

# The Common Cause,

The Organ of the National Union of

# Women's Suffrage

Societies.

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ONE PENNY.

## Notes and Comments.

### Lynch Law at Westminster.

Mr. Churchill's answer in the House to the charge against the police was a most characteristic performance. He quoted a private statement of the Commissioner of Police as satisfactory answer to accusations brought by no less than 135 persons. He refuted the complaint that there were "a large number of plain-clothes officers" in the crowd by saying that there were "some detectives" and "a dozen plain-clothes officers" and that only one of the latter "handled the women in any way"; he did not give any authority for this statement. He denied that the police had instructions to terrorize and maltreat the women, so that if they did so, they were disobeying orders. But the most characteristic part of his justification was his suggestion that the Women's Social and Political Union had summoned "undesirable and reckless persons quite capable of indulging in gross conduct" and that in fact they had themselves to thank for any indecencies and cruelties practised.

This brings us to a curious conclusion: that, where women political offenders are concerned, the police under the direct command of the Home Secretary (a party politician, actively engaged in resisting the women's demand for enfranchisement), are to permit lynch-law to supersede ordinary civilized policing. If the advertising methods of the militants bring the scum of London to the spot, the police are not to break up and move on this crowd of hoolligans, nor to protect the women from it, but they are to hurl the women into the crowd and be blind to insult and torture. It is a strange theory and will carry Mr. Churchill far. Hitherto even a prisoner convicted of murder has been protected from mob-law.

### Mr. Churchill's Responsibility.

Mr. Churchill refused a departmental enquiry and suggested that the proper course would be for the women to bring specific charges against individuals in a police-court. But the Women's Social and Political Union states that such charges are always prejudiced in a police-court and there is not the faintest likelihood of their being fairly treated. We still hope, however, that they may be prevailed on to bring these charges since, if they are supported by evidence of men and women not concerned in the attack, they should be capable of irrefragable proof.

Mr. Churchill's resolution is however, quite apart from the needless offensiveness with which it was conveyed, a bad piece of statesmanship. He cannot surely have sunk so low as to contemplate with satisfaction the disgusting scenes which have been described. It is his business, unfortunately, to put a stop to such scenes. We hold that the system by which the metropolitan police acts under instructions from the Home Office is a thoroughly bad system; the police ought to be under the L.C.C. But, since the Home Secretary is responsible, it is incumbent upon him to see that proper orders are issued and when issued, obeyed. No one can doubt that in this case either the orders or the discipline in enforcing them were at fault and the "Serve 'em right" attitude he has seen fit to adopt reveals a queer streak of savagery or puerility in his nature which is at the bottom of the deep distrust many women feel for his judgment.

Women pay for police and should be protected by the police. That a number of women, even if they are breaking the law for a political purpose, should be indecently and brutally maltreated by a mob, while the police look on (and this is to take the charges as being far less serious than those actually suggested) is an insult to all womanhood and a very serious corruption of public morals. All law-abiding women will be injured by such corruption and it is only their voteless condition which makes it possible for the Home Secretary so to flout and insult them.

### Protecting Children.

As a direct result of the feeling aroused at the Special Meeting for Rescue Workers, at the Con-

ference of the National Union of Women Workers at Lincoln in October, 1910, as to the need of better arrangements at the Old Bailey for children and girl witnesses, the Lord Chief Justice was approached by the convener of the Preventive and Rescue Committee of the Union. He most kindly communicated with the Recorder of London, through whose kind intervention arrangements have been made that in cases in which the attendance of young girls and children is required as witnesses at the Central Criminal Court, as far as possible a special day be fixed, so that the witnesses may not be kept in attendance longer than is necessary. In addition, separate accommodation shall be afforded at the Central Criminal Court to avoid young girls and children being brought in contact with the witnesses in other cases. It is greatly hoped this wise course will be followed in other courts.



(With apologies to Alice Hurd's "The Looking Glass")

RED QUEEN: "Do you know your A B C? Do you know that woman's proper place is the home, whether she has one or not? Do you know that your sex is imbecile, fit only to bear and train men? Do you know that, physiologically, you are too weak to read newspapers, listen to speeches, and walk to the poll once in five years? Do you know that women must never vote because they can't fight, which all men can, and do? Do you know that all civilised States wisely forbid citizenship to criminals, paupers, lunatics, and women? Do you know—"

ALICE (meekly): "Do you know whether woman has got any right to exist?"



**The Anti-Suffrage Canvass.**

Lord Cromer seems to have made the stock speech of the Anti-Suffragists at Cambridge declaring that the increasing dissimilarity of men and women was a reason for keeping the representation of women in the hands of men; that when women had the vote they would "swamp" the men and yet they wouldn't use the vote and that he knew better than the women what was good for them. He quoted, we are sorry to say, from the discredited canvasses of his League and stated that out of 59,000 women municipal voters, 8,000 were in favour, 24,000 against, 6,000 indifferent and 20,000 had sent no replies. Now we have been examining the lists published in the Anti-Suffrage Review and out of 44 places given, only 15 have an electorate of over 1,000; the rest are small places like Esher and Cheam, Bramshott, Shottermill, etc. The largest place is Bristol, and we publish to-day a short account of the way this work was done; another town they were proud of is Cambridge; but that bubble was pricked in our issue of Feb. 23rd. We heard something of the way the work was done in Southampton and a description will be found in our issue of Dec. 1st, 1910. Our own canvass at Reading ("Common Cause," Jan. 13th 1910) gave diametrically opposite results from theirs and we find they do not quote the discredited canvasses in Manchester and Liverpool. Wherever we have followed them we find the same result. Their figures are worthless and curiously enough, in an answer to a question, Lord Cromer practically admitted this.

**The Attorney-General and Mandates.**

It was pleasing to hear Sir Rufus Isaacs last week in the House expounding what is, after all, the only possible way of legislating under existing conditions. He maintained that the electors had passed a vote of confidence on the Government and that the Government had therefore a mandate to pass measures which it had put before the electors. Our readers will remember that Mr. Asquith did this with a measure for the enfranchisement of women and that the "Times" categorically stated that if the Liberals were returned to power they would have a mandate for Women's Suffrage.

**Two Sentences.**

At Nottingham last week a young woman aged 21 was sentenced to three years' penal servitude for throwing vitriol over a man and destroying the sight of one eye. She had had two illegitimate children by the man, who then repudiated her.

At the Borough Police Court a labourer who earned 18s. a week but never gave his wife more than 4s. 6d. for the whole family, was indicted for neglect. He was in the habit of taking a running kick at his wife and had been seen to knock her down and jump on her; he had turned her and the children out of the house all night; he had been known to batter her with the leaf of a table and the buckle end of a belt. The children were taken to the workhouse and the wife was in hospital, too ill to attend the court; prisoner said, "I can drink all I earn." He was sentenced to two months' imprisonment with hard labour.

**The Human Touch.**

We have often wished that when people go on deputations they would remember how boring all the hackneyed phrases become to politicians who are always hearing them and would occasionally say something nice and human, even if it were not quite decorous. We remember a fresh breeze stirring in the stuffy atmosphere of the Treasury when, years ago, Miss I. O. Ford informed the Chancellor of the Exchequer,—"You don't know, Mr. Asquith,—how *could* you, sitting at that desk,—what women feel." And it was the same Miss Ford (*our* Miss Ford) who told the Leeds City Council last week "unless you admit that seven-and-a-half men are the equal or rather less than the equal of one woman, you are perfectly safe under this Bill." Now we are quite sure the Mayor and City Council liked this. Anyhow they promised to consider the application.

**Being Kind to People.**

Mr. Chesterton will end his days (not yet we hope) a Suffragist. He gets nearer every week. On the 4th

he had an article in the "Daily News" in which he implores us to do to people what they themselves would like. "There was," he says, "the Roman Emperor who gilded all the oats of his favourite horse and who gave him the powers of a magistrate—which I do not think he ever exercised. There was the Anglo-Indian official in Mr. Kipling's excellent story who thought he could please the fashionable girl he worshipped by offering her what was really the best book ever written on the history of the Punjab; or some such thing.

The moral is definite and dull and plain. Ladies who pamper their dogs, poets who bore their wives, philanthropists who bring their protégés to the point of rebellion and massacre (and we would add, politicians like Lord Cromer and Mr. Lloyd George), all deserve the rebuke, and have all very possibly received it without any result. They all symbolise the mystical sin we may commit in dealing with those we love. We ought sometimes to stop thinking of what is lovable in them, and think of what is livable for them."

We should like to set Mr. Chesterton to talk to Lord Cromer; but perhaps Lord Cromer would only be bewildered.

**Maternity Insurance.**

A correspondent suggests that women should press for inclusion in the scheme of invalidity insurance contemplated by the Government so as to have provision for a certain specified time before and after child-birth. We have always held that maternity insurance ought to precede all other. If the State proposes to help a man who falls sick by ill-luck or neglect or his own folly, maybe, surely it is doubly incumbent on the State to help the woman who risks her life and becomes for a while incapable of earning in order to replenish the race. "A man's risk is divilmint. A woman's is jooty."

**Personal.**

Miss Ada Newman was elected last week to the Walsall Town Council, receiving 768 votes as against 568 for her opponent. She is the first lady on the Council.

From Wakefield we hear that Mrs. W. T. Lucan-Davies, M.A., preached the sermons in Westgate Chapel at the annual choir festival, her husband taking the services. Mrs. Lucan-Davies is lecturing for the West of England Federation of Societies in the National Union.

**"Personal Rights Association."**

On the 14th March the "Personal Rights Association" will have completed forty years of its work. The President is Mr. Franklin Thomasson who has succeeded his father. Mrs. Josephine Butler was one of its Vice-Presidents and always supported its principles warmly. In the current number of the "Individualist" (the organ of the Association), there is an entertaining account of a discussion on Divorce, held by the International Law Association, at which Mr. J. H. Levy (Hon. Secretary of the Association) spoke and successfully evading the chairman, put the woman's point of view. "Here we have a contract," he said, "or a legal relation, which is set up by one of the parties to it, and from all effective voice in the determination of which the other party is entirely shut out. Men have taken upon themselves to say what this relation shall be; they have regulated it in its entirety, and women have been completely excluded from all voice in the matter. Even if they come here, or anywhere else, and discuss it with us, they have no real, effective voice in the decision of what the result shall be. The law which embodies that result is made by a masculine legislature, chosen by a masculine electorate, carried out by a judicial tribunal with a masculine judge and a masculine jury, which masculine advocates alone can address. From every point of view, the woman is shut out. What is the result? Do we think that it is such a very happy one? On the contrary, if these papers that we have heard prove nothing else, they show how much restiveness and unhappiness there is in the married state; and let us not hide from ourselves, ladies and gentlemen, that there is very much more even than appears on the surface."

## The A. B. C. of Women's Suffrage.

When Suffragists stand in the wind and rain to collect signatures from electors at the doors of polling-booths (as they did in January, 1910), or hold meetings, or sell papers, at street-corners, people ask themselves why they do it, and they find various queer reasons for it.

**1. Some say it is because****THEY WANT NOTORIETY;**

and it is true they get it sometimes, most unpleasantly. But there are many who work in offices, or who organise behind the scenes at meetings, who are never heard of, so their motive at least cannot be the desire for notoriety.

**2. Some say it is****FOR MONEY.**

When some 10,000 demonstrators from all parts of the country met in Trafalgar Square last July to show their belief in Women's Suffrage, one Anti-Suffragist was heard to exclaim, in wrath: "You are all paid for this!" But if you could get 10,000 respectable and orderly women (for they were obviously that) to accept bribes, what was it that moved the people who provided the money?

**3. Some say Suffragists do these things****"FOR FUN,"**

and "for want of something to do."

It is true there is a great deal of fun in it, but some people seem to find fun in quite dreary things, as they ought. And, when you come to know them, you find that most Suffragists are busy people. For instance, in the special train from Manchester that took the women up to the Demonstration mentioned above, there were some school-teachers who had to correct examination-papers all the way to London and all the way back, because they could so ill spare the time to go and show the faith that was in them. THEY did not want "something to do!"

No Anti-Suffragist seems to suggest that Suffragists do these things

**"FOR LOVE."**

Yet this is the real reason! They work for love of many things, just as Elizabeth Fry reformed the prisons for love of the unhappy prisoners; or Florence Nightingale for pity of the suffering soldiers. They wish to serve; they are not merely clamouring for THE RIGHT to vote; but they want to help men to

**MAKE ENGLAND A BETTER PLACE**

to live in, through politics. They help already in all the ways that are open to them; but

they are not allowed to help in voting for Parliament, merely because they are women! whereas it is just BECAUSE THEY ARE WOMEN that we want them to vote. Women know the needs of children better than men, and they know their own needs better than men, and that is why we want their influence brought to bear in Parliament—by their voting as their special knowledge and feelings instruct them.

Doesn't it seem strange that when you are longing to help to remove the unhappiness you see, and when you think it can only be done adequately through Politics, you should be told that "women ought to

**STAY AT HOME."**

Even Elizabeth Fry was told this; but if she had done so and disobeyed the spirit, what a loss it would have been to the whole world. We do not want all women to go out and make great reforms; we know they cannot; but we do want them all to take an interest in their country's good and to put their knowledge to some practical purpose through the use of a vote.

**The Suffragists work****FOR LOVE OF LIBERTY**

because no one is free who does not govern herself. They want women to have the chance—as men have—to develop the best that is in them, and to choose the work they can best do. They think this would work out most happily for both men and women, and that is why they call this "THE COMMON CAUSE."

**Suffragists work, too, for****LOVE OF THOSE WHO SUFFER,**

because they think that Women's Suffrage will help to do away with some of the causes of suffering. They do not think that it will bring the Millennium; but women, for instance, would have more power to get their

**GRIEVANCES ATTENDED TO**

if they were enfranchised. Now an M.P. has no time to take any notice of the women's Trade Unions; he is so busy looking after the interests of the men WHO ARE ELECTORS.

**THIS WEEK'S STORY.**

The Weavers' Secretary at a Lancashire Trade Union meeting once said: "I think my opinion ought to count for something, for I represent the biggest union in the town."

"What's the good of your Union?" said the Engineer's Secretary; "why! it's all women! Mine mayn't be so large, but at all events THEY'RE VOTERS!"

**THIS WEEK'S MOTTO.**

The chance to work for a great cause is the greatest gift that life can give.



ALL BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS should be addressed to The Manager, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester.  
ADVERTISEMENTS should reach the office by first post on Tuesday.  
THE PAPER WILL BE POSTED to any address in Britain or abroad for the following prepaid payments:—

3 MONTHS	...	1 9
6 MONTHS	...	3 3
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LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS should be addressed to the Editor, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester, accompanied by a stamped envelope addressed if it is desired that they should be returned. The Editor accepts no responsibility, however, for matter which is offered unsolicited.

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 possible day, 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, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester, giving the name and address of the newsagent or bookstall from which they wish to be supplied.

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### The Unfair Press.

The political association of which I was at one time a member has started a monthly magazine, the first number of which appeared in February. It consists of two parts—one devoted to matter of merely local interest, the other (which is really a separate publication within the same cover) to political questions generally. The latter publication is called "The Liberal Monthly," and is published, I notice, by the Liberal Publication Department, at 42, Parliament Street.

Whilst there is much in this publication that appeals to me, there are certain references to the Conservatives and their ways which, I think, had been better left unsaid. Not that they are untrue—unfortunately they are true,—but similar remarks could be made with equal truth about Liberals; and it therefore behoves Liberals, until they mend their own ways, to hold their tongues about the misdeeds of their opponents.

Here is the sort of thing I mean. "The Liberal Monthly," referring to a supposed conversation near the village pump, remarks: "The talk continued for some time on the tricks, dodges, and hitting-below-the-belt methods without which it seems impossible for the Tories to conduct a political campaign." There is more than a modicum of truth in this indictment of the Tory party, but, were the word "Radicals" substituted for the word "Tories," it would be equally true. Both parties are guilty of the same offences against each other.

Perhaps the worst, as they are certainly the most conspicuous, transgressors are the party newspapers. Year in and year out they wage war against their political enemies; manipulating facts; suppressing one here, exaggerating another there; never frankly honest, unless it be to the advantage of the party to which they belong; and losing all semblance of fairness or propriety when a general election looms in sight. As a tramway conductor, with whom, during the recent election, I was one night discussing the affairs of the nation, remarked: "They do tell a rare lot of lies, these newspapers, particularly at election time." It was a startling statement, but, I regret to say, a true one. The conductor simply

expressed, in colloquial language, what everyone who reads the daily newspapers knows. We have recently come through the horrors of a general election. They are still fresh in my memory. The evil forces that made the previous election a long nightmare were again let loose. The daily newspapers spent four busy weeks trying to delude the people. With a few honourable exceptions, they lied, garbled the speeches, misrepresented the views, and traduced the character of opponents.

A general election seems to bring out the worst qualities in men, and to develop all that is bad in the Press. I do not say that all the party newspapers lie, but many of them do, and most of them exaggerate and forget themselves in an excess of partisanship and passion. Take, for example, the "Daily News" and the "Daily Chronicle." At the general election in January last year, they suffered from a malignant attack of election fever. They apparently lost all sense of proportion, all idea of justice. Their unfairness was appalling. It was the same at the recent election. Both in December last year and the previous January the "Daily News" and the "Chronicle" had one standard of right and wrong for the supporters of the Government and another for opponents. If Liberal meetings were disturbed, or if Liberal speakers were refused a hearing, they denounced, what they called, the outrageous conduct of their opponents. When Unionist meetings were broken up, and Unionist speakers were interrupted, they spoke of such doings in terms almost of approval. When Liberals were ejected from Conservative meetings, they raised a howl of indignation. When Conservatives were similarly dealt with at Liberal meetings, they preserved a discreet silence or openly rejoiced. When men and women, who, at Liberal meetings, asked questions about Women's Suffrage, were brutally treated by the stewards, these erstwhile great newspapers uttered no protest. Their correspondence columns were close preserves. Letters advocating the policy of the Government were published; critics of that policy got little or no hearing. Anything that could be said against the Conservatives or their methods, or against Women's Suffrage and the Suffragists, was welcomed. Letters in defence of Conservatives or Suffragists were carefully excluded. The policy of the two papers appeared to be to let their readers know only one side of the question—the Liberal, or Government, side.

I had a striking instance of this during the recent election. Someone who signed himself "A Moderate Man" wrote to the "Chronicle," protesting against the slanders and insults to which he and other Radicals were subjected by Tories and the Tory Press—"the peer-owned Press," I think he called it. I felt sure that the editor sympathized with the writer. So did I; but I thought that, in common fairness, a protest ought also to be entered against the equally disgraceful slanders (which "A Moderate Man" ignored) of the Radical Press. I therefore addressed the following letter to the editor:—

"I heartily join in the protest of 'A Moderate Man' against the methods of a great number of Tory morning and evening newspapers; but I go further, and protest against the methods of the bulk of the Radical papers. You and some of your Liberal contemporaries (not all, thank goodness!) have been as guilty of maligning and misrepresenting opponents as have any of the Tory papers. You have made statements that have been pointed out to you to be untrue, and you have refused to withdraw or correct them. You have uttered half-truths concerning your opponents, and published garbled accounts of their doings. You have referred indignantly to interruptions at Liberal meetings, but with evident approval of rowdiness by Liberals at Unionist meetings; and you have never raised your voice in protest against the brutal treatment of Suffragists—men and women—by Liberals for daring to ask at Liberal meetings perfectly pertinent questions.

"'A Moderate Man' asks how long the slanders of the Tory Press are to continue. They will continue so long as the 'Daily Chronicle' and other Radical papers emulate them in their methods. When the

Radical papers learn to behave decently they will have a right, but not till then, to denounce the indecency of the Tory Press."

My letter was not published. Perhaps the editor did not like the reference to the Suffragists, or he may have resented the reproof administered to himself. Possibly he thought the letter not worth publishing.

Such onesidedness is not in accordance with the best traditions of journalism. It is very common, however, and, although more noticeable during a general election than at other times, seems to be the settled policy of both the "Chronicle" and the "Daily News." So far as Women's Suffrage is concerned, few papers have done less to earn the gratitude of Suffragists. They have both been half-hearted and unfair from beginning to end. From what has appeared in their columns from time to time I have but little doubt that, were Women's Suffrage an item on the Government programme, they would be among its keenest advocates. Not being a party question, however, they accord it only grudging recognition, and are more ready to sneer and gibe at it than to support it. They suppress or exaggerate facts if it suits them, and generally refuse to give a hearing to the Suffragists whom they wrong. Occasionally they indulge in sensational and inappropriate headlines. The "Daily News," a few weeks ago, headed a paragraph referring to the shooting of a German by his wife: "Suffragist shoots her husband!" Anyone seeing the headline would have thought that the crime was connected in some way with the Suffrage cause, whereas it had no connection whatever. I was not astonished that the "Daily Express" issued a poster with the same or a similar legend, for one knows what to expect of that sensation-monger. It is a sworn enemy of Women's Suffrage, and its poster was evidently meant at once to injure the cause and to sell the paper. It is difficult to know why the "Daily News" should have acted as it did. I wonder what the "Express" would say if the "Daily News" were to issue a poster, "Tariff Reformer strangles his wife"; or what the "Daily News" would say if the "Express" were to head a paragraph, "Dissenter kills his mother"—the murder in neither case having any more to do with the politics of the one paper or the religion of the other than the shooting of the unfortunate German had to do with Women's Suffrage.

Disgusting as the conduct of so many newspapers is with regard to their political opponents, and to those with whom, for party reasons, they are angry, it has its amusing side. Both the "Daily News" and the "Daily Chronicle" have spoken with contempt of the "Yellow Press," and "A Moderate Man" did so in the letter to which I have just referred. The two Radical newspapers seem unable to see that they themselves have developed some of the characteristics of the "Yellow Press," and that they are sometimes referred to as examples of that objectionable class of journalism. It is to be hoped that, before long, they will repent and forsake their evil ways. Once great newspapers, they still retain some elements of greatness, and it would be a national calamity if they were to remain for ever in the slough into which they have fallen.

It will be interesting to watch the attitude of the Press towards Women's Suffrage during the next few months. We know what to expect from actual opponents, but not from professed friends, many of whom have failed the women so often, when the women's cause has clashed with party plans, that no reliance can be placed in them. I suppose these half-hearted papers will, as usual, wait for a sign from their leaders before they allow their accommodating journalistic consciences to decide what is the proper course to pursue. J. Y. KENNEDY.

### City Councils and Women's Suffrage.

"The 33 Town Councils which have passed resolutions in favour of the Bill afford the best of all possible proof of its popularity."—H. N. Brailsford.

One of the most curious assertions made with regard to the action of city councils in urging the Government to give fair play to the Conciliation Bill has been that of the Anti-Suffragists, who declare that the support of the city councils must be largely discounted, because they

depend on women's votes and are not therefore free to express their honest opinions. Place side by side with this two of the favourite "arguments" of our opponents (1) "Women do not want the vote. If you give the vote to women householders you will be forcing it upon them in the teeth of their own opposition." (2) "Influence is more powerful than the vote."

Comment is surely unnecessary! But the assertion has its value in directing our attention towards the main feature of these demonstrations—that they are the expression of the only governing bodies who are elected by, and therefore represent, women as well as men. This not only gives them unique value, but makes them the means of extraordinarily valuable propaganda. Most important of all, perhaps, they teach women the value and power of the vote.

This aspect of the question—that the councillors are the only representatives of the women—is one which must be kept well prominent, whilst the vessel which bears our resolution is steered among the rocks and shoals of precedent and custom. For our greatest danger lies in a refusal on the part of the council to discuss matters of national politics. To meet this, appeal to the councillors as our only representatives and further, furnish them with every possible precedent for the action they are asked to undertake. Name every council which has already passed a resolution and add, if possible, particulars of the discussion. In Manchester the position was made easier by the fact that many years ago the council passed such resolutions in three successive years.

But how is the council to be approached? This is generally best done on party lines; that is to say, the Liberal councillors are best approached by Liberals, and Conservative councillors by Conservatives. Get a proposer for the resolution, who should be of the party which has a majority in the Council, and a seconder of the other party. This is essential. Then let every councillor be personally approached and his views ascertained by someone of his own party; if possible, a voter in his own ward.

In approaching the councillors the bill should be carefully explained and a leaflet about it left. Special work may be done in the wards of councillors who are not sound by getting women voters to sign a request to them to vote in favour of the resolution (which, remember, need not commit the council to the principle of Women's Suffrage, but need only appeal for full facilities for the Women's Suffrage Bill). A general requisition from women voters and from prominent citizens, both men and women, to the Mayor, begging him to lay the resolution before the council, is also effective. As for the exact procedure for getting the resolution introduced, it varies in different towns and the Town Clerk's advice must be asked on this point.

In canvassing the women voters with a view to getting them to bring pressure to bear on their representatives, the readiest response will probably be to the appeal to them as ratepayers. They are represented for their rates—they have some say about the expenditure and the incidence of these—are they to be taxed unconsulted and unconsenting? It will be well to point out to them that payment of Members of Parliament may shortly be introduced. This will not be a tax levied on men only. Women will be forced to pay, and their money will go straight into the pockets of these men over whom they have no control whatever.

Not a bit of work which is directed toward educating and awakening the women ratepayers is wasted. As they learn the power of the vote they have, they will grasp the meaning of the wider franchise; and as they begin to make themselves felt as a force in local politics they will strengthen their claim to a share in the national life. Do everything possible to make them feel their status as voters, and to let the Council see that they feel it. Remember that every ratepayer has a right to attend the council meetings, and encourage as many of the women as possible to be present when their resolution is being debated. Enthusiastically backed by the women voters its success is assured; and a piece of work has been done, valuable not only in its effect upon Parliament and upon public opinion generally, but in the education it has afforded both to the councillors and to the women.

M. ROBERTSON.



### Sir George Kemp's Bill.

The text of the Bill which is down for Second Reading on May 5th is as follows:—

#### A BILL TO CONFER THE PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE ON WOMEN.

(1) Every woman possessed of a household qualification within the meaning of the Representation of the People Act (1884) shall be entitled to be registered as a voter, and, when registered, to vote for the county or borough in which the qualifying premises are situate.

(2) For the purposes of this Act a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being registered as a voter, provided that a husband and wife shall not both be registered as voters in the same Parliamentary borough or county division.

#### NOTE.

With regard to Mr. Byles' Bill, alluded to in a previous issue, we understand it is impossible that this Bill can block that of Sir George Kemp.

### The Household Franchise.

Anyone who endeavours to write down the state of the law as to the Household Franchise does so in fear and trembling lest the statement should be incomplete or even inaccurate. The Acts of Parliament and the decisions upon them are so numerous that anyone who reads them feels how desirable the codification and consolidation of Election Law would be. If codification and consolidation produced no other result, they would probably teach the average voter some part of the reason why he is entrusted with a vote. The majority of the electorate is undoubtedly content to leave itself in the hands of the Overseers and Party Agents and make little or no effort to ascertain what are the qualifications for a vote and how one ought to be obtained.

Anyone who has been in the Central Committee Room of a Parliamentary Candidate will realise how many people think they are on the register when, as a matter of fact, they are not, and how difficult it is to explain why they are not.

If the Conciliation Bill and the discussion upon it do nothing else than educate the people as to the existing qualifications for the franchise, something at least will have been done to pave the way for reforms in the future.

The sections of the Acts of Parliament with which I have been asked to deal are the following:—

1.—The Representation of the People Act, 1867, section 3, which provides that

"Every man shall . . . be entitled to be registered as a voter, and, when registered, to vote for a member or members to serve in Parliament for a borough, who is qualified as follows; that is to say, (1) Is of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity; and (2) is on the 15th day of July, in any year, and has during the whole of the preceding twelve calendar months been an inhabitant occupier, as owner or tenant, of any dwelling-house within the borough; and (3) has during the time of such occupation been rated as an ordinary occupier in respect of the premises so occupied by him within the borough to all rates (if any) made for the relief of the poor in respect of such premises; and (4) has on or before the 20th day of July in the same year bona fide paid an equal amount in the pound to that payable by other ordinary occupiers in respect of all poor rates that have become payable by him in respect of the said premises up to the preceding 5th day of January: Provided that no man shall, under this section, be entitled to be registered as a voter by reason of his being a joint occupier of any dwelling-house."

2.—The Representation of the People Act, 1884, section 3, which enacts that

"Where a man himself inhabits any dwelling-house by virtue of any office, service, or employment, and the dwelling-house is not inhabited by any person under whom such man serves in such office, service, or employment, he shall be deemed for the purposes of this Act and of the Representation of the People Acts to be an inhabitant occupier of such dwelling-house as a tenant."

3.—The Representation of the People Act, 1867, section 4, which provides that

"Every man shall . . . be entitled to be registered as a voter, and, when registered, to vote for a member or members to serve in Parliament for a borough, who is qualified as follows; that is to say, (1) Is of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity; and (2) as a lodger has occupied in the same borough separately and as sole tenant for the twelve

months preceding the 15th day of July in any year the same lodgings, such lodgings being part of one and the same dwelling-house, and of a clear yearly value, if let unfurnished, of £10 or upwards; and (3) has resided in such lodgings during the twelve months immediately preceding the 15th day of July, and has claimed to be registered as a voter at the next ensuing registration of voters."

Some people find it difficult to understand the distinction between the inhabitant occupier and a lodger. By looking at the sections quoted above it will be seen that in the case of a lodger there is no mention of any rates or rateable value. The expression in the sections relating to lodgers is "a clear yearly value, if let unfurnished, of £10 or upwards," whereas, in the case of an occupier there is no mention of any yearly value whatever, although it is necessary that rates should have been charged and paid. It should also be noted that under the Registration Act of 1878 the term "dwellinghouse" shall include any part of a house where that part is separately occupied as a dwelling. To avoid mistake attention is called to the word "separately" because on that word a good many cases have been decided.

Joint occupiers of a dwelling-house cannot vote unless it be of such a value as to give £10 to each occupier, in which case they each obtain a vote.

In the case of lodgers, although when there is £10 for each lodger, each is entitled to be registered, this is accompanied by the proviso that not more than two persons, being such joint lodgers, shall be entitled to be registered in respect to such lodgings.

From the above it will be seen that in the case of a dwelling-house separately occupied, value is now immaterial.

In order to distinguish between an occupying tenant and a lodger it might be useful to state shortly the result of certain cases decided by the Court of Appeal. This result is summed up by a leading text book writer as follows:—

1. That the two classes of voters enfranchised by the Representation of the People Act, 1867, i.e., rated occupiers of dwelling-houses and lodgers, were intended to be kept distinct.
2. That two things are necessary to constitute a lodger—viz., that he should lodge in another man's house and should lodge with him.

In an article like this it would hardly perhaps be appropriate to go at length into the very numerous legal arguments which have been based upon the sections and their exact meaning. It is however obvious that as the complexity of life increases the ruling of the judges will have to be applied to new sets of facts. In every large city new ways of arranging a dwelling are not infrequently invented and in consequence subtle distinctions are drawn by learned judges as to the right of the person living in the house to a vote. Before now a good deal has turned upon the actual person who controlled the front door of a block of dwellings or rooms.

E. CROSSFIELD PEARSON.

### In Parliament.

#### SECOND READING OF THE PARLIAMENT BILL.

The debate on the Parliament Bill was continued for four days last week and on Thursday 2nd March it passed its Second Reading by a majority of 125 and was sent to a Committee of the whole House.

#### MR. A. CHAMBERLAIN AND THE WOMEN SUFFRAGISTS.

In the course of his speech on Feb. 27th Mr. Austen Chamberlain is reported to have said:—

"The staple of most of the speeches in support of the Bill was that the Government had a mandate for it. He would like to know how far they carried this doctrine of mandate. How many mandates had the Government got? They seemed to be as numerous as the subjects to be debated. He would be told that there was, at any rate, a majority of 124. But the advocates of Women's Suffrage also claimed that they had a majority—a majority even bigger than that for the Parliament Bill. Did the Prime Minister say the Government had a mandate for Women's Suffrage? No; all that was meant

when they talked about mandates was that in their own elections they had mentioned with more or less insistence a particular subject, and that because of their views in regard to it or in spite of them they had been elected."

#### MR. HALDANE ON THE REFERENDUM.

On the same day Mr. Haldane said with reference to the Referendum:—

"If the thing was to be done by sending out a circular, all he could say was that in the not unintelligent constituency he represented many of the electors would refuse to vote because they would have no assurance that the question was adequately before them. The way of ascertaining the will of the people was through representative institutions. If the party opposite were going to break into the historical and constitutional system of this country in this way they were purposing a departure reaching far further than anything embodied in the Bill, and with consequences greater than they realised. Human institutions were not perfect, and representative institutions were no more free from defects than others; but he thought they were not wise in trying to tamper with what had worked so well."

#### THE ATTORNEY GENERAL ON MANDATES.

On March 1st Mr. Runciman also spoke against the Referendum, mainly on the ground that it was impossible to put a clear issue before the country. The Attorney General (Sir Rufus Isaacs) maintained that the Government had at the last general election received "a definite and plain vote of confidence from the electors" and that it had a mandate to carry out those reforms which it had put before the country and to which it was pledged.

#### THE CONDUCT OF THE POLICE.

On March 1st, in reply to a question by Mr. Philip Snowden as to the charges made by the Conciliation Committee against the conduct of the police on the 18th 22nd and 23rd Nov., Mr. Churchill replied:—

"I have received the memorandum referred to and considered it. It contains a large number of charges against the police of criminal misconduct, which, if there were any truth in them, should have been made at the time and not after a lapse of three months and should, if they could be supported by evidence, have been pre-

ferred in a police court. My reply to the memorandum was, therefore, to the effect that the proper course would be to prefer the charges in the ordinary way in a police court where the evidence can be taken on oath and tested by cross-examination, and where the accused persons would have an opportunity of answering specific accusations. This is the remedy that the law provides and in my opinion there is no other satisfactory way of ascertaining the truth of any specific charge.

I may add, however, for the information of the House, that I have made inquiry of the Commissioner with regard to certain general statements included in the memorandum, and find them to be devoid of foundation. There is no truth in the statement that the police had instructions which led them to terrorize and maltreat the women. On the contrary, the superintendent in charge impressed upon them that, as they would have to deal with women, they must act with restraint and moderation, using no more force than might be necessary, and maintaining, under any provocation they might receive, control of temper. The statement that there were a large number of plain-clothes officers in the crowd who were, it is suggested, guilty of indecencies, is equally false. Apart from some detectives specially summoned when it was found that a large number of pick-pockets and thieves were present, not more than a dozen plain-clothes officers were employed, and, with the exception of one who assisted in an arrest, none of them handled the women in any way; but the crowd, which had assembled in response to invitations scattered broadcast by the Women's Social and Political Union, contained a large number of undesirable and reckless persons quite capable of indulging in gross conduct. It is perfectly possible that some of these were guilty of the indecencies alleged, and for their presence in Parliament-square the women themselves are responsible.

Of the 200 women arrested, not a single one complained of being hurt or made at the time any charge against the police of undue violence or of misconduct. If any charge can be made against any named individual, it can even now be investigated either by the Courts or by the Commissioner of Police; but I am not prepared to order an inquiry into vague and general charges collected in response to advertisements in *Votes for Women* and brought forward by irresponsible persons long after the event."

### NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE 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. Secretaries: Miss K. D. COURTNEY. President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.  
 Miss EDITH PALLISER (Parliamentary). Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. AUERBACH.  
 Telegrams: "Voiceless, London." Secretary: Miss T. G. WHITEHEAD, M.A. Telephone: 1960 Victoria.  
 Offices: Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

### Queen's Hall Meeting, March 15th.

The Societies in the Union and especially those near London, are urged to help in making the Public Reception on March 15th a great success. The meeting is being organised by the National Union in co-operation with the London Society and the latter has kindly undertaken the greater part of the work.

The names of speakers and all particulars are announced in the advertisements on the back page, but special attention is called to the fact that certain parts of the Hall will be free. Reserved seats, price 2s. 6d., which are in the Grand Circle, can be obtained from the offices of the National Union and of the London Society, and special reduced prices have been arranged for parties of ten coming from the Societies outside London.

It is hoped that as the meeting is to be of the nature of a reception, secretaries and members from the country will have an opportunity of meeting each other, as well as of hearing the speeches.

The text of Sir George Kemp's Bill is now printed and will be found elsewhere. It will be seen that as the franchise is restricted to householders (omitting the occu-

piers who were included in Mr. Shackleton's Bill) and as a husband and wife cannot both be qualified in the same constituency, the danger of "faggot voting" has been reduced to a shadow. The Bill would enfranchise about one million women, of whom the great majority would be women who are earning their own living.

It is the business of all Societies in the National Union to leave nothing undone that may ensure the passage of this Bill by an overwhelming majority.

The Second Reading is fixed for May 5th.

K. D. COURTNEY.

### Treasurer's Notes.

I have received an interesting letter this week from our President, who has been enjoying a much needed holiday in Algiers. Although Mrs. Fawcett says "We have had a lovely and most restful visit here," she has, nevertheless, even while resting, contrived to do a good deal of very useful work for the cause. Mrs. Fawcett writes:—

"We had quite a successful little Women's Suffrage meeting here the other day at the Presbyterian Church. The whole thing was done on the initiative of the Scotch minister here, the Rev. Thos. E. Jubb, and we agreed



together to divide whatever was collected after paying the necessary expenses. As the result I now have to hand to you a cheque for £12s., representing 27½ francs."

Our very warm thanks are therefore due to Mr. Jubb for his help and encouragement and I have no doubt that the Scotch and English community in Algiers was grateful to him for procuring them the opportunity of hearing Mrs. Fawcett speak on the burning question of Women's Suffrage.

## HELENA AUERBACH.

## CONTRIBUTIONS TO GENERAL FUND.

February 23rd to March 2nd, 1911.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	378	17	4½
Subscriptions:—			
Miss M. A. Greswell	0	2	0
Mrs. Graham	0	5	0
Mrs. Arthur Withington	1	1	0
Donations:—			
Exeter W.S.S. per Miss Montgomery, towards salary of S.W. Organizer	17	4	6
Affiliation Fees:—			
Hornsey W.L.A. (Associate Society)	0	5	0
Ramsgate W.S.S.	1	12	9
Portsmouth W.S.S.	2	10	0
Camberley W.S.S.	0	15	9
Newham College W.S.S.	1	7	0
Girton College W.S.S.	1	1	0
Via Rev. T. E. Jubb (Algiers)	1	2	0
	£406	3	4½

## Editorial.

We intend to go to press a little earlier next week in order to have the fresh number on sale at the Queen's Hall on the 15th. We shall therefore be unable to include any matter that comes later than Monday 13th.

## An Explanatory Leaflet.

We have received a leaflet explaining the Conciliation Bill and giving a brief summary of the arguments for it and of the situation. It is to a considerable extent the same as that drawn up by Mr. Brailsford last year and printed in our issue of August 11th, 1910, but it is up to date, and includes the following new paragraphs:—

## IS THE BILL FAIR TO THE WORKING CLASSES?

Well, the Labour party thinks so. Mr. Shackleton introduced it last year. Thirty-two Labour members voted for it, and only two against it.

Look at these figures, which have just been reached (February, 1911) by a systematic house-to-house inquiry, supervised in each town by committees of leading citizens of all parties.

In Dundee out of 3,866 women householders on the municipal roll it was found that 2,177, or more than half, live in one or two roomed dwellings. Some 1,178 women live in three or four roomed dwellings. Only 511 live in houses of five or more rooms.

In Dundee 89 per cent. of these women householders are either weekly wage-earners or working-class housewives. In Carnarvon (a small residential town with no industry) 73 per cent. of the women householders are either wage-earners or working-class housewives who keep no servant. In Bangor the percentage of working-class women is 76. On the average fully eight out of every ten women voters will belong to the working class.

Surely this is democratic enough.

## DOES THE COUNTRY APPROVE OF THE BILL?

No less than 36 City or Town Councils have now (February, 1911) petitioned or passed resolutions urging that the Bill may become law. These include the City Councils of Bradford, Cardiff, Dublin, Dundee, Hull, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, and Nottingham.

Several of these Councils voted unanimously for the Bill.

This excellent leaflet can be obtained from the National Union Offices, Parliament Chambers, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, price 6s. per 1,000, post free. Special quotations for large quantities.

## By-election.

N.-E. LANARK.

Committee Rooms:—198, Brandon Street, Motherwell.

Organizer:—Miss Alice Crompton, M.A.

Candidates:—Mr. Park Goff (U.).

Mr. Duncan Millar (L.).

Mr. Robertson (Lab.).

Polling Day:—Thursday, March 9th.

"It's a few rich women you're wanting to enfranchise" is the chief objection we meet with in our campaign. Liberal

and Labour ranks alike are filled with Adult Suffragists, who don't seem to have grasped the nature of the "Conciliation" Bill. When it is explained to them, and they hear the figures obtained in the Scottish, English, and Welsh municipal enquiries, they usually give way, and admit that our case is a strong one. The attitude of the Labour candidate is somewhat uncompromising, but Mr. Keir Hardie, whom we met at one of his meetings, has promised to talk his friend round. Good luck to his efforts!

Nine indoor meetings have been arranged, and so far have gone well. "The best meeting in Motherwell this election was the women's" was the verdict of a sympathetic Bailie repeated to us. Twenty-six outdoor meetings have been held up to March 5th; two others had to be abandoned owing to an extra outbreak of the gales and deluges, to which we are now inured. A trying discovery has been made! Our beloved tricolour turns out to be that adopted by the Labour Party! So our flags, banners, and badges have to be stripped of their green, and painting and chalking confined to red and white.

The local papers are full of flowery paragraphs about "the fair ones voicing their plea in our midst," and we have been glad to welcome at our headquarters representatives of the "Manchester Guardian" and "Glasgow Herald." Our support of Mr. Millar takes this form: The bulk of our speeches turns, of course, on our own question, but we describe to the audiences the attitude of each candidate towards our question, and urge the electors to vote for the Liberal, as he is, and has been, a good suffragist friend to the Conciliation Bill.

The day before the poll we propose to tour the whole constituency in a decorated car, leaving "Common Causes" and handbills at each polling station, and holding as many outdoor meetings on the road as time will allow. On March 9th, at each of the twenty-five polling stations, we hope one woman at least will stand, spreading sound doctrine in leaflets and papers and in talk. There she will stand, shut outside the gates, whilst the halt, maimed and impotent, the illiterate and the drunkard, are not excluded so long as they are men from joining the able in body and mind in recording their votes.

So far neither our militant nor our Anti-Suffragist friends have appeared. If the latter do so we shall retort upon them with our "Dog in the Manger" pictures and our posters.

"Women who work and  
Women who think  
DO want the vote."

—ALICE CROMPTON.

## Federation Notes.

## Scottish.

New ground has been broken by Miss Kirby, the Federation organiser, in Kilmarnock. Six weeks' hospitality was offered with the request for an organiser in that district, and Miss Kirby's work has been very successful, and greatly assisted by Suffrage friends, through whose kindness three capital drawing-room meetings have been held in the first fortnight. An afternoon meeting in the Y.M.C.A., which was largely attended and an evening meeting for school teachers, were also addressed by Miss Kirby with capital results, and future meetings for other speakers have been arranged.

## South-Western.

## FORMATION OF A SOCIETY AT PENZANCE.

I am so glad to be able to report the formation of a new Society in Penzance. There was a good deal of prejudice against Suffrage here when I first came, and the Anti-Suffrage attitude of the member, Sir Clifford Cory, has made the work very difficult among the Liberals. I was able to address a meeting of Liberal women, which has resulted in the drafting of a resolution urging the member to vote for our Bill on May 5th. If he refuses a number of the most valuable workers in the Women's Liberal Federation here will resign.

The new Society numbers between forty and fifty members, and I am leaving the work in the hands of a very able committee. Mrs. Hodgson Pratt has undertaken the work of hon. secretary, and Mrs. Bache has consented to be hon. treasurer. I am very grateful to both of them for the help they have given, also for the splendid work Mrs. Reginald Barrett has done.

Owing to Mrs. Robins Bolitho's generosity we were able to have a public meeting in the Alverne Hall, which was in every way a great success. Miss Borlase fulfilled the duties of chairman in a charming way. The meeting was well attended, a number of new members were enrolled, a good collection was taken, and we sold out all the copies of "The Common Cause." The local Press reported the meeting very fully.

I am hoping that the formidable batch of resolutions from different local bodies soon to be received by Sir Clifford Cory will result in a declaration in favour of Woman's Suffrage. M. NORMA-SMITH.

## Midland.

## FORMATION OF A SOCIETY AT BANBURY.

Miss Helga Gill, the Midland Federation organiser, has recently had a most successful campaign in Banbury, which has resulted in the formation of a promising Society there. This Society will, for the present, be worked as a branch of the Oxford Society.

## Leeds Society.

## DEPUTATION TO THE CITY COUNCIL.

On March 1st a deputation consisting of five ladies waited upon the Leeds City Council, asking them to consider a resolution at their next meeting in favour of the Conciliation Committee's Bill. The ladies were chosen to represent the three political parties, and because they have all been connected with the city's work.

Mrs. Currer Briggs was in her husband's lifetime Lady Mayoress, Mrs. Connon and Mrs. Hudson are on the Education Committee, Miss Hilda Hargrove is a Poor-law Guardian, and Miss I. O. Ford sat on the Distress Committee for two years. The latter was spokeswoman, and laid the case before the Council. No discussion is allowed when a deputation is received. We are told the deputation made a good impression. The chief point which had to be explained to the Council, it was found, was, that to allow such a resolution to come up for discussion at the next meeting was not allowing a precedent for men to bring up resolutions on political questions because men can appeal always as voters to Parliament. We cannot; but as voters and potential members of City Councils we have a right to ask them to do so for us.

## FORMATION OF A SOCIETY AT GOOLE.

Miss Fielden and Miss I. O. Ford held an excellent meeting on 2nd March at Goole. It was the first one held there in a hall. The handsome collection paid all expenses, and a society was at once formed, consisting, so far, of fifteen members. Mrs. Parker, of 63, Jefferson Street, is the secretary. Goole being in the West Riding will be included in that Federation, which is now being formed.

## International Women's Franchise Club.

## FORMAL OPENING.

The Club premises at 9, Grafton Street, were packed by members and friends on the evening of February 23rd, when the Earl of Lytton, president of the Club, performed the opening ceremony, and amongst those present the following were recognized:—Sir John Cockburn, Mr. and Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Mrs. Hicks, Mrs. Bent Colley, Miss Margaret Cameron, Mrs. Conybeare, Miss Otter, Mrs. Gilbert Samuel, Mrs. Stanbury, R. F. Cholmeley, Esq., Goldfinch Bate, Esq., Capt. Gonne, J. M. Mitchell, Esq., Miss Cicely Corbett, Miss Gray-Hill, Mrs. Saul Solomon, Mrs. Cobden-Saunderson, and Mrs. Hylton-Dale.

After the Chairman (Mr. Herbert Jacobs) had made an amusing speech, recounting the troubles of the Club at its start, Lord Lytton, in his speech, hoped that the Club would



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It is anticipated that these skins will be dearer at the next sales, after which the price of these Coats will probably not be less than 29 gns.

**LONG FINE MUSQUASH SEAL COATS** (as sketch), made from bright selected skins, and quite fresh and fashionable.

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soon cease to exist, owing to its object having been obtained. He also said that the Suffrage movement was not now a party question, but had become a universal one. Australia was now in a more healthy condition politically, since it had granted its women votes, than it had ever been. In this country the general opinion had been that if a woman had a vote she would be turned into an effeminate man, but he was glad to say that this feeling was disappearing, if it had not already disappeared. He laid great emphasis on the fact that in every State where the franchise had been given to women the results had been good. He mentioned that Sir George Kemp, Liberal M.P. for N.W. Manchester, would bring the Bill into Parliament on May 5th, and stated that among the 600 odd members in the House 246 were resolute supporters, 193 very resolute opponents, 65 neutral, and the balance lukewarm.

Sir John Cockburn, Cecil Chapman, Esq., and Miss Otter also spoke.

There are now 1,120 members.

## The Pioneer Players.

The Pioneer Players is a Society recently formed for the purpose of playing propaganda plays, chiefly those dealing with the women's movement, as that is at present the most important. The list of authors who have promised their help includes the names of such well-known and ardent supporters as Miss Cicely Hamilton, Miss Beatrice Harraden, Miss Bessie Hatton, Mr. Laurence Housman, Mr. Ford Madox Hueffer, Mr. J. Sackville Martin, Miss Elizabeth Robins, Miss C. St. John, and Mr. Bernard Shaw.

The first performance, which will take place at a London Theatre early in April, will include a one-act realistic scene by Mrs. H. W. Nevinson, a specially written play in which Miss Ellen Terry will appear, and a one-act comedy.

Arrangements are made by the Pioneer Players, under the direction of Miss Edith Craig, the Hon. General Director, to visit Suffrage centres and give performances in aid of local societies. The Society also wishes to encourage plays dealing with the women's movement, and will be pleased to consider any that are sent in. Among future plans will be the arrangement for Miss Ellen Terry to give one of her lectures on Shakespeare's women, which have been so successful in the United States, and a performance of Mr. Laurence Housman's "Pains and Penalties." Members of the Society consist of acting members who pay a subscription of one shilling per annum, and amongst whom may be mentioned Miss Lily Brayton, Miss Auriol Lee, Mr. Charles Hawtreay, Miss Jannette Steer, Miss Ellen Terry, and many other distinguished London actors and actresses; and ordinary members who can join the Society on subscribing for the six performances of new plays, etc., which will be given annually in London, on the payment of 3s. 6d., 16s. 6d., or 7s. 6d. annually, and are entitled to a single seat at each performance. Prospectus and full particulars can be obtained from the secretary, Pioneer Players, 2, Adelphi Terrace House, Strand, W.C.

## A Catholic Society for Women's Suffrage.

A well-attended drawing-room meeting of Catholic women was recently held at 8, George Street, Manchester Square (by kind permission of Miss Smyth-Pigott) to discuss the advisability of forming a society among Catholics for promoting Women's Suffrage; it was unanimously agreed to do so.

This Society is to be formed on constitutional and non-party lines, and is intended primarily to appeal to those Catholic men and women who have not hitherto taken any part in the Women's Suffrage movement. An hon. treasurer *pro tem.* has been appointed, and a small sum raised to defray expenses of the formation of the Society. If sufficient support is forthcoming it is hoped to hold an inaugural meeting shortly. In the meantime, the promoters will be glad to hear from all Catholics interested in the movement. Letters should be addressed to Miss Kendall, 22, Wilberforce Road, Finsbury Park, N., or to Miss Jeffrey, International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.; the latter will arrange interviews if desired.

## The Church League for Women's Suffrage.

Offices: 11, St. Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park, London, N.W.

In addition to the existing fifteen branches, new ones will shortly be established at Mentone (South of France), Bromley (Kent), Cambridge, Cardiff, Cuckfield, Eastbourne, Harrow, Leicester, Nottingham, Portsmouth, Sittingbourne, and Winchester. The drawing-room meetings for this month will be held as follows:—(a) by Mrs. Monck-Mason, 93, Oakley Street, S.W., March 16th, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers, Mrs. Lovibond and Rev. C. Hinschiff. (b) By Mrs. Shevell Cooper, 8, Warwick Avenue, Paddington, W. Speaker, Mrs. A. J. Webbe. On Thursday evenings during Lent, Rev. C. Hinschiff will continue his series of addresses at St. Mary's on "Social Problems of To-day," the subjects being:—March 9th, "School"; 16th, "Business"; 23rd, "The Poor"; 30th,



"The Unfit": April 6th, "The Profligate." St. Mary's Church is a short distance along the Harrow Road from the Edgeware Road Station, on the Bakerloo Railway. As Miss Maude Royden was unfortunately prevented from giving her promised lecture on "Joan of Arc" on March 3rd at Caxton Hall, Miss Muriel Matters lectured in her place to an appreciative audience on "The Torch of Femininity," and followed her address by a recitation of one of Olive Schreiner's "Dreams."

### Free Church League for Women's Suffrage.

Hon. Correspondence Secretary: Miss Hatty Baker, 25, Hartington Villas, Hove.

The first public meeting in London was held on March 1st in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street. The Rev. J. Ivory Cripps was in the chair, and Mr. W. S. B. McLaren proposed the following resolution:—

"That this meeting, being convinced that the continued non-enfranchisement of women is not only politically unjust, but also un-Christian in principle and against the best interests of the nation at large, welcomes the formation of a Free Church League to advocate Woman Suffrage by religious and educational methods, and heartily commends the League to the support of all Nonconformists."

Mr. McLaren spoke of the present situation in the House as a very hopeful one, and urged the audience to make the Government feel that the "Nonconformist conscience," which had so often supported Liberal measures, would support a measure enfranchising women. Mrs. F. T. Swanwick, in seconding the resolution, showed how the continued denial of liberty to women was a mere perpetuation of the rule of immoral physical force, and therefore totally contrary to the teaching of Christ himself. Dr. Clifford, who came on late after another meeting, met with a great reception, and proposed a resolution asking the Government for facilities this session. He declared himself in favour of freedom for women to attempt all they could do, and regarded the movement for the emancipation of women as a movement against all tyranny, misery and wrong.

Both resolutions were passed *nem. con.*, and the two hon. secretaries spoke hopefully of the excellent start that had been made and of the good results anticipated. The hall was well filled by an appreciative audience, and a good collection was taken.

### Dover Town Council.

On February 23 the Dover Town Council passed a resolution urging the Government to give facilities for the passing into law of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. The local Branches of the N.U.W.S.S. and of the W.S.P.U. had worked together to bring about the introduction of this resolution at the Town Council.

### Steady Does It.

The fog was very thick down by the river, and I hate bicycling; the roads were slippery, too, and I felt very sorry for myself at having to come out. "This tiresome old Suffrage," I thought; "why on earth do we bother about it? I can't think why I'm such a fool as to come pounding out on a night like this. I'm sure I don't know which way I'd vote if I had a chance, and, besides, I'm tired of all these dull old arguments, and these dull old stories, too. I've said it all so often, and I'm just sick to death of the whole thing. I want to stay at home for once like an Anti!"

And I went along with these thoughts and the fog for about two miles, growing more and more bored and unhappy as I went. I got safely to my meeting, however, and began to spout out the dull old arguments once more; and before very long they had resumed all their old sway over me—all the familiar excitement and enthusiasm came back, all the eager watching for smiles and sympathy, and all the hot anger against the unconverted. My own old jokes made me laugh again, my own peroration moved me in the same familiar way, and I sat down at the end positively longing for those dear old questions. To my surprise the first question I got was this:

"Aren't you soon going to get tired of all this agitating and give it up?" My emphatic denials surprised even myself in their fervour. The Cause, I said, couldn't die, couldn't be given up: it was utterly unbelievable. And what was more, no one who began to work for it could ever turn back.

Later on, when the orthodox questions had been asked and answered, the propounder of this one came up to me. He was very kind and fatherly—at least, he meant to be.

"But, my dear young lady, you will grow out of all this," he assured me; "you can't keep it up, you know. Why just think of making that very admirable speech of yours over and over again—it simply can't be done! Women have too great a sense of style, they are too volatile for public life."

I had lost my temper entirely before I finally got rid of him; and it was because I remembered my sentiments as I rode through the fog that I was so easily provoked.

The fog had only thickened while I had been spouting, and I was really afraid to ride home. So I lit my lamp and started to wheel my bicycle through the slippery darkness. I hadn't gone far before I heard steps behind me.

"Excuse me, Miss, but I don't think it's quite safe for you to be out alone a night like this, and if you'll pardon the liberty I'll just step a bit of the way with you."

I couldn't see who he was, but it was another kind and fatherly voice, and a real one this time, and I was very glad. We talked about the votes. "What I say is," he told me, "you women mustn't lose heart. You just stick at it and stick at it, and don't you let nothing interfere—not fogs, nor policemen, nor nothing." I said it was a good cause we had, much better than we were, and wouldn't let us stop.

"Yes, Miss," he said, "you've hit it there. When you've got something worth doing, it does you, so to say, and you can't really withstand it, not though you try ever so, if you take my meaning."

I did take it, as I told him; and then I was so much ashamed of myself that I confessed what I'd felt on the way through the fog hours before.

"That's it, Miss, that's it." He was immensely interested. "Yet you can't help it, like, feel how you may. That's what shows you've got to get votes in the end, for it works itself, and it don't matter how volatile you are."

When we got out of the fog and said good-night, I had quite learnt the lesson. I told him I'd never be volatile again.

"That's right, Miss," he answered, "steady does it, and don't you forget that; but all nights aren't foggy ones."

RAY COSTELLOE.

### The Anti-Suffrage Canvass at Bristol.

On December 2nd of last year a notice appeared in the Bristol papers to the effect that a "systematic canvass" of the women who would have been affected by the passing of the Conciliation Bill had taken place, and a tabular statement, purporting to be the result of such canvass, appeared at the same time. During February a similar assertion appeared in the London papers, together with the announcement that a reply-paid postcard had been addressed to each woman on the register.

It happens that my mother has been a municipal voter for about a quarter of a century, and as the published result of the canvass was the first intimation she had received of the matter, she and I immediately inquired of those of our women friends who are householders as to the means taken to obtain these figures. We were astonished to find that all the women we were able to ask that day had heard nothing whatever of the canvass, and, with the object of clearing up the mystery, I wrote the same evening for an explanation of the omissions to Lady Fry, over whose signature the statement first appeared. But neither Lady Fry nor Miss Fry were able to give any satisfactory explanation, and my proposal that one of these ladies should personally call upon all the women-householders in any given street in Bristol, with the object of testing if the women had had the opportunity of recording their opinion, was not accepted.

A casual selection of a dozen women in different streets was next made, and after very strict investigation it was found that two of these had been given the opportunity of stating their views, and that ten had not had the privilege of doing so. As I had not actually seen all the last-mentioned women, I determined to test the matter by calling upon all the women in one street who appeared on the 1909 register. I selected a street composed of private houses and shops, and here only one woman (the licensee of a public-house) knew anything about the canvass. A friend then volunteered to canvass another street in a middle-class residential district, and the result in this case was that not one of the women whom she saw had been canvassed. Other roads were then partially or wholly investigated with similar results, and although I have now seen (or heard of) several women who had actually been canvassed by the Anti-Suffrage Society, I have been unable to find one who could give me any information as to the nature of the questions asked.

I might add, as my own opinion, after weighing such explanations as were forthcoming, that the canvass in Bristol was very far from being thorough, and although it has failed in its object, it has, to my knowledge, had the result of strengthening the Suffrage ranks.

WINIFRED PARRY.

NOTE.—The figures for Bristol, as published in the "Anti-Suffrage Review," are:—

Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral.	No Reply.
7,615	3,399	915	2,004	1,297

### Foreign News.

#### NORWAY.

A correspondent from Christiania writes that "the Cabinet resolved to place before the Storting a proposal to extend to women the right of admission to all public offices except membership of the Cabinet, military, diplomatic, and Consular posts, and benefices in the State Church."

#### GREECE.

The editor of the "Women's Journal" in Athens sends the following interesting details of the proposed new laws for the

### Reviews.

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN—QUINQUENNIAL MEETING—CANADA, 1909. Edited by the Countess of Aberdeen. (Constable. 2s. 6d.).

This little volume, containing less than five hundred pages, is crammed with matter of superlative interest to women of all nations. It abounds in variety, and readers can consult it for the latest information on all subjects from the very serious one of the state of the law with regard to the Immoral Traffic in Women (hitherto known as the White Slave Traffic), to the less absorbing, though by no means unimportant, matter of the regulations for preventing the inhuman destruction of wild birds for the sake of their plumage.

As Suffragists, however, we are naturally and rightly mostly concerned to note the attitude of that very representative and important body—the International Council of Women—on the one vital matter of the Suffrage.

We recall with satisfaction that it is now more than six years ago that the International Council of Women passed a resolution placing Suffrage and the Rights of Citizenship on the list of their standing committees. By the constitution of the International Council each country is left absolute freedom of action in the matter, but each is urged to form a standing committee of its own National Council, and invited to send a representative to the standing committee of the International Council. Many nations have responded to the appeal made to them by Dr. Anna Shaw after the Quinquennial Meeting in Berlin in 1904. Some have sent a representative to the standing committee of the I.C.W., but have appointed no standing committee of their own; others have formed local committees, but have failed to send representatives to the I.C.W.; whilst others, again, have established their own standing committees and are also represented on the I.C.W. This is as it should be—each nation working in the way which seems most likely to produce the result desired; the only regrettable fact is that a single one of the twenty-two National Councils should have refrained from taking any steps in the matter, and we would add our exhortations to those of Dr. Anna Shaw (the convener of the International Standing Committee), that they should bestir themselves at once to take an active interest in the subject, for, as she so wisely remarked in her opening speech at the big public meeting in Toronto: "This department of work is the most important line of service engaged in, not only by the Council of Women but by women anywhere in the world over."

The International Council of Women at Toronto brought forward but one Suffrage resolution:—

"That the I.C.W. reaffirm its belief in the desirability of women having a right to vote in all countries where a Representative Government exists."

We take it that, in limiting their resolutions to this one, the I.C.W. adopt the line that, as regards bodies of educated thinking women the whole world over, the day is past when there can be any necessity for discussion as to whether women should or should not have the Parliamentary franchise. Women engaged in every kind of public work—whether it be municipal, educational, philanthropic or any other—have in the mass long since been convinced that without the sound foundation of the political vote no secure basis for the furtherance of their work is to be found. Why, then, devote time and energy to discussion of a subject on which in the main we are all agreed, even if we differ as to methods of work? But we should like to see the same, or a similar, resolution as that brought forward at Toronto head the agenda paper for every women's conference or congress until the vote is won.

We note with pleasure that at Toronto the resolution was carried without a dissentient voice.

Space fails us to speak of the other interesting and important subjects which are discussed in Lady Aberdeen's volume, but we can assure our readers that if they wish to know just how the particular work in which they are engaged is being carried on in other countries, if they wish to have from the pens of our own experts reports on special subjects brought up to date with care and skill, they cannot do better than secure the little volume each for herself.

WOMAN AND MARRIAGE. By Margaret Stephens. (T. Fisher Unwin, pp. 280. 3s. 6d. net.)

This wise little book contains an earnest plea for the better and more intelligent instruction and training of the young of both sexes in their future relations with each other. An equal standard for both sexes and knowledge on the part of the woman, so that she may wisely exercise her discretion in true marriage, are insisted upon. The greater part of the book is taken up with a simple account of the organs and processes of generation and birth, and with advice useful to the young mother, but it is a book which young men as well as young women should read.

THE BACHELOR GIRL'S COOKERY BOOK, by May Henry and Jeannette Halford (Garden City Press, Ltd. 1s.) is intended for the girl in a little flat, or a week-end cottage, or a tent or caravan even, and the arrangement of the book is very useful. If you know beforehand that sheep's tongues (for instance) will take five hours to prepare, you don't embark on that dish, even if it does only cost 1s. 2d. Also you are reminded not to wash the frying-pan, but to fill all saucepans

protection of women and young girls in Greece. They are being laid before the Chamber by the Minister of Justice, Mr. Dimitracopoulos, and are strongly supported by the most prominent ladies in Athens.

The white slave traffic is to be dealt with most rigorously by the present Government, and special laws are to be made regulating the work of women and children, which till now has been under no control. The National Council of Women and the members of the Lyceum Club have addressed a petition to the Government, asking that the following matters may be looked into: the employment of women in public positions, the right of married women to dispose of at least part of their own income, reforms in boys' and girls' schools, and the formation of agricultural schools.

There seems to be every reason to believe that a better era is dawning for the women of Greece: the Minister of Justice appears to be even more insistent in his demands than the women themselves. The Minister of Education, Mr. Alexandris, and the Minister of Commerce and Agriculture, Mr. Benakis, have the welfare of women much at heart, and are anxious to overcome the old prejudices which have placed women in such an inferior position with regard to intellectual and other work. The present Greek laws relating to women date from the time of the Roman and Byzantine Emperors, so without being considered firebrands the present Ministers may be expected to do all in their power to alter such an antiquated state of affairs.

#### UNITED STATES.

The question of votes for women is rapidly gaining ground in the States: the Suffragists were still rejoicing over the victory in the California Legislature, when the news arrived that a similar step had been taken in Kansas, where the Legislature voted in favour of the constitutional amendment granting full Suffrage to women by a majority of 27 to 12 in the Senate, and 94 to 28 in the House. As a rule there is an interval of two years before a constitutional amendment is voted upon, or there must be a general election after the adjournment of the Legislature. There is, however, some talk in California of calling a special election in September, and the Suffragists are busy preparing an active campaign.

In Michigan and Montana the amendment has secured a majority, but not the two-thirds majority needed to pass it. Ohio is quite determined to be the sixth Suffrage State, and the W.S.A. has brought out a neat yellow button, bearing the significant words, "Ohio the Sixth."

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's tour in the States consists of a series of crowded and enthusiastic meetings; by the unanimous invitation of both Houses, she addressed the Iowa Legislature on February 1st, and received a tremendous ovation from a packed audience.

An International Municipal Congress and Exposition is to be held in Chicago in September (18th to 30th), 1911, when a variety of subjects relating to public work will be discussed.

### An "Anti"—cipation.

Here comes my Lord Cromer, with trumpets and drums;  
Like Moses aforetime, from Egypt he comes:  
The Antis have got him—they think he's a draw;  
For they fancy he proves when he lays down the law.

By chance I have hit on the paper of notes  
Of his lordship's oration on Women and Votes:  
And I think I can tell without any mistake  
The heads of the speech he is going to make.

He'll tell us that force is the ultimate rule  
(Thus showing that Burke was an ignorant fool):  
That women can't vote, for they never can fight,  
And fisticuffs plainly determine the right.

Next, women may soar, but they never may roam,  
For the place of the woman's the hearth and the home:  
It will smirch her perfection and sully her soul  
If once in five years she runs off to the poll.

Then notice once more how divided they be—  
Why, e'en on the Suffrage they cannot agree:  
Thus give them the vote, and 'tis obvious then  
They'll vote as one woman and swamp all the men.  
(For you know they outnumber us far, it is said,  
And *that's* why all women should certainly wed.)

Then further, the good of the woman herself  
Requires her demands should be laid on the shelf:  
For the good of the woman is properly known  
Not to women themselves, but to Cromers alone.

The noisy don't want it, for sure, if they did,  
They'd keep their desires more respectably hid:  
On the other hand, those who are quiet about it,  
Don't feel the desire, or they'd bellow and shout it.

Then lastly he tells, as a neat peroration,  
Queen Victoria hated the whole agitation:  
"Though what were the reasons that made her do so,  
I'm sure I shan't tell—and I'm blest if I know!"

[Offered by a prophetic poet in reply to Cambridge inquirers who were fain to know in advance what Lord Cromer would say at the Anti-Suffrage meeting on March 3.]



with water the instant they are emptied, which are things amateurs generally forget. Altogether a useful book for novices.

#### THE MAGAZINES.

The March number of THE ENGLISHWOMAN has an article on *White Women in South Africa*, which we should wish every white man to read. We hear much of man's chivalry to woman; but this article brings home the knowledge that in the white man's want of conscience in his dealings with dark women lie not only the growing problem of the future and the place of mixed races, but the terrible responsibility of the dangers run by white women. Mr. Francis Bancroft puts in a cogent plea for the speedy enfranchisement of white women, that they may not hold themselves and be held lower than the black man. This article is of such thrilling importance and interest that it somewhat outweighs the rest, but the number is not by any means less interesting than its predecessors. It contains among other articles an exposition of the much more humane Scots law in marriage, a description of children in village homes, and an article by Mrs. Drew on "Women's Suffrage."

THE DELINEATOR is published by the Butterick Publishing Company, and we are glad indeed to see that a paper which deals with the sartorial needs of women can also afford to be just and equitable when writing on their other needs. The February number has a long and interesting article, "Measuring up Equal Suffrage: An Authoritative Estimate of Results in Colorado," by George Creel and Judge Ben. B. Lindsey, of Denver. We heartily recommend this to English readers as an antidote to the "Ladies' Realm."

#### SOME USEFUL PAMPHLETS.

We would recommend everyone to get from the WOMEN'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT SOCIETY, 17, Tothill Street, Westminster, the report of the speeches at the Local Government Section of the Women's Congress at the Japan-British Exhibition on 6th and 7th June, 1910. The price is 2d., and the array of useful facts and the profound conviction which they leave of the endless work for which women should be trained and paid are enough to make a Suffragist of everyone who reads. The pamphlet costs 2d.

THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN WORKERS has issued (price 1s., or 7s. per doz. post free) the papers read at a private conference on *Hygiene in relation to rescue work*. This conference was arranged by a sub-committee of the Preventive and Rescue Committee, and was addressed by four medical women of wide experience.

THE FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN has published a *Report on the opportunities for post-graduate work open to women*; the report also gives a list of research work done by women between July 1st, 1909, and June 30th, 1910.

#### Women and the Empire.

The principal of a college for girls writes to say that she has received a big budget from the organizers of a "Festival of Empire" at the Crystal Palace, inviting her co-operation "in affording special facilities to the young people under your charge to study the fascinating lesson of Empire." The lady replied: "Possibly you mistake this for a boys' college, as it is to the masters of boys' schools such appeals should be made. When women are granted the rights of citizens you may be sure they will not be behind in their efforts to 'stimulate wholesome pride in Imperial citizenship.' Until such time, I consider it inconsistent of men to ask the help and interest of women in Imperial affairs."

#### Letters to the Editor.

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.

#### CRUELTY TO WOMEN.

I had commenced to write to you to inquire whether it would not be possible for someone to start a "Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Women," when, on opening last week's "C.C." the first thing that caught my eye was "Will someone not start a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Mothers"! It is not the reading of horrible happenings to women during the last few months so much as the facts being allowed to pass without the slightest comment from any quarter that makes one's blood run hot and cold, and wonder if the women's societies could not do something in that way. It would lead to the framing of laws which the coming woman's vote will put into force, if not sooner. When we see what the S.P.C.C. has been able to accomplish, ought we to wait for the vote first? Here are one or two items selected from the last few months' newspaper reports:

(1) Man "punches" wife (who earns daily as charwoman) for coming home late the worse for drink so severely that she dies a day or two after from injuries to stomach, etc.,

the result of heavy blows given by him. His son, aged 11, tried to protect his mother. The jury considered the above to be sufficient provocation for the husband, so recommended him to mercy. Result: *Six months!* Here is a life-lesson for the boy on the value of women.

(2) Youth, for brutal assault on young lady cyclist, whom he dragged from her cycle into a field, and who wrestled with him and screamed until he managed to gag her. He then tied string round her neck, and finally jumped on her, trampling her in the ditch, and made off as help was coming. She was in bed a fortnight before being able to give evidence. As this was his *second* offence of the same kind within six months the jury considered he ought to have—*Six months!* And he got it. Here's another lesson for our youth of to-day. Two in six months, and out and free in a short time to repeat the offence.

(3) A very young wife applied to the magistrate to protect her from her husband by giving her a separation order. He had never kept her since he had married her nor the child; had never provided any home for her; she had always worked for herself and child. No, the magistrate would not protect her; "she must make the best of it," which means that "Lazy" can bring her as many more children to keep (or the ratepayers) as ever he likes. Poor young thing!

(4) A man in France, because his daughter refused to spend her holidays with him, shot her mother in the law courts. Acquitted of the murder. Provocation. But fined 13s. 6d. for carrying the revolver.

Personally I know of several cases where the father, through drink or laziness, caused the mother to starve herself in order to feed the family. Result, she became idle (ill?) and dirty, and the S.P.C.C. summoned her for neglect of the children.

This brings me to a word I want to say about one of the causes of the "unfit." Can an "unfit" mother bear "fit" children? Look round our big poor families, whether in towns or in villages. The first one or two children are strong; the younger ones weakly, miserable, and rickety. When the labourer gets married, the couple divide the meat and the pudding and the income generally between them. By and by comes baby No. 1. Mother is only too proud to give baby's share out of her half. Soon comes baby No. 2. Mother's half of the loaf and the pudding, etc., does duty for three now. If you look in when No. 4 and No. 5 have arrived you will still see everything halved as at first, but mother's share by this time has generally settled down to bread and dripping and tea for dinner, ditto supper, ditto breakfast. The bairnies *must* have pudding, and father must have and does have meat and pudding the same as always, for is not he the breadwinner? and besides, men *must* have it, so she will tell you, and she finds she can *do* without, only she gets so "sinking" nowadays; she thinks it must be from having the babies so fast, and she has never seemed to "pick up" from No. 4, who has always been such a "whettle" and such a "handful." But, after all, "you must put up with things as you get them if you get married, only if things (meaning babies) go on the same as they have the past six years she don't know where she'll be."

Well, perhaps she'll be in a surgical ward of the hospital, or perhaps she'll be in a decline. These are the most common endings.

Believe me, I am of these people, and this is the order of the day, and it will describe any poor home you chose more or less. The women sacrifice the men of the future for the men of to-day, and nobody says them nay. After an operation following 13 mishaps a patient begged of the nurses and other patients not to inform her husband. But the women's hospitals can furnish you with shoals of these cases needing a S.P.C.W. F. J. A.

#### THE STRENGTH—AND WEAKNESS—OF GENTLENESS.

It is a fact appreciated by organizers that, just as different party political opinions rule different districts, one county being characterised as distinctly Unionist while the neighbouring one may be as distinctly Radical, so the spirit of the country may be apportioned with regard to Women's Suffrage.

Here and there one finds communities absolutely apathetic and neutral—these, as our organizing work spreads, growing day by day fewer,—but, as a rule, the prevailing spirit in a district, for or against, shows itself to an organizer within the first week.

From this fact hints may be taken as to the propaganda work suitable for the Society, when one has been formed in the district. When the spirit is aggressively opposing, an open warfare with pronounced split into factions is the inevitable result of defiantly forcing the more advanced Suffrage views. The same result attends a too conciliatory attitude towards a weak and hesitating opposition, where members have been won over by persuasion rather than conviction. Active work and a declaration of decided opinions on the part of a Society formed in these circumstances either eliminates at once the weak members or raises them to the ground of firm conviction and lively enthusiasm. The danger attending such "foes of one's own household," in retaining unconvinced members, has recently been proved in the experience of one of the N.U. Societies. A secretive opposing influence, from which the branch has suffered ever since its formation, burst into active and declared enmity, led by one of its original members, at a public political meeting last week. Herein lies the weakness of gentleness.

A happy example of the strength of gentleness in a district, until lately keenly Anti-Suffrage, presents itself in the work of one of the younger societies of the Union—that of St. Andrews. The name, St. Andrews, at once suggests a high standard of intellectual idealism, and this Society hopes to prove its power to maintain such in Suffrage work. Recognizing that a search after knowledge was as strongly characteristic of the district as the perverted conservatism of conventionality, it used the former in its attack on the latter. By the kindness of Dr. Scott, Lecturer in Political Economy in the University of St. Andrews, a series of lectures (suggested by the Society) is being given, which even the most rabid Anti-Suffragists may attend with advantage, and which they cannot resent or attack without raising against themselves a suspicion of prejudice and selfishness inimical to the spreading of their dogma. The principles of taxation which Dr. Scott is laying before them at present will, it is hoped, prove the justice of one woman's claims to citizenship, and, aroused to a sense of the responsibility incurred even in paying money to the State, they may determine that theirs also is the responsibility of judging the methods of the State in spending it.

FLORENCE HILLIARD.

#### DOMESTIC SERVICE.

In your issue of January 19th a pamphlet, "Mistress and Maid," by Lady Bunting, was reviewed. The reviewer, in noticing the fact that Lady Bunting advocated the German system of character-giving, remarked that from inquiries made one could not perceive much advantage was gained by that system.

If the reviewer of the pamphlet intended to say that the German system of character-giving would not in itself create a greater number of servants, no one could deny such an obvious statement; but I consider one of the chief drawbacks to the position of servants is their being subjected to privileged and private character-giving. All mistresses are not educated and intelligent, to say nothing of being truthful and conscientious, and yet all these qualities are required in character-giving.

Again, the supply of capable domestic servants falls so very short of the demand that I have known instances of girls who have been two or three years in a situation leaving, as they say, "to better themselves"—that is, for higher wages,—but the mistress, who sometimes cannot afford the extra wage, is so annoyed at the girl for leaving that she will actually prevent the girl getting another place, and finally the girl has to go back at a much smaller wage than she could command elsewhere. The character being privileged, the girl does not know what has been said, and has no chance of telling her own version of circumstances.

Again, there is a prevalent idea among employers that all employers give lenient characters, so if one person more conscientious than others hints at a fault, the receiver of the letter often says: "Oh, I don't know how bad that may be. I shall not take the girl."

I do not consider the mistress gains anything under our English system, and the servants lose a valuable defence in the non-publicity system.

There is another point to which I should like to call your attention. It seems particularly absurd when the shortage of domestic workers is so apparent that English people should be actually subscribing to societies and assisting to emigrate the very best of the class for whom there is plenty of work and good wages in England.

Our servants at the present day are undoubtedly of a lower calibre than they used to be. The cleverest and most intelligent of their class now become schoolmistresses, typewriters, or, if specially strong and healthy, emigrate; and how the health of the nation is to be maintained when England seems bent on emigrating her best and taking in the worst of other nations is, I think, a very serious question. To me it seems impossible, so long as this goes on, that we can ever have a supply of efficient, capable servants, who should in their turn make the capable mothers of the rising generation.

(Mrs.) S. M. FOLEY.

14, Neville Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

[Our reviewer writes: I do not say that no better system of "character"-giving might be devised than the one we have in England, but German employers and registries are finding the "Dienstbuch" almost useless. The adjectives, "ehrlich and fleissig" (honest and industrious), are frequently used to cover all else, and the books are more often than not "lost" when the character is bad.]

#### CENSUS RESISTANCE.

Suffragists are being invited to refuse information for the census, as a protest against the continued disfranchisement of women.

In so great a cause great sacrifices are necessary, but there is no merit in a great sacrifice unless the one who makes it has some conception of its greatness. For this reason I should like to be permitted to point out what this policy involves if carried out on a considerable scale.

Statistics are not compiled for the amusement of the Government of the day. Their main usefulness is to serve as a storehouse where statesmen and social reformers of every shade of thought may find the material from which to forge the weapons for fighting their battles. The census of 1911

does not stand by itself: it is of value chiefly for comparison with former and future enumerations, and as a basis for all kinds of human statistics. The birth, death, and marriage rates are calculated on the census. The statements on which we rely as to the proportion of men and women who are wage-earners, the relative number of men and women engaged in certain trades at the present day and half a century ago, the proportion of widows and spinsters, and a multitude of other subjects—all depend on the census.

The strength of the Suffrage movement makes it certain that if the proposed form of protest is widely adopted, the returns will be seriously vitiated, and the census of 1911 will in the statistical tables of the future have to be marked with an asterisk, and a note, "unreliable as regards the female population." That will be an enduring monument to the determination of the women of 1911—but it will be a monument placed where it will hinder the march of future progress. The inconvenience of it will not be very much felt by the present Government (who may very likely be out of office before the full census returns are published—in 1913 or 1914), but it will be felt by future Cabinets and future Parliaments in the days when women will be taking their fair share in the legislation of the country. Some of those who are now urging this step may have cause to rue it five years or fifteen years hence, when they are seeking to promote some great reform by the aid of the women's vote, and they find that a closely wrought statistical argument breaks in their hands, owing to the "unreliable census returns of 1911."

My own work has lately led me to a careful study of the mortality returns, and the relative ratios of deaths in the two sexes for certain groups of diseases. This is not a speculative inquiry—it is a serious work in furtherance of reforms which Suffragists especially must desire. If any census in the past were so unreliable as the 1911 census is in danger of being, these figures would be vitiated; there would be a break in the series, not for one year, but for ten years or even more, a break which might seriously invalidate my results.

The same thing is true of workers on other lines: if this census is unreliable there will be for a space of ten years no trustworthy statistics as to the employment of women, as to the proportion of married women, as to the ratio of paupers, of the insane, or of the blind to the rest of the population, as to the diminution of the birth-rate, and a host of other matters. In such directions the inconvenience will be felt increasingly up to 1921, with full force up to 1931, then with diminishing intensity long after most of us are in our graves.

While we are engrossed in the struggle for the vote we may not care for these things. But that struggle will not last much longer, and when we come to use what has been so hardly won, I think there are very many who will wish that this particular form of protest had been spared.

To use a familiar proverb, is it not a little like "cutting off one's nose to spite one's face"?

I have written on the assumption that the "strike" will be so widely taken up as to make it an effectual protest. If it be argued that those who adopt it will be too few to affect the census seriously, then surely they will be too few to make their protest effective.

Sheffield, March 4th, 1911.

HELEN WILSON.

#### THE POLICE AND THE SUFFRAGISTS.

I see in this week's "Common Cause" a suggestion which I have seen once before in the paper—namely, that women who were mishandled by the police in Parliament Square and the neighbourhood last November would have been better advised to have prosecuted the offenders then and there than to have made their complaints an occasion for a statement to the Home Secretary. If the National Union were as well acquainted with the workings of the Metropolitan police courts as are the "militant suffragettes" they would not make this suggestion. It has to be borne in mind that in the police courts while the word of an accused person is never taken unsupported, that of a constable almost invariably is so taken. If the women had prosecuted the police, it would simply have resolved itself into a swearing match, and the women would have been disbelieved. It would have been very difficult to bring witnesses of the behaviour of the police, although no doubt in many cases this could have been done. Then, again, one must remember that the magistrates of the police courts approach the whole question with a strong bias against the militant suffragette, as such. Again, it must be considered that the newspaper reports of all such matters are either suppressed or garbled.

I believe "The Common Cause" also criticised the action of the Conciliation Committee in delaying the statement; I think that under the circumstances they got it out very quickly. December and January were practically useless, for almost everyone was away, and it has taken a good deal of careful investigation to get the whole matter dealt with; this, added to the fact that every woman concerned hesitated a good deal before committing to paper and bringing to the public eye things which she hoped to be allowed to forget altogether once they were over and done with, made the task necessarily a long one.

At the time that this investigation was commenced, I personally, as one of the women concerned, was against it, and I was rather late, therefore, in sending up my testimony; I only did this when I realized, from other sources, the strong possibility that the treatment to which I was subjected was not a special brutality called forth to meet a special case, but



a mode of "bringing to heel" drunken and disorderly women, often practised by the police in the lower parts of London. I felt that if this was the case the more public such behaviour was made the better.

ENNIS RICHMOND.

[Mrs. Richmond is probably quite right in saying that the police would be believed as against individuals; but considering the number of witnesses, some of them men and women of high standing, who say they saw abominable acts, we think a very good case might have been made by cumulative and disinterested evidence. It was not the unavoidable delay of the Conciliation Committee which we regretted. The women were charged on the 22nd and 23rd, though not on the 18th, and we greatly regret that, with all the power they undoubtedly possess, they did not counter-charge and have really reliable witnesses to bear them out.—Ed. "C.C."]

Will you permit me a word of comment on the refusal of the Home Secretary of the investigation demanded by the Conciliation Committee into the conduct of the police and their superiors towards the Women's Deputation last November? The refusal is of serious import, not merely to the alleged sufferers, but to the nation. The public, in a democratic country, are the ultimate custodians of justice; how can they do justice if they are not permitted full knowledge of the actions of their servants? That the public at large appears willing to forego the power of justice when the alleged sufferers are unpopular only renders the case more serious. If the people abdicate their powers in one instance, they risk losing them in others. Hence it behoves all those who, like Suffragists, are believers in self-government, to see that these powers should be exercised; above all, in this instance, when the persons alleged to be wronged were struggling, however mistakenly, in the Suffrage cause.

I hold no brief for the militant Suffragists. I think their tactics are as immoral as their cause is the reverse; but misconduct does not abrogate their right to just treatment and to freedom from arbitrary violence. The usual appeal to the law courts fails in this case because, while it is comparatively easy to prove assault by some policeman or other, it would be excessively difficult to identify the individual. Further, the charges brought by the Conciliation Committee include accusations against those in authority of improper, or at least unwise, orders. On this point Mr. Churchill's defence is unsatisfactory; he gives simply the denial of the persons accused. This is not in itself proof. Proof of guilt or innocence can only be afforded by the public examination on oath both of those who commanded and those who obeyed.

Thus in every way it becomes the duty of the public, and, above all, of Suffragists, to press for inquiry. Let every Suffrage Society send up resolutions in favour; let no Suffrage meeting pass without such a resolution being put. Let every Suffragist who is also a member of a political party (especially Liberal or Labour) exert her influence with that party to obtain such resolutions. Let them bring pressure to bear on the members for their constituencies to support an inquiry. Let them remember that they are asking not for condemnation but for investigation; in other words, not for punishment, but for the power to do justice. Without this power, without the acknowledged right of the public to control its servants, the vote is useless.

For the sake, therefore, of the efficiency of the vote when gained, let Suffragists unite in endeavouring to secure a full and impartial inquiry into the alleged wrongs of their fellow-workers.

A. B. WALLIS CHAPMAN.  
130, Inverness Terrace, Bayswater,  
March 5, 1911.

#### THE HOUSE OF LORDS AND THE REFERENDUM.

May I, through your columns, make a suggestion with regard to the above?

It is common knowledge that the House of Commons is favourably disposed to our cause, and all possible efforts are being made by Suffragists to facilitate the passage of the Conciliation Bill through that House.

Now, there is a widespread fear that the House of Lords may reject the Bill, and that the Government may agree that the question be submitted to a Referendum. This has already been described in "The Common Cause" as "a serious danger," and there seems to be no doubt that it would put the clock back several years as regards the Suffrage Movement, though it is obviously absurd to consult the male voters only on a question of such paramount importance to women.

Do you not then think that in order to avert this danger a strongly organised attempt should be made to gain support for the Conciliation Bill in the Upper House?

No doubt if the matter were discussed many suggestions as to ways and means would be offered, and the following might, I think, be of some use.—It would surely be an easy matter to raise 600 volunteers who would each be willing to send "The Common Cause" weekly to one of the 600 peers. I for one would be willing to do this, or to subscribe to a general fund for the same purpose.

H. C. GALE.

[We do not ourselves think that the danger is as great as our correspondent suggests. The present Government is not at all anxious, as all its spokesmen have shown, to introduce the precedent of the Referendum. We shall be

very glad indeed, however, if any number of our friends will make themselves responsible for having the paper sent to members of either House.—Ed. "C.C."]

#### HESWALL REFORMATORY SCHOOL.

In your paragraph *re* the House of Commons debate on the above School you do the managers and superintendent of the Institution a great injustice in saying that "Mr. Masterman explained that although there had been some exaggeration an unsatisfactory state of things had been revealed."

No one who read Mr. Masterman's report in full or who heard his speech in the House in answer to inquiries could doubt that he had been otherwise than favourably impressed by the conduct and management of the school in question.

The "unsatisfactory state of things" referred to was in the regulations and control of Reformatories and Industrial Schools in general, and was not applied to any institution in particular.

That the control of these schools is very unsatisfactory will, I am sure, be felt by all Suffragists when they realise that in spite of the hundreds of girls in these institutions there are no women on any of the committees who manage them.

CICELY LEADLEY BROWN.

Dawstone, Heswall, March 5th, 1911.

[In so brief a summary as ours it was perhaps impossible to do justice to so full a report. But Mr. Masterman admitted that illegal punishments had been inflicted, that the conditions of housing had entailed hardship and illness, and that the Chief Officer was a man not suited to his post. Further, he stated that some boys were sent to institutions like this who were unfit for the life. These admissions constitute an "unsatisfactory state of things," surely a very moderate phrase.—Ed. "C.C."]

#### THE CASE OF MRS. WOOLMORE.

Mr. Cyril Yaldwyn writes, in connection with this case, to urge the necessity for the limitation of families and for a humaner public opinion on the matter. [We regret that, taking the statements in the "Daily News" as correct, we alluded to this family as consisting of "five children born in six years." Mr. Parr, of the N.S.P.C.C., now writes that the ages of the children were 11, 9, 8, 4, 1 year and 10 months respectively.—Ed. "C.C."]

#### ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS AND THEIR CANVASS OF WOMEN HOUSEHOLDERS.

I notice in your issue of the 23rd of February a statement from the honorary secretary of the Cambridge W.S.S. on the subject of the recent canvass of women householders conducted in Cambridge.

I have already explained personally to Mrs. Ward that the results were obtained not by means of reply-paid post-cards but by personal canvass, and any statement to the contrary which may have been made was without the knowledge or authority of our League.

The poll was taken by paid assistants, who were instructed to ask the question, "Are you or are you not in favour of women having the Parliamentary vote?"

Since our results have been challenged we have cross-examined the persons employed, and they state that they are prepared to substantiate the lists sent in.

Our president, Mrs. Austen-Leigh, has already written to the local papers offering the lists in question for inspection by any member of the local executive committee of the W.S.S., but at present no advantage has been taken of this offer.

We do not claim that a poll taken in this way is or can be completely reliable, and we consider that such returns are only of use as an indication of the general consensus of opinion.

E. L. BIDWELL,  
Hon. Sec. National League for Opposing Woman  
Suffrage (Cambridge Branch).

[Mrs. Ward wrote in our issue of February 23rd that the figures were published in several local papers with the statement that the canvass was by postcard. It would be interesting to discover on what authority the papers made this statement if it was not on the authority of the Anti-Suffrage League. Since there appears to have been no printed question to which signatures were appended but merely a verbal question asked by a paid employee, who entered the names, we are of opinion not only that the poll taken is not "completely reliable," but that it is totally worthless, and that Lord Cromer discredited himself and his cause in stooping to quote such figures.—Ed. "C.C."]

#### LORD CROMER AS THE CHAMPION OF "NATURE."

If the Suffragists had not been made of somewhat tough material they would ere now have been worn out in the endeavour to reply, for the thousand and first time, to the ancient fallacies continually refurbished by their professed opponents.

Lord Cromer, speaking at Cambridge last Friday, said that "to attempt to drag women into the whirlpool of politics was to fly in the face of Nature, which has clearly indicated"—presumably by the mouth of his Lordship—"the spheres of action respectively assigned"—by whom?—"to the two sexes." I have always understood that the power which we

## West Heath School, Hampstead.

[ESTABLISHED 1897.]

A SCHOOL where Boys and Girls are educated together, and where they learn the respect for each other and gain the wholesome and natural knowledge of one another which is a foundation for all that is best in the mutual relations of men and women.

Children are received from the ages of six to eighteen; thus obviating the disastrous break at thirteen or fourteen years of age, in the continuity of their intellectual work, which is a necessity (for moral reasons) in schools where boys and girls are educated separately.

\* \* \*

At West Heath School the Boys and Girls share each other's pursuits, whether in work, games or leisure (with certain obvious exceptions). They have, in fact, in this respect the freedom of a large family, in conjunction with the help due to the supervision of a staff of experienced educationists.

At the same time, the even proportion in the staff of men and women gives ample opportunity for the association of boys with men and girls with women, which must be an inherent characteristic of any true system of co-education. Where boys and girls are thus brought up, false ideas as to predominance find no acceptance, and a standard, honest in being alike for all, is upheld.

Particulars can be had from the Principal.

Reference is allowed to the

REV. CANON SCOTT HOLLAND, D.D., St. Paul's, E.C., and  
MISS JANE WALKER, M.D., 122, Harley Street, W.

frequently personify under the name of Nature was quite able to take care of herself, and not only so, but to visit with adequate punishment those who did not act in accordance with her inexorable requirements. But Lord Cromer is so afraid that Nature may be worsted in the present political struggle that he comes forward as her champion. It is too ridiculous! If the Suffragists are, as he says, flying in the face of Nature, why not leave them alone, and let Nature administer the snub, which she can do so much more effectively than Lord Cromer, notwithstanding his Oriental experiences with so-called interior races.

Nature does not allow herself to be trifled with, and has safeguarded her position centuries and ages before his Lordship came on the scene, and will do so for centuries and ages hereafter. If Lord Cromer had even a grain of faith in his own statement he would act on the principle of Andrew Marvell, the incorruptible Commoner, that "men may spare their pains when Nature is at work."

CHARLES B. MABON.

50, St. George's Road, Charing Cross, Glasgow.

#### WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND PARTY POLITICS.

I have reluctantly handed in my resignation as hon. secretary of the Exeter Branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and we have also unfortunately lost the services of our president and of three of our committee. I am most anxious that no one should interpret this as a sign of decreased interest in our cause. I have no authority to speak for others, but I am sure they also are still firmly convinced of the elementary justice of giving votes to qualified women, and that it is indeed necessary to justify our claim to live under a representative Government, and to the best interests of the nation, which consists of women as well as men.

But we are unable to retain office under the conditions required by the National Union, and only now fully understood by us. We had interpreted the "non-party" character of the Union in an inclusive sense, meaning all parties; we now realise that, so far as officers and executive are concerned, it is exclusive, and means no party, we must subordinate all other convictions to the one demand for Women's Suffrage. This we are unable to do. I now speak for myself only. I belong to no political party, but I care very deeply for certain measures, and cannot surrender the right to work actively, if I feel called on to do so, for the man who will support those measures which at the time seem to me most vital. Among these I rank Suffrage very highly, but not to the exclusion of all else. I should desire a National Association which invited the co-operation of all parties, to do propaganda work,

with the distinct understanding that at election times all members were pledged to work for Suffrage inside their own parties, where, it seems to me, their help would be most efficient.

While we are voteless we must work through the electors. Many Members of Parliament, unfortunately, realize very imperfectly the insistence or the extent of the women's demand. But if their constituents make it perfectly clear that they desire justice to women, members will then consider the question from two points of view—that of abstract right, and self-interest, which is a powerful incentive with most of us. By such a Union as I suggest we should utilise in our cause the forces of party, instead of turning them against us, as must be the case if we adopt the position of "Suffrage, and nothing but Suffrage."

My sense of humour does not allow me to canvass while I have no vote; but women who do not feel this could combine Suffrage work with canvassing. Miss Smith, canvassing for Mr. X., the Liberal, who is not a Suffragist, after dilating on his merits and the excellent measures he promises to support, could continue: "But he has one great fault, he is not in favour of justice to women"; then, having explained her point of view and secured the assent of the voter, she could continue: "Now here you electors can best help us; ask Mr. X. questions at every meeting, get up deputations and petitions from electors to him, and let him know you care for liberty and justice." By some such means a body of public opinion could be aroused not in one but in all parties. Who will start the truly "Non-Party" Society?

JESSIE DOUGLAS MONTGOMERY.

[The rules of the National Union do not compel officers and executive to work at elections, they only provide that the officers and members of the executive committee of any society may not work in any constituency "except on the lines of the N.U. policy for the time being." Since, however, the societies exist to obtain the parliamentary vote and the officers and executive represent the society, it is manifestly extremely desirable that officers and executive should actively carry out the policy of the Union and those who feel themselves unable to do so are best working as private members of the Society, who have ample opportunities for the propaganda work which Miss Montgomery so justly regards as important. We are very glad to think that Miss Montgomery will still do this part of the work.—Ed. "C.C."]

## Work of Societies in the Union.

#### MIDLAND FEDERATION.

The great event in our Federation during the past month has been the passing of resolutions, in favour of Women's Suffrage, by the Town Councils of Nottingham and Leicester. Oxford worked hard for the same result, and had obtained a majority of promises from the Council, but the resolution was blocked by a few opponents who "moved the previous question."

NOTTINGHAM also reports a most successful meeting for the sweated women lace workers, held at the offices of the Lace Makers' Union. Mr. Arthur Richardson, who, as former M.P. for the Southern Division of Nottingham, succeeded in getting the lace home workers placed upon the Sweated Industries Commission, took the chair, and was most warmly received. Miss Gill gave an address on what the women of New Zealand and Australia have been able to do since they had the vote towards the raising of wages and putting a stop to the sweated industries. Mrs. Dowson also spoke on the need for women of all classes to co-operate.

The Federation Committee took place on February 23rd at Birmingham, Mrs. Osler in the chair. Sixteen out of the eighteen Societies were represented. It was proposed and unanimously carried that Miss Royden should be asked to be the National Union representative on the Federation in place of Miss Palliser, now Parliamentary Secretary. Miss Royden's acceptance of the appointment has since been received. The annual meeting of the Federation is to take place at Nottingham on June 12th, and is to be combined with a demonstration in the Market Place. It was decided to accept the invitation of Birmingham to the Provincial Council in October. Other business was discussed, notably the need of organisation in already untouched areas.

WOLVERHAMPTON reports that a stirring and enthusiastic meeting was held on February 14th, when Councillor Margaret Ashton gave an address on the subject, "Are Women Citizens?"

BIRMINGHAM reports that the Franchise Club continues to increase in numbers. Miss Fry's help in connection with the speakers' class is much appreciated, and several members are now prepared to undertake some public speaking.

A very interesting meeting was held at Harborne, organized by Mrs. Merrill-Hawkes, when the play, "Man and Woman," was presented before a large audience, including a number of men, and although most seats were free a good profit was made out of the sale of programmes, coffee, chocolates, etc.

SHREWSBURY held their annual meeting on February 7th, when a strong committee was elected. The work of the Society has been concentrated in canvassing municipal women voters, with a view to petitioning the Town Council to pass a resolution in favour of Women's Suffrage.

BURTON also reports a very successful annual meeting, when a paper was read by Miss Farrington on "The Nurse as a Factor in Social Life."

MANSFIELD has also been visited by our organizer, and a series of meetings took place, notably the annual meeting, when Miss Gill gave an address on "Women in Norway."

Miss Helga Gill is at present working in Rugby, where a series of ward meetings of women ratepayers is being held. It is hoped through these women to prevail upon the Urban District Council to send a memorial to the Government, urging them to give facilities



for Sir George Kemp's Bill. Miss Gill is paying a number of calls on women with a view to rousing their interest in the Suffrage. A branch of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association has been started in Rugby, and it is hoped the two Societies will be able to work harmoniously together.

#### NORTH-WESTERN FEDERATION.

CARLISLE.—We held a very successful meeting on February 4th in the County Hall, which was nearly full, although it was market night. Our new president, Mrs. F. W. Chance, took the chair, and, thanks no doubt to her help, our meeting received more notice from the local Press than on any previous occasion. Mrs. Philip Snowden, whom we were delighted to welcome, charmed us with a racy and inspiring speech. Efforts had been made to induce Anti-Suffragists to attend and ask questions, but if any were present they did not oppose the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

#### SCOTTISH FEDERATION.

February, though a short month, holds a record of work too long to fully report in the space available. The increasing interest of the public in the work being done, or going to be done, reported from all quarters is one of the most encouraging signs of the times, and even the capital reports given by the local papers confirm this. Even where pronounced antagonism of the M.P. for the district somewhat hinders the growth of the Society, much sympathy for the cause is declared. In Shetland, for instance, the Freemasons of Lerwick paid from their own pockets for the hire of a hall for the Society, leaving the sum raised at the meeting—over £4—intact for Suffrage purposes.

The report from St. Andrews includes a meeting which was held on January 30th. Mrs. Houston, St. Margaret's, kindly granted the use of her drawing-room, where the magic of Miss Lumsden's name and reputation as a speaker attracted a large gathering of opponents as well as adherents to the cause, which her very beautiful and convincing address must have advanced greatly in St. Andrew's. The Society is pursuing an educative course of propaganda work, in which they are receiving valuable assistance from Dr. Scott, Lecturer on Political Economy, St. Andrew's University—a series of four lectures on "The Taxes We Pay" exciting the interest even of the Anti-Suffragists.

The steady work of the Edinburgh Society proceeds with unabated energy, the drawing-room meetings being particularly successful. One on the 6th, given by the kindness of Mrs. Alison Dalkeith, addressed by Miss Cotterill and Miss Low, secured 21 new members. A much larger gathering enjoyed the hospitality of Mrs. White, Cramond, and admirable addresses were given by Mrs. White and Miss Low, while on the 15th a very full meeting, arranged by Mrs. Melville, hostess, was addressed by Miss Mair and Miss Low, both meetings added new members to the roll. Two evening meetings were very successful also—the first, by the invitation of the Portobello P.S.A. on the 3rd, at which Miss Frances Parker and Miss Lamond spoke; and a second, on the 25th, when Miss Begbie and Miss Low addressed a large number of business girls, invited by a local dressmaker. The Friday At Home has been very good. On the 3rd the speaker was Mrs. Cumming Craig. "Is Our Demand Merely Political?" on the 10th, Miss Mair spoke on "The Suffrage Movement and Morals"; on the 17th "Our Next Move" attracted a large attendance, who followed with interest Dr. Inglis's remarks. On the 24th the annual meeting was held in the Café Hall, Princes Street. The reports from the Hon. Secretary and Treasurer were received with great enthusiasm, deserved by the vast increase in work and money they showed during the past year, the income amounting to £1,014 8s., of which £967 13s. 6d. represents the expenditure. Several interesting speeches were made, over £10 was collected, drawing-room meetings arranged, and a delightful spirit of enthusiasm and determination to work was shown throughout the whole meeting.

A splendid meeting was held by the Fife Society on the 7th, when nearly 300 were roused to enthusiasm by an address from Mrs. Philip Snowden, the effect of which gained more adherents to the cause than the stewards had time to note, forty new members' names being taken, while several others were held over.

On the 9th the Haddington Society held a Suffrage At Home in the Assembly Rooms, which were beautifully decorated by the members, who also provided tea. There was an attendance of over 200, from among whom the addresses from Miss Mair and Dr. Inglis drew a considerable addition to the Society. The interest of Haddington in Suffrage has been so aroused that the Society hopes to arrange a large public meeting soon.

The Orkney Society also held a capital meeting on the 9th in the Albert Hall, Kirkwall, at which an address was given by Mrs. Baikie, president, and excellent papers by Dr. Mary McNeill and Miss Flett, L.L.A.

The Dundee Society finished on the 20th their arduous labours of tabulating the census of women householders in Dundee. The interesting results, added to those of Manchester and London, will be of great value in silencing the fear that the Conciliation Bill will increase the number of propertied votes, since they prove that 89 per cent. of those enfranchised would be of the working class. A Debating Society and Speakers' Class have been formed, and interesting papers read—some from Dr. Thomson, giving a resumé of Lyon Bleas's "Emancipation of English Women," and one from Miss E. Lindsay on "The Educational Value of the Women's Suffrage Movement."

From Thurso comes news of the success the John o' Groats Society achieved in the performance of "How the Vote was Won." This was played in the Town Hall, Thurso, on the 24th, and was followed by a musical and variety entertainment, ending with a tableau representing Britannia in chains, for whom Australia and New Zealand are pleading before the King and Queen.

The 24th was also the date of a most interesting At Home given by the Glasgow Society; Miss Edith Stewart, hostess. This to the form of a Parliamentary debate, held in capital spirit, with Speaker (Mrs. Hunter), and an attendance of supposed M.P.s. The M.P. for Sutherland (Miss Waddell) introduced a Bill, seconded by the M.P. for Wolverhampton (Miss Adam), opposed by M.P. for Perthshire (Miss McMurray) and M.P. for Govan (Dr. E. McLaren). Several others took part in the discussion, and the division resulted in a majority of eight for the Bill. The Society reports with great regret the loss they are sustaining in the appointment of Mrs. Hunter to the secretaryship of the Vigilance Society. They thoroughly appreciate her value in this direction, but as thoroughly feel their own loss of a secretary whose untiring, energetic

enthusiasm helped to form the Society nine years ago, and has greatly sustained it ever since.

The Kilmalcolm Society held its annual meeting on the 28th, when the report of its year's work was received with well-deserved enthusiasm. The At Home which followed was exceedingly well attended, Miss Low's delightful address drawing forth interested questions which were convincingly answered, and new members were enrolled.

The Leven Society, though not yet ready for affiliation, held a drawing-room meeting on the 9th, by the kindness of Miss Younger, at which an address from Miss Low was received with interest, a secretary and treasurer appointed, and hope of good work in Leven given for the future.

#### SURREY, SUSSEX AND HANTS FEDERATION.

CUCKFIELD AND CENTRAL SUSSEX.—A meeting was held in the Queen's Hall, Cuckfield, on the afternoon of January 20th, at which Miss M. Verrall presided, and Miss M. Royden spoke. In the evening of the same day Miss Royden and Mr. R. Pott spoke at the Hassocks Hotel, the Rev. H. Torry taking the chair. On January 31st a very successful drawing-room meeting was held at Ditchling by Mrs. Hargreaves, the speakers being Miss Pickworth and Miss Chute Ellis, and the chairman Mr. Benjamin Kidd. On February 3rd, at 8 p.m., three plays were given at Horsted Keynes in the Parish Room—"How the Vote was Won," "Change of Tenant," and "Man and Woman." The audience of about 200 were extremely interested, and conversions are hoped for. On February 9th Mrs. Cooper addressed a meeting at Hayward's Heath in the Co-operative Hall, Miss F. de G. Merrifield presiding. On February 10th Mrs. Cooper and the Rev. C. Hinsciff spoke in the Queen's Hall, Cuckfield, Mr. T. Caumford in the Parish Room, Horsted Keynes. Both she and Miss Royden were much appreciated.

GUILDFORD.—The annual meeting of the Guildford Society was held on January 31st. The balance-sheet showed a small balance, though the Society started with a deficit for work done before subscriptions were paid. An At Home followed the meeting, the guests, numbering about fifty, being chiefly Anti-Suffragists. Mrs. Percy Boulnois and the Rev. A. E. W. Simms gave addresses, and Lady Chance presided. There was a lively discussion, some leading local Anti-Suffragists taking part. Miss Dorothy Edwards spoke the same evening for the Good Templars, on "Women's Suffrage and How It Affects the Temperance Question." New members among the Templars are hoped for as the result. On February 16th Mrs. Cooper addressed the Co-operative Women's Guild, much enlightening the audience. On the 17th she took a small but successful meeting at Mewrow, and that evening she talked to the members of the Society at their monthly meeting. On February 20th the Actresses' Franchise League gave three plays in the County Hall—"An Englishwoman's Home," "The Apple," and "How the Vote was Won." The acting was excellent, but the audience rather small, in spite of much advertising.

BRIGHTON.—Mrs. Cooper addressed a Mothers' Meeting at Brighton on February 6th, and a large working-class meeting the same evening, the audience being unacquainted with the subject. Many women became associates of the Society afterwards. On February 8th, at the annual meeting, Lady Stout gave an interesting account of the beneficial working of Women's Suffrage in New Zealand, in the home and the State, and Mrs. Cooper contrasted the condition of affairs out there and here.

CRYDON.—On February 8th the first of a series of monthly At Homes took place at the Adult School Hall, nearly 100 members and visitors being present. Mrs. Auerbach gave an address, and Miss Duncan spoke a few words. Seven new members were gained. Two drawing-room meetings were held at Crydon in January—one by the Misses White, when Miss Amy Miller spoke, and one by Mrs. Everett, when Mrs. Baillie, B.Sc., spoke from the point of view of the young married woman.

FLEET.—The Society held its annual meeting on February 15th, when Miss Boyle, president of the Johannesburg Women's Suffrage Society, spoke magnificently on the difficulties and success of the work in South Africa, to a good audience.

LEITH HILL.—Miss Dorothy Edwards gave an address on February 17th at the annual meeting of the Society, which was fairly well attended.

## TWEED COSTUMES & COATS

MADE IN SCOTLAND.

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WORKING.—On February 22nd Miss Tritton held a meeting at Broadwater Hall, at which Miss McGlade roused amusement by remarking that the Anti-Suffragists were prepared to use their votes if they got them.

WINCHESTER.—On the same day Dr. Stancombe presided at a good meeting at the Guildhall. Mrs. Cooper, in her address, alluded to her experiences as a cotton-weaver, as a trade unionist, and as a member of a deputation to Mr. Asquith, and to her work for years past for the Cradley Heath chain-makers. The Secretary of the Church League claimed that the Suffrage movement is the greatest moral movement at present. The Chairman said that the resolution in favour of the passage of the next Bill was carried "with a few benevolent dissentients."

#### BOURNEMOUTH.

The At Homes held in the Assembly Rooms every week have proved to be just what was needed, and are very well attended. The Anti and Suffrage debate was capital, and, as a real live Anti-Suffragist could not be obtained, Mrs. Gohlke, who took the Anti-Suffragist side, gave in a lady-like, subdued manner arguments she had heard at Anti-Suffragist meetings in the town. Mrs. Hume vivaciously opposed. On January 31st Mrs. Hood, the hostess, provided a varied programme, with good speeches. On February 7th Mrs. Hamilton Grant was hostess, and her friend, Francis E. Tucker, Esq., Companion of the Imperial Service Order and many years official of the British Museum, gave his delightful and quaint lecture, "Chaucer on Matrimony."

#### LEEDS.

The Society held its annual meeting on February 20th in the Lecture Hall, Albion Place. Mrs. Cannon (president) occupied the chair. Mrs. J. E. Thornton (hon. secretary) read the report of the past year's proceedings, stating that seventy-seven new members had been enrolled during that time, the membership now standing at over 300, in addition to a good number of associates. The hon. treasurer's (Miss Ford) report showed an increase in income and also in expenditure. A most interesting report was given by Miss Fielden (organizer) of the work done by her in Leeds and the neighbourhood. Miss I. O. Ford spoke on the proposed scheme of Federation for the West Riding.

On February 25th the Society held a largely attended At Home in the Albion Hall. Mrs. Cannon presided. The audience listened with rapt attention to a most delightful address from Mrs. Swanwick, in which she dwelt upon the importance of the vote to women as an admission of their status and position. They did not believe in being politically powerless, and this women's movement was really a movement of intelligent women trying to be abreast of the more intelligent men. Women had been fighting for the vote for many years, and there had been six second readings of a Women's Suffrage Bill. They should see to it that this year the second reading of the Bill should be the last second reading, and that it would proceed to a third reading and finally into law. Following Mrs. Swanwick's address was a play by Miss H. M. Nightingale, "A Change of Tenant," in which Miss I. O. Ford, Mr. S. Ford, and others took part. Mme. J. Eddison gave a delightful rendering of Ella Wheeler Wilcox's inspiring song, "The Awakening." Mrs. J. E. Thornton recited "Women This, and Women That." The concluding item was Lady Geraldine's Speech, by Beatrice Harraden, in which the parts were taken by Mrs. Parrish, Mrs. Perkins, Miss Fielden, Misses Hargrove, and others.

#### WOBURN SANDS.

Under the auspices of the Woburn Sands, Aspley Guise, and Woburn W.S.S., the Actresses' Franchise League gave two performances at the Institute, Woburn Sands, on February 22nd. The two plays, "A Change of Tenant," and "How the Vote was Won," were greatly appreciated by the audience. We hope these plays are too well known to Suffragists to need description. Miss Elfrida Derwent, Mr. Bert Hill, and Mr. Stanley Ellingham provided most excellent music.

#### Other Societies.

##### ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

The Grand Hall of the Criterion Restaurant was filled to overflowing on the occasion of the At Home on Friday, March 3rd. Mrs. Saba Raleigh took the chair. Lord Robert Cecil, the chief speaker, said that the strength of the movement lay in its not being confined to any one class or section of women, for women of all classes were asking for enfranchisement. He laid stress on the importance of organisation, and urged Suffragists not to relax their efforts with electors, who must be shown that the woman's question should be put before all others.

Mrs. Petrick Lawrence said that physical force was justified when moral issues were at stake. She quoted the case of Mrs. Wright, recently honoured by the King for using physical force against a criminal who was attacking a member of the police force.

Bishop Arnold Mathew said he wished he could open the doors of the churches to the discussion of this great question, as it was a religious question. He had waited forty years to hear an argument against it. Women only asked that they should be regarded as human beings.

Miss Lena Ashwell gave some charming recitations. The next meeting will be held on Friday, April 7th at 3 p.m.

##### THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

8, Park Mansions Arcade, S.W. (opposite Knightsbridge Tube Station).

Miss Beatrice Harraden's meeting for the Society was crowded to overflowing. Miss Harraden herself presided, and introduced the speakers—Mrs. Pertwee, Mrs. Armet, and Miss Ogston. Mrs. Cecil Chapman also spoke a few words about the proposed campaign in the Mid-Norfolk Division, which the Society hopes to work in response to Mr. Braitford's suggestion. The committee earnestly appeal for introductions to friends in the neighbourhood of Dereham in Norfolk, for volunteers to help the organizer in canvassing, speaking, etc., and for subscriptions to the campaign fund. As the district has not previously been touched by Suffragists, it is very important that everyone should give what help he or she can to facilitate a somewhat difficult task.

At the office At Home on February 28th, Mrs. Pertwee brought forward many interesting facts connected with women's work and the inadequate payment for it. There is still room for more guests at these meetings. Members are asked to make a point of bringing their friends on Tuesday, March 14th, at 3.30 p.m., to hear Mrs. Hylton Dale, who will speak on "Where Shall She Live?" Mrs. Dale recently spoke for the deputation to the L.C.C. to place before them the need for Municipal Lodging-houses for Women, and deals with authority with this subject of vital interest to women.

## Forthcoming Meetings.

- MARCH 9.  
Dublin—35, Molesworth Street—Irish W.S. and Local Government Association—Committee Meeting. 11.30  
Reigate—Mrs. Alexander's Drawing-room Meeting—Mrs. Cooper. 3.30  
Sutton Coldfield—Town Hall—Miss C. Hamilton's Anti-Suffrage Waxworks and Dr. Waite's Play. 8.0  
Hove—Town Hall—Miss Maude Royden, Mr. Cecil Chapman. 8.15  
Whaley Bridge—Open-air Meeting—Miss Robertson. Dinner-hour.  
Bournemouth—Mrs. Rowe's Drawing-room Meeting—"Woman's Work and Women Workers"—Mrs. Merivale Mayor. 3.0
- MARCH 10.  
Oxted—Mrs. Kitchin's Drawing-room Meeting—Mrs. Stanbury. 3.30  
Reigate—Lesbourne Parish Hall—Mrs. Auerbach (chair), Mrs. Cooper, Miss A. M. Royden. 8.15  
Whaley Bridge—Open-air Meeting—Miss Robertson. Dinner-hour.  
Bolton—Girls' Recreation Club—Annual Meeting—Miss Robertson. 3.0  
Bristol—46, College Road, Clifton—Mrs. Usher's Working Party. 8.0
- MARCH 11.  
Letchworth—Howard Hall—"American Fair." 7.0  
Southboro—Victoria Hall—Miss Eva Macnaughten, Miss Nina Boyle. 8.0
- MARCH 13.  
New Shildon—Friends' Meeting House—Miss Lucas (chair), Miss C. M. Gordon, M.A. 7.0  
Whaley Bridge—Mechanics' Institute—Miss Robertson, Mr. Barnes. 7.45  
Rugby—Small Co-operative Hall—Miss Helga Gill, F. West, Esq. 3.30  
Rugby—Large Co-operative Hall—Mrs. Philip Snowden, Miss Helga Gill. 8.0  
Camberley—Porterberry Hill—Drawing-room Meeting—Mrs. Cooper. 3.0  
Camberley—St. George's Room—Women's Co-op. Guild Meeting—Mrs. Cooper. 7.0
- MARCH 14.  
Stockport—19, Tibot Dale—Mrs. Rayner's Meeting—Miss C. M. Hutton. 8.0  
Bournemouth—Assembly Rooms, Town Hall Avenue—At Home Miss Knapp. 4.0  
Bradford—Mechanics' Institute—Miss Ashton, Mrs. Parrish. Evening.  
Withington—Mrs. Creak's Drawing-room Meeting—Miss Robertson. Afternoon.  
Bristol—111a, White Ladies' Road—Lecture, "Cooks and Cooking"—Miss M. Vening. 5.0  
Farnham—Messrs. Ransom's Room, South Street—Entertainment, and Address by Mrs. Cooper. 3.0  
Frimley—Village Hall—Mrs. Cooper, E. S. Close, Esq. (chair). 8.0



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- MARCH 15.  
 Nottingham—54, Long Row—"George Meredith and Women"—Mrs. W. E. Dowson. 7.30  
 Newcastle-on-Tyne—27, Ridley Place—"Women and Local Government"—Mrs. Gray. 7.30  
 Dorking—Public Hall—Debate—Lord Lytton, Mr. F. E. Bray. 8.0  
 Tonbridge—Public Hall—Mrs. Rackham. Evening.  
 Horsted Keynes—Congregational Hall—Lady Brassey (chair). 3.0  
 Lady Betty Balfour, Mrs. Corbett.  
 Knutsford Society—Free Church Schools, Rudheath—Miss M. Robertson, B.A., J. R. Tomlinson, Esq. (chair). 7.30
- MARCH 16.  
 Oxted—Assembly Room—Debate—Mrs. Rackham, Miss Mabel Smith. 8.0
- MARCH 17.  
 King's Heath—Council Schools—Mrs. Roxburgh (chair), Lady Isabel Margesson, Mrs. Osler. 8.0
- MARCH 18.  
 Southbourne—St. Katharine's Hall—Mrs. Merivale Mayer, Rev. P. M. C. Johnstone, M.A. (chair). 3.0
- MARCH 20.  
 Birmingham—Queen's College—Reading of "Pains and Penalties," by Mr. Laurence Housman. 8.0  
 Knutsford—Town Hall—Mrs. Philip Snowden. 8.0  
 York—St. William's College—Annual Meeting—Mrs. Rackham. 3.0
- MARCH 21.  
 Scarborough—Matthews' Boarding House—At Home—Address to Teachers—Mrs. Rackham. 8.0
- MARCH 22.  
 Newcastle-on-Tyne—27, Ridley Place—Discussion Meeting. 7.30  
 Nottingham—Calvert's Café—Whist Drive. 7.30  
 Southport—Rowntree's Café—Miss Maude Royden, Mr. Lyon Blease. 7.30  
 Hull—Owen Hall, Baker Street—Mrs. Rackham. 8.0
- MARCH 23.  
 Wallasey and Wirral—70, Rowson Street—Dr. Frances Ivons. 8.0

LONDON.

- March 9: Highgate and E. St. Pancras, St. Augustine's Hall, Langdon Park Road. "Pillars of Society," Miss Bessie's Company. 8.0  
 Kensington—Mrs. Wigram's Drawing-room Meeting, Debate, Miss C. Corbett, B.A., Miss Dorothy Lawrence. 4.30  
 March 10: E. Enfield, New Church Hall, Ponder's End, Women Only, Mrs. Rogers, Mrs. Hood (chair). 3.0  
 March 11: Norwood, Suffrage Offices, the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, Miss Abadam. 8.0  
 March 14: S. Wimbledon, Johnson's Rooms, Broadway, Miss Agnes Dawson. 8.0  
 March 15: Ewell, Mrs. Homan's Drawing-room Meeting; lecture, "Florence Nightingale," Miss Janet Thomson. 3.15  
 N. and S. Paddington, Gymnasium, adjoining Westbourne Park Chapel, Social Meeting, Mrs. Eltham Mylne, P.L.G., Mr. Cyril Yaldwin. 8.15  
 Queen's Hall, Langham Place, Public Reception (for speakers see page 792).
- March 16: Chelsea, River House, Debate; hostess, Mrs. Westlake; Sir Ed. Busk (chair), Mrs. F. T. Swanwick, M.A., A. Maconachie, Esq. 8.45  
 E. Enfield, New Church Hall, Ponder's End, Council John Brown (chair), Miss Ruth Young, T. Gugenheim, Esq. 8.0  
 March 17: Highgate, Mrs. Holman's Drawing-room Meeting, "The Position of Women in the 17th Century," J. Arthur Price, Esq. 4.0  
 Sutton, Miss Burdett's Drawing-room Meeting, Mrs. Corbett Ashby. 3.15  
 March 18: Norwood, Suffrage Offices, Miss B. Harraden, Miss Abadam. 8.0  
 March 21: Ealing, 37, Uxbridge Road, Miss Debac's At Home, Mrs. Vane Turner (chair), Miss Ransom. 8.15  
 March 22: Highgate, Spear's Memorial Hall, Working Women's Meeting, Miss Withall (chair), Mrs. S. H. Holman, Miss R. Bisset Smith. 3.0  
 Hampstead, The Library, Prince Arthur Road, Mrs. Stanbury. 4.0

SCOTLAND.

- March 9: Dalkeith, Buccleuch Street Hall, Miss Chrystal Macmillan, Miss C. M. Gordon. 8.0  
 Gullane, Public Hall, Miss Alice Low, Miss Lisa Gordon. 8.0  
 March 10: Edinburgh, 40, Shandwick Place, At Home, Miss C. M. Gordon. 4.30  
 Glasgow, 58, Renfield Street, Miss Buchanan's At Home. 4.0

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 Edinburgh, 40, Shandwick Place, Miss S. E. S. Mair, Miss Alice Low. 8.0  
 March 14: Portobello, Dairy Hall, Dr. Elsie Inglis, Miss Alice Low. 8.0  
 March 15: Edinburgh, 9, Melville Street, Reception. 8.15  
 March 22: Edinburgh, Mrs. Pringle's Drawing-room Meeting, Miss S. E. S. Mair, Miss Alice Low. 4.0

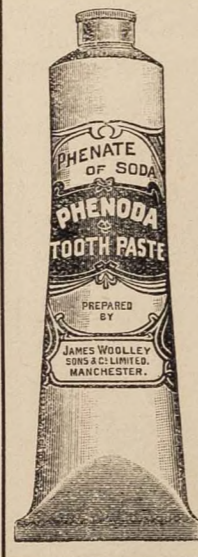
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