The Common Cause,

The Organ of the National Union of

Women's Suffrage

Societies.

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ONE PENNY.



Notes and Comments.

A Political Speech.

Mr. Lloyd George amply redeemed his promise to make his speech at the Albert Hall a discussion of the Parliamentary prospects of women's suffrage, and he showed plainly that he realises to the full the great importance of passing a measure this year. As he is not the sort of man to let the grass grow under his feet, we are glad he should have so clearly expressed his opinion in this matter. Besides endorsing the pledges given by the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George emphatically declared that the suggestion that the Government propose not to introduce a Reform Bill, or that if they do introduce it, it will not be persevered with, or that it won't be drafted in such a way as to give opportunity for amendment was "an imputation of deep dishonour which I decline to discuss. No Government could commit such an outrage on public faith without forfeiting the respect of every honest man and woman in the land. repeated and enlarged upon his own opposition to the Referendum for Women's Suffrage, and we regard his reference to the Prime Minister (as the only person who could speak for the Government in this matter) as distinctly reassuring, since the only statement Mr. Asquith has made about the Referendum as applied to Women's Suffrage, since the announcement of the Reform Bill for this year, was to the Anti-Suffragist deputation when he gave them no hope that he would consent to it.

Mr. George's candour in responding to reasonable interjections was plainly shown by his immediate correction of his unqualified statement that "no party" had adopted Women's suffrage. He had not overlooked the Labour Party, but he had meant no party that was likely to be in office at the present.

Another Important Point.

Another important statement made by Mr. George was that in which he said that if he were convinced that no other franchise were possible, he had always said his attitude would be a different one. "I think it is so important that you should get a franchise for women embodied in an Act of Parliament that if I were convinced that, owing to Parliamentary difficulties no other measure were possible, I should certainly support, much as I dislike it, even the Conciliation Bill." But he stated as frankly that he was not convinced and that he hoped to pass a measure on "broad democratic principles." As long as Mr. Lloyd George did nothing active to advance the form of suffrage which he preferred we had a grievance against him for opposing the only form which we could hope to pass without his help; but now the situation is changed; he is helping suffragists and therefore suffragists mean to help him. "He who's for us, for him are we!"

The Press and the Meeting.

Some of the newspapers have made the very most of the silly interruptions at the Albert Hall, but they emanated from a very few individuals, certainly under a score out of the 8,000 present, and were the result of the teaching and incitements of a body whose methods are entirely opposed to those of the National Union. The Daily Mail says the women stewards "failed completely in securing silence." There is a somewhat quaint innuendo in this. When, some years ago, Mr. Lloyd George was subjected to insults and interruptions in this same hall, the men stewards not only "failed in securing silence," but, by their brutality, and by the uncontrolled excitement of the audience, prolonged pandemonium for two hours. Last week the women stewards, coming into a heritage of disorder and exasperation none of their making, did not indeed "secure silence," but by their complete abandonment of violence, and by the co-operation of the audience, they succeeded in minimising the effect of the interruptions, and we have evidence that some who contemplated interruption refrained in consequence, while the issue was no longer obscured by "faults on both sides." If one side would steadfastly refrain from provocation and wrong, it would not take long for these petty violences to die from lack of nutriment.

There is a curious difference of opinion as to the voting on the resolution. The *Times*, *Daily Telegraph*, and *Daily News* say it was "unanimously" passed, while the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Standard* say there were about 100 dissentients, and the *Morning Post* says merely that it was passed "with enthusiasm." Our reporter says it was "nem. con.," which is certainly a safer statement than "unanimously," but the enthusiasm was beyond controversy.

The Conciliation Bill.

The Conciliation Committee met on the 21st, and decided to present the Bill in precisely the same form as last year, and to make no attempt to refer it to Grand Committee. The unanimous view of the Committee was that their duty to the suffrage movement is to enable the utmost advantage to be taken of both the opportunities which are presented this session. Application will accordingly be made for facilities after the second reading. It is hoped that the advanced groups will be prepared to allow the Bill to go through as it stands, reserving their efforts to secure a wider measure by way of amendment to the Reform Bill. An invitation will be addressed to these groups to confer with delegates of the Conciliation Committee in order to concert some common understanding.

Mr. Birrell and the Suffrage.

The Irish ladies who waited upon Mr. Birrell on February 20 did not get very much out of him. He was of opinion that when women had obtained the vote in England, in this year, it would be impossible to deprive them of a vote for the Irish Parliament, whereas it was a somewhat invidious matter for an English Parliament, which had not yet given women the vote in England, to insist upon giving them the vote in Ireland.

On the other hand, his answer to the Bristol Anti-Suffragists, who waited upon him on Saturday, was a characteristic essay, couched in his genially cynical style. Mr. Birrell is one of the kindliest of politicians who have no illusions about politics, and we are grateful to the Antis for extracting from him so temperate and humorous a declaration that he failed to understand why the vote should have "the devastating effect that had been attributed to it upon the homes and characters of English women." We are very sorry that a fuller report is crowded out of this issue, but hope to find more room next

What Women?

Suffragists have for some time past reckoned Mr. Winston Churchill as an opponent, and we regret, for the sake of his own reputation and the honesty of political life, that he does not frankly acknowledge himself opposed to the granting of votes women. In a letter to the Freedom League (dated February 24) he writes that he will vote against the Concilation Bill, and, further, that he believes "the giving of the Parliamentary vote to seven or eight millions of women is a step which the country is not prepared to take at the present time.' He will not, that is to say, vote for the smaller measure, and he "believes" that the country is not ready for the larger measure. Why? Several years ago, when he was standing for North-West Manchester, he "believed" the country did want women to have the vote. On what qualification? Mr. Churchill, in his speech against the Conciliation Bill in 1910, said he wanted "the best" women. That is a very pretty idealistic sentiment. We all want "the best" women—and hen! But who are the best? And will Mr. Churchill's best "best be other men's "best "? And why are we to have the women and the worst as well as, presumably, the best men? Yet he is still of opinion that "the sex disqualification is not a true or logical disqualification, and I am, therefore, in favour of the principle of women being enfranchised.

Now, since that Manchester election, when he "believed" the country was in favour of Women's Suffrage, what has happened? Suffrage Societies have increased to certainly ten times their size and number, all the great town and city councils have passed resolutions in favour, and the very Bill Mr. Churchill opposed passed the Second Reading by a majority of 110; but—Mr. Churchill has been persecuted and harried by a few women, and he visits on all the millions of his fellow countrywomen his exasperation with a few.

We have read with the utmost disgust the description in "Votes for Women" of the petty persecution carried out by members of the W.S.P.U. on the occasion of his Belfast meeting, but we cannot see in this persecution any reason whatever for penalising millions of women who either know nothing of these disgusting practices, or view them with the same contempt

Mrs. Fawcett's History of Women's Suffrage:

We have just received this little book, published by Messrs. Jack, 67, Long Acre, price 6d. net, and hope to review it next week. It can be obtained from the National Union.

Our Cartoon

The women's cause is now actually entering the "dark tower." No carnal weapons will help the champions. "Justice to women!" "Right is might!" These must be their device and their weapons spiritual.

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CORRESPONDENTS ARE REQUESTED TO NOTE that this paper goes to press on Tuesday. The latest news, notices, and reports should, therefore, reach the Editor by first post on Monday. The Editor reminds correspondents, however, that the work is made much easier if news is sent in as long beforehand as possible. Monday is only mentioned as the last day possible, not as the one upon which all news should arrive.

NOTICE.—This paper should be obtainable at newsagents and bookstalls by mid-day on Thursday. If people have any difficulty in getting it locally they should write to the Manager, The COMMON CAUSE, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C., giving the name and address of the newsagent or bookstall from which they wish to be supplied.

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The Spirit of the National Union.

On reflection, my first impressions of the great historic meeting of Friday last—absolutely unique in more particulars than one—are confirmed and deepened. It was most peculiar and distinctive, and its peculiarity and distinction were gravity, dignity, weight, a sense of responsibility pervading not only speakers and officials but the great audience which had, un-organised and collected from all parts of the kingdom, to face severe and prolonged test, and which showed by its remarkable nerve and self-control, that it was truly informed by a great, new spirit. No mere mechanical discipline, no machine-like response to a word of command could have been so effective as the individual control by individuals of impulses which have been commonly found to be amongst the strongest in mankind. The instinct to hit back, the peevish desire for retaliation leadng to the tedious and interminable policy of reprisals, were rushed down by the thousands of loyal members of the National Union-loyal to an ideal, not to a command: they had to sit quiet for nearly an hour while their guest was insulted and hile a small handful of would-be wreckers made a determined effort to ruin the agreement by which alone their object can be ttained, the agreement between politicians who have the power and suffragists who have the will. For decades we have seen the slow and steady growth of the unconquerable will; at last we have a man in the very front rank of active politicians taking up our cause and making it his own, and we had the sorrow and shame of seeing a few members of an organisation with the same object as our own do their utmost to prevent him from speaking to us. They failed, but with the co-operation of the audience they might have succeeded. Had the National Union pursued the usual course of having stewards who could use rysical force and were permitted to use it, we should have had sight, time-honoured, but without any other honour, of violently resisting men and women being expelled with greater and more repulsive violence. Had the audience not possessed a treble allowance of self-control, each interjection would have created thousands of others, and we should have had the familiar experience of hundreds of people rising in their seats and gesticulating and screaming louder than the interrupter. Without any instructions from the chair, that vast audience maintained its composure and its seat, and the silly ejaculations fell like damp squibs, causing no explosions and only exhibiting plainly, for the dullest to see, the deep and fundamental difference between the spirit and quality of the National Union and those of the Women's Social and Political Union.

There is no doubt at all that it was the spirit of the National Union which made this triumph possible. It is not easy to say what that spirit is because it is made up of many elements, and it is the product of many years of training in self-govern-

never ceased to be the finest training ground for the wise use of power: the system of popular election, the decentralisation of our work, the responsibility thrown upon every individual member, not only to act but to think, have all tended to a steady growth in political knowledge and sagacity and to that balance of mind which comes from free discussion and criticism. is salutary influence also in the happy circumstance that men are admitted to the National Union "on the same terms" as women, and this doubtless keeps our sense of proportion uster. It is impossible to estimate the influence which the character of our President, Mrs. Fawcett, has upon the Union: it is exercised not by a demand for the abandonment of our own wits and wills; on the contrary, it is felt in the calling forth of all that is best in them. Generosity in recognising and using all persons, a flexible and progressive mind, a sense of proportion which subordinates every minor difference to the supreme determination "to make the whole go on" and an unquenchable sense of humour which is in itself part of the sense of proportion, and which dispels cranks and worries, and joins with endless kindness to sweeten the many bitter experiences which suffragists have had to undergo-who can say how much effect all these remarkable qualities and more have had during the many vears in which they have grown upon us, in moulding the character of our Union, or in bringing about the moral victory of Friday last? We do not know; the beauty of a fine nature is that it helps all the fineness in other natures to grow, so that you have in a great free Union the capacity for infinite development and adaptability. All good gifts are used and life and variety are ordered by an inward law.

It is not fantastic, I think, to find in the rich, deep and harmonious decorations of the Artists' League a remarkably just symbolism. The banners of the societies and the scutcheons of the Federations hung around the two tiers of the great semicircle in ordered and regular sequence; the general impression was that of a symphony in which a vast number of separate notes were harmonised to one accord and at the back of our minds this resultant harmony was made intriguing and subtly exciting by the thought of the millions of stitches, the art, labour, patience and ingenuity that had by degrees made up these items of a great scheme—something like the emotion one has in contemplating the patient brick on brick that makes the cathedral at Westminster—art, labour, patience and ingenuity, shown in all the infinite gradations of human variety and all tuned to one accord—we like to think of these as symbolised in the design of the Artists' League and as expressing the soul of the National Union.

A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL UNION.

A Degree Standard in Home Science.

The paragraph in your issue of February 15th, in which you comment on the endowment obtained by King's College for the study of Home Science and the building of a hostel to be called after Queen Mary, expresses, I hope, the views and feelings of a large number of thoughtful, open-minded, progressivelyinclined women. Real pleasure at this munificent recognition of women's activity in the home as a profession, which, like any other profession, requires to be learnt if real efficiency is to be attained, and appreciation of the labour of those who have brought about this gratifying result, are tempered with certain regrets and definite fears. The public has been told that an entirely new departure had been made, and the anticipation of big and immediate returns has been encouraged. cannot be denied that the method followed at King's College is new, not only new as applied to domestic work, but new altogether, having, as far as I know, no exact counterpart in the study of any other applied science of craft; and hence the need of caution and cause for fear. The promoters of this new method are embarking on what must be an experiment, with their minds definitely made up as to the results to be expected, and the history of science abounds in instances of how such an attitude blinds to a recognition of facts and thereby impedes progress. There is displayed before us the alluring picture of broad and easy road leading to the goal, the abode of the perfect housewife, with a call paid on the way at the temple of science, where physics, chemistry, physiology and other deities will, for some unknown reason, accord preferential treatment to these visitors, and yield up to them, after a few pleasant little chats, the tools and powers for grappling successfully with problems of such complexity and difficulty as are presented by the science underlying house-craft. The possibility that such a road may, after all, tail off into a blind alley, is not con-

organisers of the King's College scheme assumes possibilities of a speedy and easy rout of empiricism, together with scientific capacities on the part of the students, which I believe to have no counterpart in reality; this serious fundamental mistake is, I think, bound to impair the efficiency of the work accomplished, besides which, indirectly in various ways it may do and is, I fear, already doing actual harm. But this is much too big a subject to be treated of exhaustively in a letter, and since it is obviously desirable for me to restrict myself to one special point, Miss Oakeley's letter published in the Common Cause of February 22nd, in which she tries to justify the use of the term "degree standard" as applied to the work done at King's College, indicates the choice most suitable under the given circumstances. I should like, however, to state that, strongly as I feel on this particular point, I consider it incomparably inferior in importance to the question of whether the status and the efficiency of the domestic worker, as tested daily in thousands and thousands of homes, will be raised or not. If I could feel sure, or even hopeful of success in this respect, I should be little troubled by even flagrant misuse of the term "degree standard."

Before setting out my reasons for denying to the study of domestic activities the claim to a degree standard, it may be well to point out what to me seem the weak points in Miss Oakeley's evaluation and presentation of her case.

(1) She repeats the stock argument with which all adverse criticism of home science, however detailed, however clearly specified, has hitherto been met. We are reminded that whenever a new subject has claimed and won academic recognition, it has encountered opposition which subsequent experience has proved unreasonable. From this perfectly correct premise we are evidently expected to draw the perfectly erroneous conclusion, that criticism of Home Science is unjustifiable; no further trouble is taken to show that Home Science has reached a stage of development which is comparable with that of history and the other subjets quoted by Miss Oakeley in her charming description of some of the quaint features in the struggle of the new for recognition by the side of the old. But this manner of brushing aside specific criticism cannot be convincing to people who, whilst cognisant of what constitutes a degree standard, also possess enough technical knowledge to evaluate the possibilities afforded by Home Science, and who may even carry boldness so far as to deny the very existence of such a subject. The appeal to history made by Miss Oakeley does no more than show that the existence of opposition does not necessarily prove Home Science to be unworthy of getting what is asked for; but this is a negative argument only and contributes nothing on the positive side-viz., the sustantiation of the claim by appeal to scope, method, and above all, achievement.

(2) Miss Oakeley gives it as her experience that the King's College Home Science course awakens interest and makes demands on will and intelligence. This is only what anybody would have expected; but does this by itself affect the question at issue-namely, whether the ability and intellectual effort required for the study of Home Science are at all comparable with what would be demanded by the study of any other academic subject? Moreover, it is an unfortunate fact that pseudo-science can so easily masquerade as true science, and that with every appearance of mental effort having been made, and made to some purpose, the achievement may consist merely in doing vigorously, with much show of interest and satisfaction, something scientifically and practically worthless. And what more favourable breeding-ground for such make-believe than the "kitchen laboratory," where girls, with a mere smattering of scientific knowledge, without full grasp of scientific knowledge, without full grasp of scientific method, perhaps even without extensive first-hand acquaintance with the controlling conditions of real cookery, are brought face to face with problems so intricate that it takes all the knowledge, all the experience, all the scientific imagination of the highly-trained chemist and bacteriologist even to understand their nature?

Whilst it seems to me, therefore, that Miss Oakeley has not succeeded in adducing any positive evidence of a university standard being reached in Home Science, I believe that a critical examination of the King's College syllabus can be made to prove the contrary. The course seems to me to consist of three parts quite distinct at least in theory-viz., (i) pure science, (ii) applied science, (iii.) domestic crafts; and in examining whether the work as a whole is of degree standard, it will, I think, be best to consider in how far each of the separate sections is likely to contribute to such a result.

(i) Pure science (and allied subjects). The large number of subjects worked at during the first two years—six in all-viz.,

templated. The policy followed by the promoters and the chemistry, physics, biology, physiology, hygiene and economics must make it impossible to reach anything approaching academic standard. Not only is the time allowance for each subject at any stage very small (physics, the science fundamental to all others, is disposed of in thirty hours' lectures and sixty hours' practical work, and physiology fares even worse, with thirty hours' lectures and only twenty hours' practical work), but worse still, no single subject is continued long enough for the students to reach the more advanced and difficult parts of it, in consequence of which their outlook on science as a whole must be restricted, and proper understanding of the nature of scientific discovery rendered almost impossible. Twenty five years' experience of teaching chemistry to students preparing for the Cambridge Natural Sciences Tripos has shown me what the average young woman with her average inadequate school preparation in science can accomplish at each stage of a three years' University course, even when three subjects only are attempted; I feel convinced that if the work were not carried beyond the stage reached at the end of the first or second year, much of it would be valueless, because it is only in the third year that pieces of knowledge, hitherto detached and only partially understood, sort themselves into their right places and assume their proper value.

(ii.) Applied science. The work in pure science being

undeniably of a nature so distinctly elementary that those directing the Home Science course could not, I think, themselves describe that part of it as of degree standard, it may be presumed that they base their claims mainly work of a higher and more advanced nature on the applied side. Even the most casual examination will however show that, as a matter of fact, in this section of the work things are no better; and further, that they cannot be better considering the present position of what—using terms in their usual sense—would be called Domestic Science—i.e., a fairly comprehensive, well-proportioned application of physics, chemistry, physiology and bacteriology to the production of certain definite effects required in the daily life of a household. It is here that comes in the fundamental difference between Science and an established applied science, a difference which is so persistently ignored when agriculture and engineering are used to supply arguments from analogy, as though the cases were at all comparable. The new subject, or to use Miss Oakeley's expressive phrase, the new grouping of subjects called Domestic Science, the existence of which is postulated, has not yet shown that first sign of conscious life, attempt to find a voice in print. Surely never before has a branch of knowledge claimed academic recognition which had not even a vestige of a literature in proof of its specific character; a touchstone whereby can be judged its nature, its scope, its method, its achievements! And here offers an opportunity for mentioning one of the few bright spots in what to those who think with me is rather a gloomy picture-namely, that the advocates of Domestic Science are doing signal service in drawing attention to the fact that here is a field vast and promising for the worker in science and in housecraft. An enormous amount of material requires to be verified, sorted, classified, used for empirical generalisations, calling for the services of women who have had a thorough training in pure science on the usual non-utilitarian lines, and who have followed this up by thoroughly learning the craft of cookery, preferably from "a practical cook," a proceeding which I regret to say Miss Oakeley decries. There is, of course, also any amount of scope for real research work, revealing the inward nature of materials and processes; this however is of so difficult a nature that it must always be the prerogative of the few. But there is nothing, or at any rate, next to nothing, out of which the ordinary teacher can for the ordinary pupil shape a really educative and practically useful course of University standard.

(iii) Domestic Arts. Recognising the special bent of the King's College scheme, it is not surprising that the time allowance for this part of the work is on a much smaller scale than at technical colleges such as Battersea and Gloucester; all the same, the data given in the prospectus (of 1909-1910) show this difference to be so great as to make one wonder whether cookery, the craft which requires for its complete mastery so very much practice, can really be learnt in the time available. But be this it may, it is certain that under such conditions the study of the crafts cannot present any special features deserving of special recognition and raising this part of the work to a level which would favourably affect that of the course as a whole. As things are, the directly utilitarian section of the work comes off worst in the time table, and one wonders whether this is a necessity yielded to with regret, or whether there does not come into play a certain amount of resentment against work in which

sound practice by saying "After all, the final test must be the production of, say, a good cake," and was promptly answered No, not at all, it is the principle of the cake we consider to matter most!

This finishes the statement of my case against the existence of a degree standard in Home Science; I fear I have been very long, but I have tried to subordinate the subjective to the jective in my treatment, wishing not merely to express opinions, but also, as far as possible, to give the facts on which they are based. Miss Oakeley, in her letter, tries to reassure us by saying that the question whether a degree standard in Home Science can be and has been attained, may be safely left to the decision of the University of London. Now, whilst fully recognising the high standard hitherto maintained by the tribunal thus appealed to, I cannot help feeling that the case about to be submitted to its judgment is of so novel and exceptional a nature that there is real danger of exceptional Miss Oakeley herself supplies a case in point. She quotes Sir Walter Raleigh as having expressed the opinion that echnical subjects such as agriculture and domestic science, re rightly included amongst University studies. Now I consider that in this confession of faith two very distinct points are nvolved. Professor Raleigh is no doubt fully justified in forming an opinion, even if only on a priori grounds, on the general question whether technical subjects (applied sciences?) should or should not be studied under the supervision and fostering care of Universities and even receive some kind of hall-mark. But an affirmative answer surely could not be meant to include all technical subjects, whatever their nature, scope and development; and when it comes to deciding on the merits of any special case, his competency to judge may well be doubted. Thus when he groups together Agriculture and Domestic Science, he must have completely taken on trust the existence a science of the home; and this one fears may be the position of a number of the men with whom the decision will rest. Many will be without the necessary scientific qualifications for testing the claim made. To others it may seem that, since women are best qualified to judge the nature of the particular problems dealt with in Home Science and to evaluate the intellectual activities required in their solution, it would be lacking in iberality, nay, in justice, to refuse to women the help which hey say recognition by a University would give them in the complishment of a task universally admitted to be of the nighest and most far-reaching importance. For this reason I onsider the expression of a dissentient opinion, like that contained in the COMMON CAUSE of February 15th, most opportune, and I would urge further that every legitimate and suitable occasion should be seized for proclaiming with no uncertain voice that there are a large number of women who, whilst most anxious to see the status of domestic work raised, yet guided their knowledge of matters educational, scientific and domestic, entirely disagree with the view that this object can be compelled either to remodel it completely or to withdraw it. best achieved by investing the work with the artificial glamour

IDA FREUND. Chemical Laboratory, Newnham College, Cambridge.

The Need of Specialisation.

As the recent holder of the Gilchrist Post Graduate Scholarship in Home Science and Economics at King's College for Women, I would like to add a few words to the statements on he scheme that have already been made in your columns.

I share your desire to aid every effort which may tend to the fore efficient treatment of domestic work, but I am convinced that the Home Science scheme is not one of these. In fact, the trong disapproval of the entire scheme which led to my signation of the scholarship was due to the conviction that the scheme was such as to hinder the development of houseeraft and could not in any particular be considered progressive.

I would ask your readers to write to the College for the atest circular on the course, and to peruse it at their leisure. The circular is highly instructive, and to anyone gifted with nagination supplies sufficient information to compel unqualified ondemnation of the entire scheme.

The three years' course, for which University recognition as a fitting course for a science degree is sought, includes study of the following:—Biology, chemistry (pure and applied), physics, nygiene, physiology, household work (cookery, laundry and

willy-nilly the rule of empiricism must be acknowledged. A housewifery), and economics (including a short course in bookcritic of the King's College policy on one occasion tried to keeping and business affairs) with bacteriology, ethics and illustrate her view that loose theory might prove a danger to psychology, and practical psychology as optional subjects, one of which may be taken by the student in addition to all of the above. I need only remind the reader that for the science degree in every recognised University four subjects are taken up to the Intermediate standard, and three of these to the Final standard in the same period of time.

After all this the circular goes on to state that the scheme may be regarded "as the special contribution made by women to the general recognition of the necessity for specialisation in order to maintain a high standard of national efficiency."

Nothing more seems necessary to prove that the course does not provide what it claims to provide, namely, "education in science and economics of a University standard.

Couple with this the statement made in the Calendar of the London University, for the information of the student intending to teach, that "The student who has taken the three years' course will offer rather less general science than the science graduate, but will have more specialised knowledge in hygiene and economics, and will undertake the practical teaching of simple cookery, laundry-work and house-work to schoolgirls. but will not, as a rule, offer lessons in advanced cookery, nor will possess necessarily any high degree of manipulative skill in the domestic arts," and it becomes obvious that the scheme provides neither education in science nor training in domestic arts of a standard equal to that attained in the schools of domestic arts.

Furthermore, I fail to see that the scheme will lead to the development of house-craft. On the contrary, as already stated, feel that it will hinder such development. The present inefficiency in all matters connected with the house is due to the lack of specialisation. No advancement is therefore possible through a scheme which seeks to increase the complexity by mixing up the training in house-craft with the study of subjects such as chemistry, economics, biology, which have nothing whatever to do with the house.

History has shown that specialisation becomes possible only when the various crafts are taken from the home, but then they can no longer be termed "domestic."

It is certain that very considerable advancement will be made in the future in cookery, laundry-work and in cleaning, and it is possible that such detailed study will be necessary as to make the science of chemistry or physics applied to each of these fitting subjects for a degree in science, just as the science of chemistry applied to dyeing and the chemistry of leather manufacture are accepted for the science degree in one of our Northern Universities at the present time. Even then it will not be

possible to conceive of a degree in "domestic science." I trust that all readers of your paper will take the advice given by Miss Oakeley and give further and serious consideration to the King's College scheme. I feel convinced that the scheme would then have to face more ridicule and condemnation than it would be able to withstand, and the promoters of it would be

> RONA ROBINSON, M.Sc. (Late Gilchrist Scholar, King's College, London).

Womanly Work.

That the pavement of Golgotha should be white as snow,

Not red, but white;

That the waters of Babylon should no longer flow,

And men see light.

There is a good deal in common between this* and another terrible book, Das Tagebuch einer Verlorenen. Margarete Böhme's book describes in the form of a diary the life-history of an "unfortunate" in a country where there is regulation, and some of the most awful situations are those caused by the body of men called with unconscious irony "police des The scene of Mr. Kaufmann's book is laid in New York, and here again the police, whether bribed by brothelkeepers, or setting the law in motion to bring defenceless women before their vile "Night Courts," are among the most potent factors for driving down to lower and lower depths of legradation the women whose first step may have been one of childish indiscretion and ignorance only.

Women ought to read these books. In Mr. Masefield's preface to this one, he says that, although it is written of America,

*Daughters of Ishmael, by Reginald Wright Kaufmann. (Stephen Swift and Co., pp. 396. 6s.)

it is not necessarily American: "Prostitution of this kind exists wherever free men without 'idealism' are living in enforced celibacy, and wherever free women without 'idealism are living in enforced starvation. These two 'wherevers' make the range of the canker in these islands very wide, though not universal. That it is not universal is in itself an indication of the means by which it may be, in time, perhaps

In this book the business methods of this horrible business are plainly described, and it is seen how far-reaching and com-plex are its ramifications, how extensively it is financed by respectable" people, and how deeply it corrupts not only social but political life.

In this book as in the "Diary," the girl is caught young, and the first step is almost unconscious. An indolent, pleasureloving nature, ignorance and the blind terror of ignorance these are the attributes of this and many thousands of such victims. The girl is entrapped by a regular procurer, and kept closely imprisoned for some months. She manages to escape, and the story then relates the feeble struggles of her and others to get a foothold once more, the cruel hounding of the girl out of one situation after another, and the ultimate descent to the

In the opinion of this writer, it is mainly the poverty of women and the wealth of men that makes the trade possible: he describes the horrible patient watching of the sweated workgirl by the procurer, so that whenever the moment of inevitable weakness and despair comes, it shall be put to his uses. But side by side with this perhaps most considerable of causes, comes the curious fact that (as he states) 60 per cent. of the prostitutes in America have been domestic servants. Here doubtless the relative wealth of the maids and the masters is a contributory cause, but is there not also a possible connection between the emphasising of the inferiority of the woman, the servility of her position, in comparison with that of her master

The "Night Courts," which are one of the scandals of New York, before which this writer tells us 5,000 women are brought yearly, to be judged and condemned by men for offences which men demand and pay for, has no exact parallel in England; but we need not feel too secure or comfortable over here, when we remember the case recently championed by the "Personal Rights Association," and know that a woman can be indicted in many towns of the Kingdom because she, "being a prostitute," has loitered, and the word of a policeman is taken sometimes as sufficient proof that she is a prostitute. Cases of innocent women who can prove their innocence are revolting enough, but the most awful thing one can say of these courts is that they are "constituted to make criminals and to punish them, not to prevent or cure." All the women and girls who are brought before them are not virgin, discreet, strong past temptation; they have been foolish, tempted, sensual perhapsno worse than the men that sent them there and the men that judge and condemn them-and what does the court make of them? A creature that can never rise again.

Another case, illustrated in the apology for the life of Max, the procurer, is the promiscuous herding together of children from their infancy under conditions which make decency and continence unknown. Small wonder if half-witted boys and girls bred under such conditions never know the pride of the inviolate body and take money for what they scarcely value.

The remedies are not one but many. First and immeasurably foremost is the necessity that more fortunate women should know the facts of the trade, and should have no illusions about the girls that create the supply and the men that create the demand. We cannot doubt that women will tackle this ancient and gigantic evil in a different spirit from men; truly they would be "unwomanly" if they did not. It will be for the women of the future to undertake the education of boys in matters of sex. The general raising of the status of women, the complete legal liberation from any remnant of "chattel" law, the much more grave estimation of violence of all sorts stout limbs that make the strike formidable; it is the will that done by men to women and children, all these will help, because if a woman loses her value to herself she will more readily sell herself. The protection of weak-witted girls, the insistence upon decent housing, the diminution of drink, the abolition of sweated labour, all these must be compassed, and with them the abolition of the wicked double standard which makes it venial for a man to destroy a woman for his pleasure. Women are for the abolition of State regulation in other countries, and especially in our own Empire.

There is not one of these objects in the accomplishment of which direct political power would not be of enormous value. For all these we call upon all good men to help us speedily to end the fight for the tool wherewith to do our womanly work.

Mr. MacCallum Scott and the Physical Force.

Mr. MacCallum Scott, M.P., has written a pamphlet which should be read by every Suffragist, for in it he states the Physical Force argument against Women's Suffrage temperately and earnestly, and it is a monument of patient misunderstanding. Mr. Scott's argument has at least this advantage over the rest of the anti-suffrage position, that it is derived from a fact; and although the fact is misstated, and the stream of his eloquence therefore muddied at the source, it is not quite such dreary business to refute him as we generally have to under-

The fact which Mr. Scott considers fatal to the enfranchisement of women is their general inferiority to men in bodily strength. The disparity is acknowledged. In general, the bones of men are larger—which may be the reason why the anti-suffragist "feels it in his bones" that he is right, in default of guidance from more philosophical parts of his anatomy; their muscles are more bulky; they are less easily injured. Some say that, like the Greek gods and heroes, they make more noise when they are hurt; but that is another There are exceptions, no doubt, and I have known gentlemen of a sedentary habit who would hardly compete in athletics with a milkmaid; but on the whole it may be granted that a woman's eleven would not be likely to win a Cup Tie, nor a women's eight to carry off the Grand Challenge Cup at Henley Regatta; and if a man wants to knock a woman down with his fists the odds are that he can do it. It is more doubtful whether he will get what else he wants from her, if he does.

In any community which has emerged from the state of primitive savagery, bodily strength and physical force are not the same thing; yet the whole of Mr. Scott's argument is based upon the belief that they are, and this is his first deadly error. rom the moment when the first tool-to say nothing of the first weapon—was invented, down to the present time, the value of mere bone and muscle as factors of physical force has been continually decreasing. Was it the bone and muscle of the Boers that cost us two hundred millions to subdue? Or was it Lord Roberts' thews that finished the war? To talk of physical force as though it were a mere matter of athletics is a mighty orant thing to do.

The truth is that it is a confusing phrase; the word "force" is unfortunate in itself, recalling the physical qualifications of the City policeman—though even these are supplemented by a whistle, not seldom blown for him in times of difficulty by a Compulsion, which is the idea at the back of it, is a complicated thing, and the physique of the policeman is not the security for that, any more than fisticuffs are the ultimate

sanction of democracy. Mr. Scott's first error lies in his identification of physical force with bodily strength; his second, which is worse, lies in his neglect of the force of spirit. The question is: What makes people give way? He is troubled by the possibility that an electorate of men and women might come to a decision so essentially feminine that most men would repudiate it; and he says that that would mean civil war. It is possible; no political system can insure against the extremes of human folly; the curious part of Mr. Scott's argument is that he should suppose consciousness of superior force to be necessary before the aggrieved party is likely to rebel. Nine times out of ten rebellion the protest not of those who believe themselves the stronger, but of those who will not be bullied, and the determination not to be bullied is not confined to one sex. Has Mr. Scott perchance heard of the Hunger Strike? If not, as a Liberal, he will at least know something of Passive Resistance; and what has that to do with bone and muscle or indeed with any sort of consciousness of physical force? "To die in the last ditch" was a grim war-cry, but it certainly did not imply confidence in The miners are a stalwart body; but it is not their animates each of them, and the intelligence that has organised those wills. The most effective weapon in the world is not the decision to fight, but the decision to suffer rather than submit. The whole force of the State could doubtless annihilate even 600,000 miners, but it could not make a single one of them work if he preferred to starve. Mr. Scott's theory of the origin of democracy, so charming in its simplicity, fails even as a theory -it is needless to say that it has not the smallest historical basis-because it ignores the main discovery of civilisation, that there are limits to compulsion. We acquiesce in the counting of heads for political purposes, not merely because it is more convenient than breaking them, but because that very education to which Mr. Scott apeals has taught us that every man has.

a right to his opinion, whether he is prepared to enforce it with his own right arm" or not. It has almost taught us that every woman has a right to hers; when that lesson has been learnt, possibly Mr. Scott will consent to include women among the "mass of human beings" whose readiness to revolt against injustice seems to him the best security that injustice will not Mr. Scott protests against the suggestion that physical force is essentially immoral. He is perfectly right; it essentially irrelevant.

FEBRUARY 29, 1912.

I have said that Mr. Scott's pamphlet is temperate; but a man who can quote Wordsworth's Ode to Duty in support of the muscular qualification of men to monopolise the franchise can hardly be called perfectly sober. It is quite the most amazing use of a quotation that I have ever seen.

"Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong, And the most ancient Heavens through thee are fresh and

R. F. CHOLMELEY.

[N.B.—Mr. MacCallum Scott is industriously circularising Liberal politicians about this pamphlet. We suggest that Suffragists should be as industrious with this answer by Mr. Cholmeley. - ED. C.C.]

The National Union's Meeting at the Albert Hall, Friday, February 23, 1912.

Suffrage songs were sung for an hour while the audience was assembling. Punctually at 8.30 the speakers filed on to the platform and were greeted with a long outburst of cheering, Mrs. Fawcett, who was in the chair, being presented with a beautiful bouquet in the colours, the gift of Mrs. Shore.

In spite of Mrs. Fawcett's appeal, a few members of the Women's Social and Political Union and the allied Men's Political Union, persistently interrupted Mr. Lloyd George throughout his speech. The stewards had been instructed not to touch anyone and they obeyed their instructions; the vast audience remained seated and perfectly controlled, although their cheers plainly indicated their indignation at the interrupters and their appreciation of Mr. Lloyd George's deternination and generosity in persisting with his speech and even answering three questions at the end.

Mrs. Fawcett said that the great cause of Women's Enfranchisement was marching on to victory. The end of the struggle could not long be postponed. How would the end come?

No CIVIL WAR.

Some thought it would come with "confused noise and garments rolled in blood." But it would not come that way if we had statesmen worthy of the name, with the ear to hear, the eye to see, and the heart to understand the depth and intensity of the women's movement for enfranchisement and the power to see that the granting of their claim was an absolute necessity—necessitated by the changes that had already taken place in the educational, social and industrial position of women. Members of the National Union believed that on November 17th Prime Minister made very great and important promises. She would women. Members of the National Union believed that on November 17th the Prime Minister made very great and important promises. She would not say that they were all that might have been wished, or that he might not have gone further. In the women's opinion, had he been a greater statesman he would have seen that their claim to enfranchisement had become a demand that must be granted. He would have seen that Women's Suffrage was inevitable, and would have followed the example of the great Duke of Wellington in 1829 in regard to Catholic Emancipation and he would have put Women's Suffrage into the Reform of the great Duke of Wellington in 1829 in regard to Catholic Emancipation and he would have put Women's Suffrage into the Reform Bill. It had been said by a political wiseacre (an officer of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage) that the Duke of Wellington only yielded because the only alternative in front of him was that of civil war. If that interpretation of history were correct and the Duke only yielded to the threat of civil war, the less statesman he! The man who was blind and deaf to the prayer of justice and only yielded to the threat of force was no statesman. To bring a nation even near to the perilous position of civil war meant a terrible waste of mental, moral and material wealth. "We make no threat of civil war! Our warfare is of the spiritual, not of the carnal kind!"

That great meeting alone showed that there were many thousands of women all over the United Kingdom who were giving themselves heart and soul to the question, and the 20, 30, 40, and 50 meetings a day that were advertised in the "Woman's Platform" of the Standard were evidence of the great expenditure of nervous and physical energy, as well as of money, which might be saved to the nation if the women's demand were granted, and which might be devoted to promoting the happiness and welfare of the country in other ways. In conclusion, she wished to remind the audience that the movement of women for political liberty was one of the very greatest events that had ever taken place in the history of the world. It was not local or insular or national, it was world-wide. It had already attained a large measure of success. Women had been enrolled as free citizens in New Zealand and Australia, in six States of

the United States, in Finland, in Norway, and perhaps in a few months' time it would be possible to say in Sweden. Taking the two last great victories, those of 1910 and 1911 in the United States, there were more women enfranchised then than there were men in Great Britain and Ireland before the year 1867. That was a sign of the progress of the movement, which had become a vital question in almost every country that had any claim to progressive civilisation. It was far too big a thing to be carried cramped or confined within the limits of party thing to be carried, cramped, or confined within the limits of party. Women Suffragists had friends in all parties. They would all be wanted to combine this year in bringing the cause triumphantly through the trials and perils of the session. Women had friends in all parties.

There were, perhaps, those who would remind her that they also had enemies in all parties. She had seen a fine and imposing list of names of those who were going to speak on that platform in a few days' time. Looking through that list, she could not help reflecting that a good many of those famous names belonged to gentlemen who might be classified as "extinct volcanoes." The best of the Suffragist volcanoes was that they "extinct volcanoes." The best of the Suffragist volcanoes was that they were still in full activity. She wished to impress upon every one at that magnificent meeting that the immediate task of Suffragists of all parties was to promote unity among all sections of their supporters, and not simply try to grasp that particular kind of Women's Suffrage that they would like to have. They must all be ready to give and take, and to make Women's Suffrage a success by the union in its support of all parties.

Mrs. Fawcett introduced Mr. Lloyd George as the "strongest and most forceful personality in the present Government," Mrs. Snowden as "in a sense" representative of the Labour Party, and she added "no party, as a party, has done as much for us as Labour has," and Lord Lytton, as one to whom, as Chairman (and to Mr. Brailsford, as Hon. Secretary) of the Conciliation Committee, they owed much for focussing support from all quarters in the House of Commons. She announced that before the resolution was put twenty minutes would be allowed for questions, which must be sent up in writing and signed.

MR LLOVD GEORGE

MR. LLOYD GEORGE.

Mr. Lloyd George, who was received with loud cheers, said:—

I have addressed party meetings on the subject of Woman Suffrage, but Mrs. Fawcett is perfectly right in assuming that this is the first purely non-party gathering which I have had the privilege of addressing on the subject. I think I can go further. I think I am the first Cabinet Minister who has ever addressed a non-party gathering on the suffrage question. I am proud of that distinction. I am not going to detain you to-night to discuss the merits of the question. I assume that you have all made up your minds on that question. I am not going to discuss the question to-night whether women ought to have the same share in the privileges of citizenship as they now bear in the burdens of citizenship. I have come here to discuss the position of the suffrage and its Parliamentary prospects, and to tell you frankly not merely what my own position is in the matter—that is a matter of comparative inignificance—(hear, hear, and much laughter)—I am very glad to have laid down one proposition, at any rate, which will command the assent and approval of that courteous lady in the box—but, what is much more important, my view of what the position of the Government is.

THE POSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

What is the position at the present moment? A question has been addressed to me by a Suffrage Society. I have been invited to answer it here. But you must listen, otherwise I will not answer it. I propose to addressed to me by a Sulfriage Society. I have been invited to the position is here. But you must listen, otherwise I will not answer it. I propose to give you a perfectly frank and straightforward statement of the position; and, if it is not satisfactory, the chairman has already told you that I am here for 20 minutes to be shot at later on. Now, what is the position? This is called a democratic country. By that is meant that the citizens who are expected to obey the law are those who make the law. That is not true. At least half the adult citizens whose lives are deeply affected by every law that is carried have absolutely no voice in making that law. They have no more voice in the matter than the horses that drag their lords and masters to the polling-booth. The drunken loafer who has not earned a living for years is consulted by the Constitution on questions like the training and upbringing of children, the national settlement of religion in Wales and elsewhere, and as to the best method of settling the temperance question. But the wife whose industry keeps him and his household from beggary, who pays the rent and taxes which constitute him a voter, who is therefore really responsible for his him and his household from beggary, who pays the rent and taxes which constitute him a voter, who is therefore really responsible for his qualification to vote, is not taken into account in the slightest degree. That is a position which no unprejudiced person can defend for a single moment. It is a barbarous anachronism, and all I have got to say is that in this year of grace, in this session of Parliament, you have got the best opportunity you have ever had of putting an end for ever to that system, but you have got to get the assistance of members of Parliament. Allow me, first of all, to state the case. If you are dissatisfied with it you can express you opinion afterwards. But you had better not judge me before you have heard what I have got to say. A fact that I want to get well into the mind of all those who are labouring for the attainment of this purpose is that this year, this session determines, as far as the next into the mind of all those who are labouring for the attainment of this purpose is that this year, this session determines, as far as the next General Election is concerned, the fate of this question. I am proceeding on the assumption that the House of Lords may, if it is sent up there, reject it. I am not an authority on the views of the House of Lords. But if I am wrong all the better. If they do pass it well and good. But you had better prepare your plans on the assumption that they will throw it out, at any rate the first and second time, and that it will go through the third—that they will get two bites at it. What I want to emphasise is that it is exceedingly important that we should realise exactly what the position is and lay our plans accordingly. Here is an opportunity never provided before—do not forget that. You may be dissatisfied with it. You may, as Mrs. Fawcett very well put it, have wished that that opportunity were improved upon. But still the fact remains that it is the best opportunity that has ever yet been given the Suffrage. Instead of quarrelling with your opportunities make the best of them.

Now, what is the Government promise? I will summarise it and come to it in detail later on, but I really must ask for your patience. What, summarised shortly, is the Government promise? It is that a Reform Bill will be introduced this year for the simplification and extension of the franchise to men, that it will be carried through this year. When is immaterial from the point of view of the suffrage so long as it is carried through this session. Do not let us pick quarrels merely in order to be disagreeable. That it will be drafted in such a form that an amendment can be incorporated in it. Now before I come to some of the criticisms which have been directed at that, and before I come to set forth in detail the explicit character of the pledges, let me point out what that means. And do let us examine it calmly.

the explicit character of the pledges, let lie point out what the means. And do let us examine it calmly.

What has hitherto been the one insurmountable object in the path of this reform? ("The Government.") I agree. That is the only sensible answer I have had from that quarter. Well, why has it not been a Government measure? ("You do not stick to your principles.") Well, that is sheer nonsense. It is, because you must not assume that a man who disagrees with you is not a man of principle. This platform will be occupied in about a week's time by men who disagree with you and me on the suffrage. I know them. There are no more honourable men in this lead that they are they are be occupied in about a week's time by men who disagree with you and me on the suffrage. I know them. There are no more honourable men in this land than they, and they are men of principle. It is because they do not agree with you that they are not here. We have, therefore, a conflict of principles. You have not got a single party in this country that is agreed upon the question of Woman Suffrage. (Voices: "The Labour Party.") Yes, I accept that correction. But, then, the Labour Party are not, for the moment at any rate, an alternative so far as a Parliamentary majority is concerned. What I mean is that neither of the two great parties which have hitherto in turn governed England and the Empire is united on this question. Take the Liberal Party. Three-fourths of its members support Woman Suffrage Two-thirds of the members of the Cabinet will vote for the Suffrage amendment when it comes on. But one-fourth of the members of the Liberal Party are opposed to the suffrage. ("You convert them.") I will never do it unless you are silent. It is this sort of exhibition that makes it difficult to convert. ("You convert them.") · I will never do it unless you are silent. It is this sort of exhibition that makes it difficult to convert. Now come to the Conservative Party. There the position is reversed. I am not criticising them, I am stating facts. From two-thirds to three-fourths of the members of that party are opposed to the suffrage.

Suffrage Cabinet Impossible.

That is the difficulty of the position. The first fact that you have to get into your minds is this—that no party can form a Cabinet to carry Woman Suffrage. Therefore, you must devise some other method of procedure. That is the method which the Government pledge has thrown open to us. The question has been put to me: "Seeing that you are in a majority in the Liberal Party, why don't you as a majority enforce your Bill? Seeing that you are in a majority in the Cabinet. Why don't you enforce your will in the Cabinet?" I see that that question interests a number of our friends here. Very well, but you must listen while I give the explanation. It is no use asking questions unless you listen to the answer. What is the reason? If you attempted to enforce your will, although you are in a majority either in Cabinet or in party, you would hopelessly shatter both. It is no use saying you would not. I am talking of what I know. You must remember that Cabinet and party exist not merely for the promotion of one question, but of several. Just follow me for a moment. Examine what would happen if we took the advice of some of our impulsive friends, insisted on splitting the Cabinet, dividing the party in order to get a sort of an empty victory for the Suffrage for the moment. Now what would happen? The first thing that would happen would be such a serious division in the party that it would be paralysed for all practical purposes. You must remember that if your object is merely to turn out the Government—if your object is a party one merely to injure a Government which you may dislike, that is a perfectly legitimate object; but that is not the purpose for which we are here to-night. We are here as men and women of all parties to consider the best method of carrying the Suffrage; and I will be perfectly frank with you. If any one attempted it you could not form a suffrage Cabinet that would live five minutes. (A Voice: "Why not?" and laughter.) Because, although you may not know it, a Cabinet cann Because, although you may not know it, a Cabinet cannot exist without a Parliamentary majority. A majority on one question alone is not enough to keep any Cabinet together. You cannot get any Cabinet, or any member of a Cabinet, you cannot get any member of Parliament—I challenge you to name him—on either side who is prepared to wreck his Cabinet, wreck his party or his party programme merely for the sake of enforcing his will for the moment upon this one issue.

THE ALTERNATIVE GOVERNMENT

Now let me carry you to the next point. Suppose that you found Liberal Ministers prepared to undertake that responsibility of wrecking their party, wrecking the programme which they had been returned to their party, wrecking the programme which they had been returned to carry out, and wrecking the programme they were trustees for, has it ever occurred to you for a moment whether you would advance the Suffrage by a single yard? I am sure you have never thought about it. I have not seen the slightest symptom of that in those who are interrupting. Suppose that you turn out a Cabinet, two-thirds of which is for the Suffrage, destroy a Parliament with a majority of 100 for it, put out of power a Government three-quarters of whose supporters are pro-suffrage. What is the alternative? There is only one alternative Administration, and that is a Unionist Administration. I am discussing it now purely What is the alternative? There is only one alternative Administration, and that is a Unionist Administration. I am discussing it now purrely from the point of view of the suffrage. What will be the position? You will then have in power an Administration three-quarters of whose members would be anti suffrage and three-quarters of whose supporters would be activated. would be anti-suffrage.

The Chairman appealed to the meeting to give Mr. Lloyd George a fair hearing. She was surprised that men should have assisted in the disorder, seeing that they had only women stewards to help to maintain order.

Mr. Lloyd George: I want to challenge any one here or any one outside—Who can produce a single statesman of authority on the other side who will undertake that if a Unionist Administration comes into power they will put through a Woman Suffrage Bill? I will go beyond that. I will challenge you to produce any statesman of authority who will undertake that a Unionist Administration would even give the facilities which the present Prime Minister has given for a Woman

Suffrage Bill. There is only one way by which we can carry the suffrage

Suffrage Bill. There is only one way by which we can carry the surrage through this year.

It is the way which is thrown open by the Prime Minister's declaration; and if we proceed along that road all sections, all parties of Suffrageists together unitedly, without jostling, and elbowing, and clawing each other, it will get through. I am convinced that if we act unitedly nothing can prevent our triumph this year. But those who make it difficult if not impossible for us to march upon that road are deliberately throwing away the greatest chance we have ever had of carrying this great measure

THE PRIME MINISTER'S UNDERTAKINGS.

The Prime Minister's Undertakings.

I want you to realise exactly the nature of the promises which the Prime Minister gave on behalf of the Government. These promises were given in reply to questions put by Mrs. Fawcett, and let me respectfully say that I congratulate the movement upon having in her a leader worthy of its dignity and greatness. Mrs. Fawcett's first question was: "Is it the intention of the Government that the Reform Bill shall go through all its stages in 1912?" Mr. Asquith replied, "Certainly, that is our intention. We hope to carry it through in that year." The second question was: "Will the Bill be drafted in such a way as to admit of an amendment introducing women on other terms than men?" Mr. Asquith again replied, "Certainly," The third question was: "Will the Government undertake not to oppose such an amendment?" "Certainly," said Mr. Asquith; "the Government as a Government is prepared to leave the matter to the House of Commons." The fourth and, I think, the most important of the questions was this: "Will the Government regard any amendment enfranchising women, if carried, as an integral part of the Bill, defending it in all its stages?" The Prime Minister answered, "Certainly." These declarations were made by the Prime Minister, as he repeatedly said, not merely on his own behalf, but on behalf of the Government. You may disagree with Mr. Asquith personally as to his views, politically; but I know him, and I say there is no man in England with a more sensitive regard of his pledged word, and when I hear suggestions that the Government propose not to introduce a Reform Bill, or that if they do introduce it, it will not be persevered with, or that it will not be drafted in such a way as to give opportunity for amendment—the say that is an imputation of deep dishonour which I and when I hear suggestions that the Overhitter properties and when I hear suggestions that the Overhitter properties as the tit will not be persevered with, or that it will not be drafted in such a way as to give opportunity for amendment—to say that is an imputation of deep dishonour which I decline to discuss. No Government could commit such an outrage on public faith without forfeiting the respect of every honest man and woman in the land. Go through all those pledges and you will find that Mr. Asquith repeated in every phrase and form those undertakings on behalf of the Government. That Bill would be introduced and carried through all its stages this session, and it would be in such a form that it could be amended so as to convert it from a manhood into a womanhood suffrage Bill—I beg pardon, into a manhood and womanhood suffrage Bill—and once those amendments were incorporated the Government as a Government would undertake the responsibility for the Bill in its amended form. He ended by saying—and the words are notable in this connection—"We are prepared both in the letter and the spirit to carry out the whole of the pledges we have given you." Another suggestion is that we have receded from that great declaration. On whose authority is that charge made? Who says so, at least, who of any consequence says so? I believe in the good faith of my chief and of my colleagues, and I act upon it.

THE REFERENDUM.

The Referendum. Just a word about the Referendum. Just a word about the Referendum. I cannot imagine how any Liberal who declines to submit questions which he is specially interested in to the caprices of the Referendum can fairly and justly submit woman's suffrage to that test. Whatever objection there may be to the Referendum on questions like Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment which we Liberals entertain, it seems to me they apply with two-fold force to the case of Woman Suffrage. What are they?—that it undermines the authority of Parliament; that the Referendum is costly not merely to the State, but to those who have charge of great causes; that it is a bonus on injustice, especially on opulent, powerful, rich injustice; that it helps the monopolist against the poor, the helpless, the least powerful members of the community. We have seen it work in America. When there was a Referendum on the women's question you always found the liquor traffic and the great slum owners federated to fight against woman suffrage. They spent enormous sums of money. Why? It was business for them. If they defeated the Suffrage the return was hundreds per cent. on the money they had invested in overthrowing Woman Suffrage. It is not fair.

THE REAL DANGER.

THE REAL DANGER.

I say again that the Referendum is a costly denial of justice. But these are not the things I am most afraid of. I will tell you what I am most afraid of. It is that when you come to bring your Bill before the House of Commons, or move your amendment, the Suffragists who are united on the principle of the Suffrage may not be united on the particular method of carrying it out. That will be fatal. If you have one section who want adult suffrage and may not support the Conciliation Bill, and on the other hand you have the Conciliation Bill, and some of its supporters decline to support adult suffrage, unless you find some medium course. other hand you have the Conciliation Bill, and some of its supporters decline to support adult suffrage, unless you find some medium course, some method of bringing them together, I fear it will be fatal to our success. My appeal to those who really mean business—(cheers)—is that they should put their heads together and try to secure some sort of medium formula that will unite both sections, so that when the time comes for moving the amendment in the House of Commons it will be an amendment that will secure the support of all sections of the suffrage party.

There never was a time when the nation stood more in need of the special experience, instinct, and sympathy of womanhood in the government of our affairs. The questions pressing for settlement, housing, the cost of bread and the necessaries of life, the education, upbringing, and medical treatment of children, sickness, temperance, and the great question of the national adjustment of religion, whether inside the schools or outside, are all questions in which women are all deeply interested and on which they have a right to express their opinion. What is more, who can say what toil and trouble the international and social caldron may bring forth? There are the great questions of peace and war. Who can tell what will happen? Have women no interest in that great question? There has never been a war yet in the history of the human race where women did not contribute their share of the indemnity of suffering women did not contribute their share of the indemnity of suffering(cheers)—and they have a right to a voice in shaping the policy to control their destinies. There is great labour unrest. In the last few days we have had clamourings on all sides for Government intervention. After all when Governments intervene Governments are the creation of the electorate. If you have a great strike in this country who will suffer the most? Have you ever seen a great strike? I have, and I know that the burden of the privation falls upon the women, not merely themselves, but in watching the hunger of their children. All I say is this, that in this legacy of life women have a right, in the language of legal precedent, to a share and share alike. As they have borne the full share of the burden they have a right to claim also a fair share of the privileges which will enable them to lighten that burden.

FEBRUARY 29, 1912.

MRS. PHILIP SNOWDEN.

MRS. PHILIP SNOWDEN.

Mrs. Philip Snowden said that the organisers of the meeting would find serious fault with her if she declined to make her first word one of cordial appreciation of Mr. Lloyd George's effort on that occasion. For a busy man to find time in a crowded life to spend a few hours amongst those whom he is prepared to support was something extremely creditable to him and a great pleasure to those on whose behalf he was speaking. She knew something, from an experience extending over five years (having spoken to an average of 200 meetings a year during that time), of the wear and tear to nerve and body, of a meeting which is spoiled by interruptions, and she would rather a thousand times have had her own nerves flayed than that their distinguished guest should have suffered as he had done that night. Mr. Lloyd George had spoken for himself, and, to the extent that it was possible for him to do so, for his Government, and she conceived that he had spoken neither more nor less than the truth when he said that the women had the greatest opportunity this year that had ever been theirs. She asked this meeting to express its wishes in the following resolution: "That this meeting asks the Government to enfranchise women in 1012." (Note: By a slip of the tongue Mrs. Snowden did not give the right wording; the resolution printed on the programme and passed by the meeting was: "That this meeting calls upon Parliament to enfranchise women in 1012.") Liberty was not the gift of the gods to men alone. The National Union had worked for nearly fifty years for votes for women on the same terms as men, and it would, whatever measure of Suffrage might be granted this session, continue its propaganda until that great demand was conceded. She pointed out that many well-known democratic sentiments applied to women precisely as to men, and declared that the trend of legislation and the economic needs of women made the demand urgent for this year. The ignorance and apathy of women were a danger; they should give the Gover

THE COLLECTION.

At this point the collection was taken and Miss Frances Sterling (Treasurer pro tem.) said :-

This is the most important year that our cause has seen—not only the most important year that any of us now working has seen, but the most important in the whole history of the movement. That being so, our work is greater than ever. What we have done in the past must be as mork is greater than ever. What we have done in the past must be as nothing to what we are going to do now. And, as you very well know, if we are to do our work as it should be done we must have the wherewithal. Now, somehow or other, there is a curious influence in the air which causes me to make a Budget statement. Our position is this: In the last two years we have managed with the trifling sum of £20,000 a year. This year we can barely manage if we have £40,000. Yet we are not afraid to ask you to give it us. We already have something towards that £40,000. On a rough estimate made by our various secretaries and federations and at headquarters we already have about £16,000. I am going to ask you, my colleagues and fellow workers, to bring us the rest. A year's income need not be in to-night, but what we do want is that we may put aside this wretched question of ways and means to-night. We want to get on with the work. Will you not give your promises or contributions which will make our financial position straight for the next great fight, so that none of us may worry on that point, in any society, however big or however small? We are asking for contributions first of all to the headquarter's fund, and there we want a balance of £10,000. But we also want contributions for every federation and every society in the union, and we hope that you will send up enough which, clubbed, will keep us all afloat throughout six months of the year.

As the collection proceeded Miss Sterling read the promises

As the collection proceeded Miss Sterling read the promises aloud, and an indicator showed progress. During the twenty minutes allotted, the sum of £5,164 was raised. This included £10 from Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd George as well as Mrs. Illingworth, £500; Miss Lees (Oldham), £500; Anonymous, £500; Mrs. Fawcett, £100; Miss Ashton, £250; Miss Rathbone, £250; two Misses Courtauld, £100 each; Miss Clough (Newnham), £50; Mrs. Osler, £50; Mr. and Mrs. John Osler, £50; Mrs. Auerbach, £50.

LORD LYTTON.

LORD LYTTON.

The Earl of Lytton, in seconding the resolution, said that during the last two years he had addressed a very large number of Women's Suffrage meetings in all parts of the country. He had not always been in complete agreement with those whom he had addressed, who, though sympathising with him in the general principle, had sometimes disagreed with him about the details of the applications of that principle, but he had always received a perfectly courteous and attentive hearing. He regretted deeply that when at last the man had been secured who could perhaps do more than any other for the cause they had at heart, and when he came to say that this very session of Parliament offered the greatest opportunity for carrying woman suffrage that had ever presented itself, there should have been ladies and gentlemen who refused even to hear the arguments with which he would defend that position. He himself had frequently attacked Mr. Lloyd George upon the questions of Women's Suffrage, but that was when, in his opinion, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not given them sufficient help; but he never had been, and never would be, so foolish as to refuse to accept his assistance when it ald be, so foolish as to refuse to accept his assistance when it

A DANGER.

He regretted very deeply that a complaint which was very common in party politics should have crept into the women's movement; that particular complaint which leads the most zealous advocates in any party to seek to push off their platform those who are willing to stand upon it merely because they will not give them all that they expect or desire. Every political party, every political cause, was strengthened by numbers and weakened by the diminution of its members. No cause was strengthened by excluding from it, or by refusing the assistance of those who are willing to give it. He only proposed to say a few words about the political situation. the political situation.

WHAT DID THEY WANT?

The first thing necessary was to be clear about the goal towards which they were travelling. What was it they wanted? Votes for women. It did not matter a brass farthing to anyone how that was obtained. The main thing was to get it. Some people said that it was an insult that women should be enfranchised by a private member's amendment to a Government Bill. They seemed to forget that in the year 1867 the Household Suffrage to men was granted by a private member's amendment to a Government Bill. They had with them to-night a man who could, perhaps, do more than anyone in the country, who said that they had the very best opportunity of securing their object this Session that they had ever had.

INCREASING OUR DIFFICULTIES

INCREASING OUR DIFFICULTIES.

He gathered that some who were present did not believe that statement. What did that mean? It meant that, in their opinion, the difficulties in their path were greater than they were ready to admit. "Do not," he said, "make them greater than they are." They knew the difficulties which had to be faced. It might be that they would not succeed, but no one had a right to say that they could not succeed before they had tried. He appealed to supporters in every society to help those in Parliament to make use of the opportunity which had arisen. It would be time enough when they had failed to say that it was an impossible opportunity. But if they were to fail, let it be through the operations of their enemies, and not by the help of their friends.

APPEAL FOR UNITY.

That was the appeal he made; that was the message that went forth That was the appeal he made; that was the message that went forth from that non-party platform to all the ranks of the Suffrage army. The women could help, or they could make the difficulties of those in Parliament greater. The question was to be solved this session. He asked them to consider the situation. For years woman suffragists throughout the country had been asking that if the Government were unwilling or unable to introduce a Woman Suffrage Bill on their own responsibility, they would not stand in the way of the House of Commons doing it on its own account. To that demand they had at last succeeded in obtaining a satisfactory answer. They had a clear ground. The move was now to the House of Commons, to the individual member of Parliament.

TWOFOLD PLEDGES.

Parliament.

TWOFOLD PLEDGES.

They had been reminded of what the Prime Minister's pledges were. He would point out that they were twofold. There were the pledges in respect of the Conciliation Bill and those in respect of the Reform Bill. He (Lord Lytton) had advocated, just as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had opposed, the Conciliation Bill as a way of enfranchising women. The fact that both he and Mr. Lloyd George were on the same platform to-night showed that those two methods were not alternative or mutually destructive. Suffragists had been fortunate in the ballot. That meant that early in the Session the question would come in a particular form before Parliament. He had never denied since the announcement of a Government Reform Bill was made that, in his view, the Conciliation Bill would provide an inadequate instalment of enfranchisement of women on a wider scale when the opportunity arose; but the reason they did not abandon that first opportunity was because since it would occur first, it was their business to use it. The life of every Parliament was precarious. They did not want to let any opportunity which might be afforded slip by because of a hypothetical opportunity later. He did not use the word "hypothetical" because he doubted the word of the Prime Minister, but because no one could possibly know in any Session of Parliament what would be the course of events from the beginning to the end of it. He also thought that the introduction of the Conciliation Bill afforded an excellent opportunity to settle the principle of Woman Suffrage with the united consent of all parties in the House, and to reserve to the later opportunities of bringing the question before the House of Commons this Session. In view of that fact, the outlook was hopeful in the highest degree.

He was sometimes told that Women's Suffrage was unpopular in the country. He only wished those who held that opinion could be present at such a meeting as the one he was addressing. He wished that they could spend a week amongst the fighting organisers of the movement in order that they might realise the intensity of feeling, the strength of conviction, the driving-force which is behind this movement. If they were friends, they would be cheered; if they were enemies, they would be deered;

COMMANDING BACK THE TIDE.

There was to be another meeting in that hall next week—the first time that that building had been filled by an anti-suffragist audience. He had no doubt that that meeting would be as crowded and enthusiastic as theirs. Doubtless there would be found men and women ready to cheer those who would stand up and protest against a reform which they know they cannot prevent. Theirs would be an unenviable task, and he did not grudge them any cheers they might receive on that occasion. They were, like King Canute of old, trying to set a limit to an advancing tide, the tide of human progress, the tide of political evolution, and they had no more faith in their power to do so than had King Canute. "That," said Lord Lytton, "is the difference between their meeting and ours, between our movement and theirs. We are as certain to succeed as they are bound to fail. We know that the cause which we are advocating is bound to triumph, and we can, therefore, face the morrow cating is bound to triumph, and we can, therefore, face the morrow

with the confidence which is born of that knowledge, knowing that whatever may be the difficulties, whatever may be the anxieties at this particular moment, the future is ours." He was hopeful, but he did not wish to be over-sanguine. There were many difficulties in the path; there was possible disagreement among the friends of this principle as to its precise application. Their duty was to promote unity among as many rections as possible.

situations were changeable, and sometimes upset the calculations of the most shrewd observers. Also, their opponents we use every device which was afforded by the Parliamentary machine use every device which was afforded by the Parliamentary machine to secure their defeat. But while he knew all this, he also knew that this Session presented the best opportunity they had ever had for carrying their cause to victory. He knew the temper, the earnestness of purpose, of those engaged in that cause, and he believed that the members of the House of Commons knew it, too. He appealed to those present to of those engaged in that cause, and he believed that the members of the House of Commons knew it, too. He appealed to those present to do nothing which would make the task of those in Parliament more difficult. Those who had criticised their confidence in the present oppor-tunity were right in a sense when they said that the cause of Women's Enfrancisement could not rest upon the pledges of individuals in the chances of a Parliamentary situation. "It rests," Lord Lytton continued, "upon something greater than that. It rests upon something more important than any pledge. I will conclude with these words from the Shakespeare Calendar of to-day:—
"Now put your shields before your hearts and fight

With hearts more proof than shields.

QUESTIONS.

Mrs. Fawcett announced that, owing to the unseemly and discourteous interruptions, the time allowed to questions must

be reduced from twenty to ten minutes.

Mr. Lloyd George said: "There are three questions, practically, when you boil them down. One is with regard to the Referendum, the second is with regard to my attitude to the Conciliation Bill, and the third is with regard to the difficulty of obtaining a Parliamentary majority for ent except a narrow one. I will take the three and answer

CONCILIATION BILL

"With regard to the Conciliation Bill, I have never, as Lord Lytton has said, concealed my attitude towards a narrow Franchise Bill. I have held that view during the whole of the time I have been in Parliament, and I have expressed it. I still hold it, and, what is more, I am entitled to hold it. If I were convinced that no other franchise were possible, then, I have always said, my attitude would be a different one. I think it is so important that you should get the franchise for women embodied in an Act of Parliament that, if I were convinced that, owing to Parliamentary difficulties, no other measure were possible, I should certainly support, much as I dislike it, even the Conciliation Bill. But I am not convinced. I believe that it is possible to carry through the House of Commons a measure for the enfranchisement of women upon the basis of every extension which up to the present time has been given the basis of every extension which up to the present time has been given in any country of franchise to women. In our Colonies, in the United States of America, in Norway, the franchise has been conceded upon broad, democratic principles, and I am firmly convinced that with unity and common sense we shall be able to carry it this year.

"The second question is the Referendum. The question is put to me— Do you express your own opinion or the opinions of the Government?

with the confidence which is born of that knowledge, knowing that whatever may be the difficulties, whatever may be the anxieties at this particular moment, the future is ours." He was hopeful, but he did not wish to be over-sanguine. There were many difficulties in the path; there was possible disagreement among the friends of this principle as to its precise application. Their duty was to promote unity among as many

PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY.

"The third question is—How do you imagine that a Parliamentary majority can be secured for an amendment for the extension of the vote to women in the Government Reform Bill? The reason I think is so because there is a majority of suffragists in the House of Commons. Up to the present they have demonstrated on every occasion that they are Up to the present they have demonstrated on every occasion that they are in the majority, and I think they will do so again. I feel perfectly confident of it. I have shown clearly that the danger is in regard to the methods, and I make an appeal to suffragists of all sections that we should meet together and discuss that question, and that we should come to a common agreement as to the character of the amendment which should be moved to the Reform Bill. If that is done, I venture to predict that before this year, is out you will have won a great Parliamentary dict that before this year is out you will have won a great Parliamentary

The resolution was put and passed nem. con.

A large number of sympathetic letters were received from people who

ould not be present.

LADY SELBORNE wrote: "With the object of the meeting I am most

LADY SELBORNE wrote: "With the object of the meeting I am most thoroughly in sympathy, as you know."

LORD SELBORNE wrote: "You are most welcome to use my name as sympathising with your meeting at the Albert Hall on February 23, but I am afraid it is quite impossible for me to be present on the platform, as I have, for more than three months past, been engaged to speak at Newport, Monmouthshire, that night."

Mrs. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY, who sent a contribution, wrote: "I shall be with you in heart at the Royal Albert Hall to-morrow night, though I are for the work to take the journey to London in person at this time.

be with you in heart at the Royal Albert Hall to-morrow night, though I am far too weak to take the journey to London in person at this time of year. . . In looking over old letters the other day, I came upon one which began: 'You see, dearest, the Women's Suffrage pear is ripe and the Married Women's Property pear is not ripe.' The letter was dated 1870, and the signature, 'Lydia E. Becker,' and, most certainly, when I listened that very year to the second reading debate on Mr. Jacob Bright's Bill, I could not have supposed it possible that forty-two years later we should still be unenfranchised."

Mr. WALTER RUNCIMAN, M.P., wrote: "I need scarcely tell you that I not only support legitimate efforts made for the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women, but I have in many ways given the movement whatever assistance lay in my power."

Mr. C. P. Trevellan, M.P., wrote: "I hope you will publish my name as a supporter of the largest measure of political emancipation for women which can be obtained in the present Parliament."

sor Muirhead (Birmingham) and Professor Hughes (Cambridge) also sent messages.

The Anti-Suffrage Meeting.

As we go to press we receive the refusal of a press ticket, for which we made application several weeks ago. The antis are apparently determined that we shall not have a chance of judging what their packed meeting is really like.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

MATIONAL UNION OF WORKERS SOCIETIES.

OBJECT: To obtain the Parliamentary franchise for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men.

METHODS: (a) The promotion of the claim of women to the Parliamentary vote by united action in Parliament and by all constitutional methods of agitation in this country. (b) The organisation of Women's Suffrage Societies on a non-party basis.

Hon. Secretary:

President:

NECONOMINE CONTROLLED. Secretary:
MISS GERALDINE COOKE. Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D. MRS. AURRBACH. MISS K. D. COURTNEY. MISS EMILY M. LEAF.

MISS EDITH PALLISER (Parliamentary).

Telegrams: "Voiceless, London." Hon. Sec. to Literature Committee: Miss I. B. O'Mallby. Telephone 1 1960 Victoria.

Offices: Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

A Message from Mrs. Fawcett.

I feel I must write a few lines of very hearty thanks to all the societies in the National Union, and to each individual member who attended our magnificent meeting in the Albert Hall. organised attempt was made by a comparatively small number of individuals scattered in different parts of the hall to break up the meeting by reiterated and discourteous interruptions of Mr. Lloyd George and later to a slighter degree of Lord Lytton. This attempt was frustrated by the admirable discipline and loyalty of the great bulk of the vast audience. They had been strongly urged by circulars distributed in the hall in the event of disturbances to keep silent, to remain in their seats, and not event to look round in the direction from which the noises proceeded. The stewards were cautioned by no means, whatever happened, to use physical force towards the disturbers of the meeting, but to concentrate their attention on keeping the rest of the audience perfectly quiet. So loyally were these instructions carried out by both the stewards and the audience that no general disturbance took place. The interrupters were readily distinguishable from the mass of orderly people by whom they were surrounded. It was a great triumph, and never in my life have I felt more proud of the National Union or more grate-

ful to all the members of it for saving our magnificent meeting from disaster.

It was a triumph also for Mr. Lloyd George, because, although he was perpetually interrupted and also assailed by insulting epithets, he never for a moment lost the thread of his discourse, and he never lost his good-humour or let fall any expression in retort which-however excusable-would have lowered his personal dignity. I cannot help feeling that he, too, was helped by the concentration of the audience on not allowing the meeting to be broken up, by its whole-hearted enthusiasm for our great cause, and its determination to welcome him as a man in the front rank of politics who was willing to use his great powers to promote the enfranchisement of women in 1912.

The insults to Lord Lytton created a feeling of profound revul-No man has worked more generously and wisely for sion. women's suffrage, or been more loyal in word and deed to every section of the Women's Suffrage movement. But he knows that his devoted and self-sacrificing work is deeply valued and appreciated by the great mass of suffragists in all the societies, and we hope he will endeavour to forget the few unseemly interruptions which he met with on Friday evening.

MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

February 24, 1912.

Annual Council Meeting.

FEBRUARY 29, 1912.

The annual Council meeting of the National Union was held in the Portman Rooms, Baker Street, on Saturday, February The proceedings on this occasion only occupied one day partly because of the unanimity which existed on most of the points brought forward, but principally owing to the fact that the policy of the Union was fully laid down at the special Council meeting held in December, and nothing had happened which called for any alteration.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

Mrs. Henry Fawcett, in her presidential address, said that her first words must be of thanks to those who had arranged the magnificent meeting at the Albert Hall on the 23rd, the ganisers and workers of the London Society. The members of the Artists' League had surely made the outward aspect of e meeting the most beautiful which had yet been seen. anked all the members of the Union and the audience generally for the dignified restraint which they had shown in face of the mannerly interruptions to which not only the chief speaker, who had been the guest of the evening, but also Lord Lytton, ad been subjected.

Mrs. Fawcett emphasised again the policy of the National Union in accepting the pledges of the Prime Minister. Chancellor of the Exchequer had made it additionally clear that the promises made on November 17th were those of the whole Government and not of the Prime Minister only, and that it would be absolutely impossible to be a party to throwing them ver, either in the letter or the spirit. The National Union must persist in its policy of securing the largest amount of support ssible for an amendment to the Reform Bill, and also for the onciliation Bill. On Friday night they had had the additional atisfaction of hearing from Mr. Lloyd George, in relation to Conciliation Bill, that if he were convinced that owing to rliamentary difficulties no other measure was possible, then should certainly support that Bill. "I do not think he has er said quite so much before," Mrs. Fawcett said. National Union must educate itself to distinguish the essential ements in the situation from those that were non-essential. The interruptions on the 23rd proceeded from the depths of poliical ignorance; the least grain of political education would have revented the stupidity of many of the questions asked.

Mrs. Fawcett, in alluding to the new faces amongst us since the last Council meeting, spoke of the great affection and admiration felt by members of the Union for Miss Dimock, whose illness (from which she is now happily recovering) prevented her from being present. The members of the Council responded by rising in their places and cordially applauding Miss Dimock's name. Mrs. Fawcett's references to the nvaluable services of Miss Leaf in the Press Department, and Miss O'Malley in the Literature Department, were also very warmly received, and she paid a graceful compliment to the selfacrifice of the Manchester Society in having yielded up Miss courtney to the services of the Union at headquarters.

Miss Palliser reviewed the Parliamentary situation in regard o the Reform Bill, the Plural Voting Bill, and the Conciliation Miss Sterling announced that the collection at the Albert Hall had reached the sum of £5,410.

MRS. AUERBACH'S LETTER.

The following letter from Mrs. Auerbach was read:-

Deal's Hotel, East London, South Africa.

Dean Councillors,—I regret that I cannot be present at this year's aportant Council meeting, but I send you my heartiest greetings and set wishes for the successful outcome of your deliberations. I shall be ith you in my thoughts, and shall humbly share in your high hopes the coming triumph of our cause.

I know that each of you is deeply imbred with a sense of the meaning that the control of your is deeply imbred with a sense of the meaning that the control of your is deeply imbred with a sense of the meaning that the control of your is deeply imbred with a sense of the meaning that the control of your is deeply imbred with a sense of the meaning that the control of your sense of the meaning that the control of your sense of the meaning that the control of the control of the meaning that the control of the

of the coming triumph of our cause.

I know that each of you is deeply imbued with a sense of the magnitude of the task that lies before us, and of the effort which we are once more called upon to make. I wish I could be among you at the Albert Hall meeting. It will be a signal demonstration of the enthusiasm that animates our Union. Our forces are steadily increasing, but we shall need a record sum for the coming campaign, and I am sure that all will contribute their utmost towards it. ntribute their utmost towards it

The money that you give will strengthen the spirit quite as much as the body of our vast army, for it will be a symbol of your faith and of your ardour. It will not only serve materially to extend the scope and the limits of our work, but it will also give renewed hope and fresh

satisfactory. There were only eight declared Anti-Suffragists in the total of 49 candidates.

To the list of 48 local Councils which was published last year, 84 more are added as having passed women's suffrage reso-

courage to our brave and heroic leaders, from whom we ourselves derive our inspiration, and who have laboured through long years with all their heart and with all their soul for women's enfranchisement.

So our great Union lays upon each, according to her strength, the burden of devotion and of self-sacrifice, and gives us back in return the glorious knowledge that we have not alone the will, but also the power thanks to achieve victory and everything that victory sue our quest and to achieve victory, and everything that victory

Thanking you for all that has been accomplished in the past year,—
am. yours gratefully.

Helena Auerbach. am, yours gratefully,

To the members of the Council of the N.U. (annual meeting, Feb., 1912).

The following letter from Sir Edward Grey was read to the Council. It will be remembered that Sir Edward Grey was unable to accept an invitation to the special Council held in December, and then expressed the hope that another opportunity

DEAR MRS. FAWCETT,-I am very sorry not to be able to come, but this week in particular I can do nothing except the work that is inevitable. I am sorry, for, although I have nothing new to add to what I have already said in public, I should like to have been at your Council meeting; but I must forego all outside engagements if I am to do the work that is the first charge upon me and that is just our constitution. that is the first charge upon me, and that is just now exceptionally heavy.

RESOLUTIONS.

Urgency was moved for the following resolution, a copy of which was sent to Mr. Lloyd George in the course of the afternoon, and which has already appeared in the Press:-

'That the National Union, in Council assembled, thanks Mr. Lloyd George for his eloquent advocacy of the cause of Women's Suffrage at three great public meetings since the Prime Minister's announcement of a Reform Bill. It deeply regrets the repeated interruptions to which he was subjected by a few individuals at the meeting convened by the National Union at the Albert Hall on February 23, and congratulates him on his persistence notwithstanding. It welcomes his reiterated assurance that he will oppose a Referendum on Women's Suffrage, and the statement that, if he were convinced that the larger amendment which he desires could not secure a majority, he would be prepared to further a smaller measure.'

The annual report and financial statement, of which a summary is given below, were unanimously adopted, and after number of amendments to the rules had been carried, the following resolutions were passed:

That this Council expresses its confidence that the Prime Minister

"That this Council expresses its confidence that the Prime Minister will not adopt a course so inconsistent with his pledges given to Woman Suffragists and with the professed views of the Liberal Party, as to consent to the use of Government time to establish the Referendum system for the purpose of dealing with the question of Women's Suffrage."

"That this Council heartily welcomes the resolution passed by the Labour Conference at Birmingham on January 26th to the effect that no Bill extending the franchise to men which does not include women can be acceptable to the Labour Party, making it clear that the Labour members in the House of Commons will yote against the third reading of members in the House of Commons will vote against the third reading of the Bill unless it includes some measure of Women's Suffrage."

It was also resolved that the Executive Committee should be

empowered to appoint an assistant Hon. Parliamentary Secretary for this year.

THE REPORT.

The annual report presented at the Council meeting is a substantial document, and provides a useful history of the past year. During the year, 104 new Societies have joined the Union, making a total of 311; the membership (estimated by annually subscribing members only, on whom a capitation fee of 3d. is paid to the Union) has increased from 21,571 in last report to 30,408 in this. There are 17 Fenerations, and the whole country is now covered by them with the exception of Herefordshire and Dorsetshire, which it is hoped will soon be absorbed into the scheme. The organisers number 18, some of them wholly supported by the Federations, and others supplied by the

Out of 22 by-elections, no less than seven fell in Scotland; the National Union took part in all except one. In only six elections were both candidates unsatisfactory, and in no case were they both positive anti-suffragists; in six cases they were all entirely satisfactory, and in nine more cases, one was entirely satisfactory. There were only eight declared Anti-Suffragists

To the list of 48 local Councils which was published last year,

LONDON SOCIETY OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES, 58, Victoria Street, S.W.

PUBLIC RECEPTION, TUESDAY, MARCH 5,

Empress Rooms, Kensington (High Street Station), Chair :- Miss FRANCES STERLING. Speakers: - Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D., Rev. LLEWELLYN SMITH. DISCUSSION INVITED. Duologue arranged by Miss Elsie Fogerty. lutions, bringing the total up to 132. We hope to give the whole list in another issue.

Reference is made to the addition of a new department (the Press) and the great development of the Literature Department, and to the consequent increase in office staff and rooms and, therefore, expenditure. We are glad to note that the number of COMMON CAUSES supplied through the National Union office is five times as great as it was at the beginning of last year.

Contributions to funds at headquarters from all sources nount to £5,734 14s. 2d., and expenditure to £5,244 9s. $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. Affiliation fees have increased, but subscriptions have diminished from the same cause, the development of local work. This is hard on the Union, whose work steadily grows, and another £1,000 in subscriptions is urgently needed. It is etimated that over £21,000 has been available during the past year for promoting the work of the National Union on behalf of Women's Suffrage. One wonders, when one knows that hundreds of our voluntary workers pay all their travelling and other incidental expenses, what prodigious total is expended by members of the National Union alone in this agitation.

MISS ROYDEN'S AND MISS RATHBONE'S ADDRESS. After the business proceedings were concluded, excellent addresses were given by Miss Royden on "The Value of Federations," and by Miss Rathbone on "Ways of bringing influence to bear on Members of Parliament." As many of the delegates were unable to stay so late, it is hoped that the substance of these addresses may be published in the COMMON Cause, or communicated to the Societies in some other way. A marked feature of this Council meeting was the harmony and good feeling which prevailed throughout the day, and which contributed to the rapid despatch of business. In spite of the fatigue of the Albert Hall meeting on the previous night, Mrs. Fawcett was in her place to open the proceedings at 10.30, and took the chair throughout the morning, her place being taken in the afternoon by Miss Ashton.

THE BALLOT.

Balloting for the Executive Committee took place from ro a.m. till 4 p.m., and the cordial thanks of the Council are due to Miss Boyd and Miss Watson who, as returning officers, spent the whole day over a very tedious task

The officers of the Union :- President, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D.; Hon. Secretary, Miss Kathleen Courtney; Hon. Parliamentary Secretary, Miss Edith Palliser; Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. Auerbach, were declared duly re-elected, no other nominations having been received.

The Executive Committee (in alphabetical order) is as

Mrs. Abbott, Councillor Margaret Ashton, Lady Frances Balfour, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Miss Dimock, Miss I. O. Ford, The Hon. Mrs. Franklin, Mrs. Heitland, Miss Howell, Miss Leaf, W. S. B. McLaren, Esq., M.P., Miss Macmillan, Miss O'Malley, Mrs. Osler, Mrs. Rackham, Councillor Eleanor Rathbone, Miss A. M. Royden, Mrs. Stanbury, Miss Sterling, Mrs. Swanwick, Miss Tanner.

At Home.

The day ended with a delightful "At Home" given by Miss Frances Sterling, to meet members of the Executive Committee and the National Union organisers, at her own house. Miss Sterling very wisely decided that what the members most wanted was the opportunity of conversation on the many topics of common interest, and her charming rooms and warm welcome provided the most congenial setting.

Success and Failure.

The Albert Hall meeting on February 23rd was, we believe, the first example of a great public meeting in which the order of the proceedings depended entirely upon moral force.

Since the odious practice of interrupting meetings, and particularly meetings addressed by Cabinet Ministers, has become unhappily common, it has been the custom of the organisers of such meetings to demand a pledge from ticket holders (or in some other way to obtain bona-fides), and in the event of disturbances violently to throw out the offenders,

The National Union resolved to adopt a wholly different course. The meeting was a genuine public meeting, tickets being sold without the requisition of a pledge—the gallery, indeed, was free, and all the stewards were women who had strict instructions not to allow the use of any physical force. Mr. Lloyd George fully concurred in these arangements, and also agreed to answer questions at the end of the meeting. We think more generous terms could not have been desired,



NEW SPRING TAILOR SUITS.

Our Coats and Skirts

have a character of their own. They are designed and made skilled men Tailors from fashionable materials, and are equal in appearance and style to the best types of Tailor Suits made specially to order. SMART STREET SUIT (as sketch) beautifully tailored in striped Corduroy Tweeds; perfect cut Coat lined soft silk. :

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Wigmore Street, (Cavendish Square) London, W.

SUNDAY AT HOMES.

March 3rd, at 8.30 p.m.

DR. ERIC PRITCHARD

'ENDOWMENT OF MOTHERHOOD.' Admission, including Refreshments, 1s. Course of Three Lectures 2s. 6d.

MARCH 10-Mrs. Pember Reeves on, "Life on £1 a week and the minimum wage." The International Suffrage Shop, 15, Adam Street, Strand, W.C.

SUFFRAGE LANTERN LECTURES FOR HIRE.

"WOMEN AT WORK."

Also to be had arranged for Non-Suffrage Gatherings, Girls' Clubs, etc.

'LANDS WHERE WOMEN HAVE WON THE VOTE.'

For terms apply Hon, Secretary, Conservative and Unionist Women' Franchise Association, 48 Dover Street, W.

OLA (Seeola) TOOTH POWDER AN IDEAL DENTIFRICE, BECAUSE It is Antiseptic but non-poisonous.

Does not contain any injurious Acid or Dye.

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THE WEST END ASSOCIATION.

(Miss GOLDING.) Secretaries, Housekeepers, Matrons, Governesses, Nurses and Companions introduced free of charge. Flats, families receiving Paying Guests, Schools, Nursing Homes and Couriers recommended. There is also a Branch for Domestic Servants.

317, REGENT STREET, W. (Near QUEEN'S HALL.)

and were confident that they would meet with a response from ili those who regard fair play

The result proved the National Union wrong in its estimate of those societies whose members endeavoured to spoil the meeting, but pre-eminently right in its method of dealing with The organisers of the meeting had been warned that it was the intention of a small section to create disturbances, and had caused the following notices to be printed, which were to be distributed by the stewards only in case of need; THE ORDER OF THIS MEETING CAN BE PRESERVED BY ABSOLUTE

QUIET ON THE PART OF THE MAIN BODY OF THE AUDIENCE. IF ANYONE INTERRUPTS, DO NOT TURN ROUND :-

TAKE NO NOTICE.

Unfortunately the need did arise and the audience esponded in a way which cannot be too highly praised. In pite of the exasperation caused by the pitiful display of senseinterruptions, they showed a self-restraint which unloubtedly supported the admirable persistence and good amour with which Mr. Lloyd George continued his speech. The meeting was a triumph of self-control, and its success is ne to the conduct of the audience no less than to the patience

We do not know whether those who interrupted the meeting regard their attempts with any satisfaction; it would, we imagine, be difficult to do so. They were successful in abusing the generosity of the N.U.W.S.S., but have otherwise no cause o congratulate themselves. It was, as we have said, easy to obtain admission to the Hall by the purchase of a ticket; no courage was required on the part of the interrupters as all the stewards were women, no inteligence even was displayed by the nterruptions which, in Mrs. Fawcett's words, "proceeded from

the depths of political ignorance.

FEBRUARY 29, 1912.

One word more concerning the impatience of a few of the interrupters at any general arguments for the enfranchisement of women. Doubtless there was scarcely a person in that hall who did not know all the chief reasons which make the reform urgent, but it is difficult to conceive how anyone can be so gnorant as to suppose that a speech goes no further than the ears of those to whom it is in the first instance addressed. Members of Women's Suffrage Societies, even distinguished members, may make admirable speeches on the need for the enfranchisement of women, but they are neither reported rbatim nor widely read by members of all parties. But when Cabinet Minister makes a speech at a great public meeting, his words are eagerly tead by those who would otherwise not concern themselves with women's suffrage; therefore that part of Mr. Lloyd George's speech which dealt with the urgency of the women's claim was as valuable for the general public as was that part which dealt with the political situation for the audience in the Hall. It would not seem necessary to labour so obvious a point but for the attitude of those who regard with contempt any reference made by a Cabinet Minister to the reasons why women want the vote. The failure to realise the value of declarations of this kind is an instance of that lack of the elements of political sense which was so lamentably displayed by a small section in the Albert Hall.

The National Union deeply regrets the discourtesy to which its guests were subjected, but is able to congratulate itself on the admirable spirit of its members and on the success of a meeting which was achieved by the determination of both the speakers and the audience to disregard the pitiful attempts

K. D. COURTNEY.

Press Department.

There was a very marked note of indignation apparent in the Press generally at the unmannerly interruptions of individuals belonging apparently to the militant societies at the Albert Hall

on February 23rd. The Morning Post, in its dignified report, laid no stress upon the trivial questions of the interrupters, and the Daily News drew attention to the admirable and imperturbable bearing of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in face of the discourteous behaviour of a small section of an opposing society. The Times and Standard gave verbatim reports of the proceedings, and the Times, in commenting on the meeting, refrained from expressions of opposition. The Standard described the occasion as "one of the most remarkable mass meetings ever held in the eventful history of that famous battleground of great political causes." The Manchester Guardian, in its admirable and sympathetic description of the scene, emphasised the fact that the meeting "was the expression of an immense new movement, confined to no one country, to no one class in any country, one of those transforming movements which can arise only in the fulness of time, when society in its slow development has made ready the necessary conditions of thought and of circumstance. In the present case a whole sex has acquired a new selfconsciousness. . . . It is this slow development, only now springing into full expression and life, that gives the movement s deep significance, and in the long run its resistless force. There is no force in civilised society which can resist the grow-

ing pressure of half the race."

A note of carping criticism comes from the Pall Mall in its leading article of February 24th. It complains of Mr. Lloyd George's want of consideration in saying of the Premier that there is "no man in England who has more regard to his pledged word than he." The Pall Mall is at liberty to consider that 'the pledge which Mr. Asquith is evidently going to fulfil" a bad one, but it is not at liberty to attribute to Mr. Lloyd George imputations which were entirely absent from the sense of his speech. The following sentence seems particularly unwarranted in regard to the attitude of the Prime Minister. "What kind of advertisement is this for the fine susceptibilities which Mr. Lloyd George holds up with transparent mockery for the admiration of the country?" The report of the Daily Express shows a want of ability to gauge the feeling of an audience not often found amongst experienced members of the journalistic profession. To say that "most of the cheering in the course of the Chancellor's speech was ironical," that "it would have been hard indeed to find a more cynical or a less gullible audience," and that "the Suffragists showed with outspoken frankness that they do not believe in the sincerity of the intentions of the Government to push forward their cause to a practical conclusion" is a misrepresentation which might justifiably be regarded as intentional. The Daily Mail omitted to insert a letter correcting the false impressions t had created regarding the arrangements for preserving order at the Albert Hall meeting, and opened its account of the proceed ings with the remark "that the women stewards failed to preserve order." It is to be regretted that these trivial and inaccurate statements should be used to obscure large and important issues.

E. M. LEAF.

Treasurer's Notes

The Albert Hall collection has indeed given our year's income a fine send off! It is impossible, before going to press, to give a full statement, but roughly speaking, it amounted to £6,900 in gifts and promises and the letting of seats.

This represents the gross takings from which the expenses of the meeting will have to be deducted.

I propose to announce the names of the donors from week to week in COMMON CAUSE (they will be arranged alphabetically) and I hope by next week to be able to announce the various objects to which the money is allocated.

F. M. STERLING, Treasurer pro tem.

Cheltenham W.S.S.
Manchester W.S.S.
Exeter W.S.S.
Wigan W.S.S.
Maidenhead W.S.S.
Shildon W.S.S.
Colwyn Bay W.S.S.
Liverpool W.S.S.
Lexham W.S.S. Contributions to General Fund. ady acknowledged since Nov. 1st, 1911 £1,639 17 6 ived from Feb. 17th to Feb. 24th, 1912. By-Election. 8T. ROLLOX DIVISION OF GLASGOW. Result:—T McKinnon Wood (L.) 8,53 F. A. MacQuisten (C.) 8,061 Liberal majority 469

As I write, the by-election is nearly over, but the effects of our suffrage campaign will last. The meetings have been splendid, and the weather has favoured our open-air work—which has gone on literally morning, noon and night. The breakfast hour meetings have been specially good, and there has never been the slightest difficulty in gathering crowds.

All possible effort was made to keep clear of the candidates' meetings, though one morning Miss Lindsay and Mrs. Aldersley arrived at works to find Mr. Hogge (of E. Edinburgh) in possession of the field. An amicable arrangement was come to, and the time was equally

ment was come to, and the time was equally divided between the speakers—Mr. Hogge

As both candidates are in favour of Women's

Suffrage we have confined ourselves to propaganda work only. The constituency is one of the largest in the kingdom—20,000 electors being on the roll. As the majority of them are work-ing men they have been specially interested in Mrs. Alderslev's forcible explanations of the industrial position of women. The eagerness with which the women and girls listen is touching, and is conclusive evidence of the vast work there is in awakening them to the realisation of the meaning of the Woman's Movement. Thanks are due to the many willing helpers, especially to Miss Stuart Paterson, who has Thanks are due to the many especially to Miss Stuart Paterson, who has addressed large meetings every night, and to the untiring help of the Misses Ranken. Many of the workers were compelled to leave the field early to attend the great Albert Hall meeting, but others came forward to fill the empty places. As the campaign has been a short one, efforts were redoubled in all directions, and funds are urgently required. The contributions should be sent now to 202, Hope Street, Glasgow.

K. W. Lindsay.

London Society.

COMMON CAUSE Sold Well.

CENTRAL HACKNEY.

On February 9th, Mrs. Gimingham addressed a meeting of the League of Young Liberals on Women's Suffrage. There was a fair attendance and good discussion.

On February 12th, Mrs. Gimingham also spoke at a meeting of the Kingsland Ward of the Central Hackney Liberal Association.

Central Hackney Liberal Association.

SOUTH HACKNEY.

A very successful "At Home" was held on February
15th at St. Augustine's Institute, Victoria Park, by
kind permission of the vicar, the Rev. A Cameron.
About 150 people were present. Excellent speeches
were given by Mrs. Wheatley, the Rev. A C. Wills,
and Mr. Ernest Goodwin, and the secretary made an
earnest appeal for helpers. Mr. Housman's play,
"Alice in Ganderland," and various items of music
contributed to a pleasant evening. Fourteen new
members gave in their names. A considerable number
of COMMON CAUSES, badges and literature were sold.

NORTH KENSINGTON.

OBTH KENSINGTON.

A drawing-room meeting was held by this committee t 14, Dawson Place, by kind permission of the Hon. Irs. Waley, on February 12th. Miss Keeling was in the chair, and Mrs. Swanwick made an excellent seech. Questions were asked and the resolution was arried unanimously. The audience numbered about fty and was very appreciative.

LAMBETH, NORTH.
On February 21st, Miss H. D. Cockle addressed an open-air meeting in Lambeth Walk.

Windsor.

On February 15th an extremely satisfactory meeting was held at Clewer Hall. Between 50 and 60 people were present, over half of them being men. Mr. Baillie Weaver's, fine and convincing speech was heard with rapt attention. Two Anti-suffragists who asked irrelevant questions and were ruled out of order by the chairman, met with no sympathy from the audience, who accorded hearty support to the vote of thanks to the speakers, proposed by Mrs. Amos and seconded by Miss S. K. Thomas.

Federation Notes.

North Eastern.
Formation of Two New Societies.
It is particularly encouraging to be able to report at last the formation of two new societies, one at Shotley Bridge, of which Miss Walton Wilson has kindly undertaken the secretaryship, and one at Consett, which Miss Oliver has taken in charge. At both places Miss Ford and Mrs. Abbott spoke at drawing-room meetings. At Morpeth, too, a society is about to come into being, and the future is promising. Very little work has been done there before, yet there was a crowded Town Hall to hear Miss Royden and Miss Gordon on Friday, February

16th. An open-air meeting was held in the Market Place to advertise the larger meeting and handbills were distributed at almost every house in the town.

Reports of large and important meetings and news of the enrolment of nearly 100 new members show a great amount of activity throughout the Federation; every society seems to be realising in a very practical way that the necessity for hard and unceasing work is the greater when hopes run highest, and there is no falling off in endeavour.

Reports of large and important mentings and news of the manner of activity throughout the Federation; every society seem to be realising in a very practical way be a second to be realising in a very practical way be a second to be realising in a very practical way be a second to be realising in a very practical way be a second to be realised for in endeavour.

Miss I. O. Ford and Mrs. A Music Bergin have been been seen and very successful ministrances in the last week.

On February 13th a drawing-room meeting, a when the last week in the last week. The following evening the part of the p Kentish.

Organising in Kent.

Miss Dutton, who has been organising in this county since last October, gives a most satisfactory account of progress made. Her first work was done at Deal and Walmer, where an association was formed of sixty members. She then went to Tunbridge Wells, and from thence to Matfield, Pembury and Brenchley, for which an association was formed. Miss Dutton then came to Sevenoaks and held meetings there and in the neighbourhood, which were all well attended, as already reported. Then came Tonbridge, where a meeting was held in the Y.M.C.A. Hall, and much visiting was done in the neighbourhood, and new members were gained for the Tonbridge Branch. From Tonbridge Miss Dutton went on to Maidstone, which was quite new ground; three meetings were held, and it is hoped a society may be formed later. Then Miss Dutton held two meetings in Folkestone, in December, just before the Christmas holidays. Since January 18th she has worked in Rochester, Strood, and Frindsbury, which again was quite new ground, and at first very uphill work. Results are now, however, most encouraging.

On January 19th a drawing-room meeting was held.

are now, however, most encouraging.

On January 19th a drawing-room meeting was held by Mrs. Horsnaill, Yoke House, Strood. A resolution, urging the Government to grant the Parliamentary Franchise to women during 1912, was carried unanimously, and many present expressed a wish to become

Franchise to women during 1912, was carried unanimously, and many present expressed a wish to become members.

On January 22nd a meeting was held at the Castle Hall, Rochester, when Dr. Lilian Cooper (president) took the chair, and Miss Dutton gave an able address. At the close it was decided to form a branch in Rochester. The meeting was well reported by the Chatham, Rochester and Gillingham Observer.

WALMER.—By kind invitation of Mrs. Hardman, a most successful drawing meeting and tea was held at her residence, Beaurepaire, Lower Walmer, on the 16th inst. Dr. Annie Brunyate, of Dover, was the principal speaker; she reviewed the present political situation as regards Women's Suffrage with great ability, prefacing her remarks with a révue of what right women had to receive the vote. After touching lightly on the Conciliation and Reform Bills as affecting woman's position, Dr. Brunyate answered most clearly a great many questions pub to her. Miss Bomford, also of Dover, and Mrs. Hardman spoke, and several keen Suffragists spoke privately to non-members of the N.U.W.S.S. with a view to inducing them to join the society. Mrs. Clare Royse, the honorary secretary, was chairman, and proposed a vote of thanks to the hostess and to all the speakers.

RAMSACH.—The annual general meeting was held on February 1st, and the report for the year showed a satisfactory state of affairs, and notably a large growth in suffrage influence. Membership has not increased, but new members have replaced old ones, which is satisfactory, taking into consideration a seaside population. There are hopes of co-operating to form a branch in Sandwich.

Tunberdee Wells.—On Jenuary 29th Mrs. Adeney gave an At Home at the Suffrage Shop, when Miss F. de

G. Merrifield (Hon. Sec. Brighton and Hove Women's Franchise Society, and Chairman of the Surrey, Sussex and Hants Federation) spoke on the present Parlia-mentary position with regard to the enfranchisement of

South Western.

Surrey, Sussex and Hants.

FORMATION OF A NEW SOCIETY.

**Miss Francis Sterling and Colonel Kensington addressed a large and very interested audience on the 9th at Aldershot. Sir William Chance was in the chair. This meeting has brought about the formation of a new society, Aldershot and District, of which Mrs. Garratt Sherwood, Aldershot, has kindly consented to be hon.

BEATRICE H. DEMPSTER.

N. and E. Riding (Yorks).

ORGANISATION AT GRIMSBY (NORTH THORESBY).

A drawing-room meeting was held at Mrs. Sowerby's on February 16th. North Thoresby is quite new ground, but those present were very interested in the explanation of the Woman's Movement given by Miss Elphick, and hope to become members of the Grimsby Society which is about to be formed.

Scottish

Scottish.

A new society, with 37 members, is now launched at Montrose, the first of the five burghs forming Mr. R. V. Harcourt's constituency, to start a society. Mr. R. V. Harcourt is a strong Adultist, but it is hoped the new society will also be able to win his vote for the Conciliation Bill. We are fortunate in having the support of the editors, both of the Liberal and the Unionist local papers. The Provost, also and many members of the Town Council, are entirely favourable to us. Two of the members of the society have joined to present The COMMON CAUSE to the excellent Free Library, realising the need of accurate information being disseminated about our movement. Here, as elsewhere in Scotland, the staffs of the Academy and the Public Schools have shown us much sympathy. We hope that Brechin will shortly follow the excellent example of Montrose in floating a society.

On March 5th I go to Aberdeen (address Post Office).

THE COMMON CAUSE.

DEPUTATION TO MR. F. G. KELLAWAY, M.P. BEDFORD.—Deputation received by Mr. F. G. Kellaway, M.P., at the Bedford Town Hall, Friday, February 16th, 1912, was introduced by Mr. Charles Stimel, (town clerk), and consisted in the Welmen (town clerk), and consisted Mr. Charles Stimson (town clerk), and consisted of:—Miss Walmsley (Principal, Kindergarten Training College; County Council Education Committee); Miss Stansfeld (Principal, Physical Training College); Miss E. M. Stacy, M.B.; Miss Massey (Principal, St. Andrew's School); Miss Chönley; Mrs. Jabez Carter and Miss Sturgess (Vice-Presidents, B.W.T.A., prominent Liberal workers); Mrs. Rowland Hill (P.L.G.; Vice-President, Bedford W.L.A.; President, Cooperative Guild); Mrs. Stanbury Phillips; Mr. Seamark (President, Bedford I.L.P.; President, Bedford Trades Council); Dr. George Rose (Lec-Bedford Trades Council); Dr. George Rose (Lecture Secretary, I.L.P.; Social Service Secretary, Men's Adult School); Miss Palliser (Hon. Parlia-

mentary Secretary, N.U.W.S.S.); and Miss Fielden (Organiser, N.U.W.S.S.); and Miss Fielden (Organiser, N.U.W.S.S.).

Mrs. Rowland Hill made an appeal for the working women, and spoke from the standpoint of a political worker who would feel the position most keenly af young men were enfranchised and women still left out.

Miss Sturgess stated the need for the expres-on of the women's vote in legislation.

Mr. Seamark stated he was present because he realised that the position of working men had been strengthened, and conditions ameliorated, by the possession of the franchise, and that they in the Labour Party were prepared to do all they could to bring pressure to bear on the Government that the franchise should be extended, not only to men, but to women on the same terms

Miss Palliser, after reviewing the political and Parliamentary situation, asked Mr. Kellaway what measure of support he would give to the enfranchisement of women, and in event of the failure of the Adult Suffrage amendment would he be prepared to support the Grey amendment, or, if that was lost, the Conciliation Bill amend-

Mr. Kellaway stated that he was a supporter Mr. Kellaway stated that he was a supporter of the principle of Women's Suffrage, though he did not attach any importance to the argument that taxation without representation is tyranny. He would have nothing to do with any amendment on the lines of the Conciliation Bill, but would support the Adult Suffrage or Grey amendments, and thought the latter had a magnificent chance.

Mr. George Rose asked if Mr. Kellaway was prepared to resist any extension of the franchise to men, unless it included an extension of the

franchise to women?

Mr. Kellaway replied that because women could not get their own vote was no reason for preventing men from having theirs.

Miss Fielden pressed Mr. Kellaway on his knowledge of the basis of the Conciliation Bill and its support by the Labour Party. He admitted these facts, but suggested that the Labour Party supported the Bill from political motives, as they mainly represented industrial constituencies in which were a large proportion of women workers. Miss Fielden then asked if that did not prove her point that the bulk of these women would be point that the bulk of these women would be within the Bill?

Mr. Kellaway replied that he was opposed to the Conciliation Bill, but if before it came on he could be satisfied that it was a democratic measure, he would change his opinion.

Miss Wallmsley thanked him, and the deputa-

tion withdrew.

tion withdrew.

Bedford.

The cause of Women's Suffrage has received a great impetus in Bedford during the last fortnight. This has been mainly due to the untiring energy and enthusiasm of Miss Fielden, the representative of the National Union. Miss Fielden has shown the greatest tact and skill in dealing with the different classes of audiences she has addressed, and the increase of members to the Bedford Society testifies to the interest she has aroused in the great subject of the day. Several drawing-room meetings have been held during her stay in Bedford, as well as a large social gathering, when many new members were enrolled. She has also addressed the members of the I.L.P., the Women's Adult School, the B.W.T.A., the W.L.A., as well as a large open meeting on Sunday evening in the Co-operative Hall. Miss Fielden was one of the deputation to Mr. Kellaway, M.P., to ascertain his views on the present position.

Manchester and District.

Manchester and District.

At the last committee meeting of the above Federation, on Wednesday, February 21st, a resolution was passed instructing the Parliamentary Secretary for each division to send a copy of The Common Cause to the Member of Parliament every week, and urging that any item which might be interesting or instructive to the particular member should be marked. We hope in this way to keep our members well posted in the progress of the movement.

SUFFRAGE BAZAAR.

SUFFFAGE BAZAAR.

It is only due to the many distinguished Suffragists all over the country, to whom we are grateful for giving books and autographs, and in the case of writers, signed works of their own, to the New Book Stall, to report that with the contributions of local friends, over one thousand volumes were collected, and a very substantial sum was realised, the sale not being yet closed. Best of all were the words of cheer which came with the gifts, and personal help from pioneers like our honoured President, Mrs. Fawcett, and Dr. E. Garrett Anderson and Dr. Margaret Todd, from such veterans as Miss Emily Davies and Miss Florence Davenport Hill, from leaders in Church and State, and from men and women conspicuous in many departments of life. Olive Schreiner sent her signature from S. Africa, and Mme. Curie, who never gives her autograph, "fait une exception, vu la cause et le but de votre oeuvre." The bazaar has brought us the much-needed money, but also a fresh sense of the wide solidarity and rare quality of those who are fighting with us to win in this most critical year for the common cause. COTTAGE MEETINGS AT OLDHAM.

COTTAGE MEETINGS AT OLDHAM.

A striking example of the progress which the Oldham W.S.S. is making was furnished on Tuesday, February 13th. Miss Field, one of our most active workers, has been holding cottage meetings during the winter months twice weekly. A united gathering was held in the Music Room, Werneth Park, kindly lent by Miss Lees, when nearly eighty were present, badges were sold, literature distributed and seventeen new members joined. Mrs. Councillor Lees and Miss Lees spoke, and Dr. Olive Claydon gave an address. Sixteen cottage meetings have been held, the numbers of the audiences varying from 2 to 23. The result has proved the value of this form of educational work.

of this form of educational work.

ALTRINGHAM.—A drawing-room meeting was held, especially for Conservatives, by Mrs. Fred Collier, a leading Conservative of Bowden on February 7th. The speaker was Miss Evelyn Deakin, honorary secretary of the Liverpool branch of the Conservative and Unionist branch of the Primrose League.

On February 16th, Miss M. Robertson, B.A., debated with Miss Gladys Pott before the League of Young Liberals. W. E. Thompson, Esq., took the chair. A resolution in favour of granting the suffrage to women without delay was passed by a substantial majority.

ECCLES.—The Eccles Society had a very successful dramatic entertainment in the Eccles Town Hall, Tuesday, January 25rd. The two plays were "Lady Geraldine's Speech" and "The Ladies' Battle.'

KNURSCORD.—On February 14th in the Holmes Chapel Assembly Rooms, Miss Robertson proposed a resolution repudiating the Referendum, which was seconded by Miss W. Caldwell. Mr. J. R. Tomlinson was in the chair.

chair.

On February 15th a social evening was held when Mrs. Annot Robinson spoke to a large audience. A dramatic performance of "Cranford" was given during the second part of the evening.

Leigh.—A meeting of members and friends was held in the Church Institute on Wednesday, January 24th, when Mr. D. Stephen proposed that "the extension of the franchise to women will be advantageous to the nation." Miss Hindshaw seconded, and an interesting discussion followed. The motion was carried unanimously.

nation." Miss Hindshaw seconded, and an interesting discussion followed. The motion was carried unanimously.

MIDDLETON.—On February 20th an interesting meeting was held in the Co-operative Hall. In the absence of Lady Beatrice Kemp, who was prevented from coming through the illness of her son, the chair was occupied by Mrs. Liebert, of Manchester. The speakers were Prof. F. C. de Sumichrast and Miss Margaret Robertson, B.A. A resolution strongly protesting against the exclusion of women from the forthcoming Government Reform Bill and condemning the proposed application of a Referendum on the question of Women's Suffrage was carried unanimously.

carried unanimously.

OLDHAM.—February 1st, Miss Robertson, B.A., addressed the Junior Unionists' Association. There was a good attendance and discussion.

West of England.

TAUNTON.—We had a very successful Suffrage week in Taunton from February 15th to 21st. Miss Creswell and Mrs. Beare very kindly gave us Drawing-room Meetings, at which several new members were added to the Society. On February 20th a public meeting was addressed by Mrs. Hicks, and a resolution in favour of Women's Suffrage was carried.

EDITH S. ROBERTSON.

Bristol Liberals and Women's Suffrage.

On January 27th a special meeting of the West Bristol Liberal Three Hundred was called to discuss the Conciliation Bill. The proceedings were of great interest. A resolution in favour of this Bill was amended to allow of our enfranchisement on a wider basis. This amendment was carried by a majority of sixteen, but a proposition to make it a substantive resolution was lost. Instead another amendment postponing the sending of any resolution to the Government until the Women's Suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill was framed was carried by a majority of one. When this latter amendment is known another meeting will be called.

meeting will be called.

This careful consideration of our measure by the Liberal Three Hundred is entirely owing to the painstaking and thorough canvass of our supporters in that body. Mrs. Cross has been the chief agent in the work of this canvass, and her success has been worthy of her efforts.

Three Suffrage Plays.

At the Rehearsal Theatre in Maiden Lane, on February 20th, was given by the generous and indefatigable Actresses' Franchise League, a very interesting Triple Bill with a Suffrage moral, to which it is very hard to do justice in a necessarily

which it is very hard to do justice in a necessarily short report.

The somewhat improbable delightful tale of "The Rack," was carried through by the vigour and charm of Miss Madeleine Lucette Ryley; but a deeper note was struck in Evelyn Glover's duologue, "A Chat with Mrs. Chicky," in which Miss Inez Bensusan as the charwoman, with a wonderfully sustained cold in the head, gently, politely, but very effectively routed the Anti-Suffrage lady canvasser (who devotes her time to "telling pore woming as is slaving to keep body and soul together, as they ought ter be queens of the 'omes) by a few facts from the life of a working widow women, with wit and point in

and soul together, as they organized to the 'omes' by a few facts from the life of a working widow women, with wit and point in almost everyone of her admirably spoken lines. "It takes a woman to understand 'ow the law hits wimming,' she says with intensity, "and that's Gawd's truth!,"—and then very simply and sympathetically, "but 'ow should you know the rights of it, m'm! I don't suppose it's as buch as onct a year you ad your lady freds cubsup before the bagistrate."

Then as the story of her unselfish, over-worked life, rendered so desperately hard by circumstances largely remediable emerges in jerky, vigorous sentences between the charing operations (performed in quite professional style), Miss Marianne Caldwell, as the Anti lady visitor, collapses more and more, as she wildly gropes for larges more and more, as she wildly gropes for Marianne Caldwell, as the Anta lady visitor, ton-lapses more and more, as she wildly gropes for refutations of Mrs. Chicky's arguments, which are not to be found, because they do not exist. In the one-act piece, "Brass and Clay," was

retutations of Mis. Collary, returned are not to be found, because they do not exist.

In the one-act piece, "Brass and Clay," was real passion and grace in lofty drama and acting. The renowned Labour, M.P., very ably played by Mr. James Gelderd, at the zenith of his political triumph and within hearing of his marriage bells, is suddenly confronted by the irretrievably ruined woman's life his sin and moral cowardice have devastated in the past. And he gives the whole situation away for the unscrupulous male, in the weak-kneed utterance. "The woman always has to pay on certain lines." But the audience is left, by the spirit of the play and by the altogether remarkable acting of Miss Adeline Bourne, with the conviction that it is neither for the welfare of the individual nor of the race that the woman should continue for ever "always to pay."

ever "always to pay."

Very warm gratitude is due to the Actresses'
Franchise League. They and their chivalrousmen friends are doing yeoman service,

Foreign News.

Sweden.

In our issue of February 15 we announced that. Women's Suffrage was not only mentioned in the King's Speech, but actually took the place of honour as the first of the reforms mentioned.

All who had the privilege of hearing and understanding the speech made by Selma Lagerlöf at the Stockholm Congress will be reminded of her eloquent plea for the introduction of the feminine element into the management of State affairs. She contrasted the women's contribution to the world's wealth—the home—with the man's.—the State. The home is the product of man and woman, the State has been built up by man alone. "But has he succeeded? What does the hatred between the various classes show? What the dull murmur from below, and the threats of revolution? What the laments of the unemployed? What is the meaning of emigration? Does all this seem to show that he has succeeded or is everlikely to succeed? And now behold! Just when the States are tottering, no matter how admirable their construction, when the social revolution appears to be at our doors, the great invasion of women is beginning into the masculine field of labour, the domain of the State." Is there any significance in this fact, she asks. Is it merely that women are seeking better conditions for themselves, are desiring liberty, equality, power? "Why just at this moment? We should be blind not to see, deaf not to hear." Something surely is calling to women to go forth into the field of labour, and do any work that comes to hand, though it be of the lowest. "Be assured that this had to be. You must enter in everywhere, you must be at hand everywhere if the State is some day to be loved as the home is loved. Be assured that your capacity for work, which is now held in such light regard, will soon be valued and sought after, yes, claimed even beyond your strength. Be assured that, as the physician can no longer dispense with the

trained nurse, the pastor and the director of the Institution will be unable to dispense with the deaconess, or the factory owner with the woman inspector. Be assured that we shall soon be everywhere, in desert places as in cities, bearing everywhere, in desert places as in cities, bearing many titles and working in careers as yet unknown, but working one and all for the common goal." . . . "We do not think that this will be speedily effected, but we believe it would be sin and folly to refuse our help. We believe that it is the spirit of God which directs us. The little masterpiece the home, was created by us with the help of man. That great masterpiece, the good State, will be created by man when he accepts the woman in all earnestness as his helpmate."

(Quoted from the German translation published by Albert Bonnier at Leipzig. English readers who do not understand Swedish would do well

to procure the German version.)
Is it fanciful to think the words of this muchoved authoress may have helped inspire the wording of the King's speech?

France.

An interesting programme of lectures has been arranged by the National Union of French Suffrage Societies, to be held at the Collège Libre des Sciences sociales, on five successive Mondays. Madame Maria Verone will speak on "Universal Suffrage and Votes for Women"; Madame de Witt-Schlumberger on "Women's Suffrage in England and the British Colonies"; Madame le Verrier on the "Influence of the Women's Vote in the United States"; Madame Orka on "Women's Suffrage in Scandinavian and Slavonic lands"; and Madame Léon Brunschvicg on "The Suffrage movement in France."

movement in France."

On February 3rd, a deputation from various feminist societies was received at the Chamber by Messieurs Ferdinand Buisson and Justin Godard. The deputation consisted of twenty women, all prominent leaders of the movement. Their object was to ask the intervention of the deputies in the pending debate on electoral reform. M. Godard undertook to bring in an amendment to this effect to the Bill of M. Buisson which proposes to confer on women the municipal franchise. The deputation further proposed that a Suffragist party should be formed in the Chamber.

Germany.

Germany. The "Zeitschrift für Frauenstimmrecht" gives an account of the protest made by women during the recent Reichstag elections at their exclusion from the franchise. Munich and the other Bavarian cities took the lead and their example was followed in Bonn, Frankfort, Düsseldorf, and a number of other towns. In these places women went to the polling stations and handed in protests at their exclusion, with the request that these should be given in with the other documents relating to the election. In the majority of cases this was actually done, and these protests remain as the first distinct expression of German women in regard to the Reichstag election. Perhaps the most astonishing part of the proceedings was the courtesy which the women encountred almost throughout Bavaria, only one of the Munich election officers having turned them out of the polling station with some discourtesy. "Zeitschrift für Frauenstimmrecht" gives

discourtesy.

In Bremen proclamations in favour of Women's Suffrage were published in the papers on the day of the election; in Hamburg placards were shown

Westminster Women's Local Government Association.

The Westminster Women's Local Government Association held a very successful meeting in celebration of its first birthday at Caxton Hall on Thursday last. The Association is to be congratulated on the amount of interest it has already succeeded in arousing among the working women of its district, large numbers of whom were to be found in the audience. The chair was taken by Mrs. Anstruther, the chief speakers being Miss Margaret Ashton and Mrs. Arthur Somervell

Miss Ashton emphasised the enormously wide field of valuable work now open to women in local Government, and strongly urged all women voters to do their utmost to return at any rate a few women members to the Borough and County Councils. Women, she said, frequently did not realise the extent to which they were able to help themselves by taking their due share in local Government, and consequently they did not trouble to exert their voting power as they ought to do. There were many matters controlled by City Councils which really concerned women far more intimately than men, such as Miss Ashton emphasised the enormously wide

education, infant mortality, control of feverare still compelled to employ these powers in hospitals, and the huge field of "housekeeping" their fight for their own elementary rights. questions which were included under the head of sanitation, and yet the men were frequently left working for their enfranchisement who do not be a sanitation and yet the men were frequently left working for their enfranchisement who do not be a sanitation. to deal with such work almost, if not entirely, unaided by the women. The speaker concluded with an urgent appeal to all women voters to make the most strenuous efforts to see that the mast the most strentous efforts to see that the most important branches of public work were carried out more efficiently than they could possibly be while the one sex was left to perform the duties which by right belonged to both.

Mrs. Somervell, endorsing Miss Ashton's remarks, pointed out that many women who could not undertake the more expert work required of members of City Conveils could vary

equired of members of City Councils could very ell take their share in local Government by oing some of the simpler, though no less urgent ork, such as that of the Children's Care Comword, such as that of the Children's Care Committees, the school managers, etc. The speaker dwelt with emphasis on the great power for good which women possessed in their undoubted influence on public opinion and pointed out the great work that could be done by the wise use of this power.

E. L. CHADWICK.

"The Wail of the 'Anti."

"Won't you wait a little longer?" said the Anti-Suffrage male, "If on votes you are insisting, just now you're bound to fail;

See how eagerly Home Rulers and Unionists

advance,
They are waiting for the session, but you
must not join the dance."

Must not, shall not, must not, shall not, must
not join the dance.

"What matters it how long you wait?" insidiously he cried,
"There is another session, whate'er in this betide:

The longer you have waited 'twill the more

your fame enhance,
Then do not dare, beloved fair, to join this
session's dance."
not, dare not, do not, dare not, do not join

"You can really have no notion how distressing it will be

it will be
When they shelve you with the adultists and
leave you—all at sea!"
But the woman, coldly smiling, as she shot
a scornful glance,
Said she thanked the "Anti" kindly, but—

she means to join the dance!

Means to, dares to, means to, dare to, means to join the dance.

C. S. BANKS.

Reviews.

THE STORY OF THE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

THE STORY OF THE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT. By Bertha Mason. (Sherratt and Hughes: 1s. net.)
All who had the advantage of hearing Miss Bertha Mason's lecture on the "History of the Women's Suffrage Movement," which she gave in various parts of the country during the year 1909-1910, will be glad to welcome it in book form. It gives a conoise summary of the leading events of the history of Women's Suffrage, both in Parliament and in the country with their dates and also slight sketches of the prominent men and women whose unflagging zeal in the promotion of the cause through those early years when the fight against ignorance, prejudice and apathy was a far harder one than it is to-day—greater indeed than we can realise—has placed the movement where it now stands.

The first two chapters deal with a much disputed question—namely, whether women had at

The first two chapters deal with a much disputed question—namely, whether women had at one period exercised the right of the tranchise. This subject is an interesting one for the student of political history, but is not of any practical importance at the present stage of the agitation, even if it could be proved beyond doubt that some women did vote for members of Parliament in the sixteenth century or at any other time.

The value of the book lies in the marshalling of the various events which led the whole movement into the field of practical politics. All these are briefly and clearly stated, making the volume a ready reference for the Suffrage worker and speaker. The Bishop of Lincoln has written an admirable little preface in which he expresses his regret that women's "splendid powers, intellectual as well as spiritual," are now diverted from other great social reforms, because women from other great social reforms, because women

their fight for their own elementary rights. It may be safely said that there are no women working for their enfranchisement who do not

PAMPHLETS RECEIVED.

PAMPHLETS RECEIVED.

A thoughtful and stirring pamphlet, by Mr. Arthur Ponsonby, M.P., on "Democracy and the Control of Foreign Affairs" (A. C. Fifield, 3d. net), pleads for more authoritative statements from the Foreign Office and a general control of policy by Parliament.

The same publishers have brought out a pamphlet called "Of the Emancipation of Women," by Caroline Eccles (3d. net), which contains much that is good and suggestive.

We have also received "The Physical Force Argument," by A. MacCallum Scott, M.P. (N.L.O.W.S., one penny), and "Family Life on a Pound a Week" (Fabian Society, price 2d.), by Mrs. Pember Reeves. We review Mr. Scott's pamphlet to-day.

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL.

ANNUAL REPORT.

We have received the annual report, whose 63 pages show a truly wonderful amount of work done. We strongly recommend any woman who is keen on social service to get a copy of this report from the secretary (7, John, Street, Adelphi), and see whether there is not one of its many activities to which she could devote her money and her service. It is sad to read that the work of the Association of Trained Charwemen and Domestic Workers' Association should be hampered by the absence of publicity in the daily press, and by the work of the Labour Exchanges, which, having no regulations for a minimum rate, naturally make the work of this Association with its standard wage more difficult. Association with its standard wage more difficult.

MRS. AUBREY DOWSON'S WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE COKKERY BOOK is, in response to many requests, being reprinted, price 1s. 3d. post free. Orders should be sent to her at Yew Tree Cottage, Lapworth, Warwickshire.

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THE COMMON CAUSE.

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Correspondents are requested to send their names and addresses, not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of good faith. The Editor is not responsible for any statement made in the correspondence column.

Correspondents are requested to write ON ONE SIDE OF THE PAPER ONLY.

I have induced the chief dentist in the neighbourhood to let me send him my copy every week. It has struck mei that there may be many others—like me—who cannot afford to subscribe to the special fund for this purpose, but who would send on their own copy if they thought of it, and who would also supply the waiting-rooms at railway stations. Between trains seems to me even a better time for interesting people than when they are trying not to think of the dentist, and in many country districts there is a local station and there are unpunctual trains and, above all, there is no bookstall. G. E. H.

EFFECTIVE LEAFLETS.

EFFECTIVE LEAFLETS.

Miss O'Malley's article in Common Cause of Feb. 15, has made me think that perhaps new branch secretaries might be glad of a few hints from one who has done a certain amount of suffrage work of late years regarding the kind of leaflet that appeals best to all sorts and conditions of people when doing propaganda work, and so I venture to write and express a strong preference for such leaflets as "14 Reasons," "Why Some Working Women Want the Vote" and "A Word to Working Women Want the Vote" and "A Word to Working Women Want the Vote" and in the found them invaluable in places where little or nothing is known about women's suffrage. There is nothing in them that can possibly rub up the Party prejudices of anyone into whose hands they fall, and so the first two can be as freely distributed at drawing-room meetings, and from house to house as at public meetings. They are simple, short and effective and never out of date. At the present juncture Party meetings are much to the fore, and those attending them are at the moment of entering the halls in a good tempered and receptive state of mind. To approach them with their own "leaders' opinions" as they go in to listen to one of their own Party speakers, often leads to questions being put to the speaker anent women's suffrage, which serve to keep the audience alive to the fact that it is a question of the day—a fact which is still forgotten or not realised in places where we have not been pegging away for any length of time.

For distributing outside factories as the employees come out I strongly recommend "A Word to Working Men." They like its personal appeal to their enfranchised power, to their sense of justice, and to their manhood especially, because it dispels the idea that we women want to be able to say when we get the vote "Alone we did it."

I hope that beginners will find these leaflets helpful, I also hope that they will use them in the way I suggest.

women want to be able to say when we get the vote

"Alone we did it."

I hope that beginners will find these leaflets helpful.
I also hope that they will use them in the way I suggest.
A few hundred such pamphlets put personally into the
hands of working folk and others are worth a thousand
distributed into letter boxes. The personal element is a
tremendous factor in propaganda work joined with
suitable literature. As all these leaflets have good
margins they can be used for writing (in red and green
ink) notices on of forthcoming meetings, a practice
which is both economical and "propagandical," and
serves to employ suffragists who cannot do active work
out of doors, but who can spare the time and strength
for this.

February 18th, 1912.

CAPE COLONY SUFFRAGISTS. May I correct, even after an unavoidable length of time, two mis-statements in the extract from Jus Suffragii in your first issue of the year. I am writing also to Mrs. Chapman Catt and to the Editor of Jus

also to Mrs. Chapman Catt and to the Editor of Jus Suffragii.

(1) The Women's Enfranchisement League of Cape Colony, by far the largest and practically the oldest suffrage organisation in South Africa, did not join the Union formed at Durban during Mrs. Chapman Catt's visit. We sent our president and vice-president to the Conference, one of our own members was provisionally elected president, but the executive found the Constitution there drawn up one they could not approve of or recommend their League to join.

(2) Had we done so, we should still not be the first united organisation in South Africa, for the various W.C.T. Unions had already federated (Natal standing out), after over two years' careful consideration and deliberation. Of this Federal W.C.T.U. I am Superintendent of Franchise, as also of the Cape Colony Union; I am also a member of the National Union of Suffrage Societies (Seaforth) and the first member of the Women's Enfranchisement League, Cape Colony, of which I have been hon. treasurer since its foundation. I may therefore claim to know what I am writing about.

(Mrs.) Julia F. Solby, (Hon. Treasurer W.E.L., Cape Colony).

A LADY ON DUBLIN COUNCIL.

A LADY ON DUBLIN COUNCIL.

F I see ne mention in Common Cause of a most gratifying and important appointment in Ireland—that of Miss Harrison to a seat on the Dublin Municipal Council. All such honours for women should be noticed in a woman's paper, especially as in this instance, the veteran, Mrs. Anna Haslam, who has done so much for Women's Suffrage, and more than anyone else to get women onto these Local Boards, is so much connected with this particular appointment. Miss Leigh Browne and Mrs. Sophie Bryant, D.Sc., Litt.D., are in the forefront of her supporters. Miss Harrison is an artist of

TO Thinking Women

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of Thursday, Feb. 29

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some eminence, and a devoted worker among the poor of her city. She expresses the wholesome opinion, which we wish was more acted up to in these islands, that there should be absolutely no politics in municipal

Mrs. Spring Rice writes that what she said on the Irishwomen's deputation to Mr. Birrell was incorrectly reported in the Press. She said "some of the ladies" who had come over belonged to a militant society, and had hoped not to have to take part in militancy any more. Mrs. Spring Rice belongs to the National Union, and is therefore not a militant herself.

Forthcoming Meetings. ARRANGED BY THE NATIONAL UNION.

(The meetings are given only a fortnight in advance.) Bridge—Congregational Hall—Debate—
Miss D. Darlington v. Miss Cordelia
Mair. 7.30

Marple Bridge—Congregational Hall—Beaste—Miss D. Darlington v. Miss Cordelia 7.30

Moir York—Assembly Rooms—Annual meeting—Miss I. O. Ford Sevenoaks—The Club Hall—Lady Frances Balfour, Sir J. Cockburn, K.C.M.G., R. K. Bevington, Esq.

Keswick—Battersby Lecture Hall—"W.S. in other lands "—Miss Dover—"Why men want women to have the vote"—Mr. Lupton—Miss Sidney Knight Knutsford Society—Lostock Gralam—Mrs. Cooper (Nelson), Mrs. J. R. Tomlinson (chair) Mrs. Renton, Rev. E. Beresford (chair) Chester—Newgate Assembly Rooms—Lecture, Mrs. Renton, Rev. E. Beresford (chair) Chester—Newgate Assembly Rooms—Lecture, Mrs. Cowmeadow Royden
Hucknall—Mrs. Harper's drawing-room meeting—Miss Kidderminster—Kingsway Hall—Miss Muriel Matters, Mrs. Langley Browne (chair) Swindon—Mrs. Ellis's drawing-room meeting—Miss K. M. S. Robertson 1.30

MARCH 1.

Jarrow—Miss Best's drawing-room meeting—Miss

MARCH 1.

Jarrow-Miss Best's drawing-room meeting-Miss Margaret Mein

Funbridge Wells-Great Hall-Mass meeting-Sir

J. Cockburn, K.C.M.G., Lord Aberconway, Miss Frances Sterling, Sir J.

Bromhead Matthews, Lady Brassey

(chair)

Bromhead Matthews, Lady Brassey
(chair)
York—Mrs. Storey's drawing-room meeting
West Hoathly—Village Hall—Mrs. Dempster, Miss
F. de G. Merrifield (chair)
Swindon—G.W.R. Works—Miss K. M. S. Robertson
Swindon—Rodbourne Schools—Miss K. M. S.
(chair)

7.45
Swindon—Robertson, Rev. T. J. Cripps, B.A.
(chair)
8.0

MARCH 2.
Preston—Assembly Room, Public Hall—Mrs. Philip
Snowden, Miss Evelyn Deakin
Swindon—Friends' Meeting House—meeting for
women—Miss K. M. S. Robertson
MARCH 4.
Shildon—Subcols—Annual meeting—Miss Margaret
Mein

Orford—Support Property Congregational Lecture, Hall

Shildon—Schools—Annual meeting—Miss Margaret
Mein
Oxford—Summertown Congregational Lecture Hall
—Miss Helga Gill, Prof. Geldart
Nottingham—Office, 54. Long Row—"At Home"
—"Madam Roland "—Miss Frettingham
Crowthorno, Berks—annual meeting—Miss A.
Maude Royden, J. Malcolm Mitchell,
Esq., Mrs. Robie Uniacke (chair)
Birmingham—Harborne Institute—Lady Stout, Mrs.
Osler (chair); songs: Miss Elme
Baker—Recitation: Miss P. Reid
Uxbridge—Brookfield Restaurant, High Street—"At
Home"—"Inspection of Schools"—
Miss K, Bathhurst
Swindon—Swimming Baths—Miss K. M. S. Roberts
Swindon—Swimming Baths—Miss K. M. S. Roberts
MARCH 5.

MARCH 5.

Bristol — Illa. Whiteladies Road — Lecture,
"Mazzini"—Mrs. Randall Vickers 5.0

Maidenhead—Mrs. Roe's drawing-room meeting—
Miss A. Maude Royden, Mrs. Robie
Uniacke (chair)

Middlesborough—Girls' High School Lecture Hall—
"W.S. and Race Culture"—Dr.
Galeeby
Hucknall—Co-operative Hall—Mrs. Philip Snowden,
Mrs. Cowmeadow, Mrs. Dowson (chair)

7.30

MARCH 6.

MARCH 6.

Birmingham—Tyburn—Mrs. Watson's drawing-room meeting — Mrs. Ring, Mrs. Godlee (chair)

Letchworth—Howard Hall—"The Sex War"—Mrs.

F. T. Swanwick, M.A.

Bournemouth—Assembly Rooms, The Avenue—"At

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Solihull—Bentley Heath, Knowle—Mrs. Whitehouse's drawing: room meeting — "Some Practical Aspects of the Woman's Ouestion"—Mrs. A. C. Osler
Pangbourne—New Hall, Constitutional Club—Miss A. Maude Royden, Miss M. Robertson, Mrs. Robie Uniscke (chair)
New Mills (Derbyshire)—Town Hall—Mrs. Annot Robinson, F. S. Barnes, Esq. 7.45

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MARCH 7.
New Brighton—Drawing-room meeting—R. Hield,
Esq., Mrs. Stanger (chair) 3.30

FEBRUARY 29, 1912.

MARCH 9. Esq., Mrs. Stanger (March 9). Sunderland—Villiers Street Institute—"How the the vote was won." Chair, Ald. Gibson, J.P.
Oxford—Town Hall—Lord Haldane, Miss Margaret Ashton, Miss Jane Harrison (chair)—admission by ticket only

MARCH 11.

Marple—Girls' Institute — Councillor Margaret
Ashton, M.A., C. H. Burden, Esq.,
B.A., B.Sc., F. S. Barnes, Esq. (chair)
Stevenage—"The Chestnuts," Basils Road—"The
religious aspect of Women's
Suffrage," Miss Annie Villiers
Nottingham—Office, 54, Long Row—Lecture,
"Lady Mary Wortley Montague"—
Miss Hayward
MARCH 12.
Portsmouth—Albert Road Schools—D. Lipson.

Birmingham—The Misses Bunce's drawing-room meeting—Mrs. Osler, Mrs. Ring, Miss Orange (chair)

MARCH 13.

Bournemouth—Assembly Rooms, The Avenue—At home

Camberley—Drill Hall—Debate—Miss K. D.

Courtney v. Miss Gladys Pott evening

LONDON.

FEBRUARY 29. Y 29.

-Concert Hall—Mrs. Pember Reeves,
Rev. Llewellyn Smith, J. Malcolm
Mitchell, Esq., Sir Victor Horsley

Mitchell, Esq., Sir Victor Horsley (chair).
Chelsea — 22, Tedworth Gardens — Mrs. Arthur Whitting's drawing-room meeting—Mrs. F. T. Swanwiok on "The Common Cause and the present situation"—tickets can be had on application to Mrs. Whitting
Stepney—Meeting House, Garden Street—Miss Leith 3.0 S. Norwood—Stanley Hall—Debate—Miss Abadam v. A. Maconachie, Esq., Ald. King, J.P. (chair)
(chair)
8.0

Rectory Road Lecture Hall—Mrs. F. T. Swanwick, Mrs. Despard, Rev. C. Hinschff, Rev. Fleming Williams

willesden—Christ Church Hall, St. Alban's Road—Social Meeting—Address by Miss Irene Cox, "The Industrial Position of Women." Chair, Mrs. Kelley.

N. Paddington—Miss Hodge's and Miss New-combe's drawing-roop meeting-short speeches by chised lands

and music
Poplar—Trinity Hall, Augusta Street—Miss Bisset
Smith

MARCH 5.

Consington—Empress Rooms, Royal Palace Hotel—
London Society's reception—Mrs.
Henry Fawcett, LL,D., Rev. Llewellyn
Smith, Miss Frances Sterling (chair)—
duologue arranged by Miss Elsie
Fogerty

MARCH 6.

arylebone—51. Fincher, Red.

CH 6

bone—51, Finchley Road—Mrs. Meyerstein's drawing - room meeting — lecture,
"Proctresses of the Middle Ages"—
Miss Lina Eckenstein—tickets 2s, 6d. 4.0

don—Mrs. Howe's drawing-room meeting—
Miss E. Dykes Spicer, Miss Gavin
(chair)

afternoon

MARCH 11.
fampstead—Mrs. Silvanus Thompson's drawing-room meeting—Miss I, 0. Ford 3.30

SCOTLAND.

ters' Hall—annual meeting andee—Forresters' Hall—annual meeting
MARCH 1.
Aliaburgh—40, Shandwick Place—Miss A. Low,
Miss Lisa Gordon
nverness—St. Margaret's—"An evening with the
anti-suffragists"

MARCH 7.
Edinburgh—40, Shandwick Place—Miss Alice Low,
Miss Lisa Gordon

4.30

FEBRUARY 29.

THE COMMON CAUSE.

MEETINGS ADDRESSED BY MEMBERS OF THE UNION.

FEBRUARY 29.
Abingdon—Corn Exchange—Debate—Mrs. Rackham
v. Miss G. Pott
Hucknall—Women's Liberal Federation—Mrs. Cowmeadow
MARCH 1.
Britsch—Brunswick Square—League of Young

MARCH 1.

Bristol—Brunswick Square—League of Young
Liberals—Debate—W. C. H. Cross,
Esq., Ll.B., v. H. Trapnell, Esq.,
Ll.B.
Sutton Coldfield—Town Hall—Liberal Association—
Mrs. Osler, Miss Earl, Mrs. Gough,
Mrs. Greenwood

MARCH 5.
Bristol-West Liberal W.L.A.-W. C. H. Cross,
Esq., Ll.B. evening.
MARCH 7.
Lincoln-League of Young Liberals-Miss Hicks evening.

HAIR.

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MARCH 8. MERIVALE MAYER at liberty.—Address inburgh—40, Shandwick Place—Public meeting 4.30 MRS. MERIVALE MAYER at liberty.—Address 24, Queensberry Place, South Kensington.

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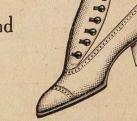


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