

## The War Paper for Women

# VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

VOL. VIII. (Third Series), No. 359.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 22, 1915.

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1d.



TIME — 2015 A.D.

**RIP VAN WINKLE** (returning from what he imagines to be one short sitting of the Pensions Committee): "Well, we shall soon settle what allowance you dependants are to have."

**HAPPY WIFE and MOTHER**: "The museum is the best place for you! We women have the vote now, and politicians respect us far too much to call us dependants and keep us waiting for our just wages."

*(The Daily Press "hopes" that the Pensions Committee, which was appointed last November, may issue its Report after the reassembling of Parliament next month.)*



# UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

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

## THE CAMPAIGN U.S. Meetings

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

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

**Saturday, January 23, 7 p.m.**—Public Meeting.—Public Hall, Chesham. Speakers: Mr. St. John Ervine and Mrs. Elaine Whelen. Admission free. A few reserved seats at 6d.

**Tuesday, January 26, 8 p.m.**—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club. Speaker: Mrs. Parsons. Admission free.

**Wednesday, January 27, 7.30 p.m.**—Public Meeting.—Association Hall, Manchester (in co-operation with the Manchester Men's League for Women's Suffrage). Chair: Mr. Beanland (Hon. Sec. Manchester M. L. W. S.). Speakers: Miss Nina Boyle, Miss Evelyn Sharp, and Mr. H. W. Nevinston. Admission free. Reserved seats, 1s. and 6d., on application to Mr. Beanland, 52, Princess Road, Urmiston, Manchester.

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

**Saturday, January 30, 4 p.m.**—Children's Party.—U.S. Women's Club, or Hall to be announced next week. For children of Club members only; invitations on application.

**Thursday, February 25, 8 p.m.**—KINGSWAY HALL, KINGSWAY, W.C.—Public Meeting. Speakers: Mr. Israel Zangwill, Mrs. Ben Webster (Miss May Whitty), and others to be announced later. Tickets: Reserved, 2s. 6d. and 1s.; unreserved, 6d.; from U.S. Ticket Secretary.

**Thursday, January 21, 8 p.m.**—Regency Place. Miss Somers, Mr. Mackinlay.

**Friday, January 22, 3 p.m.**—Corner of Liverpool Street and Walworth Road. Miss Dransfield, Miss Mary Phillips.

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

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

## U.S. AT HOME To London Readers

Members and friends are asked to make a point of coming to to-day's At Home (Friday, at 8.30 p.m.) in the Eustace Miles' Restaurant (see Campaign). Besides the great pleasure of hearing Mr. George Lansbury, who is just back from France, there will be the opportunity of a friendly talk over the coming important campaign of the United Suffragists.

## TRAFALGAR SQUARE DEMONSTRATION Keep Sunday Afternoon Free!

Miss Mary Phillips is organising the open-air campaign leading up to the great demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Sunday next. She

will be glad to hear, at 3, Adam Street, of all those prepared to chalk announcements, distribute bills, or sell papers, either before or on the day. A good many afternoon meetings are being arranged on account of the darkening of the streets at night.

Mr. Robson Paige is kindly providing us with a decorated brake in which to drive through the streets to-morrow (Friday) to advertise the demonstration. Miss Putnam is in charge of street handbill distribution.

## A Poster Parade—Important!

A joint poster parade of all the Societies involved will be held on Saturday afternoon (to-morrow) to advertise the Demonstration. The U.S. contingent will start from the U.S. offices at 2.30 p.m. Will members willing to join in it come to the U.S. offices, 3, Adam Street, at 2.15 p.m.?

## KINGSWAY HALL MEETING Great U.S. Public Meeting

The Kingsway Hall has been secured for Thursday evening, February 25, and we are glad to be able to announce that Mr. Israel Zangwill and Mrs. Ben Webster (Miss May Whitty) will speak on that occasion. Other speakers will be announced next week. Applications should be made at once for tickets (reserved, 2s. 6d. and 1s.; unreserved, 6d.) to Ticket Secretary at 3, Adam Street.

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

Several Club members joined the U.S. at last Tuesday's meeting, after hearing the speeches of Mrs. Thomson, Mrs. Gregory, and the Chairman, Mrs. Ibbotson Hutt. Trafalgar Square handbills are being eagerly taken for distribution amongst the friends everybody is going to bring. For being a member means being a worker, according to the idea of our energetic South London Suffragists!

The Club is open on Monday all day from 10 a.m., so that members can have a real change and rest on the housewife's day off. We have to thank Miss C. S. Wilkinson for a beautiful aspidistra, Miss Winifred Matheson for a copy of "Princess Mary's Book," and an anonymous giver for 2lbs of butter and a box of flowers.

## CHILDREN'S PARTY Wanted a Guinea!

Promises of cakes and toys for our Children's Party next Saturday week, January 30, at 4 p.m., are wanted at once. Promises to be sent either to the Secretary at the Club, or to 3, Adam Street.

The Club premises are not large enough to accommodate all the children, and we do not want any to be left out. A convenient room near by can be hired, and crockery and so on supplied, but it will cost £1 ls. Will someone give us that sum, to help to give our Club members' children a happy time?

M. P.

## "VOTES FOR WOMEN" More Poster Inspectors

An Edinburgh member of the U.S. has joined the growing company of poster inspectors and providers, who are doing such magnificent work in building up the circulation of our paper. She sends the requisite sum of 25s. for the exposition of a VOTES FOR WOMEN poster at the Caledonian Station, Edinburgh, for one year, and promises to see that it is always there in a good place.

We have great pleasure also in announcing that the following U.S. members have gallantly undertaken to inspect posters in their respective towns: Miss H. C. Appleton, of Hove; Mr. G. H. Hooper, of Brighton; and Miss Buxton, of Liverpool. This is magnificent, too; and we feel sure that other of our readers, if they once

realise the importance of this piece of work, will come forward with 25s., or will perhaps find one or two friends to share with them both the expense and the responsibility; or, if unable to find the money, will undertake to do the inspection only. Will they please write to the Editor or Publisher, at 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.?

## Tributes from Readers

Miss Livingstone writes from Dunedin, N.Z.: "In far New Zealand I welcome the arrival of VOTES FOR WOMEN week by week."

Another U.S. member just back from New Zealand speaks of finding VOTES FOR WOMEN read and appreciated everywhere. Thus do we throw a girdle round about the earth!

## BOLTON U.S.

Hon. Sec., Mrs. Crompton, 68, Hilden Street, Bolton. The Speakers' Class made its debut on Monday, January 4. The subject of debate was "Should women take up arms?" Mrs. Geldard took the negative, and Mr. Darbyshire the affirmative. Mrs. Geldard made out a good case, basing her arguments chiefly on the fact that women who bring life into the world are the people who know best how to value life and protect it. Mr. Darbyshire raised some very provoking points, which caused much criticism. When the vote was taken as to whether women should take up arms, some friends present thought they should take up arms if they wished. Next meeting was held last Monday in the Borough Hall, when Miss Crompton gave a paper.

## CHORLEY WOOD AND DISTRICT U.S.

Hon. Sec., Mrs. Agnes H. Harben, Newlands Park, Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks. The meetings of this branch are held monthly on Thursdays at 8 p.m. in the Chorley Wood Hotel (Masonic Room), quite close to Chorley Wood Station. As the next meeting, on January 28, will be the first held since the Society became a branch of the United Suffragists, Miss Evelyn Sharp, the speaker on that occasion, will preface her remarks with a short summary of the U.S. policy and methods. At the February meeting (date to be announced later) Miss Sylvia Pankhurst will be the speaker. Offers of helpers for the distribution of handbills for these meetings will be much appreciated, and can be made to the Hon. Secretary at once.

## THE TREATMENT OF PROSTITUTES To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I have read with interest the correspondence and articles with regard to the treatment of prostitutes, and would like to say a few words in connection with Dr. Evans' letter in your issue of January 8.

Firstly, Dr. Evans suggests that girls who have been proved to be living partly or wholly on wages earned by prostitution shall be kept under treatment until they have recovered control over themselves. Do you not think that forcible confinement, in any sense of the word, for a definite or indefinite period, would rather cause rebellion and indignation, confirming and strengthening immoral motives, instead of reforming them? Human nature, like nations, must mould itself, and that it cannot do in confinement, it must have freedom. Before such means as Dr. Evans suggests should be put in practice, conditions must be altered so that women, to earn a living, are not necessarily forced back to their "oldest trade." Then, those who still degrade themselves and others, knowing that there are better and nobler ways of living, should be treated in some such manner as the one suggested.

Secondly, such method is proposed "until the end of the war." Is the evil of prostitution only to be deplored and put down in time of war? Is it not as great an evil to the community in time of peace?

Thirdly, so much is heard with regard to the women. Is this question not raised, when the men are en masse, by the colonel of the regiment, or whoever may be in command of the various camps all over the country? There is so much said about the women, but the men, who perhaps in a few weeks or months will return to the One Who gave them life, wilfully commit sin against humanity, the evil effects of which may still be felt in two or three generations hence. We are all human, and all sin at times, but for one to be blazed and punished and not the other is the most unjust proceeding possible, and will never put matters right.—Yours, &c.,

G. WENDOLINE KEMBALL.

35, Gorst Road, Wandsworth Common, S.W.

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## DEDICATION

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

## THE OUTLOOK

The loss of life on the battlefield, testified by the daily tragic lists of casualties that appear in the papers, has been emulated this week by Nature, and many thousands of victims have been swept away by the terrible earthquake in Italy. But Nature, in one respect at least, shows her superiority over man. She does not strike down the fit alone and leave the unfit to carry on her great business.

## The Coming Session

We are amazed to read that, in the opinion of the *Daily Chronicle's* Parliamentary Correspondent, Parliament is not likely to sit long after its re-assembling on February 2. The only urgent business that will require the attention of the House of Commons is that of finance.

We can understand that finance is a serious matter in the prosecution of a conflict that, according to the German Socialist paper *Vorwärts*, is costing Europe £9,275,000 a day, of which Great Britain—women as well as men—contributes at least £1,000,000. But to say that the business of Parliament ends with the raising of money for the destruction of life is a monstrous evasion of responsibility. The alarming and growing rise in the price of all foods, except, perhaps, milk, fresh vegetables, and fruit, is a serious matter that, in the opinion of both Liberal and Labour Press, can be stemmed by Government intervention. If housewives had votes, we fancy that this intervention would be rapidly forthcoming.

## Other Urgent Business

The increase in the cost of living affects another matter—the amount of the payments due to soldiers' families. The Pensions Committee, which met in the middle of November to unravel the shocking tangle into which the administration of this important matter had fallen, is, like a regrettable variant of "Charley's Aunt," "still sitting" at the time of going to Press. Perhaps its hope is to go on sitting until food prices go down again. But meanwhile the wives, widows, and families of our gallant men at the front see the spending power of their allowances dwindling down to vanishing point. If Parliament were accountable to women as to men, this question would certainly be considered sufficiently "urgent business" to claim the attention of the House when it reassembles. In Australia, where women vote, the Department of Defence settled this question by an order issued on November 27 last, in which the lowest pension payable to a member of the Australian Imperial Force upon total incapacity, or to his widow on his death, is fixed at £52 a year, in addition to which £13 per annum is allowed for each child.

## Public Opinion and the Woman's Vote

But the most urgent claim upon Government time is, of course, the women's claim for enfranchisement. In the current issue of the *Labour Leader* Mr. Edward Carpenter, in a signed article, says:—

Let those who have to do the fighting and bear

the brunt of it (including the women) decide whether there shall be fighting or not.

Sir W. Fletcher Barrett, F.R.S., echoes this sentiment in an article in the *Westminster Gazette* of January 14, which we commend to our readers for perusal, as we have only space to quote the following passage:—

And when an enlightened public opinion is formed, how is its judgment to be given? A freely elected democratic Parliament of both sexes is the obvious answer.

A third utterance of the week occurs in a leading article in the *Nation*, which asserts that conscription, if forced upon the nation, "would set against enlistment."

every woman who would demand a vote before her child, or other women's children, were forcibly entrained for a foreign war.

This support does not surprise us, who have always known that the best public opinion is on our side. But it should go far to show the Government the kind of backing they would get if they did the simple and the honourable thing, and removed the sex bar from politics without further delay.

## An Impudent Advertisement

By an advertisement which appeared in some of the daily papers last week, the War Office has placed itself, in its estimate of women, upon the level of a music-hall recruiting song, and almost endorses Napoleon's frankly brutal axiom: "Woman is the relaxation of the warrior." In it women are asked "to do their duty," and to send their men to join the army; in other words, to use their indirect influence—for the State withholds any nobler form of power from them—to make men sacrifice their lives. We honestly believe that those responsible for this insulting appeal to women "know not what they do." They have so long regarded women with contempt veiled in chivalry that they really think it is the business of self-respecting women to play upon the feelings of men to induce them to do for a base reason what they must have good reasons of their own for not having done already without persuasion. Suffragists hold neither men nor women in such a low estimate. If the Government needs the help of women in this crisis—God knows, the women are aching to give real help!—they should win it in the only democratic way, through the medium of their enfranchisement.

## The Debate in Congress

It amused but did not surprise us to find that although scarcely a newspaper published the favourable decision of the Washington House of Representatives to debate the Suffrage question (for the first time in twenty years), several hastened to announce the defeat of the Bill, on January 13, by 204 votes to 174. So little care is taken by most of the Press to investigate matters of interest to women that this adverse vote is taken to mean a serious set-back to Woman Suffrage in the United States. It is nothing of the kind, as our regular readers know well. America has done very well lately with respect to the piecemeal method of enfranchisement, the two important States of Nevada and Montana having enfranchised their women so recently as last November. Some 3,000,000 women, voting in twelve States, now vote for the President, and in eleven of these enjoy absolutely equal suffrage with men. The passage of the Bill through Congress would be a shorter cut for the remaining States, that is all. In view of the fact that President Wilson and the Democratic Party refuse to support the more direct method, the smallness of the adverse vote in the House last week is all the more remarkable.

## Women Need Not Apply

We are glad that Lady Castlereagh, in a letter to the *Times* last Tuesday, criticises a suggestion made in that paper that to supply the shortage in farm workers the school age should be relaxed "so that boys from twelve to fourteen years old could be brought into service." As she very properly points out, there is a large reserve of women able and willing to take the place of the absent men. Attention has already been called in these columns to the growing tendency to employ boys instead of competent

women where men are not available; and if this example is followed in agriculture it will be a national disgrace. The sufferings of children are already sufficiently acute on account of the war; every voice should be raised in protest against their being further exploited in the labour market on account of this anti-livian prejudice against women. The attitude of our Anti-Suffrage Government compares badly in this respect with that of the French Government, who called upon Frenchwomen at the outbreak of war to take the place of the men in the fields.

## Items of Interest

A temporary delay has occurred in the enfranchisement of the women of Iceland. Owing to a constitutional difference which has arisen between the Althing and the Danish Cabinet, the King of Denmark has not yet ratified the Woman Suffrage Bill, which awaits only his signature to become law.

At the Annual Diocesan Conference at Norwich a proposal to insert the word "male" before "members" in the constitution of the Conference, which would have excluded women from attending these in future, was rejected by a large majority. Two members of the U.S. spoke against the proposition. We congratulate one of these, the Rev. W. H. Marcon (a Vice-President of the U.S.) on being recently made a Canon of Norwich Cathedral.

"This is a horrible war—you might almost say a war on women and children," writes a sergeant in the Engineers in a letter quoted in the *Daily News*. . . . "After the bombardment of a town I have seen none or very few soldiers that were touched. It is in nine cases out of ten women and children who suffer. . . . It almost breaks your heart to see them."

In *Canada's White Ribbon Bulletin* it is stated that in Germany 13,214 children under fourteen are employed in mills and factories. In this country it is estimated that 35,000 children under fourteen are "half-timers," or employed half the day in mills and factories and the other half in school.

After we went to press a Report was to be published, probably on Thursday, containing the proposals of the Labour Party with regard to the measures that should be taken by the Government to control food prices. It has been prepared by a sub-Committee of the Workers' National Committee. Miss Susan Lawrence L.C.C., is the only woman mentioned as serving on the sub-Committee, though on the larger body the Women's Co-operative Guild, Labour League, and Trade Union League are all represented.

We congratulate the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society on keeping the flag flying in the first issue of their new organ, *The Catholic Suffragist*, which we hope to review next week.

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FRIDAY, JANUARY 22, 1915.

**THE WOMEN THEY'VE LEFT BEHIND THEM**

In drawing attention to the special hardships which women have had to face since the outbreak of war, and in insisting that no nation can hope to do itself justice in war or peace unless it does justice to both the sexes and all the classes which compose it, we have never lost sight of the fact that our real concern is not with the removal of particular minor grievances, but with the removal of that prime grievance of political inequality which is the cause of all the rest. How, then, do we stand? What recent developments of our case and our cause is it most urgently necessary that we should realise?

Now that England is so largely a nation of soldiers and soldiers' wives, the question of allowances to the latter is obviously a question of wide and immediate social and economic importance. We will not here repeat what we have said so many times as to the inadequacy of those allowances; but we must draw attention to a new and special grievance in connection with them. The Committee which is revising the scale of allowances has now been sitting for many weeks. As its report will surely be in favour of raising the scale, every week's delay is an actual deprivation inflicted on innumerable families, some of which must be in a state of semi-starvation. But more follows. While the incomes of soldiers' families remain stationary, the cost of living goes up: within the past fortnight it has made a further and rather startling rise, and is now as much as 25 per cent. up in some of the prime necessities of life. So that, as the *Herald* has pointed out, "the allowances are actually getting less week by week." Our contemporary's comment is: "It is the duty of committees to sit, but not just to sit tight." Our own comment is, further, that no such partiality for a purely sedentary life would be shown in such a matter by a committee which included women. Now it is perfectly true that some women are, under present arrangements, getting more money than they have ever had before (oh, the little more and how little it is, after all!); on the other hand, some women seem to have been debarred altogether from their dues, and to have gone weeks and months literally penniless. But it is not, in any case, of material hardships that we primarily complain. What we complain of is, firstly, that war or peace should be decided without reference to women's opinion; and, secondly, that the business of the nation should, in war or peace, be managed (or mismanaged) without the direct and equal co-operation of women. We maintain that the results of inequality are cruel and wasteful; but the inequality is worse than the results.

The police supervision of soldiers' wives raised an almost universal storm of protest; the storm has been allayed by a few oily words, but why is not the obnoxious circular publicly and definitely withdrawn? Enfranchised women would insist on publicity in such matters; they would insist, too, on Parliament sitting to consider them. They would insist on knowing the exact state of things in areas under military

control; they would see to it that no woman was tried by a court consisting of men only. They would protect their sex by the judgment of their peers.

We come to a more terrible business. Last June a committee (to whose work we drew attention last week) was formed for the Prevention of Criminal Assaults on Children. Why? Because of "the terrible increase of these crimes committed on little girls." We may be asked what this has got to do with the war. We reply that it would have nothing, but that several magistrates and judges have shown—over and above the leniency towards all such crimes which our men-rulers at all times show—a startling willingness to excuse or dismiss cases of assault on women and children if the accused or convicted man has enlisted or professed the intention of enlisting. Is there not a serious danger that the most degenerate type of man will come to believe he may assault women and even little girls with impunity if only he is wearing uniform? We lag behind none in our admiration for the great mass of British soldiers, for their unselfishness and heroism and devotion. But the better they are, the more need not to force upon so fine a body of men an element consisting of moral imbeciles.

During the last fortnight the Government has issued "four questions to women" which amount to an appeal to them to urge their sons and husbands to the front. The *Daily Mail*, in endorsing the appeal, remarks that a woman's duty is "far harder" than a man's (is Lord Northcliffe also among the suffrage prophets?). There is a certain impudence in a Government making such an appeal to women from whom it has relentlessly withheld their rights. But the Government is quite justified in thinking that women are too magnanimous to refuse any duty, however hard, on the ground that they must have their rights first. Excluded and persecuted as they have been, they have never hesitated to give their country unstinted service and devotion; in this very war, none but those wives and mothers who have already made the supreme sacrifice of encouraging their nearest and dearest to face death can presume to guess what that sacrifice has cost. But such sacrifice is freely made by those who think it their duty to make it; it is not part of a bargain; it is incommensurable with any conceivable reward. To suggest that women should be enfranchised because of this or any other sacrifice is little short of insulting. Over such an intimate matter as offering or withholding encouragement to a man to risk his life, no woman could consult anything but her own conscience. There are very many ways in which women serve the State, now and at all times; it would be possible to differ about the virtue and value of most of those ways, as it would be equally about men's services. These differences of opinion do not touch the right to vote. We are sure Sir Edward Hamer, leader of the Liberal Party in Blackburn, meant well when he said the other night that "if the women of the country continued to sacrifice themselves in the interests of the Empire as they were doing to-day, he believed the country, without much more ado, would give them the vote"; but such an attitude too much suggests the paternal view, "Here is a piece of sugar for a good girl." There is really no question of generously giving a reward; there is only a question of ceasing basely and cruelly to withhold a right.

To all their sufferings and sacrifices, then, the women of England keep the same point of view in war as in peace. They do not complain, and they do not ask for prizes or privileges or concessions. They ask that they may be allowed to tackle their burdens in a way that will lighten the share of all. They want to face the future of the Empire as citizens of the Empire. They want to do their duty and to have their rights. They want to vote.

**THE GOVERNMENT INSULTS MOTHERS**

By E. S.

"Death in infancy is more largely due to maternal ignorance, negligence, and mismanagement than to any other single cause. . . . Causes and conditions producing a high infant mortality also tend to produce a high incidence of disease and defect in children who survive. . . . Here, also, the principal operating influence is the ignorance of the mother, and the remedy is the education of the mother."

Annual Report for 1913 of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education.

Mr. Johan Castberg (President of the Lower House of the Norwegian Parliament) in the "American Scandinavian Review."

By a process of exhaustion it is always possible to be accurate at the expense of truth. It is possible, for instance, to say with some amount of accuracy that the disappointment of the soldier's mother at receiving 8s. 4d. instead of the 15s. apparently promised her in the War Office circular is due to her ignorance of advanced arithmetic and not to the fact that the circular said one thing and meant another; but it would not be true. Similarly, it is not true to say that the ignorance of mothers is the prime cause of the fact that 108 babies die out of every thousand born in this country every year. But it is probably accurate to say so, because if every working-class mother were given the medical and scientific training of a medical officer of the Board of Education she would not doubt be able to grapple more successfully than at present with the basic moral, economic and political causes of our high rate of infant mortality and of the defective condition of our school children.

**Norwegian Women Have Votes!**

At the head of this article I have set two parallel statements, the one by an official of an anti-Suffrage Government, the other by an official of a Government that has recognised its women as the political equals of men. As a matter of fact, there is little need for anyone to say more than is said most eloquently by the comparison of these two utterances, the second of which so utterly refutes the first; for the whole Suffrage case seems to me to lie expressed in the fact that where women are citizens conditions are blamed for child mortality, and where women are not citizens the mothers are blamed. Nor is there sufficient space at my disposal to write an exhaustive statistical reply to the allegations made in the Report issued by the Board of Education. I should like, however, to mention one or two facts that seem to discount the Medical Officer's uncompromising condemnation of the mother; and the first can be taken from his own Report (page 50), where he states that—

The areas showing the worst nutritional deterioration are precisely those which show excessive death-rates from phthisis as well as excessive infant mortality.

This statement is followed by a table showing the result of an inquiry into 885 cases of malnutrition among schoolchildren; and at the head of the table comes "Poverty," with 379 cases, while "Neglect" shows only 53 cases. A far more sweeping answer to his attack upon mothers is, of course, to be found in almost

every page of the Report of the Proceedings of the Conference on Infant Mortality, held in London in August, 1913. I will give only one resolution passed at that important Conference:

In view of the large percentage of stillbirths and infant deaths directly attributable to venereal diseases, and considering that infant blindness and other congenital defects are in many cases due to the same cause, the . . . Conference urges the respective Governments of the countries represented each to appoint a Commission to inquire into the causes and prevalence, the provision of treatment, and the possibility of the prevention of these diseases.

Lastly, it may be remembered that in the Registrar General's Report for 1911 he proved that infant mortality among the middle classes was only one-third of that among the poorer classes, thus showing the extent to which poverty, bad housing, impure milk, and so on, are responsible for the loss of infant life and the defective health of those who survive. And only this year the Board of Trade, another Government Department, has postponed the operation of the Milk and Dairies Bill (1914), due to take effect on January 1, until October 1!

So much for statistics, which could be multiplied indefinitely. The important thing is that women, who are either ignored or imprisoned when they demand the Vote—the only weapon which will gain them both official respect and the political power to remedy some of the evils that rob them of their babies—are in no mood to brook being lectured by the representative of a Government that has treated them in this way. Even if the Chief Medical Officer were correct in his assumption that the ignorance of mothers is the chief cause

of this terrible evil, it would be an insult to condemn mothers for it, as he does in his Report, so long as the State refuses to recognise their right to be citizens.

**"Be Good, Sweet Boys . . .!"**

Again, what is meant by education? We cannot forget, those of us who were brought up on mid-Victorian standards, how it was dinned into our heads that it was women's business to be good and to let who would—presumably men—be clever. To-day the Chief Medical Officer of Health shouts at us: "Be clever, sweet maids, and let who will be good." What if the sweet maid, when educated on other Reports besides the one issued by the Board of Education, should retort: "Be good, sweet boys, and let the women be clever"?

If our whole system of elementary and secondary education is to be remodelled on the assumption that girls should be taught their responsibility as mothers—all girls, mark you, though there will necessarily be many who will never be mothers, and some whose vocation it is not to be mothers and who would therefore be better employed in training for some other career—then women must be given the Vote first, so that they may have a hand in the remodelling process. I fancy they might insist, for one thing, that boys require just as much as girls to be taught the responsibility of parenthood, both for their own safeguarding and for that of the race. And I know they would echo the words of Mr. Johan Castberg, and try first to make the community realise its liability to "provide favourable conditions for the birth of healthy children."

**NEW BOOKS**

**"THE MARTYR OF LOVE"\***

She was really the martyr of the idleness which fell to the lot of the rich and well-born girl at the Court of Louis XIV. We cannot say that Claude Ferval's long and detailed biography of Louise de la Valliere leaves us with any other feeling than that of nausea and boredom. The long drawn-out account of her "martyrdom," when, discarded by the Royal lover she still adored, she remained on at Court allowing herself to be openly insulted by her successor, completely kills even the feeling of pity with which her earlier history may have inspired us. The only touch of relief in the book is afforded by a brief mention of the Grande Mademoiselle, the Suffragette of the period, who refused to marry the King of Portugal because he was ugly and did not wash, and could not read or write. But it is a very brief mention, and not worth wading through the sickliness of the two hundred and sixty pages that precede it.

**"THE SILENT CAPTAIN"†**

It is undoubtedly difficult to write a novel in heroics; the grand manner calls for intense virility of character drawing, while the plot should be sharp and direct as a sword thrust. In "The Silent Captain" we have a long roll of high-sounding and musical French names, a record of deeds of prowess (even the smouldering logs of a fire are stirred with a scabbard);

\* "The Martyr of Love," by Claude Ferval. Translated by Sidney Dark. (London: Stanley Paul and Co. Price 16s. net.)

† "The Silent Captain," By May Wynne. (London: Stanley Paul and Co. Price 6s.)

there is a marked power of description; the setting is right, so are the gestures and clothes, and so, to a certain extent, is the language; but there is no vitality, and consequently no reality. The author has mastered the technique of a particular style, but mere technique is not enough, when, as in her case, the inner interpretation is lacking to give life and interest to the whole.

**BOOKS RECEIVED**

"Or in the Grass." Poems by Madeleine Caron Rock. (London: J. G. Wilson. Price 2s. 6d. net.)  
 "Kultur Cartoons." By Will Dyson. (London: Stanley Paul. Price 2s. net.)  
 "Prussianism and Its Destruction." By Norman Angell. (London: Wm. Heinemann. Price 1s. net.)

**"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FUND**  
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£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
Already acknowledged	469 7 1	Miss Mary Barrowman	0 2 6
A. Applin, Esq.	1 0 0	Mrs. Agnes Harben	10 0 0
Anon	5 0 0	Miss Somers	0 5 0
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"	0 4 0		
Miss Janet Barrowman	0 2 6		£487 2 5

**WOMEN'S CLUB FUND**  
 Donations Received up to January 16

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Miscellaneous receipts from Club	2 13 8
Miss Postlethwaite (from Christmas Sale)	1 8 6
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# THE SOLDIER'S HOME

The *Times* in a recent leading article, enumerating the matters calling for the consideration of the House of Lords, mentioned that "The country would be glad to know more clearly that all disputed points regarding pensions and allowances have now been placed upon a satisfactory footing." If the "country" that the *Times* means—the electorate, in fact—were composed of women as well as men, we think it would not only be "glad" to know, it would insist upon this important matter being brought immediately to a satisfactory conclusion.

It would insist particularly upon the explanation of another matter in connection with the payments made to these women, who are being asked to bear, not only the anguish of separation and suspense, but the humiliation of being treated as if they were the paupers instead of the builders of the State. We refer to those wives of soldiers whose husbands are earning good pay at the front and who are apparently not allowed to contribute as much of it as they please to the home they left behind. One case of this kind has come before us which is illustrative of the confusion into which a maledirected State department can fall when it invades the home.

A transport driver, earning two guineas a week at the front, wished his wife to have half of this as well as her separation allowance. For some time she could get neither allotment nor allowance. After endless agitation she secured her 16s. a week as separation allowance, but no allotment. After more agitation, she secured a monthly allotment amounting, not to the four guineas allotted by the man, but to the curious sum of £3 3s. 6d. Out of this she is now sending her husband an allotment on her own account because he is not allowed to have more than 2s. 9d. of his own pay per week and cannot buy necessities! By what right does the War Office step between the man and his wife in respect of the allotment made by him to her, limiting the man's pay as well; and what becomes of the £4 13s. 6d. that is kept back from both of them every month? It is time that the women, the trusty financiers of the home, began to teach arithmetic to the War Office!

## ANOTHER INSTANCE

(From a U.S. Official)

The other day a soldier's wife came into our office to ask for advice. Her husband enlisted in August, giving directions that she was to have half his pay. She gets only the 9d. that is deducted from his pay, though he has again written to the paymaster at Woolwich repeating his wish that she should have half his money. She has five children, and her rent is 7s. a week. She gets 25s. allowance, and she has been used to £2 or £3 a week. She wrote to the Relief Committee, who sent someone she describes as a meddlesome old woman to see her, who suggested that she should move to cheaper rooms and pawn her jewellery, and also told her that many were worse off than she was, to which she replied, "God help them!" One of the children is ill, and the mother cannot take her to the hospital as she has no boots. She was given a few tickets to be taken to a dairy for milk. She tried to exchange one of them for an egg for the ill child, and the dairyman refused. She then wrote an angry letter to the Relief Committee, which produced a grant of 1s. a week. The visitor who called upon her to make this announcement complained that she was ungrateful and discontented. She replied that she had every reason to be discontented. She has been to the War Office to complain that she is not getting half her husband's pay, but with no effect. She is now furious about the police supervision, and wants to know why officers' wives are not being interfered with. She complains that her 25s. a week are wages, and extremely bad ones, too, and not charity, and if she chooses to drink she has a perfect right to do so. Her husband says he would never have

enlisted if he had known how his wife was going to be treated.

I have given this simple story in practically the words in which the soldier's wife told it, and can think of no comment—except "Votes for Women!"

## AN EX-N.C.O.'S WIFE

The *Daily Citizen* published a letter, last Monday, written by a company-sergeant-major to a Manchester M.P., in which he says:—

"According to regulations my wife is entitled to separation allowance at the rate of 17s. 6d. per week since the date of my re-enlistment, and you, no doubt, will be surprised to learn that my wife has not received one penny from the Manchester regiment and yet I am being stopped 10d. per day out of my pay. . . . Someone must be receiving the money, as 10d. per day is being stopped out of my pay. My wife is not receiving it, and what I want to know is—who is receiving it?"

"P.S.—It seems to me that, once they have got the man, the woman can go to the workhouse for all they care."

Do the Government really suppose that the men of the country have the same low standard of respect for their wives as the Government show in their treatment of these women? If it is true that some men are holding back from

## VOTES FOR THE WOMEN THEY'VE LEFT BEHIND THEM!

## COME TO TRAFALGAR SQUARE

NEXT SUNDAY AFTERNOON,

At 3 p.m.,

## And STAND UP for the SOLDIER'S FAMILY!

enlisting on this account, what a comment this affords upon the refusal of the Government, while peace reigned in the land, to place women on a political equality with men!

## THE SOLDIER'S MOTHER

If the mother is ever mentioned by politicians in this country, it is generally either to blame her for the consequences of her votelessness, or to obscure her existence in a thick mist of slushy sentiment. The methods of the Government in dealing with the soldier's mother is a proof of the utter contempt in which they really hold this personage whom they are so ready to place upon a pedestal—very much out of reach. In a widely-circulated War Office leaflet it was announced that "if the soldier had paid 12s. 6d. in peace he will in future only have to give 6d. a day (3s. 6d. a week), and the Government will pay the other 9d."

There is absolutely nothing in the leaflet—which induced many good sons to enlist—to explain the real meaning of the War Office, which is this: The Government makes up the residue of the 12s. 6d. minus the cost of the recruit's board and lodging before he enlisted, the estimate of which is left to the discretion of the pensions officer.

We understand that the War Office has now issued a new leaflet, in which this real meaning is made clearer; but the hardship involved in the false hopes raised by the original promise has been in many cases excessive. As the *New Statesman* showed in an able article last week, a woman to whom 15s. was due received in the end 8s. 4d.

Other papers have been full of similar instances. Here are two cases, taken from the *Daily News*:—

(1) Mrs. A. B. has only been granted 10s. 7d. a week in regard to her only son. When at home

he allowed his mother £1 a week; now she is unable to meet her payments and has had to sell articles of furniture. . . . Surely this is a case in which the full 12s. 6d. should be allowed.

(2) Mrs. C. D. had two sons living at home and bringing their mother over 20s. a week between them regularly. Both joined the Army (one the last week in August and one the first week in September), and tried to get papers to fill in allotment forms for her. It was November before the papers were given them, and still the mother (who is a widow and in bad health) is only receiving 7s. 3d. a week. Surely she has a right to the two sums if the sons pay it. If not, does the Government keep the second son's?

Truly, the mothers of the nation have every right to say to the Government—Stop talking about the beauties and the duties of motherhood, and give us our rights—but please begin with the Vote!

## THE DEBT

There's a plucky little person, and it's mighty glad we are

Of the really splendid service she is giving in this war.

There's her husband and her brother—not to mention sturdy sons—

All a-slaving in the trenches, and attending to the guns,

While at home, without the glory, she's a-doing of her part

In a war she had no voice in, though it's fairly broke her heart,

And if there's any person who's earned medals to the full,

I'll lay my last good dollar, boys, it's Mrs. Johnny Bull!

When first the challenge sounded, in the shades of death and hell

The helpless, voiceless womenfolk were plunged with us as well;

So when the war is over, and the House begins to prate

Of impatience to the women who have waited long—and wait

For the justice that is due them, up like gentlemen, and say:

"No more bunkum, Mr. Asquith—there's a debt we have to pay!

"For if there's anyone who's earned the franchise to the full,

"We'll bet our British honour, sir, it's Mrs. Johnny Bull!"

May Herschel-Clarke.

## NOTES FROM NEW ZEALAND

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Two proposals to admit women to Parliament came up last Session, one an amendment made by Dr. Newman, a Private Member, to a Government Bill for Reform of the Upper House; the other, the Bill of a Private Member, Mr. J. McCombs, to admit women to the Lower House. Though both were thrown out on a party issue mainly, the voting was so unexpectedly favourable for a first hearing of so novel a proposal that it is plain there will be little opposition when it is brought up again next year.

Mr. Allen's Education Bill, passed this spring, provides for a certain proportion of women inspectors, and also grants women a seat upon the new Council of Education controlling both the primary and secondary schools of the Dominion. Increases of salary have also been granted.

## FLORENCE CANNING MEMORIAL

A small committee has been formed, with Miss Gertrude Eaton as Chairman, in order that a fund may be raised for a memorial to perpetuate the name of Florence Canning, in connection with the Women's Hospital for Children, Harrow Road.

The committee consider that a double purpose will be served in honouring one whose life was cut short in the midst of valuable work for the suffrage movement, and in showing appreciation of a hospital founded by Dr. L. Garrett Anderson and Dr. Flora Murray, which is entirely staffed by women.

The object of the Fund is to endow a cot; or, if sufficient money is not forthcoming for that purpose, some needed equipment for the new building will be presented in Miss Canning's name.

Suffragists are asked to send subscriptions, large or small, to the Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. Monck-Mason, 93, Oakley Street, Chelsea, S.W.

## COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

### LIGHT SENTENCES

#### Attempted Assault

The *Glasgow Herald* (December 23) reports case of an elderly man charged before Lord Dundas at the Glasgow High Court of Justiciary with committing, or attempting to commit, offences against two girls aged 15 and 12. The jury, with one dissentient, found him guilty of attempt.

Sentence: *Twelve months' imprisonment.*

### Attack on a Woman

The *Reading Mercury* (January 16) reports case of a man charged at the Reading Borough Bench before Messrs. F. B. Parfitt, W. M. Wallis, and G. R. Jackson, with attacking two women who were sitting peacefully in their room. He struck them both (with a poker, it was alleged), and one fell down unconscious.

Sentence: *Five of 40s., or one month's imprisonment.*

### THE FORGIVING WIFE

We have repeatedly pointed out that a magistrate is not justified in giving a light sentence for wife-beating because the wife happens to be sufficiently forgiving to plead for the husband in the dock, unless he is prepared to accept a similar plea in the case of a prisoner accused of theft. Two cases occurred in the Courts, last month, which support this view of ours.

### "Family Affairs"

In the Woolwich Police Court (see *Pioneer* of December 4) a clerk was charged before Mr. Symmons with being drunk and disorderly and assaulting his wife. He struck her face, and when she raised her umbrella to defend herself he pushed her so violently that she fell, hurting her arm. At the Infirmary her arm was found to be dislocated. When charged, the man said: "I'd do it again. She struck me with her umbrella." When giving evidence in Court the wife said she did not want to press the charge, and she did not think he meant to push her so hard. The defendant was thereupon fined 5s. or five days for the drunkenness, and bound over on the charge of assault. His Worship concluded with the fatherly remark: "Your wife has saved you from imprisonment. Now go home and be kind to her."

This pretty little episode is headed "Family Affairs" in the *Pioneer*.

### "Pathetic Plea Fails"

The *Morning Advertiser* (December 31) tells the story, under the above title, of a young married woman with three children who was sentenced by Mr. Garrett to twenty-one days' imprisonment on charges of stealing clothing to the value of 34s. from two shops. On hearing the sentence the prisoner collapsed in the dock, and the husband begged the magistrate "in a broken voice" not to send her to prison. "If she is made a criminal," he said, "my home will be broken. Oh, do let me take her away this time! Give her a chance." The magistrate refused to alter his decision.

**Man v. Woman or Property v. Person?**

Only two conclusions are to be drawn from the comparison of the two cases here cited; and both equally point to the need for the enfranchisement of women and their establishment in their proper place in the nation. Either the administrators of the law are harder upon women offenders than upon men offenders, and will therefore accept the plea of a woman for a man, or they are harder upon those who injure property than upon those who injure persons. Well, we know that the tendency of Society and its upholders is always to be harder upon the bottom dog than the top dog—and woman, as long as she is voteless, will continue to be the bottom dog. And with regard to the

### HEAVY SENTENCES

#### Attempted Theft

The same paper (same date) reports case of two men charged at the same sitting before Lord Hunter with attempting to pick a man's pocket. The jury, by a majority, found them guilty.

Sentence: *Twelve and eighteen months' imprisonment respectively.*

### Theft of 4s. 5d.

The same paper (same date) reports case of two men charged before Lord Hunter with the theft of a belt and 4s. 5d. from another man.

Sentence: *Three years' penal servitude in both cases, and for one man two years' detention as well.*

### Stealing Sevenpence

The *Westmorland Gazette* (January 9) reports case of a labourer charged before a Bench of Magistrates with stealing sevenpence out of a till in Hawkhead Inn. He pleaded that he could have taken more, but took only enough to pay for a night's lodging.

Sentence: *Three months' imprisonment.*

### ASSIZE ITEMS

At Dorset Assizes, last week, Mr. Justice Scrutton, in charging the Grand Jury, alluded to the fact that every crime alleged in the calendar was due to drink. He followed this with some very wise remarks concerning the danger of treating soldiers (there were charges against soldiers in the calendar) and the wisdom shown by France and Russia in prohibiting the sale of intoxicating drink. We wish he had added a comment on the injustice of restricting the sale of intoxicating drink in the case of women only—the less intemperate sex.

The Judge, Mr. Avory, K.C., in his charge to the Grand Jury at the Berkshire Assizes, last week, is reported to have commented favourably on the fact that there were only two cases in the calendar, adding that "neither of them was of a serious character." They were both charges of assault by men upon girls between 13 and 16. It is not surprising that the Grand Jury threw out one charge altogether, and that a verdict of not guilty was returned in the case of the second. What would the Judge have considered a charge "of a serious character"? The theft of 4s. 5d. and a man's belt, we suppose, for which an aggregate sentence of eight years' imprisonment was given by a brother Judge. (See above Table.)

### COMING EVENTS

The Church League for Women's Suffrage have arranged a Service of Intercession, to be held at St. John's Church, Westminster, on Saturday, January 23, at 3 p.m. Address by the Rev. Percy Dearmer, D.D. On the same day there will be a Social Gathering in the Great Hall, Church House, Westminster. Speakers: Dr. Letitia Fairfield and Mrs. Veley, D.Sc. Chair: Rev. F. M. Green, B.D.

The United Suffragists will hold meetings at the following places within the coming week:—Chesham, Trafalgar Square, Manchester, Chorley Wood, Edinburgh. (See page 138 for particulars.)

The Women's Freedom League will hold a public meeting at the Suffrage Club, York Street, on Wednesday, January 27. Speakers: The Rev. C. Baumgarten on "Ideals of Social Government," and others.

## BRITISH DOMINIONS WOMAN SUFFRAGE UNION

### News from South Australia

We are indebted to Miss Harriet C. Newcomb, Hon. Secretary of the B.D.W.S.U., for the interesting information that the Municipal Corporations and District Councils Amendment Bill, promoted by a Labour member, has just passed both Houses of the South Australian Legislature. By this Act women have now the right to sit on Local Government bodies.

### War Relief Work

It will be remembered that on the outbreak of the European war an appeal was made from the London headquarters of the B.D.W.S.U. for gifts of clothing and money to buy clothing for the children of the poor over here. This appeal has received a generous response from the Woman Suffrage Societies of South Africa and Canada, and from the Women's Political Associations of Australia and New Zealand; and both money and clothing have been received from the women of all our Dominions Overseas. By the kindness of the Australian and New Zealand Governments, and the South African Government Railways, and several shipping Companies, the goods have been conveyed free of charge.

The money thus collected is divided between milk depots for infants and workrooms for unemployed women; and the clothing is distributed both to British and Belgian children through the War Relief Organizations of the London Suffrage Societies. In the midst of so much that is distressing nowadays it is very heartening to hear of world-wide Suffrage comradeship of this kind.

### WOMEN DOCTORS IN FRANCE

#### A Tommy's Appreciation

The following extract from a soldier's letter appeared in the *Daily News* on January 9:—

"I got hit by a shell bursting over our trench—in the face, neck, and shoulder. I am in one of the very best of hospitals—a ladies' hospital. Lady doctors do all the work—no men at all, so you can guess I am all right. George and I were the only two spared out of six in our trench. Don't you think I had a fine birthday?"—From Lance-Corporal F. Reynolds, 2nd Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry.

### HEROISM AND TRAGEDY

Those who care to see the innumerable tragedies and heroisms of the war pictorially presented cannot do better than obtain the excellent half-tone reproductions in picture postcard form of Mr. A. Pearce's (known to readers of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* as "A Patriot") larger war pictures. They are twelve in number, and each illustrates some true incident of the present war. Our readers will probably be most interested in the one showing the nuns under fire at Rheims, tending the wounded. The whole set can be obtained from the East London Printing Company, 7, Houndsditch, E.C., for one shilling.

### AN OPPORTUNITY

To anyone thinking of starting a Club for Working Women on the lines of the U.S. Club in Southwark, Miss Mary Neal's offer to let the premises of her well-known Esperance Girls' Club, near St. Pancras, at a reasonable rent, offers an opportunity. The house is already equipped for the purpose, has a good kitchen, two pianos, and so on. She is only able to do so on account of the war, which has necessarily lessened the activities of the Esperance Guild of Morris Dancers, whose headquarters are at the Club, and in whose interests she would probably want to retain the use of one, or two, rooms on certain evenings. This would, however, be a matter of arrangement. Miss Neal's name is, of course, well known to readers of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

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