

# Men's League for Women's Suffrage

No. 31.

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Monthly Paper.

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Chairman: HERBERT JACOBS.  
Hon. Treas.: REGD. H. POTT. April, 1912  
Hon. Political Sec.: J. M. MITCHELL.

## ANNUAL MEETING, ANDERTON'S HOTEL, — APRIL 26TH, 8 P.M. —

ALL ARE ASKED TO BE PRESENT (see page 125).

### THE SITUATION.

For the first time in twenty years a Woman Suffrage Bill has been defeated on second reading. That would be at any time a serious event, but with this defeat is wiped out the promise of facilities which was the crown of years of work. There lies the real gravity of what has happened, and it would be folly to close our eyes to it. The immediate task for Suffragists is to face the causes which have contributed to this disaster, and to adjust tactics to the new conditions. There is little difficulty in reading the meaning of the vote from the division lists. Of the three causes of loss of support one was purely accidental. The miners' representatives had almost to a man returned to their constituencies in connection with the strike. Had we polled their votes we should just have covered the minority of fourteen. Neither of the other two causes would singly have been fatal, but together they have destroyed the Bill. The Irish Party yielded us last year thirty-one votes for and only nine against. This year it cast thirty-four against and none for. The deserters, who alleged their reprobation of militant methods as a reason for voting against a Bill which the militants have disowned, numbered fifteen Liberals and ten Unionists, counting fifty on a division. The same cause drove neutrals into active opposition, and accounted for most of the abstentions among our friends. It was a heavy vote, and I question whether half a dozen of the absentees, with the exception of the miners, were unpaired through inadvertence.

In spite of a disingenuous communication to the Press on the eve of the debate, it can no longer be maintained that the action of the Irish Nationalists was unofficial. At a party meeting Mr. Redmond gave an imperative order that none of his followers should support Woman Suffrage this year, and the prohibition applies as directly to the Reform Bill as to the Conciliation Bill. That such a manœuvre was probable was known to some of us as far back as last summer, but for my part I had reckoned on some effort from our friends in the Cabinet to counteract it. How severe the pressure was may be deduced

from the fact that ten members of the party are also members of the Conciliation Committee, and one of them "backed" the Bill. Not one of them ventured to vote for it. The reasons given may be classed roughly as false and true. We are told that the recent militant action at Belfast and a circular letter of last week from an Irish lady annoyed the party. But Mr. Redmond's decision was really taken last year. The reason for it is simply and solely that the party looks askance at any subject which introduces dissension into the Cabinet and forms a competing interest to Home Rule. They would gladly have shelved other Bills, but dared not take this action in the case of any Government measure.

The Irish Party, in plain words, has put its veto on Woman Suffrage. It remains to be seen whether it has acted wisely in its own interests. It has set in motion a resentment which will not tend to popularise Home Rule during the two years of its precarious passage into law. It is natural that Suffragists should dally with thoughts of retaliation. But to assail Home Rule would be to lower ourselves to Mr. Redmond's level. It would also be to defeat our own eventual success. We cannot wish to retain at Westminster a party which has shown itself to be a conscienceless machine one day longer than we can help. But a form of retaliation does present itself which is entirely relevant and legitimate. Suffragists may properly concentrate their attention on the enfranchisement of Irish women by means of a clause in the Home Rule Bill. Mr. Birrell's Devolution Bill did enfranchise them, and Lord Haldane, in a public speech last autumn, encouraged the hope that the Government would follow its own precedent. Even Anti-Suffragists have told us that local government is part of a woman's proper sphere. Suffragists might have been content to neglect this opportunity if the question had been settled by a general Bill. But the Irish have killed that Bill. They must prepare to take the consequences. An assurance that the party will support a women's clause in the Reform Bill as solidly as it opposed the Conciliation Bill might possibly affect the case for dealing separately with the interests of Irish women under the Home Rule Bill.

It is a nice question in political psychology what part the recent militancy really played in the defection of the persons who broke their pledges in company with Mr. Sydney Buxton, Mr. Masterman, and Mr. Crawshay-Williams. I question myself whether they really are so unreasonable as they would have us believe. If the W.S.P.U. had resorted to tactics of intimidation in order to secure the passage of the Conciliation Bill members would have had a case for refusing to yield to violence. But as its motive and its demand was something totally different, no clear-headed member need have hesitated to support a Bill which the W.S.P.U. frankly dislikes. The real motives of the deserters and the abstainers were, I think,

rather more elusive. Some of them are Anti-Suffragists at heart; others dread the electoral effect of the Conciliation Bill; the Liberals among them share the Irish fear of the disruptive effect of Woman Suffrage, and the Unionists were afraid that the Bill might have led to something wider. All this reinforced a resentment against militant tactics which is nearly universal in the House. These are men who would have voted for Woman Suffrage so long as public opinion was clearly behind it. The disastrous effect of the recent militancy was that it scandalised public opinion. The pressure which had hitherto kept unsteady members true to their pledges was temporarily relaxed, and an atmosphere created in which these men supposed that they might safely face their constituents with a dishonourable vote in their records. In 1911, while all the societies stood together and town councils all over the country were passing resolutions for the Conciliation Bill, such "ratting" as this would have been impossible. In the conditions created, first, by the announcement of the Manhood Suffrage Bill, then by the shattering of the unity among Suffragists, and, lastly, by the outbreak of March 1, desertion became possible and for the moment safe.

One of the two strings to the Suffragist bow is broken; the other is still intact. Under favourable conditions there will be a reaction from the present mood before the Committee stage of the Reform Bill is reached in autumn. There are ways of bringing home to the Irish Party the danger of the course they have elected to follow. There are means of putting pressure on our native "rats," provided public opinion is allowed to recover its normal attitude of friendliness. But it is clear that any repetition of recent outbreaks must endanger our position when the Reform Bill is reached, and may utterly destroy it. If the object of the W.S.P.U. is to foment a sex revolt, with the winning of the vote as a secondary and distant objective, its policy is intelligible. But if it aims at securing votes for women in 1912 by means of a Government measure, all but its least reflective adherents must perceive that it has adopted exactly the policy best calculated to defeat its end. With the defection of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Buxton there is no longer a Suffragist majority in the Cabinet. For the moment there is not even an effective non-party majority for a moderate measure in the House. The whole case on which the demand for Government action could most plausibly be based has been destroyed by the action of the W.S.P.U. itself. No Government in the world would assume the responsibility for legislating under these conditions. A chance for non-party action still remains. But it can be utilised only if the militants will consent for six months to give the constitutional movement its chance. I would not, for my part, rate that chance too high. There are, to my thinking, too many "ifs" and "perhaps" before us. The time has come to devise a larger strategy. It may, perhaps, be found in a united determination to support the Labour Party.

The unfortunate differences over tactics among Suffragists must not be allowed to obscure the grave issues raised by Mr. McKenna's methods of dealing with the W.S.P.U. He is bent on a policy of drastic repression, and as a preliminary he has thrown away the concessions granted by his predecessor. Attention has properly been drawn to the harsh and unseemly treatment meted out to Mrs. Pankhurst in prison. Meanwhile the rank and file of the prisoners, sentenced for terms ranging from two to six months, are one and all subjected to hard labour, and refused the alleviations stipulated by Mr. Churchill. Two excuses are offered: (1) That serious offences which require committal to sessions are excepted from the new rule; and (2) that prisoners sentenced to hard labour are beyond the pale. For neither exception is there warrant in the text of the rule. I excepts cases involving "moral turpitude"—indecent, dishonesty, cruelty, and serious violence. Window-breaking belongs to none of these categories. Prisoners sentenced last November at the sessions for this very offence were allowed the full privileges. If a sentence of hard labour really is a bar, it is open to Mr. McKenna to revise it, as he has done in the case of

the three Syndicalist prisoners. The refusal of books and food from outside and the curtailment of exercise are less defensible in the case of long than of short sentences. When a Unionist Government insisted on treating Irish political prisoners as common criminals the Liberal Opposition formally censured its conduct, and Mr. Morley and Mr. Gladstone led the attack. To-day when Liberals find it convenient to repress their own political opponents, the principle they once professed is conveniently jettisoned. It is a policy of revenge and inhumanity, and the event will prove it as stupid as it is immoral.

H. N. BRAILSFORD.

## LORD LYTTON ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

MEETING AT ANDERTON'S HOTEL.

Our members were treated to a most interesting review of the political situation on Tuesday, March 19, when our President attended a special meeting held for the purpose of considering the position. Lord Lytton, who was warmly received, referred to the outlook for the Conciliation Bill which had been seriously affected by three circumstances, the announced intention of the Irish members to oppose or abstain in order to clear the way for the Home Rule Bill, the effect of the recent window breaking on the waverers, and the alternative of an amendment to the Reform Bill, which was preferred by many Liberals. In the state of public feeling the postponement of the Conciliation Bill was an advantage, and although he personally considered that the Reform Bill now offered the best opportunity he hoped that the Conciliation Bill might still receive sufficient support to pass its second reading. He especially urged the most active work in the constituencies.

In the discussion which followed Mr. Pearce drew attention to the good work which could be done among trade unions and other societies throughout the country, and how they might be induced to bring pressure upon their members.

Mr. Mitchell said that a good deal of co-ordinating work was being done by the new Joint Parliamentary Committee, which was attempting to arrange work in all the constituencies in favour of a measure of Women's Suffrage on broad and democratic lines; and also by the joint conference initiated by the National Union for the purpose of unifying the action on M.P.'s, with respect to the Conciliation Bill. The recent militant outbreak appeared to have had a very bad effect on M.P.'s, and the Men's League had communicated with its members in various constituencies urging them to bring all possible pressure to bear on their representatives. Mr. Jacobs considered that one of the best ways of extending the usefulness of the Men's League would be by increasing its strength in the provinces by forming branches. The Oxford branch had recently held a most successful meeting and had enrolled several influential members, and the Manchester branch also appeared to be doing well. It was hoped that more attention could be given to the branches in future. Mr. F. N. Sargeant had just been appointed Hon. Branch Organiser, and it was hoped that he, in conjunction with Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Simpson, would conduct a campaign in Lancashire during Easter.

Mr. Gugenheim referred to the open-air propaganda, and hoped that many would volunteer to speak, so that meetings could be held in several of the London parks. He greatly regretted the recent militant action, which had considerably alienated public sympathy, so far as he could judge.

Dr. Drysdale regretted that, owing to some necessary reorganisation of the League and straitened finances, due to past over-expenditure without the knowledge of the executive, the Men's League had not been able to make as much public appearance at this important juncture as could have been hoped. He mentioned the circular letter sent by the League to all M.P.'s, urging them to continue their support to the Conciliation Bill. Two public meetings at the Battersea Town Hall and Queen's Hall had been contemplated, but had been blocked by the difficulty of obtaining both speakers and halls after the recent demonstration. He urged all members to contribute as liberally as possible to the funds, in order to enable the executive to undertake more active propaganda.

Dr. G. B. Clark, as an old Member of Parliament, stated that in his experience he had never known any pledge given by a Minister during his term of office to be violated. He had not personally any special antipathy to militancy if it seemed necessary, but found that the last outbreak had been greatly resented by Members. One of the most important needs was work in the constituencies.

Dr. Bather urged the importance of keeping favourable M.P.'s up to the mark by showing appreciation of their work.

Mr. Mace urged the importance of more united action.

Mr. Sargeant moved a vote of thanks to the President for his address.

Lord Lytton, in bringing the meeting to a close, carefully explained his attitude towards militant action, emphasising his great admiration for the heroic self-sacrifices of the women who adopted it. He made an earnest appeal to members to devote themselves to vigorous work.

## MANCHESTER CAMPAIGN.

The Manchester Branch of the League decided to run an Easter Campaign in the local parks, and approached the London League for speakers. Messrs. Sargeant and Gugenheim were able to go, and addressed a series of meetings, at which they were assisted by Mr. F. S. Barnes, of the Manchester Branch, and Miss Margaret Ashton, who very kindly came to Manchester twice on purpose to be present. Unfortunately the weather largely hampered the success of the meetings, the last of which had to be abandoned owing to this cause. Several members were made, and the "Guardian" gave us some excellent notices. We have also to thank Mr. Barnes and Prof. Alexander for hospitality.

TH. G.

## PROPAGANDA FUND.

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H. W. Cheesman	0 2 6	G. A. C. Sim	0 10 0
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Francis Meynell	0 1 0	His Honour Judge	
H. Thomas	2 2 0	Stanger, K.C.	1 1 0
E. Faringdon Neville	0 1 0	W. C. M. McKechney	1 1 0
J. E. Greville Parritt	0 1 0	E. G. Smith	0 5 0
Silvester Sparrow	0 10 0		£8 1 0
Rev. W. H. Wright	0 2 6		
J. V. Scholderer	0 3 0	<i>Donations.</i>	
Horace J. Verden	0 2 6	Herbert Jacobs	5 0 0
Major A. B. Fry	0 5 0	A. W. Pollard	1 1 0
George Haye	0 2 6	Ernest Brown	10 0 0
J. A. Hardcastle	0 2 6	H. C. Naylor	2 0 0
A. C. P. Mackworth	0 1 0	F. J. Pearce	0 1 0
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H. Seymour Brabant	0 1 0	A. Winstanley	0 1 0
C. T. Lavie	0 1 0	Highbury W. F. L.	
H. W. O. Hagreen	0 1 0	per Miss Kate J.	
Philippe A. Mairet	0 1 0	Cooper	0 6 6
H. J. Halley	0 2 6	Major A. B. Fry	2 0 0
Kelvin C. Pollock	0 5 0	Mrs. R. E. Seyd	0 7 0
H. I. Bell	0 1 0	R. L. Atkinson	0 5 0
C. S. Willis	0 2 6		£21 4 0
A. F. Miskin	1 1 0	<i>Monthly Subscriptions.</i>	
John T. Read	0 1 0	F. Stanton Barnes	0 1 0
J. J. Broome	0 1 0	F. N. Sargeant	0 3 0
R. L. Atkinson	0 2 6	Goldfinch Bate	0 3 0
	£6 0 6	Dr. Bather	0 1 6
		J. Malcolm Mitchell	0 2 6
<i>Annual Subscriptions.</i>		George Slow	0 2 0
H. E. Turner	0 1 6	Miss C. E. M. New-	
Dr. J. Estlin Carpenter	0 10 0	man	4 4 0
W. de Vere Mathews	1 0 0		£4 17 0
H. C. Naylor	0 10 0		
Stuart Woodhams	0 5 0	Total	£40 2 6
Dr. G. B. Clarke	1 1 0		
S. L. Francis	0 5 0		
Rev. Alan Greenwall	0 10 6		

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The fifth annual general meeting will be held at Anderton's Hotel, Fleet Street, at 8 p.m., on April 26.

Apart from the ordinary business of the meeting, which will probably be very brief, it is hoped that there will be a thorough discussion of the new situation created by the defeat of the Conciliation Bill. Members are urgently requested to be present in large numbers. It is imperative that the new committee should have the loyal support of the League, as they will go straight from the meeting to carry on the fight for the Reform Bill Amendment, or upon any other course which the meeting may direct.

Members who are not present will have no other means of urging any course of action which may commend itself to them. If ever there was a time when we should throw ourselves heart and soul into the work it is now. The Antis are swelling with triumph, forgetting that we are still more than likely with steady work to win this year.

The Committee trust that every member within reach will make a point of being present on April 26 at 8 o'clock.

## OPEN-AIR MEETINGS.

The regular meetings in Hyde Park are now resumed. The League's platform will be found in its accustomed place opposite the Marble Arch at 4.30 p.m. Those willing to speak are asked to communicate the fact without delay.

## NORTH LONDON.

Meetings will be held at 8 o'clock p.m. on Saturday, April 20 and 27, at the corner of Elthorne Road and Holloway Road, just south of the Archway Tram Terminus. Among the speakers will be Messrs. Gugenheim, Mitchell, Rogers, and Bate. Local members are asked to be present and assist.

## OUR VICE-PRESIDENTS IN THE HOUSE.

Sir Alfred Mond seconded the Conciliation Bill, and Mr. Philip Snowden supported in a very able speech. Mr. H. G. Chancellor and Mr. E. A. Goulding voted in the "Aye" Lobby.

## THE TURNCOATS.

The following members—3 Unionists, 12 Liberals, and 11 Nationalists—who voted in favour of the Conciliation Bill in 1911 voted in the "No" Lobby on March 28:—

### UNIONISTS.

Benn, Ian Hamilton (Greenwich), Cooper, R. A. (Walsall).  
Paget, A. H. (Cambridge).

### LIBERALS.

Black, A. W. (Biggleswade). Lambert, R. C. (Cricklade).  
Buxton, Right Hon. Sydney Menzies, Sir Walter (Lanark).  
(Tower Hamlets). Murray, Capt. Hon. (Kincarrin-gomm, H. (Rothercardineshire).  
Pearce, Robert (Leek).  
Dawes, J. A. (Walworth). Wason, Right Hon. E. (Clackmannan).  
Edwards, A. C. (Glamorgan).  
Havelock-Allan, Sir H. Whittaker, Sir T. P. (Spenn Valley).  
(Bishop Auckland).

### NATIONALISTS.

Clancy, J. J. Meagher, M.  
Crumley, Patrick. Meehan, F. E.  
Flavin, Michael J. Phillips, S.  
Hayden, J. P. O'Malley, William.  
Keating, M. O'Shaughnessy, P.  
MacVeagh, Jeremiah.

Members who reside in the above constituencies are asked to communicate at once with the Hon. Political Secretary.

### ANTI-SUFFRAGE CRITICISM.

Those who have read Dr. Almroth Wright's curious ebullition in the "Times" will be prepared for equally quaint comments in the "Anti-Suffrage Review" for April. As Anti-Suffragists are the self-appointed champions of chivalry, we are constrained to quote the following comments upon some of our speakers:—

\* \* \* \* \*

Mr. Agg-Gardner's "speech was difficult to hear because of its method of delivery."

"Sir Alfred Mond's 'matter' was even worse than his manner, which is saying much."

(In reference to Mr. Snowden.) "The Socialist leader's thin and querulous tones were eminently in keeping with the exiguous substance of his speech."

"The feeble and indeed most disingenuous utterances of Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Snowden."

\* \* \* \* \*

The first reference to Mr. Snowden may be moderately described as being in bad taste. As a parallel, we would quote the Anti-Suffrage announcement that Mr. Arnold Ward "hit hard, but with perfect fairness"!

### MEETINGS ADDRESSED BY MEMBERS OF THE MEN'S LEAGUE.

March 1	Oxford Somerville College	R. F. Cholmeley
" 1	Tunbridge Wells N.U.W.S.S.	Sir John Cockburn
" 1	Swindon N.U.W.S.S.	Rev. J. Ivory Cripps
" 1	Queen's Hall M.P.U.	H. W. Nevinson
" 1	"	C. Mansell Moullin
" 3	Hyde Park M.P.U.	Joseph Clayton
" 4	Crowthorne N.U.W.S.S.	J. Malcolm Mitchell
" 5	Finsbury Y.M.C.A.	Rev. F. M. Green
" 5	Middlesborough N.U.W.S.S.	Dr. Saleeby
" 6	Wimbledon W.S.P.U.	Rev. Hugh Chapman
" 6	New Mills N.U.W.S.S.	F. Stanton Barnes
" 6	Bath W.T.R.L.	J. W. Jeurwine
" 7	Southampton N.U.W.S.S.	D. L. Lipson
" 7	Kensington N.C.S.W.S.	Rev. Hugh Chapman
" 8	Criterion A.F.L.W.S.	Lord Lytton
" 8	Kensington C.U.W.F.A.	Sir Edward Busk
" 8	Byfleet N.U.W.S.S.	H. Baillie Weaver
" 11	Marple N.U.W.S.S.	F. Stanton Barnes
" 12	Portsmouth N.U.W.S.S.	D. L. Lipson
" 12	Reading N.U.W.S.S.	J. Malcolm Mitchell
" 12	Kensington W.S.P.U.	Joseph Clayton
" 13	Oxford M.L.W.S.	Dr. J. Estlin Carpenter
" 13	"	E. Lipson
" 13	Hoxton Hall M.L.W.S.	Joseph Clayton
" 13	International Franchise Club.	Philip Snowden, M.P.
" 13	"	H. G. Chancellor, M.P.
" 13	Kilburn W.S.P.U.	H. Baillie Weaver
" 14	Windsor N.U.W.S.S.	R. F. Cholmeley
" 14	Great Missenden N.U.W.S.S.	C. V. Drysdale
" 14	Steinway Hall W.S.P.U.	Joseph Clayton
" 14	Bury	H. Stanton Barnes
" 15	London Opera House	Sir Alfred Mond, M.P.
" 17	Finsbury I.L.P.	J. Y. Kennedy
" 17	Cheltenham Ethical Society	C. V. Drysdale
" 18	Hayes Literary Society	Goldfinch Bate
" 18	London Pavilion W.S.P.U.	H. W. Nevinson
" 18	Bedford College M.L.W.S.	R. F. Cholmeley
" 18	Burnley N.U.W.S.S.	H. Stanton Barnes
" 19	Hampstead M.S.W.R.	Joseph Clayton
" 21	Chelmsford N.U.W.S.S.	Sir John Cockburn
" 21	Hove W.F.L.	C. V. Drysdale
" 22	Ipswich W.F.L.	Philip Snowden, M.P.
" 22	Limpsfield N.U.W.S.S.	Walter Hogg
" 22	Upper Norwood N.C.S.W.S.	Rev. Hugh Chapman
" 23	Wimbledon W.S.P.U.	J. Malcolm Mitchell
" 23	"	Theodor Gugenheim
" 25	Croydon W.L.A.	J. E. Raphael
" 27	Bideford N.U.W.S.S.	Rev. Geoffrey Startup
" 27	Ashford N.C.S.W.S.	Joseph Clayton
" 27	International Franchise Club	R. F. Cholmeley
" 27	Hampstead M.L.W.S.	Lord Lytton
" 29	Essex Hall W.F.L.	Dr. G. B. Clark
" 29	Purley N.U.W.S.S.	R. F. Cholmeley
" 31	Hyde Park M.P.U.	Victor Prout

### OXFORD UNIVERSITY BRANCH.

The first general meeting of the Oxford University Branch of the Men's League was held on Wednesday, March 13, at Manchester College. The chair was to have been taken by the President, Professor Gilbert Murray, but he was prevented from being present by an important professional engagement, and, in his absence, Professor Margoliouth, one of the vice-presidents of the branch, presided. Among those present were Dr. Carpenter, Principal of Manchester College; Professor Herbertson, and Mr. Carlyle, the Junior Proctor. There were letters of regret for absence expressing cordial agreement and sympathy with the movement from Professor Gilbert Murray, Mr. Grant Robertson, Mr. Dundas, and others.

The Chairman opened the meeting by explaining that it had been summoned for the purpose of inviting those who favoured the proposed extension of the franchise to women to join the Oxford University Branch of the Men's League. Mr. E. Lipson, the honorary secretary of the branch, then gave an account of the aims of the League and the character and scope of its organisation. He said that the League was non-party in character, and men of all parties were welcome. It was refreshing to have one platform, at least, on which all men could meet, however divergent their political views. The object of the League was to promote the political enfranchisement of women. It was an organisation of men to assist women in winning their emancipation. Women needed the vote to protect their economic interests and to improve their status generally. For those who held this conviction it was a moral duty not to stand aloof. He emphasised the fact that the Oxford Society entirely dissociated itself from militancy. They passed no opinion as to the legitimacy or advisability of militant tactics, but as an official body their methods would be orderly and constitutional. Nor could they deny the immense importance of the work which such a league could do by educating public opinion through public meetings. The soil must be prepared before they could hope to reap the harvest of Woman Suffrage. There could be no revolution without a Renaissance, without an intellectual awakening to its necessity and justification. This was the sphere of action which the Oxford Branch had marked out for itself.

Dr. Carpenter proposed a resolution that an Oxford Branch of the Men's League should be founded. His speech admirably summed up the work which the Men's League could do for the movement. He observed that it was a prevalent opinion that the supporters of Woman Suffrage were in reality only few in numbers. This was not the case, for there were in the country a large number of men who were convinced of the justice of women's claims. The League served the purpose of organising these supporters of Woman Suffrage, and of enabling them to give voice to their opinions. The resolution was carried unanimously.

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