

The War Paper for Women

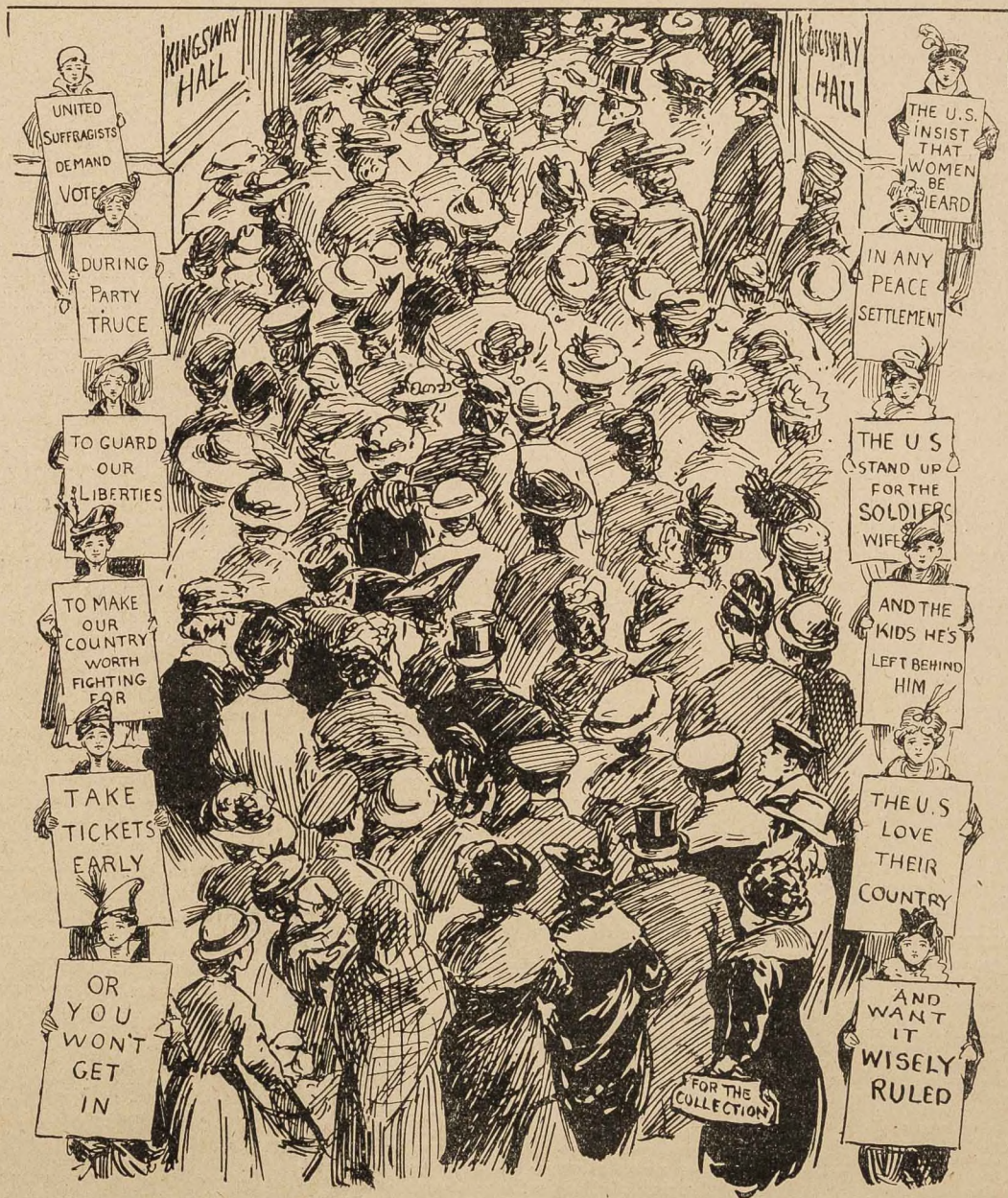
VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

VOL. VIII. (Third Series), No. 362.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1915.

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



TO THE KINGSWAY HALL!

Thursday, February 25, at 8 p.m.

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

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

THE CAMPAIGN Indoor Meetings

Thursday, February 11; 6 p.m.—Members Meeting.—U.S. Offices, 3, Adam Street, W.C. All members of U.S. and intending members invited to talk over schemes of work.

Monday, February 15; 7.45 p.m.—Public Meeting.—Borough Hall, Bolton. Speaker: Mr. J. Beanland, on "Sex Prejudice and Racial Degeneration." Admission Free.

Tuesday, February 16; 6 p.m.—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club. Speaker: Miss Evelyn Sharp.

Thursday, February 18; 6 p.m.—Members Meeting.—U.S. Offices, 3, Adam Street, W.C.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 25; 8 p.m.—PUBLIC MEETING IN THE KINGSWAY HALL.—See particulars in middle of this page.

Wednesday, April 14.—Public Meeting; 8 p.m.—Queen's College, Birmingham. Particulars later.

Outdoor Meetings

Friday, February 12; 8 p.m.—Liverpool Street and Walworth Road. Mr. Mackinlay.

Monday, February 15; 3 p.m.—Liverpool Street and Walworth Road.

U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB

92, Borough Road, Southwark, S.E.

Owing to the increasing use of the Club that is being made by the women of Southwark, more helpers are needed in the afternoons from 3 to 6. Will any U.S. member who can undertake to give one or more regular afternoons a week, kindly write to the Hon. Secretary at the U.S. offices?

Wanted, Please!

Friends have been very generous, but we still want more gifts of tea, coffee essence, cocoa, butter, cakes, jam, marmalade, biscuits—and flowers to make the rooms look homelike. These, if forthcoming, should be sent to the Club itself.

BIRMINGHAM U.S.

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

Owing to the kindness of Mrs. Gristwood, a drawing-room meeting was held on Monday, February 1, to meet Miss Bertha Brewster and Mr. Charles Gray, who were here to form a branch of the U.S. in Birmingham. The proposal met with great enthusiasm, and a committee with a treasurer and secretary were unanimously appointed. On Thursday an office was opened at 19, New Street, and the committee held its first meeting, at which a great deal of business was done. (The premises at the address given in last week's Votes for Women were found to be too small for the purpose.)

The first public meeting will be held at Queen's College (small hall) on Thursday in this week at 8 p.m., and in future a public meeting will be held on the first Wednesday in every month in the large hall, Queen's College, at 7.30 p.m., and a members' meeting every third Wednesday in the month at 19, New Street, at 6 p.m.

Five paper-sellers have volunteered, and volunteers are wanted for bill distributing, &c., also more paper-sellers.

CHORLEY WOOD AND DISTRICT U.S.

Hon. Sec. Mrs. Agnes H. Harben, Newland Park, Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks

The monthly meeting in the Chorley Wood Hotel was well attended on Thursday evening two weeks ago, when Miss Evelyn Sharp was the speaker. Mr. McCallum took the chair and spoke on "Nurses at the Front," showing how their presence there is an argument for women's enfranchisement. Miss Evelyn Sharp gave an address on the evidence produced by the war of the harm to the nation accruing from women's votelessness, as well as the suffering caused to women themselves. She then dwelt on the urgent necessity for women's voice to be heard in the Peace Settlement when it comes, and showed that politically there could be no valid reason advanced by the Government for not taking advantage of the present Party Truce to bring in a simple, non-contentious measure removing the sex disability in politics.

The speaker at the next monthly meeting will be Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.

The Hon. Secretary will be glad if all those members of the Chorley Wood Society who have not yet done so will send in their U.S. membership card to her.

A GENEROUS GIFT

Mrs. Anderson has most generously presented "My Own Story," by Mrs. Pankhurst, to each of the U.S. branches—Amersham, Bolton, and Chorley Wood.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN"

Tributes from Readers

The Rev. J. M. Maillard, a Vice-President of the U.S., writes: "It has pleased me immensely that the U.S. during the period of the war has not slackened its public work. When peace reigns once more, it will be impossible to

Wanted—An Annual Subscription

A working woman writes to us that she is regretfully compelled to drop her subscription to VOTES FOR WOMEN on account of "bad times." Will one of our more fortunate readers send us 6s. 6d. to send her the paper for another year?

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FUND

Donations Received up to February 6		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	494	14	11				
Anon		0	1	0			
Mrs. Hertha		6	0	0			
Ayrton		6	0	0			
Misses Janet and Mary Barrowman		0	5	0			
Mrs. Cavendish		2	2	0			
Bentinck		0	10	0			
Mrs. Christie		0	10	0			
Miss N. Dicksee		0	2	0			
Mrs. Dodgson		0	12	0			
Miss J. F. Forbes		0	10	0			
Mrs. Hicks				1	1	0	
Miss M. Oldrini				0	13	0	
Miss Putnam				1	0	0	
Mrs. M. K.							
Richardson				1	1	0	
Miss Evelyn Sharp				1	1	0	
Miss E. Thompson				2	2	0	
Mrs. Hartley Withers				1	1	0	
							£512
							15
							11

WOMEN'S CLUB FUND

Donations Received up to February 6		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged		197	16	10			
Club payments		3	12	4			
Anon		1	0	0			
Mrs. Barry		1	0	0			
Miss Brewster		0	2	4			
Miss Gantz		0	5	0			
Mrs. Gow		0	2	6			
Miss D. Orten		0	2	0			
Mr. Robson Paige		0	10	0			
Dr. Marie Pethick		1	1	0			
Miss Putnam		0	3	0			
Miss Young		0	2	6			
Miss E. Wilmot		0	5	0			
					£206	3	6

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

Membership Card

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

The United Suffragists—

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

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

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

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

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

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

Name (Mr., Mrs., or Miss)

Address

Fill in the above Form and post it to Hon. Sec. United Suffragists, 3, Adam Street, London, W.C.

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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

We entirely agree with Mr. Asquith, who said last week, in proposing his motion that the Government should take all the time of the House, that this was not the moment for "more or less academic discussion of possible social and political reforms." But then, we have never thought that the time of the House should be taken up in this frivolous manner; nor would it be if Members were responsible to women as well as to men. What we do think is that Parliament, when not occupied in voting a million a day for the prosecution of war, would be profitably employed during a Party truce in settling a non-Party question and giving the vote to women, so that Peace, when it does come, may be settled from the woman's point of view as well as the man's. And we believe public opinion is far more on our side in this matter than Mr. Asquith cares to acknowledge.

The Timidity of Suffragists

Were it not for the timidity, in many cases, of Suffragists themselves, this latent public support of our question would be given much more chance of expression. Mr. Langdon Davies, speaking recently on the objects of the Union of Democratic Control to Irish Suffragists, said that although the forty members of their Council were all Suffragists, Sir Victor Horsley had alone suggested that Woman Suffrage should be put on their programme; none of the women had asked for this. We can only suppose that, because Woman Suffrage is not part of the Union's programme—the objective of which is to secure that Peace, when made, shall be a lasting one—only lukewarm Suffragists have consented to sit on their Council.

What Can be Done

As an instance of what can be done, in spite of the horror of the awful conflict raging on the other side of the Channel—or, rather, perhaps because of that awful conflict—the written question sent up at a meeting of the "From War to Peace" movement in the Kingsway Theatre, last Monday, is some indication. A resolution was passed asserting the importance of a Peace "which will secure the collective responsibility of all civilised nations for the maintenance and enforcement of international law"; and the question, asked by a member of the United Suffragists, ran as follows:—

How does the Chairman propose to secure the responsibility of a nation in which, as in Russia, the principle of representation hardly exists, or in which, as in England, at least half of the adult population is excluded from the election of representatives?

The Chairman, Earl Grey, read the question aloud, and it was greeted with very considerable applause. Lord Grey then made the interesting announcement that he had received several courteous letters, both from ladies and gentlemen, requesting him to allow an amendment to be moved inserting the words "men and women of" before "civilised nations," which he had ruled out of order as unnecessary, because,

in his opinion, the words were already implied. He evaded a direct answer to the question sent up, merely emphasising his own belief in Woman Suffrage. But the episode was important, as indicating the existence of much Suffrage opinion that merely needs voicing; and we hope our readers will take similar steps to insist on the question being made prominent at all meetings on Peace or War attended by them.

A Government Appeal

In the House of Commons on Monday Mr. Tennant made an appeal to the Labour Party to assist the Government by so relaxing trade union rules and regulations, especially in armament works, as to replace all men fit to join the army by women workers. This is an important twofold admission (1) that women are able to take over the men's work, as we have always contended; and (2) that Labour Members, responsible only to the working men of the country, have it apparently in their power to admit women into a well-paid occupation, or exclude them from it. Here, as in agriculture, if this reactionary Government had not prevented women from winning the power to protect themselves in the labour market, they would not be forced in this hour of crisis to beg the men to give the women their rights. Nor would the trade unions be averse to Mr. Tennant's suggestion, or so the Press seems to think, if they were not afraid that the employers, once supplied with cheap labour, will refuse to reinstate the men after the war. Why does it not occur to them to insist, as a safeguard against this, that the women should be paid men's wages?

Cheap Labour in the Fields

Both the *Daily News* and the *Westminster Gazette* are sadly concerned lest the attempt to reinstate the milkmaid on her stool—now supported in a letter to the Press signed by various people, including Mr. Chaplin and Mr. Walter Long—should merely prove an attempt to provide the farmer with cheap labour, while his refusal to raise wages keeps men out of the fields. The worst of our androcratic Press is that it tries to have things both ways. It deplores the tendency on the part of women to give up their old pursuit of milking for more "genteel" occupations. But it deplores equally any attempt to restore them to the farmyard and the dairy because, owing to their unprotected condition in the Labour market, they may be forced to undercut men. Perhaps if a Liberal Government had not, in 1884, enfranchised agricultural labourers at the expense of women, although everybody admitted that there was a wider demand from the women than from the agricultural labourers, this absurd situation would not have arisen to-day. We pass over the exquisite statement of a correspondent to the *Times*, who says that women cannot be milkmaids because they might have to work between 2 and 3 a.m. Has he never heard of mothers of teething babies, or the whole profession of sick nurses?

Nurses and the War

We learn with the utmost indignation, on what we believe to be unimpeachable authority, that the salaries of all Red Cross nurses now going out to the front are to be fixed at one guinea a week, instead of two guineas as formerly, and that Red Cross nurses now serving

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at 6 p.m.,

WITHOUT FAIL!

their country in France have received six months' notice of a similar reduction in their own case. It is difficult to write calmly of such meanness where the magnificent work of these fearless, unselfish, and highly skilled women is concerned. A country that sweats the women who are facing danger and disease in order to save the lives of its soldiers has no business to talk cant about fighting a war against Prussianism. We trust that every Red Cross nurse will at once join the United Suffragists and demand her constitutional weapon of defence.

Women and Drink

After we go to press on Wednesday a National Conference will be held in the Caxton Hall, Sir Victor Horsley presiding, at which it will be urged that the Government shall enforce uniform closing hours for public-houses throughout the country. It is to be hoped that all Suffragists present will protest against such restrictions being made to press unequally on women and men, as at present, when in several places public-houses are closed to women during certain hours and not to men. The *Manchester Guardian*, in a summary of reports received on drinking in Lancashire, says:—

Suggestions as to increased drinking among women are not as a rule supported by police inquiries or private observation, although reports suggested an increase in Liverpool and in Lancaster.

These "suggestions" do not appear, however, to have been backed by statistics—any accusation will do to hurl at a woman—and we protest most emphatically against the fact, stated in the same paper, that

several magisterial warnings have been given to publicans respecting the serving of soldiers' wives after the latter have drawn their separation pay and grants from local relief funds.

What right have magistrates to cast this slur upon the soldier's wife, and to interfere with her right to spend what belongs to her? The *Daily News*, we are glad to see, acknowledges in a leading article that the aspersions cast on the soldier's wife are baseless.

The Price of a Life

Although the improvement in the scale of pensions recommended by the Pensions Committee is considerable, the fact still remains that a sailor's widow is expected to live on 8s. a week, and a soldier's wife on 10s., while a disabled soldier or sailor is to receive 25s. a week whether he is married or not. If the explanation of this anomaly is that the widow can work and the disabled man cannot, we reply that this only holds good in a State in which men and women are on an equality in the Labour market and the political world. Now that, by publishing this scale of payments, the Government acknowledges that the woman has got to work for her living, we hope we have heard the last of the cant about her place being the home.

Does Not the Government Love Jack?

But another point is also raised by the scale of proposed payments. Where does the wife come in with regard to the disabled man's pension, since he is to receive the same amount whether married or not? No doubt the Committee, on which not a single woman sat, forgot her existence at the moment. A still more serious blemish shown in the interim Report is the lower rate of payments made throughout to the sailor's family. This cannot be because the sailor risks or suffers less than the soldier; Nature sees to it that his danger and his hardships never cease, whether the enemy is in sight or not. And it cannot be pretended that he is less popular, less thought of in the country; for do we not all love Jack? There is only one possible reason, and we hardly like to suggest so mean and unpatriotic a one. Is it because there is not the same need for recruits in the Navy as in the Army? We suppose it does not matter that the sailor's wife and child need as much bread at 4d. a loaf and milk at 4½d. a quart as the soldier's wife and child!

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 1s. 4d. (1dol. 15cents) abroad, payable in advance.

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Telephone:—Holborn 5880 (2 lines).

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1915.

WHAT OUR MEN ARE FIGHTING FOR

By his announcement in Parliament last week, the Prime Minister has destroyed the vital powers of the House of Commons for the duration of the war. By three blows he destroyed them. First, he decreed that no Party measures shall be introduced, no Party question discussed. We are no friends to Party. The very heart of our complaint against Parliament lies in the absurdity that, just because the wisest minds on both sides of both Houses agree in the justice of women's claim, no Party measure can be introduced, and so injustice is maintained. But Mr. Asquith's opinion of Party is not ours. He idolises it. In the same debate he described Party as "the salt and essence of political life." By forbidding Party measures and Party discussion, on his own showing, therefore, he abolishes the salt and essence of political life. He leaves the House of Commons an inert and torpid body, putrifying and unvitalised. Not content with excluding the salt and essence of Party, he went on to exclude all controversial subjects—all those great subjects upon which, as, for instance, upon our own cause, the great majority of the whole House, without distinction of Party, have from time to time been agreed, though opposed by an obstructive and reactionary clique. And, in the third place, the Prime Minister proceeded to overthrow the traditional right of Private Members, and by abolishing the Friday sittings while taking all the rest of the week for the Government, to destroy the one chance left of useful domestic legislation. By these restrictions the House of Commons, which, after all, represents nearly half the nation, is reduced to impotence. Only the futile right of academic criticism remains to it. The Cabinet assumes Dictatorship. Inside the Cabinet a Triumvirate of the Secretary for War, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Prime Minister conduct the government. Nothing is left for Parliament to do. The old satire said that in Napoleon's time the House of Lords throughout the war did nothing in particular, and did it very well. Throughout this war the same will be said of the House of Commons. At least, we hope it will do nothing very well, for every woman in the country contributes to pay every member of the House £8 a week for doing it.

When various members of Mr. Asquith's own Party protested against the high-handed decree thus to curtail their privileges and obliterate all hope of internal reform, he indignantly replied that to listen to them one would hardly realise that a great war was being waged. Members of Parliament may possibly deserve the rebuke. We have often known them oblivious to great movements and passions that stir the outside world; and none more oblivious than Mr. Asquith himself. But upon women the taunt falls harmless. They are not likely to forget the war. Its awful progress and appalling consequences touch them far too closely. They touch their very life—the life of working women and of women in all classes. We will not here intrude upon that mournful region where

women and sorrow sit. No one will ever utter the grief of women over their dead—the dead who have been slain young, with life still unfulfilled—young sons, young lovers, brothers, and husbands. Women, knowing what life and its nurture up to maturity cost, know its value and the hideous abomination of its waste. But on a different plane, consider how little likely women are to be oblivious of the war. How should they forget it with the price of food and all family necessities persistently rising—questions which even anti-Suffragists allow to concern women? The present shameful proposal to frustrate the central principle of Lord Shaftesbury's legislation on behalf of children and to restore the horrors of child-labour again is essentially one on which women's voice should be heard. We need not again refer to all the iniquity and injustice of the "separation allowances" and the methods of their distribution; nor to the atrocious decree which places soldiers' dependants under the supervision of the police and is still not withdrawn. Take two points only in the recent courageous and partially successful efforts of Lords Parmoor, Halsbury, Bryce, and Loreburn to restore the ancient right of trial by juries and civil courts in place of the courts martial which Mr. Asquith and the House of Commons established by the Defence of the Realm Act. It was against women that the courts martial acted with the most striking injustice. Their injustice was such that it carried them even beyond the wide limits of the Act, and, as in the notorious Cardiff case, they were compelled to release the women whom they had already imprisoned. Yet this flagrant treatment of women was not even mentioned in the debate upon Lord Parmoor's motion. It was not mentioned for the single reason that women, having no political status in the country, are held cheap and habitually disregarded. The same reason holds with regard to cases for which the Government insists upon retaining the courts martial. They are to be retained for "aliens," and under our ludicrous law all Englishwomen who have married aliens are accounted aliens themselves. Well may the *Manchester Guardian*, in commenting upon this injustice, say:—

Shames and Sins as Business

Now, in this country, which was about the size of England and Wales, and had a population of almost forty million people, it was customary from time to time to make public announcement of the shames and sins that ate away all the time at the heart of the nation. This was not done by way of penance or public confession; it was done by way of business. Nobody thought that the facts revealed were such as to call for reprobation, for alteration; on the contrary, they were looked upon as the foundations of Respectability, Law, and Order (the only three gods worshipped by the country of which I speak). It will be difficult for English people and Christians to believe this, but they must bear in mind that I was seeing through the maddening mists of nightmare.

There were in my visionary country three kinds of courts, whose names I can best translate or paraphrase as Assizes, Quarter Sessions, and Courts of Summary Jurisdiction. But, instead of the functions of these courts being sensibly divided, as we in England should expect, they overlapped absurdly. They distinguished broadly two types of offence—indictable, if I may again use an English legal term for paraphrase, and non-indictable. The original distinction had been that the indictable offences, being more serious, were tried at Assizes and Quarter Sessions, the non-indictable were tried summarily; but in my vision a lot of "indictable" offences were tried summarily and a lot of "non-indictable" offences were sent on to Assizes and Quarter Sessions "as if indictable"—so you never knew where you were, as we in England know.

Children Born to Starvation

The most shocking things about the proclamation I heard were the number and variety of offences and the number and variety of the punishments inflicted for them, and the way in which the worst offences did not receive the heaviest punishment. Thus in one year—let us call it, as if by our calendar, 1913—the prisons opened to receive nearly 140,000 convicted criminal prisoners, to say nothing of all those

ONE KIND OF LAW

By H. H.

I had a dream—or a vision—or, anyway, a clear and direct apprehension of a terrible and extraordinary country. I do not mean merely that the country was at war; for that, in spite of the waste and pain it involved, had, at any rate, one redeeming element in the spirit with which the men who were actually bearing arms had taken up those arms: most of them believed that they were fighting for freedom, for honour, for the sacredness of a plighted word and the safety of their own homes. Nor do I mean that in that country women had no votes, for, having been born and bred an Englishman, I naturally had grown up to look upon the ruling of women by men as no less fixed a law than the ruling of the waves by England. No. The trouble about the country of my vision was more gross and grotesque than war or political inequality, or so, at any rate, it seemed to my startled senses; for I can see now that in actual fact it was not so—that the things which struck me with the greatest horror were really part and parcel of the political inequality itself. I could not be expected to see that at the time, for the shamelessness with which that visionary country declared its shame took away my breath and my power of thought.

who were imprisoned without conviction and then released after trial, or of all those (some 14,000 odd) who were *non-criminal prisoners* (conceive a civilised country imprisoning people who were explicitly *non-criminal*!), or of all those who, being very young, were sent to reformatories and "institutions" instead of prison (for in this country social conditions were such that many children were born to a life of starvation or crime). So that, roughly speaking, one out of every 200 of the whole population was admitted to prison in a single year.

A Vision—or Madness?

I have spoken of the odd proportion that existed between crime and punishment, and the oddity, again, of imprisoning "non-criminals"; but, then, in that country cruelty to animals was only a non-indictable offence, while trying to do away with yourself because you were too miserable to want to live was an indictable offence—a "crime." But if I were to attempt to enumerate the anomalies and absurdities of those laws you would think I was speaking not so much of a vision as of a madness. Worst of all—worse than the fact that over 60,000 people in one year were tried for "indictable" offences and nearly 700,000 for "non-indictable," so that roughly speaking one in every 50 of the whole population may be held to have been put on trial in the year (though we must always remember that many people were tried more than once, and imprisoned more than once, for small offences in the same year, and that alters the above proportions); worse than the fact that the "civilisation" of this country had bred between 3,000 and 4,000 "habitual criminals" known to the police; worse than the fact that nearly 3,500 people committed suicide and inquests had to be held on over 5,000 infants under the age of one year, and over 3,000 between the ages of one and seven—worst of all, I say, were the nature and variety of the sexual offences, and the way in which they were regarded as compared with crimes against property. In my vision the proclamation gave an appalling list—rape, indecent assault, defilement of girls under 13, incest, procreation, abduction! And

consider the punishments (for in this country they believed in punishment as a deterrent—it was one of the cardinal articles of their creed). Of the 521 people convicted of burglary after trial at Assizes or Quarter Sessions, 83 were sentenced to penal servitude; of the 154 convicted of "indecent assaults on females," none were sentenced to penal servitude; of the 99 convicted of "defilement of girls under 16," none were sentenced to penal servitude; indeed, by the law of the land they could not be (though, on the other hand, it is fair to admit that "defilement of girls under 13" was punished by penal servitude in 21 cases out of 72). Or take Assizes alone, and take extreme instances. I heard one case of a man getting ten years' penal servitude for burglary, and one case of a man getting from one month to three months (for the announcement did not particularise further than this) for defilement of a girl under 13, and 16 cases of men getting as short a sentence for defilement of girls under 16! And all these sentences, you must understand, were inflicted and executed by men; and the women beat on the doors of court-houses and prisons and "institutions," saying, "Let us clear up this mess," and they were not allowed. It is true they were admitted into prisons and "institutions" if they broke the law of this country; and that, of course, was right and fair. Only the women, being law-abiding by nature, did not avail themselves of this privilege to any great extent, even if you count in those who were imprisoned for political agitation, though these last were, in the particular year I am speaking of, pretty numerous. At Assizes, 458 women were put on trial, as against 3,597 men; at Quarter Sessions, 847 women as against 7,607 men; at Courts of Summary Jurisdiction, 53,471 women were convicted as against 214,604 men.

What the Men Said

And yet the men of that country said that women had not sufficient respect for the law to vote as men did. You may say there never was such a country outside the dreams of a lunatic. Well, get the Blue Book just issued by the Home Office—"Criminal Statistics" for 1913. It will cost you 1s. 6d., and it is worth it.
H. H.

KINGSWAY HALL MEETING

The importance of the meeting in the Kingsway Hall on February 25 should be realised by all Suffragists who care for the guarding of their cause at this critical period of our history, and particularly by United Suffragists, who, from the moment that war was declared, took upon themselves the difficult, and at first unpopular, task of keeping the Suffrage Flag flying, come what might. The fruits of our campaign are now being seen. Every day more Suffragists—to say nothing of others who before the war were not Suffragists at all—are coming to see that the best way women can help their country while the men are away at the front is to safeguard its liberties and protect the women and children they've left behind them.

Of National Importance

In the attempt to safeguard its liberties—and it should be remembered that this war is being fought by our country to safeguard the liberties of nations—one thing is of paramount necessity: women must be made citizens before the end of the war, that their voices may be heard when Peace is concluded, and their point of view be taken into consideration when negotiations are afoot that will attempt to

save the country from unnecessary wars in the future.

Readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN! We appeal to you all, men and women, to rally to the purple, white, and orange flag at this crisis, and make the Kingsway Hall meeting on February 25 a landmark in the history of 1915.

What Can You Do?

You can write at once to the Ticket Secretary and buy as many tickets as you can afford, to sell or give away to your friends. You can send in your name as a bill distributor, or a poster parader, or a helper of any kind, to the General Secretary at 3, Adam Street. You can give a drawing-room meeting to work up interest in the public meeting. You can talk about the meeting and its objects wherever you go. You can come to the Members' Meeting in the U.S. offices at 3, Adam Street, on Thursday in this week and Thursday in next week, at 6 p.m., bringing anyone with you likely to help.

Last But Not Least

You can save up your money and collect money from your friends to give in the collection on February 25.

BOOKS AND CORRESPONDENCE

"LIFE AND LAW"

There is probably nothing new or striking in Dr. Maude Glasgow's book, from the point of view of the expert in biology or the student of the hygiene of sex, but it is one of the most interesting and useful compilations of the things which really count in these matters that we have read for a long time. The writer traces, quite simply, so that the ordinary person can follow every step of her argument, the development of the sex function from the lower-animal forms through the more complex organisms to man, showing that, in the animal world, at all events, the male was an afterthought of Nature, rendered desirable by the need for variety and variation in the species, while the female was at first all-sufficient for the purposes of reproduction, and remained afterwards the more stable element and the possessor of discriminatory powers enabling her to choose the best mate and so develop the male until, from being a mere parasite and a function, he became of strength and importance. But throughout the animal world, says Dr. Glasgow:—

We find the male more noisy, more emotional, more quarrelsome, pugnacious, and less self-contained than the female.

The chapter on the contagious diseases is especially interesting just now, in view of recent happenings, and some of the statistics given are appalling, such as the following, on page 107:—

Morrow found that fifty per cent. of the children of syphilitic mothers are born dead; and the records of Le Pileur Hospital show three deaths out of every four births.

But perhaps this entry in the Bulletin of the Oklahoma Board of Health is more pathetic still:—

Forty per cent. of the children in the State School for the Blind are denied the light to see the beauties of this world because their father sowed wild oats.

We have not space to give more extracts from this interesting book, which deals mainly with the problems arising out of her subject as the writer knows them in the United States. They are none the less significant to English readers on that account, and the sections devoted to the consideration of prostitution and teaching of the hygiene of sex are of universal application and full of valuable information and suggestions. The whole book is well worth reading.

"MEMOIRS FOR ANTI'S"

Those who still hold the Anti-Suffragist doctrine that women should possess no political power because they already enjoy as much indirect influence as is necessary, should read Lieutenant-Colonel Haggard's new book, "Women of the Revolutionary Era." We hasten to add that the revolutionary era in question is not that of the last eight years—what a different sort of woman that would mean—but the period of the French Revolution, beginning with Madame de Pompadour and ending with Charlotte Corday. But by far the greater portion of the book is devoted to a chronicle of the influence on French politics of the mistresses and favourites of Louis XV. and of the nobles of the Court during his reign and that of Louis XVI. It makes very sordid reading, and the book has no literary merit of any kind or anything to recommend it either to the student of history or the psychologist. But we should like to put it in the hands of every Anti-Suffragist we know; for the mere recital of facts that it contains is enough to show why indirect political power—womanly influence as it is sometimes called—curses her who uses it as well as him who submits to it, and curses above all the country in which it is encouraged as a substitute for the recognition of woman's true dignity and power.

* "Life and Law." By Maude Glasgow, M.D. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price 6s. net.)

† "Women of the Revolutionary Era." By Lieut.-Colonel Andrew G. P. Haggard, D.S.O. (London: Stanley, Paul and Co. Price 16s.)

WILL DYSON'S CARTOONS*

A few weeks ago our art critic reviewed in these columns the series of Kultur Cartoons then being exhibited by Will Dyson at the Leicester Galleries. These have now been issued in volume form at the extremely moderate price of 2s. net, and with an interesting foreword by H. G. Wells. We hope that it will not be long before Mr. Dyson also publishes another selection of cartoons from those which have appeared in the *Herald* itself since war broke out; for there are some among those which certainly ought to be preserved in more permanent form. Meanwhile the Kultur Cartoons, undoubtedly containing some of his best work,

OUR KING AND COUNTRY NEED US Why?

Come to the Kingsway Hall on February 25, and we will tell you.

(PARTICULARS ON PAGE 162.)

will be an interesting possession as marking a phase in Will Dyson's development.

"THE FLUTE OF ARCADY"

Miss Kate Horn can always be relied upon to be entertaining. She does not always express our point of view, and we sometimes wish that her sparkling wit, which is so strong a characteristic of hers, could be used in a better cause and turned against some of the abuses we in this paper are out to vanquish. But if her wit is a little wasted on this account, it is rarely unkind, and never bitter; and few writers are wise enough to temper such wit as hers with the saving grace of humour. "The Flute of Arcady" is delightfully readable from start to finish, and though the men in it are rather too typical of the strong silent heroes of fiction (except Monsieur de Lafontaine, who is exquisite), the women are admirably drawn. Little Suzanne is a character not to be easily forgotten.

FOOD PRICES AND SCHOOL MEALS

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.
Dear Editors,—As one who has for many years been engaged in educational work in the organised working-class movement, both as a Labour member of the late London School Board and also as a rank and file propagandist in the Trade Union movement, I have, needless to say, seen much of the disheartening and disappointing experiences of the many brave souls who, without thought or reward, have toiled in the cause of the children. It is indeed hard to contemplate the little that has been gained since the year 1906, when the advent of organised Labour as a political force filled many of us with high hopes of a brighter day coming—and coming soon—for the children of the common people. I should then have thought it impossible that nine years later little children would be suffering from lack of food.

But for some years past, when feeling most depressed, I have myself taken comfort from the thought that in the women's movement are many who are "learning things," women who, by being brought into contact with stern reality, have learnt to look into the reality of things. When once the vote is gained, such women will be set free, and of them many will assuredly devote their energies to the cause of the children, with resulting incal-

* "Kultur Cartoons." By Will Dyson. (London: Stanley, Paul and Co. Price 2s. net.)

† "The Flute of Arcady." By Kate Horn. (London: Stanley Paul and Co. Price 6s.)

culable gain to the nation as a whole. To the argument that the vote is not worth fighting for, I have always replied that the women have the right to make that discovery for themselves.

Knowing that at this time your organisation, while continuing to work for the vote, is also doing good service in calling attention to the problems raised by the war, I am now writing to ask that the influence at least of some of its members may be used on behalf of the many starving and underfed children in our public elementary schools, and therefore incidentally on behalf of thousands of working-class mothers, to whom rising prices are bringing a bewildering, maddening anxiety as to how to make ends meet. To thousands of working-class children the same cause is, as we know, bringing a serious shortage of food, with resulting general deterioration which must of necessity entail a heavy cost on generations yet to come. It may be replied that the needs of the children are already provided for by the Act for feeding necessitous school-children. That there is such an Act is true. It was granted in 1906 in response to a great agitation extending over many years; but even where it is put into force, in too many cases it is administered in such a way as to make it impossible for self-respecting parents to send their self-respecting children to the school table.

Therefore I submit that the time has now come when the Act for feeding school-children should be made compulsory on all educational authorities, and so extended in its scope as to provide for all children in attendance free meals, which should be given as the rest of free education is given—unconditionally, and not on the grounds of poverty. The meals should be served in a decent way in a refined manner, so as to be educational in character, and thus serve to raise the standard of life for those who, as members of the democracy, are to take part in the great work of social reconstruction which lies before us.

The service should be skilled and paid for by the community, which would undertake the training; thus honourable work would be found for many unemployed women, the number of whom will, when the war is over, probably be increased. The foodstuffs required could be grown, under the control of the Government, on much of the waste land which has gone out of cultivation, and here again much honourable work for women could be provided. Thus, too, the soul-crushing anxiety of many working-class, child-bearing mothers might be lessened. And no woman who reads your paper will say that the nation would not gain by working-class women had not only more time but less mental worry, so as the better to do their share of the thinking necessary, now more than ever, to an understanding of the great social problems which await solution.

Whilst thinking over the rising prices and their consequences in working-class homes, I have lately had much in mind a fact brought to my notice a year or so ago. The great majority of the women inmates of the Norfolk County Asylum are the wives of agricultural labourers, brought there mental wrecks owing to their grinding poverty while bearing and bringing up their children. I am appealing to women who care for the mothers of the nation and for the future of the race, and at a time of rising prices but not of rising wages, and when the need of the national organisation of our food supply is becoming more and more necessary. I am sure I need say no more.—Yours, &c.,

M. BRIDGES ADAMS.

MISS BRADDON

Died February 4, 1915

It is a proof of how wide a net is cast by the Suffrage movement that the distinguished woman novelist who passed away in her 78th year on Thursday in last week, should have been a firm believer in the woman's vote. Touching the Early Victorian period as she did, it was all the more wonderful that Miss Braddon was the sender of the following message to VOTES FOR WOMEN, which appeared in our special Christmas number, 1913:—

I have been too busy of late years to go deeply into any political question, but I naturally consider that from the moment the franchise was widened sufficiently to admit all sorts and conditions of men, it was high time that women had an equal vote. As to the effect that their influence would have, I think it could but work for good, and in the cause of law and order.

Miss Braddon also showed her support in a practical manner by signing the Writers' Memorial to the Prime Minister in support of the Conciliation Bill in the summer of 1910. Suffragists will deeply regret the loss of this veteran supporter of their movement, who made so distinguished a name for herself in one sphere of woman's work.

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Assault on Young Girl

The *News of the World* (January 31) reports case of a school teacher, aged 56, charged before Mr. Justice Horridge at Norfolk Assizes with an assault upon a young girl. He pleaded guilty. The Judge said he desired to save the prisoner's pension, otherwise he would have sent him to hard labour.
Sentence: Four months' imprisonment.

Scalding a Pivicer's Wife

The *Woolwich Pioneer* (January 29) reports case of a soldier charged at Woolwich Police Court before Mr. Symmons with assaulting the wife of the licensee of a public-house by throwing boiling water at her from an urn, scalding her severely. He also did £4 worth of damage by breaking the furniture and glasses, &c. The magistrate said that but for his previous good character he would have sent him to hard labour.
Sentence: For the assault, 20s. fine and £1 4s. 6d. doctor's fee, or 14 days. For the damage, 2s. 6d. fine and £4 damage, or 14 days.

Attempted Indecent Assault

The *Leicester Chronicle* (January 30) reports case of a labourer charged at Leicestershire Assizes before Sir F. Low with attempted indecent assault on a girl of 13. He pleaded guilty, saying he was drunk.
Sentence: Four months' hard labour.

"SERIOUS" CRIME

Apparently the remarks of Judges concerning the absence of serious crime in the calendar at various Assizes must not always be taken at their face value. At the recent Leicestershire Winter Assizes, Sir Frederick Low, K.C., M.P., the newly-appointed Judge, is reported in the *Leicester Chronicle* (January 30) to have said in his charge to the Grand Jury that "the lack of serious crime, which was so marked a feature of the present time, extended to the county of Leicester and to the borough of Leicester. In the borough itself, with its great population and important industrial interests, there were no cases for trial, and in the county there were only five cases. There was no case involving loss of human life or attempt to take life, and those cases which would occupy but very little of their time, and which they would have no difficulty at all in dealing with."
What Were the Five Cases?
Two out of those five cases, as reported in the same paper, were cases of indecent assault upon little girls of 13. One of these we give above in our table of comparisons. The other was that of a soldier who was acquitted on the usual plea of want of corroborative evidence. The meagre newspaper report makes it impossible to discuss the justice of the jury's decision in the latter case. But we can feel no confidence in their verdict, which was probably influenced, as verdicts generally are, by the Judge's summing up, when we have it on the Judge's own showing that he did not consider the case as coming under the heading of serious crime at all. And with regard to the first of the two cases, about which there was no doubt because the defendant pleaded guilty, we can only say that a sentence of four months, when it was in the power of the Judge to make it two years, shows the lenient attitude of mind of the Bench towards these atrocious crimes. A third out of these five cases, which Sir Frederick Low thought of so little importance, was one of "malicious wounding with intent to do bodily harm," reduced to a charge of "unlawful wounding," in which the defendant was merely bound over, though he had attacked his son with a knife and inflicted seven slight wounds! The other two cases were not criminal ones.

The meagreness of newspaper reports again makes it impossible for us

HEAVY SENTENCES

Theft of Luggage

The *Times* (February 4) reports case of an engineer, charged at the London Sessions with extensive thefts of luggage, including Judge Atherton-Jones' suit case, containing his wig and gown. He pleaded guilty.
Sentence: Four years' penal servitude.

Stealing Lord Kitchener's Blanket

The *Essex Weekly News* (February 5) reports case of a soldier charged at the Colchester Quarter Sessions before the Recorder, Mr. R. D. Muir, with stealing a blanket and 5lb of tea belonging to the Secretary of State for War, and a pair of boots.
Sentence: Nine months' hard labour.

Attempted Pickpocketing

The *Morning Advertiser* (February 2) reports case of a man charged at the Guildhall before Alderman Sir Marcus Samuel with "frequenting Holborn Circus for the purpose of picking pockets." There were previous convictions, and he begged for another chance.
Sentence: Twelve months' hard labour.

A SHAMEFUL SENTENCE

We can only characterise as shameful the sentence of four months' imprisonment passed on a soldier's wife at the Middlesex Sessions last Saturday, for defrauding the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families' Association to the extent of £2 15s. We do not defend fraud of any kind, whether committed by a rich shipowner or a poor soldier's wife. But in view of the almost daily acquittals (often on the plea of their good character!) of men convicted of abominable offences against young girls and children, of the frequent acquittals of young fellows whether guilty of assault or theft, if they promise to enlist or have already done so, and of the continual acquittals of wife-beaters because their wives plead for them, we think the refusal of Mr. Montagu Sharpe, the Chairman, to listen to any pleas put forward in the favour of this poor woman is a last proof, if one were needed, of the inequality of the law as administered to women and to men. She was said to have always borne the highest character; her husband, who had been invalided home and was about to return to the front, pleaded earnestly for her, saying she was the only person who could take care of their four children, the eldest of whom was eight. How often have we heard both pleas accepted in favour of the wife-beater and the ruder of young girls! And how seldom has a sentence of four months been passed for these graver offences.

The Court, it was reported, resounded to the sobs and cries of the man, his wife, and the four children.

They will be echoed in the heart of every voteless woman all over the world who reads this story, comparing it, of course, with those others to which we have referred.

(As we go to press we learn that the woman's sentence has been reduced to one month. It would never have been imposed in a country where women count equally with men.)

WOMEN'S RIGHTS AT LAST!

In the hearing of a summons against a man for the amount of his daughter's keep, she having gone into the work-house, it was urged in his defence that he was not liable because she was a pauper in her own right.

At last we have happened upon a right that a woman may exercise. She has the liberty to become a pauper!

THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES

In a letter to the Press, Mrs. Fawcett states that while affirming "as fundamental" the principles laid down by Mr. Asquith as governing the settlement which would follow at the end of the war, the Council of the N.U.W.S.S., which held its annual meetings in London last week, did not authorise the Executive to call for support of a scheme to work for building up public opinion in defence of those principles. This was to be gathered from the very interesting meeting held in the Kingsway Hall last Friday, when Miss Margaret Ashton made a stirring speech, in which she spoke of the need for personal freedom in our own land as well as abroad, and for the protection of the vote to secure the liberty of women, which was being tampered with, and in some cases the personal liberties of men also. "We have no more confidence in military government here than in Germany, and it would be a deplorable result of an attempt to destroy German militarism if we found ourselves under a similar rule in what is known as free England." Women, she added, desired political equality so that they might be set free as soon as might be to take part in the settlement after the war.

The Future Policy of the N.U.W.S.S.

With regard to the future policy and work of the Union, Miss Ashton said the note of the Council meetings had been desire for peace when the proper time came, extreme admiration of the men at the front for their services to the State, and acknowledgment to themselves of the value of women's part in the war. Resolutions were passed affirming that the interest of women in questions of peace and war was as deep as that of men, and that in future women must have their chance of sharing in these vital questions.

We are very glad to hear that this large and important body of Suffragists are of our opinion that women should work, even during the war, for their vote, both as a sorely needed protection and as a means of influencing the final Peace settlement.

COMING EVENTS

The Church League for Women's Suffrage will hold a meeting, in aid of the British Women's Hospital Unit for Serbia, at the Kensington Town Hall to-day (Friday), at 8 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. St. Clair Stobart and Mrs. J. L. Cather. Chair: Mr. F. Shewell Cooper.

The Women's Freedom League will hold a meeting at the Suffrage Club, York Street, on Wednesday, February 17, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Bailie, P.S.E., on "New Values," and others. They will also hold a discussion meeting at the Suffrage Club on Friday, February 19, at 8 p.m. Mr. W. L. George will speak on "The Break Up of the Home."

The United Suffragists will hold a public meeting at the Kingsway Hall on Thursday, February 25, at 8 p.m. (See page 162 for particulars of this, and other meetings.)

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NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

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SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. To raise funds for the British Women's Hospital Unit for Serbia. £2,000 wanted immediately. Meeting at the Kensington Town Hall, Friday, February 12, 1915, 3 p.m. Chair, Mr. F. Shevell Cooper. Speakers, Mrs. St. Clair Stobart, Mrs. J. L. Cather. Tickets—reserved 2s. 6d., unreserved 1s. and 6d.—may be obtained from C.L.W.S. Office, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C., and the Women's Imperial Service League, 39, St. James' Street, W.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds public meetings at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, Jermyan Street, Piccadilly, each Wednesday afternoon at 3.30. Speakers, February 17, Mrs. Baillie, B.Sc.; "New Values," and others. Admission free.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE Discussion Meeting at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, Jermyan Street, Piccadilly, Friday, February 19, at 8 p.m. Speaker, Mr. W. L. George, "The Break-up of the Home." Tickets: 1s. reserved, 6d. unreserved, from W.F.L., 2, Robert Street, Adelphi.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, warmest, daintiest, cosiest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights, from 5s. 6d.; en pension 9s.; special terms for long stay; finest English provisions.—Manageress, 4788 Gerard.

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TAILOR-MADE COSTUMES.—Sale of Models, from 2 guineas; Serge and Tweed costumes, made to measure, from 3 guineas during Sale.—H. Nellsen, 14, Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street, Oxford Circus.

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(Particulars within on Page 162.)

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