeting under its new auspices will be held in the Chorley Wood Hotel (Masonic Room) on Thursday, January 28. (See Campaign.)

### To Birmingham Readers — and Others

As a Birmingham U.S. is shortly to be inaugurated, will those of our readers ready to join this

communicate with the Hon. Sec. at the U.S. offices, 3, Adam Street, W.C.?

### AMERSHAM AND CHESHAM U.S.

**Hon. Sec., Mrs. Drinkwater, Fieldtop, Amersham**  
The first public meeting of this Branch will be held on January 23 (see Campaign), and members who can help in any way to make it a success are asked to send in their names to the Hon. Sec. at once. Stewards and ticket sellers particularly needed.

### Our New Year's Party

At our New Year's "Social" a great feature of the entertainment was a competition in which ten questions were set, of which these two will serve as specimens: "(1) Have bees to back or face the engine when travelling? (2) Are you going to join U.S.?" The prize-winners were Miss Dolly Burnley, Miss Daisy Grimsdell, and Miss Winnie Henne. Mrs. Barry gave a reading of "Made in Germany"; Mrs. Pryn and Miss Barlow gave a dialogue, "Miss Priscilla's Cat." A tug-of-war between U.S. members and "Anti's" caused much amusement also. Thanks are due to Mrs. Jackson, Mrs. Excell, Mrs. Murphy, and Mrs. Weaver for all their help, and to Mrs. Wakefield and Mrs. Davis who kindly managed the tea room.

### EDINBURGH U.S.

**Hon. Sec., Mrs. Eccles, 50a, Frederick Street, Edinburgh**

On Saturday, January 23, at 3 p.m., the Edinburgh U.S. (probably with the co-operation of the Women's Freedom League) will hold their first public meeting in an open-air demonstration at the Mound, organised on the same lines as the London Trafalgar Square demonstration on the 24th. All Suffragists are asked to attend, whether engaged in relief work or not, as the recent attacks on the liberties of women will be dealt with by the speakers.

**Colds!** — take Hall's Wine

The need for special care in face of this trying weather could not be more graphically illustrated than by the Registrar General's report: **'Colds on the Chest caused 268 deaths last week as against 130 same week last year.'**

A dose of Hall's Wine in hot water at bed time breaks up a cold in the most wonderful way, eases the breathing, and helps the system to recover its lost tone better than anything else.

"I got a terrible cold on my chest: nothing seemed to ease it. I am thankful to say I can now breathe much more freely thanks to Hall's Wine." (Original on file for reference.)

**Hall's Wine** THE SUPREME RESTORATIVE

Guarantee: Buy a bottle to-day. If, after taking half, you feel no benefit, return us the half-empty bottle in 14 days and we refund outlay.

Large 3/6; smaller 2/; Of Wine Merchants, etc.

Stephen Smith & Co., Ltd., Bow.

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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

The House of Lords has debated several matters affecting the liberties of the people during the past week; but according to the Press reports—the Parliamentary official report is not yet available—without recognising that women form part of the people. A good deal was said, for instance, about the powers given to court-martials by the Defence of the Realm Act and the consequent peril to men. No mention was made of the grossly unjust way in which women have actually been court-martialled at Cardiff under its provisions. We deal more fully with this point in our leading article.

### The Soldier's Family

Lord Crewe, replying to Lord Curzon in the House of Lords last week, held out no great hope of the immediate publication of the findings of the Pensions Committee, which has now been sitting two months. The delay is scandalous, seeing that it leaves thousands of families of killed or disabled soldiers—how many can be guessed from the terrible daily lists of casualties—full of apprehensions for the future, when the weeks of grace will have expired during which the separation allowance is still paid to them. There is besides the case of the thousands who are in receipt of payments, the just and accurate amount of which can only be arrived at after an abstruse and mathematical calculation, which, when made, probably produces a result that does not tally with the War Office allowance. Lord Derby, who has charge of the matter in Liverpool, has told a representative of the *Times* that "this sort of thing leads to endless perplexity," and confesses that he himself took two or three weeks to comprehend the scheme on which payments are made. This seems to be even more complicated in the case of a mother than in that of a wife, for the pensions officer comes in here, and on his judgment depends the amount allocated. If a woman ran her household as the War Office tries to run it for her, what an outcry there would be!

### One Fight More—the Last and the Best

The *Daily Citizen*, commenting on Mr. Ellis Griffith's resignation of the post of Under-Secretary of State for Home Affairs, remarks that "he has not shone particularly in the House" since he took office. That is true. Before he reached that point in his Parliamentary career, Mr. Ellis Griffith was a warm friend of the Suffrage cause; no one was a keener member of the Conciliation Bill Committee; no one made a nobler defence of the militant movement than he did in a famous and oft-quoted speech. After he took office it was a very different story, and the culmination of his apostasy was reached when he defended the Cat and Mouse Act in the House of Commons. We say this in no bitterness; we merely record it to show that when a man of right instincts goes back on his principles he mars instead of makes his career. There is yet time for Mr. Ellis Griffith to redeem his honour and remake his reputation by once more putting Woman Suffrage first on his political programme.

### The Wrong, Wrong Way

The back door of the House of Commons is not so conveniently wide open as Mr. Masterman would wish to find it. Swansea having threatened a contest in the event of his candidature being adopted, he turned his wayward glance towards Shipley. When we went to press the decision of the local Liberals had not been announced, but a Bradford rumour that they favour the candidature of a local man seems to indicate that Shipley is likely to prove as coy as Swansea, Ipswich, and Bethnal Green. If they do, however, accept Mr. Masterman, we can only say to that gentleman that a party truce is the wrong, wrong way to the House of Commons.

### Atrocities of War and Peace

The Report of the French Commission of inquiry into the alleged German atrocities in Northern France is a terrible record of the awful sufferings of non-combatants, especially of women and children. The following passage stands out:—

Outrages against women and young girls have been of unheard-of frequency. They would have been less numerous if the leaders of an Army whose discipline is exceedingly strict had troubled themselves to prevent them, but they may, for once in a way, be regarded as the individual and spontaneous acts of unchained brutes.

A storm of indignation, which we share, has been raised in the Press by the account of these outrages. We pray most devoutly that none such will stain our own army when it invades Germany. But it will not be the fault of our magistrates if in the British ranks are not to be found some "unchained brutes" also capable of these "spontaneous" acts. On page 135 we give

**MR. GEORGE LANSBURY**  
Will SPEAK at the  
**U.S. AT HOME,**  
On  
**FRIDAY, JANUARY 22,**  
At 8.30.  
Come and Hear Him  
And US.  
(See Opposite Page.)

an account of a recent case before the Lichfield Bench in which a youth of 16 pleaded guilty to an indecent assault on a girl of 13, but was allowed to go free because he had meanwhile enlisted in the Army.

### The Greater War

We cannot too severely censure such a proceeding on the part of reputable magistrates. How can we ensure the decent conduct of our own Army if it is to be recruited from among youths of such a perverted moral standard as is shown in the Lichfield case? And is it fair to the great majority of honourable men who compose its ranks? German atrocities are ghastly and unpardonable; but when we learn further that a Committee, under the Bishop of Ely's countenance, has been formed in this country for the Prevention of Crimes against Children, because these have been recently so much on the increase, we feel, as Suffragists, that our first business is to fight the war in our own country and win the battle that will give women the power to tackle these horrible atrocities of peace as well as war, effectively.

### Drink and the Woman

A donation of £5, accompanied by an anonymous note to the effect that it is from a lady who was refused a glass of wine at a railway station on a bitter cold morning recently because she was a woman, has reached the Honorary Treasurer of the United Suffragists, and reminds us that all over the country these restrictions are still being placed on the liberties of women. Few grosser insults could be conceived than this branding of women as the intemperate sex, while men are still allowed the run of the public-houses and clubs, practically unrestricted. How much more statesmanlike is the action of the French Government, who have just issued a decree forbidding the sale of

absinthe and kindred liquors, and the opening of fresh houses for their sale; and this decree will become permanent if Parliament consents to ratify it. In Great Britain we seek to secure a temperate army by closing the public-houses to women and putting a tax on tea.

### The Suffragist Protests

Fortunately, some Suffrage Societies are left who still keep the Suffrage flag flying, and are therefore able to champion the cause of the insulted soldier's wife and all who are desolate and oppressed. On January 24 a great joint demonstration to ventilate these crying evils will be held in Trafalgar Square, at three o'clock, by the United Suffragists, Women's Freedom League (who are organising it), East London Federation of the Suffragettes and Northern Men's Federation. Other meetings to champion the wives and families of our brave men at the front will be held in the immediate future by the U.S. at Manchester, Edinburgh, Chesham, and Chorley Wood, and next month in the Kingsway Hall. How unnecessary these protests would be if women had the power and the protection of the vote!

### The Sufferings of Children

Another Hartlepool child of eleven has succumbed to injuries received during the bombardment; and from St. Mihiel comes the news that many young children have been rendered dumb by their terrible experiences. And away from the front, we learn that German children are being exhorted to show their patriotism by going without their bread and butter; while in this country, unless the Government takes steps to stop the rise in the price of food, children, whether patriotically inclined or not, will be obliged to go without their bread and butter. Yet when we read in the recently issued Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education that 108 babies under one year died in every 1,000 born in 1913, we feel that the casualties of peace call as much as the casualties of war for the women's inclusion in the counsels of the nation.

### Items of Interest

The expected debate on Woman Suffrage in the Lower House of the United States Congress was postponed until after Christmas. According to a Reuter telegram, the House passed a special rule last Tuesday, enabling them to debate the proposed amendment to the Constitution.

We congratulate the Garw Valley Medical Aid Society on advertising for the first time for a woman medical assistant, the salary to be the same as that of the three men doctors now employed.

### U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB 92, Borough Road, Southwark, S.E.

Both membership and attendance have shown a marked increase during the past week. The weekly Suffrage meetings are crowded, and enthusiasm for the woman's cause is growing by leaps and bounds. Last Tuesday, Miss Mary Phillips, Miss Somers, and Miss Randall spoke, and when they mentioned the Trafalgar Square demonstration their listeners began at once to make plans for attending it. One delightful rebel was overheard to say: "And if it does mean that he has to stop at home for once, I reckon it's his turn. Many's the time I've done it!"

Thursday night's entertainment, arranged as usual by Miss Hilda Saxe, was even better attended than usual, and included charming dances and recitations by Mlle. Léonie. The sewing evening on Friday, so kindly superintended by Miss Walford, is proving most popular; so many members attended it last week that it began to be feared the Club would have soon to extend its premises! More helpers are wanted every day, especially in the evening, when there is a rush for refreshments, and many hands are welcome in washing up and clearing away.

### A Children's Party

A party for Club members' children (under 12) is being arranged for Saturday, January 30, at 4 p.m. Gifts of toys will be most gratefully received by the Hon. Sec. either at the Club or the U.S. offices.

# VOTES FOR WOMEN

4-7, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET

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

FRIDAY, JANUARY 15, 1915.

## “WHAT IS LIBERTY WITHOUT THE VOTE?”

Speaking in the House of Lords on Thursday, the 7th, Lord Loreburn reminded his hearers that the Defence of the Realm Bill was introduced one night at eleven o'clock, and next day before seven o'clock was passed through all its stages and became an Act. We are not here discussing the wisdom of the Act or the necessity of such speed. We only point out in passing that a Liberal Government which before the war was always pleading it had no time to consider a measure conferring liberty on women did not spend much time in rushing through a measure which, wisely or unwisely, deprived the whole people of many hard-won and long-cherished liberties. To their great credit, Lord Loreburn and Lord Halsbury, ex-Lord Chancellors of opposite parties, protested at the time against this unconsidered haste. In their opinion the Bill placed the country under military domination, and abrogated the very principles of British liberties, won by the Great Charter and maintained through centuries by many hard-fought contests in Parliament and on the field. Especially they protested against the clauses which annul the British right to “trial by one's peers,” and authorised courts-martial throughout the country to take the place of the ordinary civil courts. Under these clauses supposed offenders are handed over to trial by military officers instead of judges legally trained and appointed to assist juries composed of the prisoner's equals or “peers.”

This infringement of our laws and established rights was so flagrant that the Government has now been compelled to give way. Lord Parmoor (himself a Law Lord and a Unionist) last week introduced a Bill “to restore to civilians their right to be tried in the ordinary courts.” It is supported by the Unionist Lord Halsbury and by the Liberal Lords Loreburn and Bryce. Lord Crewe, on behalf of the Government, has thereupon promised that an Amending Bill modifying the court-martial clauses would be introduced either in the Lords or Commons next month, and so for the present the matter stands. Of course, we are heartily glad that the Government has been driven to repentance, and that its habitual indifference to the rights of personal liberty has been shaken. We congratulate the four members of the House of Lords, to whose high legal authority the Cabinet has been almost as respectful as to votes. To quote the *Manchester Guardian*, this is not a time to Prussianise our institutions.

We would remind the righteously protesting Lords, the Cabinet itself, and the *Manchester Guardian* that by far the greatest grievance arising from the courts-martial have fallen upon women. It is women whom the courts-martial, like all the other military orders to civilians, have chiefly harried, restricted, or imprisoned. Women have been placed under the control of military officers destitute of all training in the principles of evidence or justice, and admittedly concerned only with the supposed “health of

their troops.” Yet we cannot say that these clauses in the Defence of the Realm Act have deprived women of an ancient and hard-won constitutional right in the same sense as they have deprived men. For you cannot deprive a woman of a thing she never had, and women have never yet possessed the right to “trial by their peers”—trial by their equals, the same kind of people as themselves. As prisoners they are supposed to come under exactly the same laws as men, and are subject to the same penalties. But none of their “peers” is allowed to act as their judge, their juror, or even as their counsel. Their “equals”—that is, their fellow-women—are constantly hounded out even from among “the public” in the public courts where cases of especial concern to women are being tried. Though we may rejoice, therefore, that the Government has been compelled to reconsider one of its latest offences against Liberty, we cannot congratulate women on the restitution of an established right. The right to trial by their equals was never theirs.

In connection with Lord Parmoor's Bill, this right to trial by one's “peers” has lately been described as “the corner-stone of the peculiarly British conception of Liberty.” If that is so, women are excluded from that peculiarly British conception, since that corner-stone has no existence for them. But whilst we entirely agree with Lord Parmoor and others who strive to maintain the jurisdiction of our civil courts against the newly-instituted claims of courts-martial, we assert that even the right to trial by their peers so long possessed by men is not the main corner-stone of their Liberty. We cannot too often recall Mazzini's question, “What is Liberty without the vote?” It was from British history that he drew the lesson; and if he had lived till now he could have derived other striking instances of his belief from the history of the last few months. Every sane person knows that, if women had possessed the vote, no Government would have dared to treat them as they have been treated under the pretext of the war. No Government would then have dared to place our soldiers' wives under police supervision or to have excluded women, and women only, from public-houses, or to have imprisoned women, and women only, on suspicion of possible vice.

The *Manchester Guardian* rightly tells us that this is not the time to Prussianise our institutions. As a matter of bare fact, our institutions are being rapidly Prussianised so far as women are concerned, and even Lord Parmoor's Amending Bill is an insufficient check upon the process. A Government that is tempted to Prussianise or tyrannise in any way is sure to try its tyranny first upon the weakest, and where the life of Governments is involved, the unfranchised are necessarily the weakest. We have been told by our French Ambassador that we are waging this war for the ideals of humanity and freedom. The Editor of the *Nation* tells us in a signed article this week that “a spiritual factor” governed our intervention in the war; that we must come to the consideration of the peace, “essentially the same England, inspired by the same vision, and governed by the same institutions”; and that Liberty is more than our watchword, it is “our political soul.” Admirable sentiments! They belong to that order of high hopes which many prophets have discerned among the appalling horrors of this war, and we can only urge this distinguished and powerful Editor to stand by us in helping to realise the splendid promise of his forecast. But, at the same time, we would remind him and all similar prophets that, though women would value British institutions such as the right to trial by “peers” as much as they, and although they agree that Liberty is our political soul, women at present possess only a partial share in the value of those institutions, and no share at all in the political soul of Liberty. For those reasons we cannot look forward hopefully to an England essentially the same. Rather we look forward to an England essentially inspired by a nobler vision and a Liberty more real.

# MRS. JOSEPHINE BUTLER JUSTIFIED

By the Rev. G. Herbert Davis

The unique service done for womanhood by Mrs. Josephine Butler in the second half of last century in rescuing her sex from the infamy of Regulation, or, in other words, the provisions of the Contagious Diseases Acts (1866 to 1869), is not in much danger of being forgotten either in this or a succeeding generation. We well know how, by a long spell of weary work and heroic effort, and with the help of a comparative handful of like-minded women and men, she at length awakened the country to the horrors of State recognition of vice and the crying injustice of subjecting women, on sanitary pretexts, to forcible medical inspection. That great achievement, leading to the repeal of the Acts of 1866, can hardly ever be forgotten. But it is not so well remembered that throughout her life Josephine Butler protested against the difficulties she had to face arising out of one fact: that women were politically helpless and without votes.

“For twenty-one years I worked with my dear fellow-workers in a public manner against the hateful laws,” she declared after the victory was won, “and during these years there was one thing which made our battle harder than it would have been—we had to fight outside the Constitution. We have been knocking at the doors of the Constitution all these years, and there are some men who even now tell me that they would give us anything in the way of justice but the Parliamentary vote. . . . Think what we could do in the cause of morality; think of the pain and trouble and martyrdom that we might be saved in the future if we had that little piece of justice.”

**The Nemesis of Disfranchisement**  
These are words which cannot be too often quoted. To-day they have a new virtue, because they explain much which women have to suffer in this time of war. Think of the military regulations which have been issued at Cardiff and other places under the sanction of Parliament, and all that they involve, and it will become plain that the prophecy was not baseless. One can see in these nefarious attempts at official surveillance of women, in one form or another, an ample justification of Josephine Butler's urgent demand last century for the political power which would make such anomalies impossible to carry out or even to conceive. Besides this, all right-minded people should consider how dangerous they are both to the liberty of the subject, which we pretend to respect so much, and to the true interests of the victims of them.

**The Cardiff Inquisition**  
It must be remembered that the women victimised had committed no legal offence. Prostitution is not a legal offence; and the treating of it as such anywhere could only be tried on successfully against an unrepresented class of the community. But, looking at the matter from the point of view of civil liberty, there is no right in any administrative body, whether police or municipal or military, to make a discrimination between individuals which is not made by the law of the land. It would be the same thing to say that no person having red hair or wearing high heels should be allowed to walk in the public streets.

**A Time-Worn Justification**  
Perhaps only those who are students of the subject know how the infamous Continental system of Regulation has grown up out of supposed military need. It was started by Napoleon in the first decade of last century, under the notion

of providing himself with healthy soldiers. By the middle of the century it had spread all over the Continent, not, however, by deliberate legislation, but as a matter of police administration. The system, in fact, has been built up in most countries without any legal sanction. It has been tried and found wanting. It increases vice and fails to reduce disease. And now it is generally condemned as wrong in principle, and a failure in practice. Yet in a time of war or other special stress women ever have cause to suspect some trespass of this kind on their liberty and honour.

**The Pharisism of Respectability**  
There is another reason why Suffragists, and indeed all Christian folk, should combine to see that these measures or anything resembling them shall not be re-attempted. I refer to the effects upon the women themselves. Any sharp distinction of the “prostitute” from the rest of society rivets her to her profession. To be branded and classed as such is bad enough. Men, however deserving of the title, never know

its sting. But when we go on to punish the victims of male lust into the bargain, without putting any stigma on their partners in guilt, then the injustice becomes unpardonable. How can one expect to reclaim souls whom society is for ever pushing down further into the mire? Religion teaches us to look on all individuals in the light of the future rather than the past, to see them not as they have been but by what they have the prospect to become. When we class together different individuals and label them as “fallen” or “prostitute,” it is as good as to close on them the door of hope. It is the attitude of Pharisees.

Such, at any rate, is the plain life message of the great woman whose warning I have recalled from the past. She ever treated her sisters of every class and life as not only fellow-citizens, but fellow-souls. It was that spirit which made her throw open her own home to the outcasts of society, the spirit which says to the sinner, “Neither do I condemn thee; go and sin no more.”

## DRAMA AND BOOKS

### A PRIESTLY REFORMER

“The Shepherds” at Westminster Cathedral Hall

Father Cuthbert's Christmas nativity play, produced last week for three performances only, at the Westminster Cathedral Hall, was a play for all true reformers to see. The wonderful drama and the wonderful humanity of the subject—just the vision of the shepherds on the hillside, followed by their quest of the Christ, and culminating in the scene at the side of the manger—could not be spoiled even by clumsy treatment; in Father Cuthbert's hands it is treated so simply, and at the same time with such a grasp of the complexities of human nature, that his little play becomes a very beautiful achievement. No one who has ever fought and suffered for a cause could remain unmoved by the diversity of the reception accorded to these simple folk of the hillside when, never doubting for a moment the Truth that has been revealed to them, they go forth expecting every one to believe with them, and find many who mock and even threaten them. Not that any of these unbelievers deny the coming of the Messiah—far from it! They are lifelong believers in Him—as long as His coming belongs to a dim and distant future. The little band of pilgrims who tell them that the long time of waiting is over and that He is here, waiting to be welcomed and believed in, are told that they blaspheme against the upholders of the State religion, that they conspire against the Government, that they are sowers of the seed of revolt among the poor. Well, so they are. So is the Suffragette of all the ages. But Father Cuthbert knows enough about it to make them find their Christ in the end.

It is needless to say how beautiful the production was in the hands of Miss Edith Craig. I am not sure that I should not have preferred the acolytes in the last scene to be “off,” like the cowed monks who drew the curtains. And the minstrel's song was too sophisticated, I think; so was the dance of the shepherd boy. But these were mere details; otherwise the setting was in perfect harmony with the words, and the play was admirably acted. E. S.

### A NEW THEORY

In a very interesting little treatise called “Sex and Money,” a writer, described as the Warden of the Order of Silence, propounds a new theory with regard to these two forces,

“Sex and Money.” By the Warden of the Order of Silence. (The Settlement Press, 11a, Church Street, Kensington, W. Price 6d.)

round which, as she says, “all the troubles of human life can be grouped.” The cure for the trouble, she urges, is to learn the sacramental nature of both, and to transmute “the subconscious energy represented by sex” into “the self-conscious energy represented by money.” It is not, of course, a new theory that sex energy can be turned to other uses than that of reproducing the species; every creative artist knows that while, as our author says, “The birth of a child is the greatest event that can take place on the physical plane,” the birth of a work of art is the equivalent outcome of sex energy on the imaginative and intellectual plane—the psychic plane, as it would be called in this pamphlet. But we have not before come across the theory that, since neither money nor sex should be despised but should both be regarded as precious possessions, the one can therefore be used to produce the other, and by anybody. “The cynic,” proceeds the writer,

would say that the courtesan has always known a way and used it efficiently, in company with the mother who sells her daughter to the highest bidder, and the coward who lives on his wife's prostitution. But there is also a right way, a way which will heal the world of avarice and cruelty and meanness and fear, and make every man and woman just, generous and wise, as only the free and the powerful can be.

The artist will want to know how to reconcile the acknowledged commercial valuelessness of the highest forms of art with the theory here propounded. But its interest is indisputable, and the ideas it suggests are many, not the least practical part of the pamphlet being the bearing of the whole subject upon the training of the young. The method of transmutation, as laid down by the writer, seems to us to require more psychic training on the part of the pupil than the average person possesses. But the concluding passage of the treatise is clear enough:—

Women in particular need to prove that they can unaided realise the control of as much money as they require for the unfettered expression of all the purposes which Life has yet to unfold in them and through them, without marrying for it, or working for it, or gambling for it, or begging for it, or selling either body or soul for it. When they do begin to prove the creative power of sex in regard to money and all that money stands for in the world of to-day, the foundation of their ultimate freedom and independence will be laid. And upon the freedom of woman depends the freedom of man and the birth of the Superman.

### BOOKS RECEIVED

“The Englishwoman.” (January.) (London: Evans Bros. Price 1s. net.)  
The “Awakener” Calendar, 1915. (69, Victoria Street, S.W. Price 1s. net.)

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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# CORRESPONDENCE

## THE TREATMENT OF PROSTITUTES

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—As Dr. Evans is dissatisfied with the ground on which I expressed, merely in passing, my opposition to the measures recently taken against prostitutes by the military authorities at Cardiff, may I be allowed a few words to make my meaning more clear?

My main point is this: Are the authorities justified in increasing, by such one-sided action, the risk of seduction and violation in the sphere of the Home, in order to lessen the risk of seduction in the sphere of military service? Should inexperienced girls and children be suddenly exposed to protect not the morals but the health of the troops? Surely, when that is its juxta-position, the flagrant immorality of the expedient becomes clear. And even if, as Dr. Evans seems to suggest, young girls and children must proudly accept the new risk thus imposed on them in order that the solidarity of the woman's cause may be made manifest, it is none the less infamous that a male Government should impose it without first receiving the women's mandate.

If Dr. Evans means only to say that a prostitute class must not be artificially maintained in order to protect "virtue" in the Home, I am entirely with her. But it is one thing to say that the Home must take its chance when we begin by equitable means to get rid of those social and economic forms of compulsion which level the supply of prostitution to the demand; it is quite another to say that we must countenance any such extra risk to the Home when brought about by odious and unfair means.

I do not discover in Dr. Evans's proposals or in the action of our magistrates any attempt to square matters by providing that all men found guilty of indecent or criminal assault shall be interned "during the period of the war." That would at least give a veneer of equality to the proposed internment of "loose women." But one learns on the contrary that enlistment is now put forward as a means of escape from punishment for moral offences. And the men thus enlisted are drafted to Cardiff and elsewhere with the moral object lesson well imprinted upon their minds for future use. Happily, owing to the action of the United Suffragists and others, the Cardiff experiment has been brought to an ignominious end, and is not likely to be revived.

Finally, I would say this. Before we can begin to deal safely with the problem of prostitution on lines so revolutionary as those laid down by Dr. Evans, we must have something like a revolution in the Home, in our attitude toward the seduction of inexperienced girls, and in our sex-training of the young. That is a matter which will take time, and will need to have behind it the forces of a fully enfranchised womanhood.—Yours, &c., LAURENCE HOUTSMAN.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I have read the letters of Dr. Eric Evans with much interest; they present a novel and, to me at least, a perfectly extraordinary point of view. Unless I entirely mistake Dr. Evans's meaning, she is seriously proposing that every woman who gains her living by working upon the amorous-emotions of men for what she can get by it shall be summarily consigned to something uncommonly like a lunatic asylum. This would certainly result in a pretty clean sweep of our streets, and I am afraid Dr. Evans would find her practice swiftly diminishing, for when one begins that sort of classification the question is, not who shall go, but who, by any stretch of leniency, can be fairly expected to remain. For centuries man has so barred up and shut off every decent method of livelihood to the female sex that, lacking unusual talent or opportunity, or quite extraordinary qualities of courage and perseverance, there is simply no other alternative open to the young woman of limited income, though she may disguise the alternative by a marriage ceremony. The bitter words of Mrs. Warren are nothing but the bitter truth: "If people arrange the world that way for women, what's the good of pretending it's arranged any other way?" And, since this state of affairs is precisely what we are out to remedy, it is surely rather late in the day to denounce those of us who admit it, in the frankest and most businesslike fashion, as abnormal freaks of nature. If anyone is to be removed from society for feebleness of intellect, it should rather be the man who cannot see that restrictions and injustice aimed at one sex rebound inevitably with a terrible force upon the other.—Yours, &c., M. North Shields.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—The United Suffragists deserve warm congratulations on the success of their cam-

paign at Cardiff and the release of the women from prison. Nothing less than the cancelling of the Colonel's order would have satisfied the champions of justice, for it would tax the wits of civil and military authorities combined to prove that any regulations exist in England for the court-martialing of women! Apart from this consideration, a close and careful study of prostitution in Europe, and under the old C.D. Acts in our own country, tends to convince the true moral reformer that a policy of repression and coercion has the dire effect of increasing the gravest evils of this vile practice and of dragging countless young and ignorant victims into the nets cleverly laid to catch their unwary feet.

In the last issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN Dr. Evans makes the suggestion that "those girls who have been proved to be living partly or wholly on wages earned by prostitution should be treated as those of unsound mind," adding "until the end of the war." Will Dr. Evans tell us what is to be done to the male prostitutes who pay these "wages"? For, unless we are to incarcerate them likewise, there are caterers enough from "Queenie Gerald" downwards to provide a fresh supply! And the younger the girls are, the greater is the danger to the men from the medical point of view. Were it not well to ponder the pregnant lines by the poet Blake upon the tyrannical suppression of one sex only?

"The harlot, chased from street to street,  
Shall be old England's winding-sheet."

The question remains. Who created her? Assuredly not the All-Father. And what of the mental condition of the man so utterly devoid of self-control as to compass the ruin of a little child; or of the magistrate who condoned the offence and turned him over to serve in Lord Kitchener's Army? Truly, it is not without abundant reason that men and women of repute have long demanded that the manufacturer of the prostituted woman shall take his proper place beside her in the dock before the tribunal of public opinion and that his unsoundness of mind and the widespread danger to the innocent of leaving him at large shall be taken into consideration.

The weal and woe of the human race are bound up in this problem, and the sooner that the same motherhood and fatherhood of the land unitedly undertake its solution the brighter will dawn the new era of hope for the coming generations. Hence arises the extreme urgency for the Vote, the symbol of citizenship, whereby the wise and persuasive voice of the mother shall be heard in the councils of the nation.—Yours, &c.,

GEORGIANA M. SOLOMON,  
Les Lanes, Sumatra Road, West Hampstead, N.W.

## WOMEN AND CAPITAL

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I am wondering whether your women readers have seriously thought at what the Chancellor of the Exchequer was really aiming when he imposed the tax of 2s. 6d. on unearned incomes?

There seems to me little doubt that he aimed directly at women, at spinsters and widows in particular (incidentally, perhaps, putting a good thing in the way of the insurance offices), with the object

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**WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE,  
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NORTHERN MEN'S FEDERATION,**  
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Threatened State Regulation  
of Vice,  
Restrictions Enforced Against  
Women Only.

**STAND UP FOR THE SOLDIER'S WIFE  
AND ALL VOTELESS WOMEN!**

(For Particulars of Speakers see Page 130.)

of so reducing their incomes—mostly derived from investment, few having incomes from professions, &c., like men—that they will be forced to sell their securities at any sacrifice, and to buy an annuity, thus getting rid of their capital. It is significant how columns of certain newspapers just now are devoted to urging women to do this very thing! Nothing is more distasteful to the male mind than that women should possess capital. Capital means power. I would therefore earnestly urge all women, to reduce their expenditure, at any sacrifice to themselves, in every way possible, to endeavour to weather the storm—anything to avoid getting rid of their capital.

Some ten years ago now, in conversation with the husband of a school-friend of mine (a kindly, genial, good-natured, common-place man—a good son, brother and husband), before the Suffragettes had begun to put some new life into the nation, he spoke, strangely enough, of this very subject, saying that the women of England, especially the widows and spinsters, were holding locked up millions of the capital of the country, which should not be in their possession at all: "Let them have the income from it, certainly; but not the capital." His remarks surprised me, and gave me much food for thought at the time; it is interesting to me to watch that thought being worked out by the powers that be to-day. May women be awake before too late to the plot to undermine their economic independence, now being cunningly worked against them.—Yours, &c.,

A HAPPY UNMARRIED WOMAN WORKER.

## AGE OF CONSENT BILL

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I have just read the interesting "Story of 1914" in your issue of the 1st inst., and beg to draw attention to a statement which seems to me not quite accurate. In your comments on the Bishop of London's Bill you say that it was "killed in the House of Commons by the Prime Minister's refusal to give time to it." I was in the House of Lords when the Bishop of London withdrew the Bill in consequence of the crippling amendments there adopted, and it never went to the House of Commons.—Yours, &c.,

E. F. MACKENZIE (Secretary),  
Ladies' National Association for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice.

[It would, perhaps, have been more correct to say "stillborn" than "killed." What happened was that Mr. Asquith announced in the House of Commons that the Bill could only be proceeded with there if it could be regarded as non-contentious. Acting upon this announcement, the Bishop decided to withdraw his Bill altogether and re-introduce it in 1915.—Ed. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

## THE "WEAKER" SEX

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I beg to thank you for your excellent review of my book, "The Complete Jujitsu," and to say that when I spoke of women as being the weaker sex I only said this in the physical sense, as I am quite convinced that as regards mental qualities women are the equal and sometimes the superior of men. I may say that, owing to this, women learn as quickly as men and in a good many cases grasp ideas much more rapidly. I shall esteem it a favour if you would point this out to your readers in order to dispel any bad impression that may arise owing to your mention of this in your review.—Yours, &c., W. H. GARRUD,  
31, Golden Square, Regent Street, W.

## THE QUEEN OF HOLLAND

A correspondent sends us the following interesting extract from a letter written to her by a Dutch friend, which she has translated for the benefit of our readers, who, we know well, will see in it a fresh proof of the absurdity of denying women political power:

"We here in Holland are neutrals—a position entailing heavy responsibility towards humanity and civilisation, and often proving more difficult than partisanship. We may count ourselves happy in having a Queen from whom emanates such great moral power. 'Bon sang ne peut mentir,' and she shows herself to be a worthy daughter of the great House of Orange. On account of her consummate knowledge of affairs, her keen intelligence, good judgment, and last, but not least, her great love for her people, many persons who were formerly no royalists now speak of her with deep respect. Members of her entourage, politicians, and military men are full of admiration for her.

"She works during whole nights, presides over councils and confers with the foreign ambassadors. Owing to her and her excellent ministers, many great dangers have been avoided."

## COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

### LIGHT SENTENCES

#### Assault on a Girl of Thirteen

The *Lichfield Mercury* (January 8) reports case of a young miner, aged sixteen, charged at the Lichfield County Police Court before Mr. A. O. Worthington (Chairman) and Sir Thomas Blomfield, Bart., with having indecently assaulted a miner's daughter, aged thirteen. The lad was given "a good character" by his father; but as he had enlisted in the meanwhile, the magistrates altered the charge to common assault.

Sentence: *Adjudged for three months to give accused opportunity to rejoin his regiment.*

#### Assault on a Deaf-Mute Child

The *Morning Advertiser* (January 9) reports case of an ex-fireman, charged at the North London Police Court before Mr. Hedderwick with assaulting a deaf and dumb boy, who did not hear him when told to move away from his shop window. Not knowing of his infirmity, he threw a sweet-cutter at him, injuring his head.

Sentence: *Fined 5s. and 20s. costs or seven days.*

### Kicking a Wife

The *Leeds Mercury* (January 7) reports case of a publican charged before the Huddersfield Bench with assaulting his wife. He came home drunk and kicked her about the body till she became unconscious. The medical evidence showed that her injuries might be attended with serious results. She said he frequently ill-treated her. A separation order was granted.

Sentence: *One month's hard labour.*

### THE GROWING EVIL

We sometimes grow a little tired of having to say the same thing over again. Only last week we deplored the growing tendency in our Courts to show leniency towards men convicted of crimes who proclaimed their willingness to enlist. The first comparison in our table of punishments above is a flagrant instance of this, resulting in a recruit being sent to our Army who is not fit to associate with decent, clean men, and who will be a most improper person to share in the invasion of any country where women and children will be at his mercy. Although we fully agree with the Salford Recorder (the same judge whose words we praised last week) that a man convicted of stealing lead should not be allowed to evade punishment in order to enter the Army, we consider that such a man would make a far more desirable recruit than the boy convicted of assaulting a little girl of 13. If it be urged that the boy's youth entitled him to leniency, we can only say that such leniency is not shown to boy thieves. At the London Sessions, on January 5, Mr. Wallace, K.C., sent two boys, aged 16, to Borstal for two years for house-breaking. But this, of course, endangered the sacredness of property, whereas in the other case only the moral and physical well-being of a little girl was in question!

### AN IMPORTANT COMMITTEE

It was announced in the *Common Cause* last week that a Committee had been formed to work for the Prevention of Criminal Assaults on Children, and by the courtesy of the Editor we have now been put in possession of a few facts in connection with this very important departure. As some of our readers are probably aware, a private Conference of men and women was held in London last June, with the Bishop of Ely in the Chair, to consider what steps could be taken to stem the terrible increase of these crimes committed on little girls. Forty men and women were present, and at the end of the Conference they formed themselves into a Committee to work for the prevention of such crimes. The outbreak of the European war produced a pause in their activities,

### HEAVY SENTENCES

#### Theft of Lead

The *Manchester Guardian* (January 5) reports case of a labourer charged at the Salford Sessions before the Recorder, Mr. A. A. Tobin, K.C., M.P., with stealing a quantity of lead. He pleaded for leniency, saying he desired to enter the army and start a new life.

Sentence: *Eighteen months' hard labour.*

### Failing to Notify

The *Morning Advertiser* (January 8) reports case of a traveller, aged seventy, charged at Clerkenwell Police Court before Mr. d'Eyncourt, under the Prevention of Crimes Act, with failing to notify the police of his entry into the Metropolitan police district. His list of convictions was read; he was out on a licence expiring in 1916.

Sentence: *Twelve months' hard labour.*

### Stealing Food

The *Lancashire Daily Post* (January 6) reports case of a labourer charged at Preston Sessions with burglariously entering a private house and stealing several articles of food. There were several previous convictions.

Sentence: *Three years' penal servitude.*

but it was decided in October to proceed with the work, and an Executive has been formed, with Mrs. Arthur Hutchinson as Hon. Secretary, and Mrs. Harker as Hon. Treasurer. The address of the Committee is The Bureau, Leicester Square, London, W.C., and Mrs. Hutchinson will gladly supply a report of the June Conference on receipt of one penny, or any further details with regard to the work of the Committee.

### A Valuable Work

We think much valuable work can be done by such a Committee in collecting information which is to a large extent withheld by the Press, and in considering the causes which have produced this horrible increase of vice. The Committee, in a preliminary note, emphasize the low standard of morality induced by the light sentences passed in our Courts for such offences—to which our readers can testify—and point out the need for women police magistrates and officials. The chief work of the C.P.C.A.C. will be to ensure the attendance in the Courts all over the country of responsible women, who will collect information of these cases. The Chairman of the Committee is Mr. J. H. Torr, J.P.,

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(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.  
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Name (Mr., Mrs., or Miss) .....

Please write clearly.

Address .....

Fill in the above Form and post it to—

Hon. Sec. United Suffragists, 3, Adam Street, London, W.C.

## COMING EVENTS

The Women's Freedom League will hold a meeting at the Suffrage Club, York Street, on Wednesday, January 20, at 8.30 p.m. Speakers: Rev. W. Piggott on "Women and Problems of the War," and others.

The United Suffragists will hold a Public Meeting in the Public Hall, Chesham, on Saturday, January 23, at 7 p.m., and a demonstration at the Mound, Edinburgh, on the same day at 3 p.m. For particulars see page 130.

The same Society, in conjunction with other societies, will hold a demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, January 24, to protest against women being exploited to protect men and to deal with the treatment of soldiers' wives. See also page 130.

## A BELGIAN CHOCOLATE FUND

In order to assist the many Belgians afflicted by the war and to keep their staff employed during the winter, Messrs. Boisseliers, a firm of chocolate manufacturers, are issuing 250,000 boxes of "Belgian" chocolates, which are of excellent quality. Twenty per cent. of the receipts, a donation which it is hoped will amount to £5,000, is to be given to King Albert of Belgium. The proposition is in the hands of a committee composed of leading members of the theatrical profession who are co-operating with 150 other members. These ladies and gentlemen are arranging to attend and actually sell boxes of chocolates at the largest cafés and stores in London and the provinces. Among the advertisers in *VOTES FOR WOMEN* are Messrs. Selfridge, who have entered enthusiastically into the idea and have decided to allocate one-half of their confectionery department to the sale of these chocolates for the whole of this week.

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# CORRESPONDENCE

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Dear Editors,—As Dr. Evans is dissatisfied with the ground on which I expressed, merely in passing, my opposition to the measures recently taken against prostitutes by the military authorities at Cardiff, may I be allowed a few words to make my meaning more clear?

My main point is this: Are the authorities justified in increasing, by such one-sided action, the risk of seduction and violation in the sphere of the Home, in order to lessen the risk of seduction in the sphere of military service? Should inexperienced girls and children be suddenly exposed to more danger by an emergency measure devised to protect not the morals but the health of the troops? Surely, when that is its *juxta-position*, the flagrant immorality of the expedient becomes clear. And even if, as Dr. Evans seems to suggest, young girls and children must proudly accept the new risk thus imposed on them in order that the solidarity of the woman's cause may be made manifest, it is none the less infamous that a male Government should impose it without first receiving the women's mandate.

If Dr. Evans means only to say that a prostitute class must not be artificially maintained in order to protect "virtue" in the Home, I am entirely with her. But it is one thing to say that the Home must take its chance when we begin by equitable means to get rid of those social and economic forms of compulsion which level the supply of prostitution to the demand; it is quite another to say that we must countenance any such extra risk to the Home when brought about by odious and unfair means.

I do not discover in Dr. Evans's proposals or in the action of our magistrates any attempt to square matters by providing that all men found guilty of indecent or criminal assault shall be interned "during the period of the war." That would at least give a veneer of equality to the proposed internment of "loose women." But one learns on the contrary that enlistment is now put forward as a means of escape from punishment for moral offences. And the men thus enlisted are drafted to Cardiff and elsewhere with the moral object lesson well imprinted upon their minds for future use. Happily, owing to the action of the United Suffragists and others, the Cardiff experiment has been brought to an ignominious end, and is not likely to be revived.

Finally, I would say this. Before we can begin to deal safely with the problem of prostitution, on lines so revolutionary as those laid down by Dr. Evans, we must have something like a revolution in the Home, in our attitude toward the seduction of inexperienced girls, and in our sex-training of the young. That is a matter which will take time, and will need to have behind it the forces of a fully enfranchised womanhood.—Yours, &c., LAURENCE HOUTSMAN.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I have read the letters of Dr. Eric Evans with much interest; they present a novel and, to me at least, a perfectly extraordinary point of view. Unless I entirely mistake Dr. Evans's meaning, she is seriously proposing that every woman who gains her living by working upon the amorous emotions of men for what she can get by it shall be summarily consigned to something uncommonly like a lunatic asylum. This would certainly result in a pretty clean sweep of our streets, and I am afraid Dr. Evans would find her practice swiftly diminishing, for when one begins that sort of classification the question is, not who shall go, but who, by any stretch of leniency, can be fairly expected to remain. For centuries man has so barred up and shut off every decent method of livelihood to the female sex that, lacking unusual talent or opportunity, or quite extraordinary qualities of courage and perseverance, there is simply no other alternative open to the young woman of limited income, though she may discuss the alternative by a marriage ceremony. The bitter words of Mrs. Warren are nothing but the bitter truth: "If people arrange the world that way for women, what's the good of pretending it's arranged any other way?" And, since this state of affairs is precisely what we are out to remedy, it is surely rather late in the day to denounce those of us who admit it, in the frankest and most businesslike fashion, as abnormal freaks of nature. If anyone is to be removed from society for feebleness of intellect, it should rather be the man who cannot see that restrictions and injustice aimed at one sex rebound inevitably with a terrible force upon the other.—Yours, &c., M. North Shields.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—The United Suffragists deserve warm congratulations on the success of their cam-

paign at Cardiff and the release of the women from prison. Nothing less than the cancelling of the Colonel's order would have satisfied the champions of justice, for it would tax the wits of civil and military authorities combined to prove that any regulations exist in England for the court-martialing of women! Apart from this consideration, a close and careful study of prostitution in Europe, and under the old C.D. Acts in our own country, tends to convince the true moral reformer that a policy of repression and coercion has the dire effect of increasing the gravest evils of this vile practice and of dragging countless young and ignorant victims into the nets cleverly laid to catch their unwary feet.

In the last issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN Dr. Evans makes the suggestion that "those girls who have been proved to be living partly or wholly on wages earned by prostitution should be treated as those of unsound mind," adding "until the end of the war." Will Dr. Evans tell us what is to be done to the male prostitutes who pay these "wages"? For, unless we are to incarcerate them likewise, there are caterers enough from "Queenie Gerald" downwards to provide a fresh supply! And the younger the girls are, the greater is the danger to the men from the medical point of view. Were it not well to ponder the pregnant lines by the poet Blake upon the tyrannical suppression of one sex only?

"The harlot, chased from street to street,  
Shall be old England's winding-sheet."

The question remains, Who created her? Assuredly not the All-Father. And what of the mental condition of the man so utterly devoid of self-control as to compass the ruin of a little child; or of the magistrate who condoned the offence and turned him over to serve in Lord Kitchener's Army? Truly, it is not without abundant reason that men and women of repute have long demanded that the manufacturer of the prostituted woman shall take his proper place beside her in the dock before the tribunal of public opinion and that his unsoundness of mind and the widespread danger to the innocent of leaving him at large shall be taken into consideration.

The weal and woe of the human race are bound up in this problem, and the sooner that the same motherhood and fatherhood of the land unitedly undertake its solution the brighter will dawn the new era of hope for the coming generations. Hence arises the extreme urgency for the Vote, the symbol of citizenship, whereby the wise and persuasive voice of the mother shall be heard in the councils of the nation.—Yours, &c.,

GEORGINA M. SOLOMON,  
Les Lunas, Sumatra Road, West Hampstead,  
N.W.

## WOMEN AND CAPITAL

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I am wondering whether your women readers have seriously thought at what the Chancellor of the Exchequer was really aiming when he imposed the tax of 2s. 6d. on unearned incomes?

There seems to me little doubt that he aimed directly at women, at spinsters and widows in particular (incidentally, perhaps, putting a good thing in the way of the insurance offices), with the object

**COME TO TRAFALGAR SQUARE!**  
SUNDAY, JANUARY 24, at 3 p.m.

**UNITED PROTEST**  
BY  
**WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE,  
UNITED SUFFRAGISTS,  
EAST LONDON FEDERATION OF SUFFRAGETTES,  
NORTHERN MEN'S FEDERATION,**  
Against Insults to Soldiers' Wives,  
Threatened State Regulation  
of Vice,  
Restrictions Enforced Against  
Women Only.

**STAND UP FOR THE SOLDIER'S WIFE  
AND ALL VOTELESS WOMEN!**

(For Particulars of Speakers see Page 130.)

of so reducing their incomes—mostly derived from investment, few having incomes from professions, &c., like men—that they will be forced to sell their securities at any sacrifice, and to buy an annuity, thus getting rid of their capital. It is significant how columns of certain newspapers just now are devoted to urging women to do this very thing! Nothing is more distasteful to the male mind than that women should possess capital. Capital means power, I would therefore earnestly urge all women, never mind how hard hit they may be by this taxation, to reduce their expenditure, at any sacrifice to themselves, in every way possible, to endeavour to weather the storm—anything to avoid getting rid of their capital.

Some ten years ago now, in conversation with the husband of a school-friend of mine (a kindly, genial, good-natured, common-place man—a good son, brother and husband), before the Suffragettes had begun to put some new life into the nation, he spoke, strangely enough, of this very subject, saying that the women of England, especially the widows and spinsters, were holding locked up millions of the capital of the country, which should not be in their possession at all: "Let them have the income from it, certainly; but not the capital." His remarks surprised me, and gave me much food for thought at the time; it is interesting to me to watch that thought being worked out by the powers that be to-day. May women be awake before tootle to the plot to undermine their economic independence, now being cunningly worked against them.—Yours, &c.,

A HAPPY UNMARRIED WOMAN WORKER.

## AGE OF CONSENT BILL

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I have just read the interesting "Story of 1914" in your issue of the 1st inst, and beg to draw attention to a statement which seems to me not quite accurate. In your comments on the Bishop of London's Bill you say that it was "killed in the House of Commons by the Prime Minister's refusal to give time to it." I was in the House of Lords when the Bishop of London withdrew the Bill in consequence of the crippling amendments there adopted, and it never went to the House of Commons.—Yours, &c.,

E. F. MACKENZIE (Secretary),  
Ladies' National Association for the Abolition of  
State Regulation of Vice.

[It would, perhaps, have been more correct to say "stillborn" than "killed." What happened was that Mr. Asquith announced in the House of Commons that the Bill could only be proceeded with there if it could be regarded as non-contentious. Acting upon this announcement, the Bishop decided to withdraw his Bill altogether and re-introduce it in 1915.—ED. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

## THE "WEAKER" SEX

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I beg to thank you for your excellent review of my book, "The Complete Jujitsu-an," and to say that when I spoke of women as being the weaker sex I only said this in the physical sense, as I am quite convinced that as regards mental qualities women are the equal and sometimes the superior of men. I may say that, owing to this, women learn as quickly as men and in good many cases grasp the idea much more rapidly. I shall esteem it a favour if you would point this out to your readers in order to dispel any bad impression that may arise owing to your mention of this in your review.—Yours, &c., W. H. GARRUD,  
31, Golden Square, Regent Street, W.

## THE QUEEN OF HOLLAND

A correspondent sends us the following interesting extract from a letter written to her by a Dutch friend, which she has translated for the benefit of our readers, who, we know well, will see in it a fresh proof of the absurdity of denying women political power:—

"We here in Holland are neutrals—a position entailing heavy responsibility towards humanity and civilisation, and often proving more difficult than partisanship. We may count ourselves happy in having a Queen from whom emanates such great moral power. 'Bon sang ne peut mentir,' and she shows herself to be a worthy daughter of the great House of Orange. On account of her consummate knowledge of affairs, her keen intelligence, good judgment, and last, but not least, her great love for her people, many persons who were formerly no royalists now speak of her with deep respect. Members of her entourage, politicians, and military men are full of admiration for her.

"She works during whole nights, presides over councils and confers with the foreign ambassadors. Owing to her and her excellent ministers, many great dangers have been avoided."

## COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

### LIGHT SENTENCES

#### Assault on a Girl of Thirteen

The *Lichfield Mercury* (January 8) reports case of a young miner, aged sixteen, charged at the Lichfield County Police Court before Mr. A. O. Worthington (Chairman) and Sir Thomas Blomfield, Bart., with having indecently assaulted a mine's daughter, aged thirteen. The lad was given "a good character" by his father; but as he had enlisted in the meanwhile, the magistrates altered the charge to common assault.

Sentence: *Adjudged for three months to give accused opportunity to rejoin his regiment.*

#### Assault on a Deaf-Mute Child

The *Morning Advertiser* (January 9) reports case of an ex-fireman, charged at the North London Police Court before Mr. Hedderwick with assaulting a deaf and dumb boy, who did not hear him when told to move away from his shop window. Not knowing of his infirmity, he threw a sweet-cutler at him, injuring his head.

Sentence: *Fined 5s. and 20s. costs or seven days.*

### Kicking a Wife

The *Leeds Mercury* (January 7) reports case of a publican charged before the Huddersfield Bench with assaulting his wife. He came home drunk and kicked her about the body till she became unconscious. The medical evidence showed that her injuries might be attended with serious results. She said he frequently ill-treated her. A separation order was granted.

Sentence: *One month's hard labour.*

## THE GROWING EVIL

We sometimes grow a little tired of having to say the same thing over again. Only last week we deplored the growing tendency in our Courts to show leniency towards men convicted of crimes who proclaimed their willingness to enlist. The first comparison in our table of punishments above is a flagrant instance of this, resulting in a recruit being sent to our Army who is not fit to associate with decent, clean men, and who will be a most improper person to share in the invasion of any country where women and children will be at his mercy. Although we fully agree with the Salford Recorder (the same judge whose words we praised last week) that a man convicted of stealing lead should not be allowed to evade punishment in order to enter the Army, we consider that such a man would make a far more desirable recruit than the boy convicted of assaulting a little girl of 13. If it be urged that the boy's youth entitled him to leniency, we can only say that such leniency is not shown to boy thieves. At the London Sessions, on January 5, Mr. Wallace, K.C., sent two boys, aged 16 and 17, to Borstal for two years for house-breaking. But this, of course, endangered the sacredness of property, whereas in the other case only the moral and physical well-being of a little girl was in question!

## AN IMPORTANT COMMITTEE

It was announced in the *Common Cause* last week that a Committee had been formed to work for the Prevention of Criminal Assaults on Children, and by the courtesy of the Editor we have now been put in possession of a few facts in connection with this very important departure. As some of our readers are probably aware, a private Conference of men and women was held in London last June, with the Bishop of Ely in the Chair, to consider what steps could be taken to stem the terrible increase of these crimes committed on little girls. Forty men and women were present, and at the end of the Conference they formed themselves into a Committee to work for the prevention of such crimes. The outbreak of the European war produced a pause in their activities,

### HEAVY SENTENCES

#### Theft of Lead

The *Manchester Guardian* (January 5) reports case of a labourer charged at the Salford Sessions before the Recorder, Mr. A. A. Tobin, K.C., M.P., with stealing a quantity of lead.

He pleaded for leniency, saying he desired to enter the army and start a new life.

Sentence: *Eighteen months' hard labour.*

### Failing to Notify

The *Morning Advertiser* (January 8) reports case of a traveller, aged seventy, charged at Clerkenwell Police Court before Mr. d'Eyncourt, under the Prevention of Crimes Act, with failing to notify the police of his entry into the Metropolitan police district. His list of convictions was read; he was out on a licence expiring in 1916.

Sentence: *Twelve months' hard labour.*

### Stealing Food

The *Lancashire Daily Post* (January 6) reports case of a labourer charged at Preston Sessions with burglariously entering a private house and stealing several articles of food. There were several previous convictions.

Sentence: *Three years' penal servitude.*

but it was decided in October to proceed with the work, and an Executive has been formed, with Mrs. Arthur Hutchinson as Hon. Secretary, and Mrs. Harker as Hon. Treasurer. The address of the Committee is The Bureau, Leicester Square, London, W.C., and Mrs. Hutchinson will gladly supply a report of the June Conference on receipt of one penny, or any further details with regard to the work of the Committee.

### A Valuable Work

We think much valuable work can be done by such a Committee in collecting information which is to a large extent withheld by the Press, and in considering the causes which have produced this horrible increase of vice. The Committee, in a preliminary note, emphasize the low standard of morality induced by the light sentences passed in our Courts for such offences—to which our readers can testify—and point out the need for women police magistrates and officials. The chief work of the C.P.C.A.C. will be to ensure the attendance in the Courts all over the country of responsible women, who will collect information of these cases. The Chairman of the Committee is Mr. J. H. Torr, J.P.,

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(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.  
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Please write clearly.

Address .....

Fill in the above form and post it to—

Hon. Sec. United Suffragists, 3, Adam Street, London, W.C.

## COMING EVENTS

The Women's Freedom League will hold a meeting at the Suffrage Club, York Street, on Wednesday, January 20, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers: Rev. W. Piggott on "Women and Problems of the War," and others.

### A Warning

We repeat that much valuable work can be done by such a Committee as the C.P.C.A.C. in collecting information and thus convincing the indifferent public of the extent of the evil by the publication of facts which are not at present available, except in a very small degree. But we have no hope that anything effectual to wipe out the evil itself will or can be done as long as women are politically helpless.

The root of the whole scandal is the double standard of morality of the two sexes and the subjection of women. It is largely aggravated also by such material evils as bad housing. None of these things will ever be reformed until women are given their true position as the equals of men. There is also the perpetual danger that a Parliament responsible to men only will seek to restrict the liberties of women yet further by legislation which purports to deal with the evil but does not touch the root of it.

Therefore it behoves all true Suffragists to work harder than ever before for the enfranchisement of women and all that it means.

## DIMINUTION OF CRIME

The remarkable diminution in crime since the war broke out was the subject of many judicial comments last week. Croydon Quarter Sessions were not held because there were no prisoners for trial. Only two cases were down at the Salford Quarter Sessions; both the Preston and West Riding Quarter Sessions were also remarkable for the lightness of the calendar. In his charge to the Grand Jury at the Middlesex Sessions last Saturday (where only half the usual number of cases were in the calendar), Mr. Montagu Sharpe, the Chairman, attributed this diminution of crime to the patriotism of the criminal class, which had led them to show the same enthusiasm for fighting for their country as for robbing people.

Of course, that is one way of putting it, though we cannot help observing that since the greater number of crimes spring from poverty, enlistment, besides appealing to the patriotism of the criminal, has also offered him a paid employment which abolishes the need for theft. But the chief point we should like to emphasise as Suffragists is that while large masses of men have been thus enticed away from a criminal career, the other half of the nation—the women—have as many opportunities as before of going to prison. Yet they do not apparently take these opportunities! This does not look as though soldiers' wives were guilty of the depravity that is implied in the order placing them under police supervision.

And we really cannot help asking for the hundredth time why, if political power is vested in one sex only, the temperate and law-abiding sex is not chosen for the purpose?

The United Suffragists will hold a Public Meeting in the Public Hall, Chesham, on Saturday, January 23, at 7 p.m., and a demonstration at the Mound, Edinburgh, on the same day at 3 p.m. For particulars see page 130.

The same Society, in conjunction with other societies, will hold a demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, January 24, to protest against women being exploited to protect men and to deal with the treatment of soldiers' wives. See also page 130.

## A BELGIAN CHOCOLATE FUND

In order to assist the many Belgians afflicted by the war and to keep their staff employed during the winter, Messrs. Boisseliers, a firm of chocolate manufacturers, are issuing 250,000 boxes of "Belgian" chocolates, which are of excellent quality. Twenty per cent. of the receipts, a donation which it is hoped will amount to £5,000, is to be given to King Albert of Belgium. The proposition is in the hands of a committee composed of leading members of the theatrical profession, who are co-operating with 150 other members. These ladies and gentlemen are arranging to attend and actually sell boxes of chocolates at the largest cafes and stores in London and the provinces. Among the advertisers in *VOTES FOR WOMEN* are Messrs. Selfridge, who have entered enthusiastically into the idea and have decided to allocate one-half of their confectionery department to the sale of these chocolates for the whole of this week.

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### NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

**BROTHERHOOD CHURCH,** Southgate Road, Kingsland, N. Demonstration, 3.30. George Lansbury, "The War and What I Saw." Soloist, Miss Georgina Hibbert. Chairman, F. R. Swan.

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### SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

**THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE** will hold public meetings at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, Jermyn Street, Piccadilly, each Wednesday afternoon at 3.30. Speakers, January 20: Rev. W. Pigott on "Women and Problems of the War," and others. Admission free.

**THE WOMEN'S TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE**, having temporarily suspended activities, the Committee makes the following announcement: The list of subscribers and balance-sheet for the year 1914 may be inspected at Hampden House, Kingway, the office of the Auditor of the League, Mrs Ayres Purdie, who will be pleased to give professional advice to any members requiring assistance.

### BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

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