

# The War Paper for Women

# VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

VOL. VIII. (Third Series), No. 369.

FRIDAY, APRIL 2, 1915.

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

## WOMEN WITHOUT THE SHELTER TRENCH



"Men and women who toil at the making of shells are fighting in this war just as surely as the men in the trenches."

—"Times" Leading Article

That may be so, but men and women always stand on unequal terms in the fight until women gain the shelter trench of the vote



# UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

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Colours: Purple, White and Orange

## THE CAMPAIGN

### Indoor Meetings

**Thursday, April 1; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.**—Food Reform Stores, Strand. Speaker: Mr. Peter Grant.  
**Tuesday, April 13; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.**—U.S. Women's Club.

**THURSDAY, APRIL 15; 8 p.m.—PUBLIC MEETING.**—ESSEX HALL, ESSEX STREET, STRAND. SPEAKERS: DR. LETITIA FAIRFIELD, THE REV. J. M. MAILLARD, AND MR. CHARLES GRAY. CHAIR: MRS. AYRTON GOULD. ADMISSION FREE. RESERVED SEATS IS.

**Thursday, April 15; 8 p.m.—Public Meeting.**—Spinner's Hall, Bolton. Speakers: Miss M. Douglas and Mr. John Scurr.

**Friday, April 16; 8 p.m.—Public Meeting.**—Rushworth Hall, Liverpool. Speakers: Mr. John Scurr and Mrs. Cousins. Chair: Rev. Ivory Cripps. Admission free.

**Wednesday, April 21; 3 p.m.—Drawing-room Meeting.**—Wainor House, Aldridge, Walsall. Speaker: Miss Evelyn Sharp. Chair: Miss Annie Somers.

**Wednesday, April 21; 8 p.m.—Public Meeting.**—Queen's College (Large Hall), Birmingham. Speaker: Miss Evelyn Sharp. Chair: Mr. Percy Adams.

**Thursday, April 29; 8 p.m.—Public Meeting.**—Red Cross Hall, White Cross Street, Borough. Speakers: The Rev. J. M. Maillard, Mrs. Ayrton Gould and others. Admission free.

### Outdoor Meetings

**Tuesday, April 20; 7.30 p.m.—Bull Ring, Birmingham.** Speaker: Miss Annie Somers. Chair: Miss M. Haly.

**Thursday, April 22; 7.30 p.m.—Small Heath, Park Gates, Birmingham.**

**Friday, April 23; 7.30 p.m.—Stirchley, Birmingham.**

## SOUTH LONDON CAMPAIGN

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

An overflowing and most enthusiastic meeting was held at the Club last week, when Mrs. Ayrton Gould was the speaker. Two of the new pitches suggested by local members are very promising—Webber Street and Skipton Street. Afternoon meetings at the former are attended by a crowd of women who are out doing their shopping in the New Cut. One of them at the last meeting, roused to keen enthusiasm by the speeches of Mrs. Leigh Rothwell and Miss Somers, gave 3d. for her copy of VOTES—generosity that really meant something.

The Red Cross Hall meeting was very encouraging. The resolution was passed unanimously and enthusiastically, and the hall has been taken again for Thursday, April 29, when the Rev. J. M. Maillard, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, and others will speak.

Open-air meetings will be resumed after the holidays. The next open meeting at the Club will be Tuesday, April 13.

## U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB

92, Borough Road, S.E.  
Secretary, Miss M. R. Cochrane

We have twenty-eight new members this month, and we are beginning to wonder how we can stretch our walls to hold everybody. We had a most enthusiastic meeting on Tuesday, when Mrs. Ayrton Gould came to speak. We overflowed up the stairs, down the stairs, and into the Secretary's office. The Tuesday evening Suffrage meeting is a prominent feature of the Club. Over and over again we hear the remark: "Oh, we must come to the meeting; we would not miss it for anything." We have decided to keep the Club open during the Easter week-end. We were rather uncertain about doing so, but so many members have told us that there is nowhere for them to go on the holiday evenings, especially this year, when their husbands, their brothers, and their young men are at the front, that we are only too glad to be able to do so. On Easter Monday evening we are going to have a party. In the new room downstairs there will be dancing, and if some kind performers will come to our aid we hope to have an entertainment for the non-dancers. This is very ambitious of us, because, like every-

body else, we are very hard up—so will our readers come to our help? We want cakes, biscuits, sweets, tea, coffee, and cocoa, and we want help in money; we don't mind how small a sum if you can't afford more. We have to pay to have the new floor linoleumed, and for the gas-stove to be put in. We must make it a huge success, so please help us all you can. We want to thank for the gifts we have had this week: Cake and a beautiful box of daffodils, "With love and sympathy to all from a Welsh garden."

## BIRMINGHAM U.S.

Hon. Sec., Miss Haly, 19, New Street

At the protest meeting held in the Town Hall on Sunday last, at which Mr. Lansbury was one of the speakers, we sold all our papers, and were heartily welcomed on our reappearance. We regret that the Jumble Sale, which was advertised last week, will not be held, owing to the impossibility of obtaining a room and other difficulties. A Members' Meeting will be held on Wednesday, April 14, at 8, to discuss plans for our coming campaign and other matters. Will members unable to attend this meeting notice the arrangements that have been made (see Campaign), and send in their names for paper-selling, collecting, &c.? We shall be especially glad to hear from members who are willing to take the chair at outdoor meetings.

## HAMPSTEAD U.S.

Hon. Sec., Mrs. Hicks, 33, Downside Crescent

Suffragists in Hampstead realise the importance of keeping the woman's point of view to the front at the present time, and a large number of friends, old and new, came to the meeting held on March 24 at the Library, Prince Arthur Road, to start a local U.S. Miss Evelyn Sharp, in a delightful speech, explained the policy and activity of the U.S., and Mrs. Arnelite Scamett emphasised the need of continual vigilance on the part of women. Best thanks to the hostesses, Mrs. Zangwill and Mrs. Whelen, for their kind help. The meeting had immediate practical results in a gratifying list of members; a collection of £1 16s. 7d. (of which £1 has been given as a donation to the Southwark Club); and a donation of 25s. from Miss Jessy Wade for a poster. The next indoor meeting will be on April 30, particulars later. Outdoor meetings are being held on the Heath every Sunday (except Easter Sunday) at 12. Miss Somers will welcome supporters at these. There is urgent need of paper-sellers for the local pitches. Will intending sellers send their names to the Secretary?

## LIVERPOOL U.S.

Hon. Sec., Miss Isabel Buxton, 111, Queen's Road

We held our first meeting on Friday, April 16, at Rushworth Hall, at 8 p.m., at which we hope to welcome Mr. John Scurr as principal speaker. Some of our members have kindly promised to subscribe for the hire of the hall, so that admission will be free. Local readers are asked to do their utmost to make this meeting a success. We want a full hall. Thanks to Mrs. Miller, we now have, in exchange for Lime Street Station, a poster in Exchange Station. Members are also subscribing for the Central Station, when all our principal railway stations will be showing our posters. Further donations are needed. Members are urged to watch the local press, and whenever anything deserving of comment appears to communicate at once with Miss Grice, 6, Ashfield Road, Aigburth, sending her cutting. Miss Grice has undertaken to act as our Press Secretary, so as to avoid protests to the Press overlapping. Will some of our readers volunteer to undertake a pitch for the sale of Votes in town?

## MANCHESTER U.S.

Hon. Sec., Mrs. L. E. Smith, Onward Buildings, Deansgate, Manchester

Weekly meetings are held on Friday evenings at the Onward Buildings, Deansgate. Members are asked to attend regularly and to bring friends. Paper-sellers report better sales last week. Mrs. Merrick would be glad to receive names of any friends who could assist in the paper selling. It has been decided to hold a large public meeting on May 14, at which Dr. Helena Jones and others will speak. Miss Isabel Basnet will take the chair. Tickets, 1s. and 6d. each, may be obtained at the Friday evening meeting, or on application to the Hon. Secretary, Mrs. Smith.

The following resolutions were passed unanimously at our meeting on Friday last:—  
(1) "That the Manchester United Suffragists feel it their duty to urge all women to refrain from registering for war service until women shall have received the full citizenship symbolised by the Parliamentary vote; and further demands the Government's guarantee that each woman replacing a man shall be paid a man's wage." Copies of this resolution are to be sent to all the local Suffrage Societies,

M.P.'s, and Labour Exchanges, and to the Prime Minister, President of the Board of Trade, and Home Secretary.

(2) "That the Manchester U.S. send their cordial sympathy to the women meeting in congress at The Hague for the promotion of future peace, and offer their best wishes for a successful conference."

## HELP FROM THE ESPERANCE CLUB

United Suffragists owe much gratitude to the Esperance Club, whose members gave a delightful entertainment last Friday evening in aid of the U.S. Women's Club, Southwark. There were Morris dances, country dances, children's games, and folk songs; and it would be difficult to say who enjoyed the evening most, the audience or the performers, the latter of whom could hardly be induced to bring the programme to an end when time demanded that it should close. Miss Mary Neal, who very kindly arranged the whole entertainment, made a short speech in the interval, followed by Miss Evelyn Sharp, who told a sympathetic audience something about the Women's Club and the work it was doing in Southwark.

## DANCING AT THE CLUB

It has been decided, in accordance with the wishes of many of the members, to keep the U.S. Women's Club open during the Easter holidays. A dance will be given on Easter Monday evening, and an entertainment for the older members. In order to guarantee the success of these arrangements help is urgently needed, and gifts in the form of money or cakes would be most acceptable.

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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

In our leading article to-day we deal once more with the subject of the Women's Register for work, upon the possible dangers of which we wrote last week in general terms. We then stated the two conditions under which alone a solution of the difficulties bound to arise from a large substitution of women's labour for men's during the war would become possible. One was equality of wages; the other was equality of citizenship. Equal wages for equal work is a demand in the direct interest of men and women alike. Only on those terms can women be saved from sweating or a depression of the average standard of life; and only on those terms can men, on returning from the war, be saved from finding their places permanently filled by cheaper labour, and all the long efforts of the Trade Unions to build up a defence of the working classes against the abuse of competition frustrated.

## The Other Essential

Most of the papers which have any concern for the great majority of the nation have shown themselves quite alive to this danger, and most have joined in our insistence upon the equal wage. Speaking last Saturday of Miss Mary Broadhurst's announcement that the Government is taking over four or five farms for the training of 300 women in agriculture, the *Daily News* rather hesitated over the scheme lest it should be made a pretext for cheap labour and a lowering of the standard even in agricultural life. The leading article does not go on, as it might, to observe that, quite apart from purely economic reasons, women's work is always likely to be cheap and to drag down the standard of wages for men as well so long as the Government insists upon regarding women merely as "animated instruments," unworthy to take part in the direction of the country, or to have a voice in their own protection. The right of citizenship was the second condition which we said was essential to the Women's Register. We are glad to see that the *Nation*, which since the war has stood even more strongly for our cause than before, gives prominence to the present folly of the "Anti" position; in this week's number it says:—

It is, on the face of it, absurd enough that the society which is calling on women in this way allows them no vote; that absurdity clearly cannot survive this final and crushing exposure of its injustice.

## Abusing a Class

A remarkable "leader," which we are glad to say, has attracted much hostile criticism, appeared in the *Times* last week. It was called "The Fruits of False Teaching," and contained a venomous attack upon the workmen of this country. We quote a few sentences:—

They (the workmen) have been steadily taught for years to think only of their own welfare, to regard their interests as something apart from the community to which they belong, and even antagonistic to it, and to insist on rights without any concomitant duties. . . . Politicians, labour leaders, reformers, and other persons who seek for popular support have systematically flattered the wage-

earner and fawned upon him. They have appealed always to his worst passions—to greed, self-indulgence, vanity, envy, and hatred. They have told him that he is the salt of the earth, a man apart, a hero and a martyr. . . . Though relieved of the burdens of citizenship, he is granted its privileges and others denied to other men. He has a vote, and is urged to use it solely for his own advantage. . . . In short, he is taught to think first, last, and all the time of himself. Now he acts up to this standard of ethics.

## A Parallel and a Lesson

We disagree with every word in that article. We regard it as a foul libel upon the enormous majority of our fellow-countrymen. We are pleased to record that it stirred even the *Westminster Gazette* to as near an approach to righteous indignation as that paper's equable mind is capable of. But we would remind the *Westminster Gazette* and other of our opponents or lukewarm friends that this is exactly the same kind of vague abuse as has been showered for years upon our movement, and has drawn from them not a word of protest against its unfairness. We would further ask our readers to observe that the *Times* is driven to make two admissions: first, that the privileges of citizenship should accompany its burdens; secondly, that the vote is a powerful instrument of personal protection. Do women not share the burdens of the State? Do they not need at least equal protection with men? Even "Antis" could give only one answer to those questions.

## A True Woman of Science

The death of that great astronomer, Lady Huggins, again recalls the absurdity of women's exclusion from the Royal and other learned Societies. From her girlhood, as Margaret Lindsay Murray in Dublin, she displayed a genius for astronomical investigation, but for want of a man's opportunity she was her own guide, and constructed her own instruments. Her chief interest was in the spectroscopy, and in 1875 she married Dr. (afterwards Sir William) Huggins, the greatest discoverer in stellar spectra. At their observatory on Tulse Hill they worked together, and their publications were issued in their joint names. A sympathetic notice in the *Times* last week tells us that her sensitiveness of eyesight and extreme accuracy in measurement were of first importance in the examination of the photographic plates taken through the spectroscopic. The element of caution which was so conspicuous a trait in Sir William's scientific judgment was corrected by his wife's admirable character and her power of quiet decision. "Her striking and attractive personality," it is added, "expressed itself in her appearance and manner. There was not only the conscientiousness, thoroughness, and care which should be the characteristic of the scientist, but also the imagination and love of beauty which distinguish the artistic temperament." We cannot doubt that it was largely owing to her distinction that the Royal Astronomical Society the other day decided to alter its charter so as to admit women as Fellows. She was, of course, a Suffragist.

## Items of Interest

Last week we announced the meeting of the Women's International Congress at the Hague on April 28, 29, and 30, and said that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence was returning from America to attend it. We now hear from Mrs. Lawrence that she and Mr. Lawrence intend to make the passage direct to Holland by a Dutch-American liner, without calling in England on the way. Early in May they expect to return to London. In preparation for the Congress a public meeting will be held at the Lounge, Caxton Hall, on Wednesday, March 31, at 8 o'clock. We hope as many of the U.S. members as receive this notice in time will make a point of attending.

The "Eye-Witness" at the British Headquarters reports that many German prisoners enquire when the Suffragette Corps will arrive, and a letter has been found warning one of the soldiers to be very careful when he meets them lest they should scratch out his eyes. The *Daily Sketch* last week also reproduced cartoons from two German comic papers representing Suffragettes setting sail for the war and firing in the trenches. The *Daily Sketch*, which has always been a loyal friend to our cause, adds the comment, "The ignorance of the German is equalled only by his brutality and lack of humour." That may be, but we know that in the Cabinet, on the Bench, and in our own illustrated or other papers since the active Suffrage movement began, we could find a hundred instances of brutality and lack of humour that would equal any possible human ignorance, whether German or British.

Last Saturday the Freedom League opened a sort of model restaurant and club-rooms for men and women. It is in Cumberland Market, near Albany Street, and is called "The Despard Arms," a natural compliment to their President, who is so well known for her zeal in our cause, and for her service to working people.

One of our most active and valued paper-sellers writes: "Perhaps you may be interested in this appreciation of the U.S. activities. One Sunday a young sailor from a torpedo boat destroyer, accompanied by some friends in khaki, bought a copy of VOTES from me at Marble Arch, and at the same time produced the usual arguments about woman's place in creation. He was very boyish, and fond of long words, so I allowed him the honour of the last big one, and he went off quite pleased with himself. After a while he came back to say, 'We all admire you keeping on with this business as usual,' adding, 'Good-bye, mate! Good luck to your organisation!' He was leaving next day to join his boat at Portsmouth."

## "VOTES FOR WOMEN"

### Paper-Selling Report

Miss Brown, who with her sister acts as paper-selling Organizer, reports that two new sellers have recently volunteered, one at the Essex Hall meeting and one at the Flagstaff meeting at Hampstead. She adds:—

"A gentleman bought a copy from me on Saturday and said, 'Well, I think you are doing your duty.' I was given a shilling for one copy in the street on Thursday, and another shilling for a copy outside the big Westminster meeting last week. My sister sold ten in one hour last Monday at Oxford Circus, which is as good as either of us has done in the street since the war began. People are certainly becoming pleasanter; sometimes they come up to you with remarks such as 'It rejoices my heart to see you' and 'You deserve the V.C.' instead of 'If women had had the vote we should be a German colony by now' or 'Votes for devils!'—which has twice been said to me by the same old man. Sellers are wanted very badly for just after Easter, when so many people seem to be going away. There are four or five people who promised some time ago to begin selling in April again, so that ought to help us on again."

Will volunteers for this useful branch of the service apply to the Misses Brown at the U.S. offices?

## "VOTES FOR WOMEN" FUND

### Donations Received up to March 27th

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Already acknowledged.	672	8	5	Mrs. Ayrton . . . . .	1	1	0
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Miss M. Armstrong	0	2	6				
					£675	12	11



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.

The Editors cannot hold themselves in any way responsible for the return of unused manuscripts, though they will endeavour as far as possible to return them when requested of stamps for postage are enclosed. MSS. should, if possible, be typewritten.

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

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

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## VOTES FOR WOMEN

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FRIDAY, APRIL 2, 1915

## WOMEN DISCOVERED AT LAST

The nineteenth century imagined itself to have discovered evolution, which had been perfectly familiar to every educated person for over two thousand years. It has remained for the twentieth century to make the still more important discovery of woman, the fact of whose existence had been suspected even by uneducated people for an even longer time. It is suitable that this discovery should have been left for a Liberal Government to make, Liberalism being notoriously prone to welcome novelty, progress, and revolution, and to greet the unfranchised with a cheer. Not that our forefathers (as far as we can gather from the English language, we never had any foremothers) were entirely unacquainted with woman in all her manifestations. They always found her useful in the home, both as drudge and ornament: she was allowed to ascend from the basement at frequent intervals, and was in great request up and down the best-regulated houses—type of the wise who soar but never roam, true to the kindred points of scullery and tea-table.

When our forefathers invented industrialism, they put woman to work at it; and at that work she has remained ever since, safeguarded, it is true (though not wholly in her own interests), from some of the heaviest and all the best-paid forms of labour; but on the other hand, expected to "double" the parts of go-to-work and stay-at-home, to bear and rear the children of whom the law forbade her to be a parent, to rock cradles, to earn wages, to obey her husband, and to keep herself unspotted from the world. Nor has woman been excluded by men from the professional branches of wage-earning; peculiarly hers, indeed, is what a distinguished Anti-Suffragist has labelled "the oldest profession in the world." But it is only in the last few weeks that woman has been recognized as a public character, able to render service to the State. True to her long reputation for womanliness, she is grateful for being allowed to earn gratitude. Looking back over her infinite labours and devotions, she may perhaps be tempted to murmur: "I have done the State some service, and they don't know it." But, if so, she immediately adds: "No more of that." And, indeed, for her to complain to-day would be base indeed. She has been told that she can render war-service as useful as a man's (though not that she will be given the wages or status or recognition of a man for doing it). She has been crowned with honour and girdled with praise and shod with expectation. She has had letters about her in the *Times* and other progressive organs. She has been allowed to write her name on a piece of paper and post it to the Board of Trade.

She is not unthankful for all this. "Marry, this is somewhat: this is recognition. The other was neither recognition nor remuneration." The *Times* of Saturday last actually found room, not

only for nearly two columns on the Grand National, but also for nearly a third of a column on "Women and War Work." In a previous issue it printed a letter on the same subject from Miss Violet Markham, who has assured to herself the gratitude of posterity by persistent attempts to prevent Englishwomen from enjoying that blessing of freedom which, in common with the rest of us, she presumably thinks essential for Belgian men. Miss Markham very justly laid stress upon the economic necessity that "the substitution of female for male labour" should not "be allowed to depress existing standards"; but she did not screw up her courage to the point of saying that this necessity can be met in no other way than by the insistence on equal pay for equal work, irrespective of the worker's sex. Perhaps Miss Markham did not demand this for the excellent reason that she did not think it possible to get it. If it is not possible, the blame of that lies on her and her like—on the men and women who have, whether by opposition or by indifference, prevented equality of the sexes in the political sphere. Miss Markham, we believe, belongs to that refreshingly ignorant school of economists which, in the teeth of the whole history of male Trade Unionism, supposes there is no connection between votes and wages. We wonder if even she thinks that in this particular case! One of the safeguards she demands is as follows:

A national committee should be appointed to lay down the principles and examine the conditions of any transference of labour under this scheme. *Women workers should receive adequate representation on this body.*

The italics are ours, and they point a moral. Will Miss Markham declare that, if there were such a committee in a state where women had votes it would be even remotely possible for women to be unrepresented on that committee? Of course, women often get on to committees even as things are; but it lies with the caprice of the male Government in such a matter to allow them on or keep them off, and to carry out or ignore any recommendations they may make. In a Suffrage state such demands as those of Miss Markham (like her "regret that at the Treasury Conference no woman representative of organised women workers was invited to attend") would simply not be needed.

Our concern, however, is not with Anti-Suffragists. "What reck it them? What need they? They are sped." A little longer yet they may clog the wheels of progress; but we know, and they know, that they could not do so of their own strength. The strength of the opposition to every reform is never in the few who condescend into the field (so fatal to themselves) of argument. It is in the apathy and misapprehension of those who are nominally on the side of progress.

The immediate dangers of the Government scheme we outlined in these columns last week. Some of them may conceivably be guarded against in detail; but we confess we shall be very much surprised if the greatest danger of all—the exploiting of the poorer and weaker by the richer and stronger—is avoided by a country which keeps half its population enslaved. And any representatives of organised women's labour who acquiesce in the scheme without adding to the expression of their acquiescence a clear indication to the Government of where the Government's duty lies, will be (though doubtless from the most admirable motives) blacklegging their sex. For even if the scheme were a success for the moment, even if women got just wages (which, in their unfranchised and unrepresented state, is highly improbable—of what use is it our urging individual women to stand out for equal wages when they may be driven by hunger to take any wages they can get, and when we know how ruthlessly our Liberal Government has exploited their hunger in the past?); even, we say, if all goes well for the moment, it is bound to end in industrial dislocation unless women are allowed to safeguard their own position. The injustice of political exclusion brings its nemesis on the unjust; the political helplessness of half the nation is a danger as well as a disgrace to the whole.

# WHEN THE WAR IS OVER

By John Scurr

When the war is over and the Treaty of Peace signed, the Government of the day will find itself faced with many domestic problems which will require immediate solution. We shall be looking at many questions from a different point of view from what we did in times of peace. Further, having introduced into our life the rough-and-ready method of force to settle certain questions, we shall discover that the patience which was the feature of our political life during the period of peace, from the Crimea to the present war, will disappear, and the supporters of reforms will insist on the Parliamentary machine moving at an accelerated rate. The excuses which could be given for delay when questions could be argued over *ad nauseam* will be no longer relevant. Force has been evoked, and its lesson cannot be unlearned in a day.

It is obvious to all thoughtful people that the legislation of the future will become less and less political and more and more social. Any observer must have noticed that the present Government, while attempting to place on the Statute Book such purely political measures as Irish Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment, have really held office by their Social Reform legislation, such as Old Age Pensions, Health Insurance, and so on. Whilst the Opposition have strenuously fought against the principles of the political proposals, they have only criticised the details of the Social Reform measures.

### Legislation Social

A purely political measure may or may not affect a nation much. For example, an Irish Parliament may make that country into a Paradise for the whole people, or for a class. On the other hand, its yoke might lie heavier on the Irish people, or some of them, than the hand of the English Government at its worst. Or it may not change things at all. A Social Reform measure touches the life of every individual affected by it. If it involves heavy taxation on the rich, they may have to alter their ways of life. Equally will it alter the way of life of those who are directly affected by it. Take a small instance. Previous to the Insurance Act women of the poorer classes had to resort to lying-in homes and Poor Law maternity wards, where they received the best attention at very little or no cost. Since the maternity benefit came into being they have preferred to remain at home. I do not discuss whether this is good or bad; I merely draw attention to the fact that legislation of this character changes the habits of the section affected.

The only deduction which can be made from these facts is that as the legislature will in the future invade the home, therefore it is essential that its guardian shall be consulted on the way that the changes are to be brought about. And as the vote is the modern method whereby we consult people and discover their wishes as to changes, it follows that women must have the vote in order that they may be consulted on these home questions.

### A Few of the Problems for Solution

We shall have to face the question of an Imperial Zollverein. There can be little doubt that any changes in the principles which underlie the raising of revenue in various parts of the Empire will affect the prices of the necessities of life. Here is a woman's question. The

methods of emigration of women within the Empire cannot be regarded as in every way satisfactory. Now, although an Imperial Conference may attempt to deal with this question, only some of the delegates will in any way represent the woman's point of view—those from Australia and New Zealand. Therefore, woman's voice will be in a minority. These are but two Imperial questions which occur to the mind.

But even more pressing than these questions will be those that particularly affect the people resident in the British Islands. The question of women in industry bristles with tremendous difficulties, particularly in the trades where wages are low and work is heavy. The woman should be consulted here. Again, the condition of many mothers and children in the nation give cause for grave anxiety to all who wish well to the nation. Many proposals are before us, but we cannot discover which is favoured by women, as they have no voice in determining legislation. So I might go on, enumerating question after question which has got to be

dealt with in some way or another in the years immediately following the war. The Suffrage movement is not only a political movement; it is mainly a social movement.

Therefore it behoves our legislators during this period of political truce to take the necessary steps to remedy the present anomaly. They know the path of legislation lies along the way I have indicated. They know that they cannot hope to initiate any real measure of successful Social Reform unless they consider the wishes of those most affected. Women are the most affected.

What could be better than for the four Parties in the House to meet together and to agree upon a Bill for Enfranchising Women, so that at the next election the real voice of the nation will be heard? If they do this they will find that whatever Government next assumes office, whether Liberal, Labour, or Conservative, it will find its pathway made easy. If they fail now, then they will discover that their pathway will be difficult, and all their attempts to solve the problems which confront us will be in vain.

## OUR "PROMOTION"

By T. O'Meara

We may read any day in the lists of army honours awarded, how a man who distinguishes himself by unusual ability or gallantry upon the field of action has for his reward, not more ease and leisure, or any gift of solid material value, but promotion to some post of greater responsibility, greater difficulty, and probably greater danger. No one questions this, no one doubts that it is just what the fortunate recipient would choose for himself; yet for some reason it is assumed that a woman under similar circumstances will only be satisfied with luxuries and indulgences and sugared words of kindly condescending approbation.

Now, I think we may fairly say, without undue boastfulness, that the women of this country have rather exceeded general expectations by their conduct during the past seven months of stress. What more they might have done, had their beneficent activities not been hampered in every direction by a disastrous muddle of red tape and prejudice, we shall never know; but working under incredible handicaps, they have still accomplished a good deal towards the smooth running of the national machine. And of those others—a mere handful—whose activities have not been quite so beneficent, it must always be remembered that their faults are the inevitable faults of an unsettled, unstable social position, so full of surprises that what is belauded one day is condemned the next; while as for that elusive female concerning whom so many worthy people have been working themselves up into a positive state of intoxication—namely, the "drunken soldier's wife with six little children"—it should also be remembered that when she occurs in real life, nine times out of ten the drink is the direct result of the six little children, all born with the minimum interval between each arrival, and under the most depressing and poverty-stricken conditions conceivable. Ladies and gentlemen in quite high society, subjected to an equal physical strain, might tend to develop even more trying habits than a predilection for an occasional comforting glass of gin and water.

And in any case, those other people who have had the job of looking after her (and her six little children), and keeping her up to the mark, have not been men. Does not the over-worked, over-driven neighbour who yet finds time to mother her weaker sister's neglected brood, cancel the faults of her weaker sister in the eyes of the Recording Angel?

There is a peculiar humour in the recent belated acknowledgment of woman's existence and usefulness by her grateful country. For one of the things that "every woman knows" is that a sensible suggestion made by her to the average man, let us say in August, will probably be contemptuously repudiated. "Absurd! Ridiculous! Impossible! Quite out of the question!" But, some eight or nine months later, the same suggestion, having by that time worked its way through the intricacies of the masculine mind, will suddenly be produced as his own new, original, and brilliant idea, and she will be called upon to admire it as such. If she is tactful she will do so, of course, and restrain her mirth until she is alone; therefore, let us tactfully admire this magnificent new scheme for the National Mobilization of British Women, and try not to smile more than is quite proper and natural.

And all we are asking (as our reward) is just what we were asking for when the present European disaster was unthought of—a little more work, a little more responsibility, a fair share of the burden of Empire, fairly borne, and the bearing of it fairly acknowledged; our equal industrial and political status with men, our simple rights as free citizens of a free country. And surely we are less selfish in our demands than ever we were; for the burden of Empire will grow no lighter upon the "outbreak of peace" and the uprising of a clamorous multitude of new social and economic problems unprecedented in this rough island story. The more reason for an equal allotment of the burden; the more reason for enlisting the last ounce of feminine strength and wit and capability, at present running to waste or expending itself in unimportant directions.

The more reason, in fact, for our promotion; the more reason for "giving us our stripe."



# NEW BOOKS

## WOMAN IN THE GOSPELS\*

Miss Tucker has made a study of the Gospels from the point of view of the position of women, taking that position not in any restricted form, but in regard to the world in its widest sense, looking at women as members of an evolving humanity. Naturally the greater includes the less, and woman is discussed in every relation—in relation to the State, the home, marriage, and parentage. The main idea of the book is perhaps best conveyed in words which occur on the first page of the introduction.

I had a dear friend who once said to me, "The Gospels are the only writings in the world where men and women are treated equally."

The author first establishes the truth of the above contention, and then proceeds to deduce from it arguments and to arrive at conclusions. With regard to the truth of the contention it is asserted that there are in the Gospels six salient features:—

(1) Not one word derogatory to the status or character of woman falls from the mouth of Christ.

(2) Conversely, there is not one sentence, one word, praising the male character in comparison with, or at the expense of the female; or upholding any single point of the status which males arrogate to themselves in respect of women.

(3) The spiritual world in which Jesus lives and thinks is a world of women as well as of men.

(4) Jesus on every occasion when referring to the human relationships includes women.

(5) In every spiritual activity it is not the male only who acts, and only the male who counts, but women are always represented as acting.

(6) The Lord Jesus never rebukes women.

The author proceeds to make good these assertions by instances taken from the life and words of the Founder of Christianity as given in the Gospels. Section I. is devoted to this. In Section II. woman is considered as the mother, but her motherhood is regarded in its universal sense—the sense, that is to say, of being one of

the essential factors in the existence of a universe.

For in the beginning there existed the maternal before the mother was conscious of the sexual. The mother who is created by the male is the allegory not of a biological truth but of a spiritual fall. . . . So that the idea of the virgin motherhood of Mary actually gathers up the biological truth hidden in the ages—the fundamental virginity of motherhood, the parthogenesis which lay behind all sex.

The book is full of knowledge, of scholarship, of suggestive points of view. The appendix alone is a mine of information. It is a book which should be in the library of everyone who speaks on behalf of Woman Suffrage, of all who advocate it.

## AN ANONYMOUS NOVEL †

The earlier part of "Hungerheart," whose author prefers to remain anonymous, rings truer than the latter part—probably because it is actually less true to life! The childhood of the illegitimate, curiously named girl, John-Baptist Montlivet, is admirably, and in some passages brilliantly, sketched. The grown-up people with whom she comes in contact, most of them strangely unpleasant and ill-bred, are drawn with a remorseless pen, but drawn extremely convincingly. Mrs. Wingfield, the mother of the unpleasant family in which poor little John-Baptist finds herself, is a horribly accurate presentation of a certain type of middle-class wife—heroic, dismal and unloved. The various other women, from one to another of whom the heroine transfers her child's hero-worship, are less clear to us, but drawn just as realistically. The book, indeed, is extraordinarily arresting for quite three-parts of the ground covered. After that, it seems to us to go to pieces. John-Baptist's connection with the militant Suffrage movement, and afterwards with the Roman Catholic Church, convey the impression of being inspired by the same erratic, passionate, unstable frame of mind that inspires her various violent friendships for women, which, interesting in a child, become rather boring in a fully developed young woman. The sincerity of the writer is, however, evident throughout the

# CORRESPONDENCE

## ARE SUFFRAGISTS SLAVES TO FASHION?

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I have read your rather cryptic article in your issue of March 19 entitled "Why we March under Two Flags," and as one of the anonymous shriekers of "Aunt Tabitha's last kick" who contribute to the *Times*, may I say an antiquated word or two? As I take two copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN every week, and collect odd ones when I am in town, I cannot be accused of savouring of the "womanly woman" of the kind you suggest. I am not an "Anti-Suffrage feminist," but I do think you might widen the Suffrage movement by letting in a little occasional light on subjects removed from votes. The adamant attitude of mind of the unyielding Suffragette in regard to her mission prevents her often from gaining adherents of less stern mould. Unwearying supporters of feminism can even get slightly alienated from the political suffragist because of the restriction of her energies. In regard to this new fashion in dress, which shopkeepers, &c., are foisting upon women, VOTES FOR WOMEN might make a few authoritative remarks which many of its readers would value, without detracting from its dignified reserve on dress or the serious political reason of its existence. Men are not victimised in dress by absurd and changing fashions. But I suppose that even accredited leaders of the Suffrage have no hesitation now in buying new frocks and coats of the most generous widths, and so agreeing tacitly to this slavery of clothes. You speak of the suffragists

protecting their less fortunate sisters. Who are these sisters? Are they always sweated women, prostitutes, domestic drudges? I have never noticed that Suffragists are immune from the disease of fashionable clothes, and at the present moment, when so many middle-class women are unemployed (the most refined and intellectual, such as artists, novelists, journalists, and those engaged in many arts and handicrafts which the war has caused to be included among the luxuries no longer necessary), every suffragist, every feminist who indulges in one of the new styles of dressing adds a new burden to the impoverished women. Why do women who feel about this write to papers like the *Times* instead of to VOTES FOR WOMEN? Because the *Times* is public-spirited enough to endeavour to expose through its writers one of the tyrannies under which women groan, and this although its revenue may suffer in its dependence on fashion advertisements. If your paper can arrest for a moment its lofty mission of regenerating the world to gibe at Aunt Tabitha, it might also stop to point the way to those whose pockets and means of livelihood are undoubtedly assailed by fashions over which they have no control, and to which suffragists assent by their meek acceptance of the first coat or gown they want.

Your "Anonymous Correspondent of the *Times*."

[There are several obvious points for debate in our correspondent's criticism of the "limitations" of our paper, and we invite correspondence on the subject from our readers.—Editors, VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

book; and we wish the author had chosen a less repellent title for it, and had suppressed the misleading description on the outer paper cover.

\* "Ecco Mater." By M. A. R. Tucker. (The Southern Publishing Company, Ltd., 69, Fleet Street, London, E.C. Price 3s. 6d. net.)  
† "Hungerheart." (London: Methuen and Co. Price 6s.)

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## COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

### LIGHT SENTENCES

#### Assault on a Wife

The *Observer* (March 21) reports case of an assistant turncock charged before Mr. Paul Taylor at Marylebone Police Court with being drunk and assaulting his wife. It was alleged that for nine years prisoner had assailed and abused his wife, and had tried to strangle her in the presence of the police.

Sentence: *Fined 7s. 6d. or five days for being drunk, and for aggravated assault one day's imprisonment.*

#### Criminal Assault on Two Children

The *Daily Citizen* (March 27) reports case of a man of high scientific attainments, 60 years of age, charged at West London Police Court with committing a criminal assault on two children. He pleaded guilty.

Sentence: *Three months in the second division.*

#### Cruelty to a Horse

The *Morning Advertiser* (March 17) reports case of a carman and his employer charged at the Guildhall before Sir Thomas Crosby with cruelly working a horse suffering from several sores, and lame. The sores were covered with blacklead. The magistrate said he looked upon it as a very cruel case indeed.

Sentence: *The owner fined £5 and costs or a month's imprisonment, and the carman 10s. and costs or seven days.*

#### WOMEN CHEAP TO-DAY

Let us consider the above cases of punishment. A man has assaulted and abused his wife for nine years. He has tried to strangle her in the presence of the police. The magistrate, therefore, had plenty of evidence as to what kind of a brute he was, for hardly in one case out of a thousand does a magistrate question a policeman's evidence. Yet what is his sentence on a man who for nine years had kept a woman in a state of misery and physical terror? One day's imprisonment for "aggravated assault." It is admitted the assault was "aggravated." If it had been "common assault" what would have been the penalty? Obviously, nothing.

Observe that for the offence of being drunk once the prisoner got five days or the option of a fine. To be drunk, therefore, is, according to a magistrate's sense of justice, five times worse than to batter a woman; at all events, if the woman happens to be a wife. And we see from the contrasted sentence of a year's imprisonment for obtaining £2 under false pretences that, in the eyes of the law a man may commit 365 aggravated assaults upon a wife before he equals the offence of getting £2 by saying he has won a V.C. when he has not.

Similarly, in the other cases, one might argue that the elderly gentleman "of high scientific attainments" might have criminally assaulted, not only two little girls, but twelve little girls in all before his crimes had amounted in law to the offence of inducing a lady to make a rotten investment. Stated as a proportion sum, the cases run: As three is to eighteen, so is the ruin of two children to a lie about money.

Looking back upon the records of the last month, we find many other law court cases which prove only too clearly how cheap women are held in a so-called "democracy" in which the "demos" consists of men alone. At Camberwell a painter's wife complained that the maintenance order for £2s. a week which she had obtained against her husband was not enough to keep herself and four children. She said the husband had earned 30s. the

### HEAVY SENTENCES

#### False Pretences

The *Daily Citizen* (March 25) reports case of a man charged before the Recorder at Dublin with obtaining £2 from an officer's wife, posing as a V.C. hero wanting to go to Buckingham Palace.

Sentence: *Twelve months' imprisonment.*

#### Fraud

The *Morning Advertiser* (March 26) reports case of a solicitor's clerk charged at the Central Criminal Court before the Recorder, with obtaining £215 by inducing a lady to make an investment in a picture palace which did not exist. The Recorder said it was sad to see a man like prisoner in such a position, but the public must be protected from such conduct.

Sentence: *Eighteen months' hard labour.*

#### Housebreaking

The *Morning Advertiser* (February 3) reports case of a photographer and a fitter charged before Mr. Wallace, K.C., at the London Sessions with committing a burglary at a house and stealing nine cigars and twenty-seven cigarettes. They were both found in possession of housebreaking implements, and the photographer was found to be connected with a previous robbery.

Sentences: *The photographer to twenty-one and the fitter to six months' imprisonment.*

## THE POSITION OF NURSES

In a letter to the *Times* of last Saturday Miss Haldane referred to the Government had denied women the elementary rights of citizenship, and was now calling on them to facilitate an odious form of conscription by economic pressure, and that as women, being voteless, had no responsibility for the war, and as the Government's proposal contained no guarantee that women would receive the same wages as the men they might displace, they demanded the immediate introduction of a Government measure for the enfranchisement of women.

the auspices of the Irish Women's Franchise League, stating that as the Government had denied women the elementary rights of citizenship, and was now calling on them to facilitate an odious form of conscription by economic pressure, and that as women, being voteless, had no responsibility for the war, and as the Government's proposal contained no guarantee that women would receive the same wages as the men they might displace, they demanded the immediate introduction of a Government measure for the enfranchisement of women.

## COMING EVENTS

The British Committee of the International Women's Congress will hold a public meeting on Wednesday in this week (March 31), at the Caxton Hall, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Miss Rosa Waugh, Miss Maude Royden, and Mrs. Barton.

The Forward Celtic Suffrage Union will hold a meeting in Hyde Park (near the Marble Arch) on Sunday, April 4, at 3 p.m.

Miss Christopher St. John will lecture on "Woman under Monasticism" at the Suffrage Club on Tuesday, April 13, at 8 p.m. Tickets, 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., may be obtained from the International Suffrage Shop.

The United Suffragists will hold a Public Meeting in the Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, on Thursday, April 15. Speakers: Dr. Letitia Fairfield, the Rev. J. M. Maillard, and Mr. Charles Gray. Chair: Mrs. Ayrton Gould.

The Free Church League for Woman Suffrage will hold a public meeting at the Caxton Hall on Thursday, April 22, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Rev. D. Orchard, Miss Maude Royden, and Mrs. Swanwick, M.A. Subject: "Women and Peace." Admission free. Reserved tickets may be obtained from 13, Breams Buildings, E.C.

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## WESTMINSTER CONFERENCE

### Some Suffrage Points

Speaking at the public meeting which concluded the Conference held last week at the Central Hall, Westminster, to consider "The Religious Aspect of the Women's Movement in its Relation to War and Peace," the Rev. E. S. Woods said the horrors of war could only be equalled by the horrors of peace. It was utterly to the good that the women of this time were seeking as never before, to find and fulfil their highest vocation, and to make their contribution to the life of the nation and the life of the world. The women needed no justification for rising up to fight the awful evils under which they were the greatest sufferers. The mind of woman was needed in politics to express the human point of view. There was a bigger enterprise than the European war; the enterprise against sweating, drink, prostitution, cruelties, injustices of industry and commerce, class bitterness, and social wrongs of every kind.

## THE BOARD OF TRADE CIRCULAR

### Another Opinion

On March 19, in the Sackville Hall, Dublin, a resolution was passed unanimously at a public meeting held under

## UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

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

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

### Membership Card

The United Suffragists—

(1) Believe that men and women can usefully co-operate 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 actively 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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All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday morning. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

## NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

**ST. MARY - AT - HILL.** — Church of St. Mary Church, Eastcheap. Sundays, 9 and 6, views, orchestra, band. Prebendary Carlile.

## SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

**FORWARD CYMRIC SUFFRAGE UNION** will hold a meeting in Hyde Park (near the Marble Arch) on Sunday next at 3. "The Red Dragon leads the way!" "Cymru am byth!"

**THREE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.** Public meeting on "Women and Peace." Thursday, April 22, 8 p.m. Caxton Hall, Westminster. Rev. Dr. Orchard, Miss Maude Royden, Mrs. Swanwick, M.A. Tickets: 2s. 6d., 1s., 6d. Admission free.—Apply 13, Breams Buildings, E.C.

**MISS CHRISTOPHER ST. JOHN** will lecture on "Woman under Monasticism" at the Suffrage Club on Tuesday, April 13, at 8 p.m. Tickets: 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., from the International Suffrage Shop, 5, Duke Street, Charing Cross.

**WHITE ROSE LEAGUE** clubs for Women. Dear fellow workers, I wish to thank you for the contribution of £1 1s., and Mrs. Cameron Grant for the cakes—much appreciated. 137, High Street, Notting Hill Gate, opened with 40 members, soldiers' wives. The Mayor of Kensington was present, and Mrs. Parker. My advertisement is for Suffrage workers, hoping they will support me; and in Manchester, at the Ardwick Empire, Easter Eve. Hippodrome following week. I shall feel it very keenly if Suffrage workers do not support this movement, as behind it stands the great education. 80 sixpences weekly will make a Sustentation Fund. The Chiswick White Rose opens April, also East Ham. Tea, sugar, cocoa, cakes much appreciated. Yours gratefully, Flora Ames. Please come and visit the club. 10 till 10. Chairman, Major Sir Francis Vane of Hutton, Scots Guards, a staunch supporter for the Vote.

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