

NON-MILITANT

The Common Cause,

The Organ of the National Union of

Women's Suffrage

Societies.

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ONE PENNY.

Notes and Comments.**The Conciliation Bill.**

There are only eight days now before March 22nd, the date fixed for the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill, of which we again publish the text on page 835. There seems a likelihood that the more unreasonable and sentimental supporters of women's Suffrage may abstain from voting on account of recent events; but we must do our best to get as good a vote as we can in support of our staunch friend, Mr. Agg-Gardner, and trust that the House will recover from the wave of feeling of which our enemies and some of our lukewarm friends are taking advantage. Some people still seem a little confused about Parliamentary procedure. Amendments cannot be moved until the Bill reaches Committee Stage. The Second Reading merely affirms the desire of the House to proceed with the Bill.

The Rhetorical Singular.

We have seen a letter from a Member of Parliament which surpasses in absurdity most of what we have read even about "Women." He writes, "Woman has disgraced herself and therefore she is no longer fit for the vote." Because about 200 of the adult females in the country have "disgraced" themselves, the remaining 11,999,800 are "no longer fit for the vote!" Think of it!

Dying for a Delusion.

We wish people would not fling about language quite so freely. The epithet "wicked" is a somewhat over-worked one, for instance. There does not appear to us, on the face of it, any justification for calling the recent stone-throwing "wicked." For an action to be properly so described, not only the intention but the motive should be morally bad. The intention was to break a window, to destroy what cost labour and ingenuity to make—essentially a *bad intention*. The motive, we think, from what we have seen of the W.S.P.U., was in a very large number of cases adoration of Mrs. Pankhurst or enthusiasm for some speeches that had been listened to and the fixed idea which comes from incessant iteration.

Now, few people would seriously and in cold blood say that such motives are *morally bad motives*; they are really inadequate and disproportionate, but they are the sort of motives that commonly move both men and women who have definitely enlisted as soldiers and declared "Theirs not to reason why." We have come to the conclusion that these are the two motives which determine the actions of most of the members of the W.S.P.U., because they mostly show an extraordinary inability to answer close questioning about policy and nearly always reveal the fact that they don't understand Parliamentary procedure and don't know the history of any franchise movement, even their own. One has heard people say "this does not matter." But it does matter very much whether people do wrong things from a pure delusion. We are faced with an extremely complicated Parliamentary situation with great possibilities, and the members of the W.S.P.U. are throwing stones at all these possibilities, many of which they don't even under-

stand. Again, it is no answer to say you could find members of the National Union who were just as ignorant; we can believe it; but they are not destroying the work of others and breaking the law of the land for their delusion.

The Work of Repair.

Of course, these remarks do not apply to the leaders, who do apprehend the points of the situation, but who in our opinion misjudge them, from a strong bias in their minds towards the methods upon which they have built up their organisation and staked their reputation. This it is which makes it so important that all other suffragists should make their position plain. The W.S.P.U. is out to smash more than windows: it is out to smash first the Conciliation Bill and second the Reform Bill. All other suffrage societies have kept their hope and their pledges for the Conciliation Bill, and it is our business to repair the damage caused by the W.S.P.U. with all the ardour of steady, well-informed work that is in us.

Provocation.

It must not be forgotten that the Government and the House, too, have their share of responsibility for the unsatisfactory condition of the women's movement. When the militants first began, they were treated with great and unwarrantable severity; this was relaxed after a time, but whether they were met with leniency or with severity, the suffrage question was still treated with the same contemptuous neglect by the Government, and every concession has been wrung from them with infinite effort. Those who are old enough to remember the days when the late Mr. Labouchere led the opposition to women's suffrage in the House, or those who will take the trouble to look up those debates, and try to put themselves "in the skin of a woman," may perhaps realise how much provocation women have received. Again, knowing the inflamed state of feeling among women, Mr. Hobhouse, at Bristol, on February 16th, was wantonly provocative when he said "We have not had, in the case of the woman suffrage demands, the kind of popular sentimental uprising

which accounted for Nottingham Castle in 1833, or Hyde Park Railings in 1867." We do not know whether Mr. Hobhouse was really cruel enough to intend provoking excitable women to arson and assault, but if this provocation was unintentional, he was more obtuse than is permissible in a Minister. We think it showed great lack of judgment in the W.S.P.U. to take the advice of an anti-suffragist, but this is not the first time they have fallen into a trap of this sort. Their reading of the political situation has all along, as we pointed out, been in agreement with the *Times*, *Morning Post*, and *Anti-Suffrage Review*, and opposed to the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Nation*, the *Daily News*, and the *Labour Leader*.

Laodiceans.

A Miss Annie Williams writes to the *Standard* to the effect that "behind the safety of constitutional behaviour, law-abiding and non-militant methods, are hiding intense admiration of the militants, stifled rebellion, self-contempt and fear." Nobody doubts that there may be women who do not "militate" simply



[Photo: Watson, Cheltenham.]

J. T. AGG-GARDNER, M.P.

(In charge of the Conciliation Bill).

SECOND READING, MARCH 22.

because they are constitutionally timid. But we cannot for the life of us see why these timid ladies should not join the "non-militating militants," for if they "hide" in the National Union we have no use for them. If they don't believe in our policy their "self-contempt and fear" are not very valuable assets for the society in which they elect to hide themselves. The National Union is very wide and very tolerant, but if at this crisis there really are a few of its 30,000 members who believe in the policy of smashing the work of the National Union, only a looking-glass conscience can reconcile them to remaining in the Union. If any such exist we do not wonder at their "self-contempt." May it bear fruit in greater honesty!

Must "Boys" be "Blackguards"?

As usual, the people who are shocked at the medical students' "rag" at Richmond last Thursday are shocked with the wrong people. These engaging youths appear to have dressed up a guy and called it by the name of a notorious leader of the W.S.P.U. They then proceeded to every sort of babyish outrage on this doll, hanging it upside down on the crossbar of the goal-post and tearing it limb from limb. "What can you expect," say some people, "if women will smash windows"? But it is not window-smashing only that rouses this spirit in men-students. They burnt "woman" in effigy at Cambridge when the authorities of the women's colleges applied for the granting of degrees to duly qualified women, and the women were cooped up in their colleges while the men were encouraged to riot, and the insults offered to the early pioneers in medicine are within the memories of all. The average medical student is allowed to be a far bigger blackguard than is in any degree necessary for his health or for that of the community. These very youths are permitted to make the most painful examinations of women in hospitals and poor women are obliged to undergo them with no power of choice or protest. We hope that an awakened womanhood will lend all its powers to the development of medicine and surgery as careers for women, for if medical students cannot be made decent it is time all decent women were saved the moral torture of having to be examined by them.

Effective Letters.

A large number of excellent letters from steadfast suffragists have appeared dealing with panic-mongers who suggest that the stones thrown by members of the W.S.P.U. have "killed" the Bill. Mr. G. G. Armstrong, of Manchester, reminds Members of Parliament that it is their votes alone that can kill any Bill and that principle does really matter; Mr. Lyon Blease writes that "repression without redress of grievances has never yet allayed agitation"; the Freedom League says very pertinently "the question is not 'are we content with the situation?' but 'can militancy improve it?' We do not believe it can" (and we fervently hope they will stick to this wise conclusion); Mrs. Ormiston Chant (who has conducted agitations requiring the extremes of courage) had a letter in the *Daily News* of March 7th to which we call the attention of our readers, and on March 9th, the *Daily News* published a communication from Mrs. Fawcett, so just, so genial, so truly inspiring, that we reprint it in full on page 832. Mrs. McLaren and Lord Russell also made well-timed and pertinent protests in the *Daily News* against identifying the whole suffrage movement with a small extreme section.

The Columns of the Public Press.

The Press is, of course, painfully mob-ridden and the headlines and leaders of the past week have been deplorable. The *Times*, however, the chosen organ of Mrs. Humphrey Ward, (who once said that the "columns of the public Press were always open to women") really surpassed itself, for the explicit letters which the *Standard* printed in full, and which will be found on page 836 of this issue, signed by the officers of the National Union, was boiled down to one inch of small type, only giving the appeal to Members to vote for the Conciliation Bill, while a misleading attack by Miss Gladys Pott upon the National Union for not repudiating violence was actually printed on the same page and in larger type to the length of 8½ inches. This was March 8th, and we are glad to say that an indignant letter from Mrs. Fawcett was printed in full on March 9th with a perfunctory apology about pressure on their space. We cordially endorse her remark that "If Miss Gladys Pott's newspaper reading is confined to the *Times*, it is no wonder if she is still waiting in vain for a repudiation of all connection with law-breakers from myself and other constitutional suffragists." Miss Pott returns to the charge on Monday with the statement that be-

cause the COMMON CAUSE, when it was first started, had reports from the militant societies, therefore it was—or is—militant at heart. It is too childish! We had official reports sent to us for some time by militant societies because we thought they were matters of general interest. As our work and the pressure on our space grew, we ceased to publish them. They were never taken as anything but "news" and if Miss Pott does not know the difference between news and editorials she had better leave off writing to the papers.

The Democratic Antis.

Lord Cromer has resigned his Presidency of the League for Opposing Women's Suffrage, and this democratic body, for voicing the aversion of the working women to the vote will in future have two Presidents, Lord Curzon and Lord Weardale, and two Deputy-Presidents, Lady Jersey and Lady Robson.

Women in Shops.

We are very glad indeed to hear that the woman shop-workers are being stirred into greater activity on behalf of the interests of their class. A meeting was held in Manchester on March 4th, presided over by Miss Isa Davidson, of Edinburgh, in which the organisation of the work was considered and the questions of equal wages, of the contributions of women, of the steps to be taken to become an approved society under the Insurance Act, and other matters were discussed.

Where Were the 20,000?

We hope many of our readers saw the figures given by Miss A. H. Ward in the *Standard* of March 4th, with regard to the Anti-Suffragist meeting at the Albert Hall. Miss Ward knows all about the Albert Hall, having repeatedly helped Miss Strachey in organising meetings there, and in view of the statement that the Antis had 20,000 applications, and Lord Cromer's applauded assertion that the hall was "cramped to the roof," we quote her figures:—

- (a) At 8.0 p.m., when it was beginning, the balcony was half empty, and even after the admission of the 'admit anywhere' ticket holders, several hundreds of seats in that section remained unoccupied.
 (b) Several boxes and sets of eight or ten seats adjacent were empty.
 (c) The whole of the middle-orchestra, seating 154 persons, was simply curtained off and unoccupied.
 (d) The gallery, holding (including standing room) 3,000, contained, at 8.10, one fireman, and later on about twenty-seven people, or thereabouts.

The figures given above and those I give below are based upon the official seating accommodation lists supplied by the Albert Hall authorities, and are those on which the organisation of an Albert Hall meeting is worked.

Further analysing these figures, it is found that instead of 10,000 persons, as announced by the league, being present, the total number on the most generous computation can hardly have exceeded, exclusive of stewards and speakers' platform, 5,884. This is shown as follows:—Absent from gallery, 2,965; from middle orchestra, 154; from other parts of the hall, say 200; giving 3,319 excluded from the official total of 9,203, for whom accommodation is supplied."

The Free Church Council.

The National Free Church Council at Cheltenham had, on Wednesday last, to listen to statements by Lady Bunting and Mrs. F. E. Willey, M.D., which must have made them feel that, by rejecting Mrs. Snowden's very mild paper, they had fallen out of the frying pan into the fire. Lady Bunting said they needed completely to change the attitude of the average boy towards womanhood. Dr. Willey said:—

A large number of women lived in a state of practical slavery, and it was impossible for those who had no interest in the affairs of the State to obtain relief by voluntary effort. The troubles from which they suffered were part of the very fabric of society, and only society—men and women working together—could possibly mend them. We tolerated conditions of society which inevitably drove women to degradation, and it must be made possible for an unprotected woman to earn a decent livelihood, with, in addition, the opportunity for leisure and happiness. Sometimes they were told that if women had political freedom they would abjure motherhood. On the contrary, they would see that the mothers of the nation had the opportunity to live a larger, freer, and more joyous life. Women must have political rights because that was the only effective way of giving their individuality to the life of the home.

A Woman Astronomer.

The following appeared in *The Times* of March 7th:—

Mlle. Edmée Chandon, Bachelier es Lettres et es Sciences, who obtained a degree at the Sorbonne after passing brilliantly in mathematics and physics, has been appointed Assistant Astronomer to Paris Observatory. She joined the Observatory staff first in October, 1908.

Our Portrait.

We publish with pleasure a portrait of Mr. Agg-Gardner, who is in charge of the Conciliation Bill this year. Mr. Agg-Gardner is Conservative member for Cheltenham, and we are indeed fortunate that in these days of panic or Bill in the hands of a man who knows not panic. The Conciliation Bill has now, by pure luck of the ballot, been introduced by a Labour member (Mr. Shackleton, 1910), a Liberal (Sir George Kemp, 1911), and a Conservative (Mr. Agg-Gardner, 1912).

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

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

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Mob Rule or Statesmanship.

When Mr. Bernard Shaw's amusing skit, "Press Cuttings," which had the honour to be censored on its first appearance, was acted, there were people who said it was almost too ridiculously farcical. To us, on the contrary, it was too painfully true to fact. It will be remembered that at the end, the Prime Minister says "It's no use telling me to shoot them down; I'm not going to do it. After all, I don't suppose votes for women will make much difference. It hasn't in the other countries in which it has been tried." And the General replies, "I never supposed it would make any difference. What I can't stand is giving in to that Pankhurst lot." And here we have on, March 6th, a letter to the papers from Sir W. Byles, in which he actually says he was sent to Parliament to help Mr. Asquith to get Home Rule for Ireland, "the Pankhurst people are his avowed and persistent enemy; I am his friend; and I cannot be on both sides at the same time." This has all the absurdity of Mr. Shaw's General and an added absurdity: "the Pankhurst people" are undoubtedly the avowed and persistent enemies of Mr. Asquith and of Mr. Asquith's whole Government, even more bitterly the enemies of the Suffragists in the Cabinet than of the Anti-Suffragists. The "Pankhurst people" have declared war not only on the Government but on the solution of the suffrage question proposed by Mr. Asquith himself and advocated by his colleagues, Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Edward Grey, Lord Haldane, Mr. Runciman, and others. The "Pankhurst people" have repudiated the Conciliation Bill, the Conciliation Committee, and the best friends the Suffrage movement has had for the last twenty-five years—Lord Lytton and Mr. Brailsford—and they have refused to make use of the facilities which the Prime Minister offered them. For these cogent, wise and statesmanlike reasons, Sir W. Byles proposes to help the "Pankhurst people" to do what they have set out to do, to smash up the Conciliation Bill and to wreck the chances of the Reform Bill as they have wrecked the windows of the shopkeepers who gave advertisements to "Votes for Women."

We cannot congratulate Sir W. Byles on the clearness of his judgment nor upon the steadfastness of his purpose; his sense of proportion also is lamentably wanting, when one considers the proportions which the "Pankhurst people" bear to the womanhood of the country and to the total strength of the demand for the enfranchisement of women. The fact is, of course, that Sir W. Byles has always been a man who, on the question of Women's suffrage, preferred "principle" to "practice." When the Manchester Women's Suffrage Society presented the Salford Electors' Petition to him, he indicated that he was so thorough-going a suffragist that he could not bear to enfranchise a few women, he wanted all women to have the

vote, and he assured the deputation that they would have their chance and his support on the broad and democratic measure foreshadowed by Mr. Asquith: now he actually invokes his friendship for Mr. Asquith as an excuse for breaking his word and refusing his support on the very measure for which he asked suffragists to wait. The *Times* Parliamentary Correspondent last week was eloquent upon the "wave of feeling" which had overwhelmed the house of Commons. It is clear that Sir W. Byles has been badly submerged by the "wave"; he has joined the mob in true mob-panic; he is really on the side of the "Pankhurst people," who have made appeal to the mob spirit and the party which suffers from both these appeals is the vast body of women who refuse all appeal to the mob spirit, but who suffer inevitably from every such appeal. It is from the Mob to the People that we appeal; from the mere politician to the statesman.

The worst of all such appeals to violence as those we have recently witnessed is that they confuse the issue, and only people of strong principles can hold to them in the confusion. Reprisals always follow upon violence, and each party in turn puts itself in the wrong and interminable recriminations take place with the inevitable result of throwing into the background the real subject at issue. This has been the case pre-eminently with the militants. We have heard endless speeches of theirs which dealt almost exclusively with "militant tactics" to the complete oblivion of their aim. If the W.S.P.U. had quietly considered what was the aim of their tactics, they could scarcely have come to the resolve which to so many people appears insane. It is not that, but it is the result of a far too hasty and hot-tempered resolve taken by one, or at most, three persons and of a blind following by the rest who willingly abandoned their judgment and their consciences to their leaders.

Much was asked of members of the W.S.P.U. when that organisation was started, and much has, indeed, been given by those members; the need was great, they were told; women could wait no longer; a semi-military organisation must take the place of the usual political and educational one; an autocracy can go faster than a democracy—"trust in us and obey us and we will get the vote in a year or two." They did not succeed in getting it in a year or two, and the methods, none too promising at the start, were bound to deteriorate as they went on. The first steps of insisting upon being answered at public meetings, and of being received in deputation were in themselves excellent, and although they were carried out in a manner which made many people feel they could not co-operate, yet if they had been steadily persisted in, there is no question they would have drawn public opinion to their side. Even Mrs. Fawcett, in the earliest days of the new organisation, showed with her usual generosity her appreciation of the pluck and vigour of the new protests. None of her actions has been the subject of more perverse misrepresentation, and yet none perhaps showed her openness of mind and her robustness in refusing to be shocked at any acts which might be unusual and might even sometimes be silly, but which at first were only calculated to shock conventions. It was the breaking up of meetings, the personal assaults on Ministers, the throwing of the first stone and the reckless and irresponsible calls to street mobs which made Mrs. Fawcett and the National Union feel that the W.S.P.U. had entered upon a course indefensible in itself and calculated to lead very far wrong. We do not overlook the provocation. We held, and we consistently stated at the time that the way in which the Home Office dealt with the earliest offenders was cruel, unjust and oppressive; that Mr. Asquith's obstinate refusal to receive all and any deputations was provocative and indefensible. Public opinion clearly moved in that direction also, and when at the inception of the Conciliation Committee a truce was called and the militants ceased from militating, the extraordinary impetus given to the steady educational work in the country was of the happiest augury.

We think, and we said so in no measured terms at the time, that the Government made a great mistake and committed a very grave wrong when they refused to allow the Conciliation Bill to pass. At the present time of disturbance and industrial war we feel more keenly than ever that what we wrote in June, 1910, was the truth: "Very few men, no politicians will put women first, no—not for once. We recognise this, and it is for this reason that we press forward the passing of this measure now, when no war, no quarrel of the men can claim precedence, in the lull caused by Death, in the calm and exhaustion that have followed the bitter strife of parties." There was even less excuse for not allowing the Bill to pass in 1911, seeing that the condition (that the Bill should be open to amend-

ment) had been complied with. Our chief opponent in 1910 was Mr. Lloyd George, and in 1911 he did no more for us than vote for the Second Reading; had he used his influence to secure facilities then, much misery and bitterness would have been saved.

He did not, but on the announcement of the Government Reform Bill for this session he declared himself willing to lead the movement for the inclusion of women. Every Liberal Suffragist is morally bound to help, for ever since 1908 Liberals have excused all half-heartedness by reference to our great "opportunity" on the Reform Bill. Now, it was this solution that so enraged the W.S.P.U. and was so hastily repudiated by them. They threw over the Conciliation Bill (for which we had secured extended facilities this year—a totally unprecedented advance and they demanded the withdrawal of the Government Reform Bill (upon which we were also promised facilities never given before). Should they succeed in wrecking the Conciliation Bill and in smashing the Reform Bill, they would have attained their objects, but the cause of women's suffrage would also have been killed in this session. They have been accused of having sacrificed everything to their desire to "get the vote in a hurry." The queer logic of events has led them even to be ready to sacrifice that because they could not get it in the way they had chosen. They have appealed to the mob and the mob, another Frankenstein, has turned upon them and upon suffragists generally. We can only hope that Members of Parliament will have more of the true spirit of representative Government, and will not, mob-like, be affected by the noisiest and most violent people, thereby irretrievably injuring the cause of truth and justice.

Broken Windows—and After.

By MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

There has been an undoubted crisis in the Suffrage movement since last Friday, caused by the intense indignation naturally aroused by the window-smashing raids of a small group of so-called Suffragettes on that day and subsequently. The anti-suffragists are exploiting this feeling of indignation for the benefit of anti-suffragism. This is natural and unavoidable. The errors of Suffragists are the meat and drink of the anti-suffragists. But although we recognise that the anti-suffragists are entitled to their glee, and though we may feel in a measure

"This is your hour and the power of darkness,"

yet I think we may call upon them to restrict themselves within the somewhat prosaic limits of fact. Their joy is so hysterical that they have given rein to their fancy and are circulating many inventions. For instance, in an evening paper I read yesterday, March 6th: "Mrs. Fawcett is in despair"; and a few lines further on that Mr. Birrell had said "he had finished with Women's Suffrage for ever." As I knew I was not in despair, and had never uttered a syllable to justify anyone in saying I was, the new obiter dictum attributed to Mr. Birrell did not disturb me; and this morning I am not surprised to see that he characterises the statements attributed to him as "absolute bunkum."

Another instance of the hysteria of the anti-suffragists at the present moment is found in their attitude to the Conciliation Bill. The window-smashing suffragists are dead against the Conciliation Bill; they have adopted the line of "all or nothing." Therefore, say the anti-suffragists, we are so angry with them that we will give them what they want and destroy the Conciliation Bill which they have been opposing for the last four months.

EVIL FOR EVIL.

And now a few words on our own position and attitude. One never turns to the Bible without finding something that is a staff to lean upon, and on looking up the exact wording of a passage that was running in my head I came upon: "See that none render evil for evil unto any man. . . . Rejoice evermore. In everything give thanks. . . . Prove all things; hold fast that which is good. . . . Faithful is He that calleth you Who also will do it." These words suffice for our marching orders for the present. What are we suffragists striving for? A natural recognition that the woman is as necessary to the successful building of a well-ordered State as she is to the building up of the family. Some suffragists, not a very numerous group, have temporarily lost all faith in human honour, in human sense of justice, and are attempting to grasp by violence what should be yielded to the growing conviction that our demand is

based on justice and common sense, and that the continued exclusion of women from the representative system of the country is false to the facts of human life.

We have made immense progress. The number of our societies which was 211 a year ago is now 365. The number of our subscribing members has run up in the same interval from over 21,000 to over 30,000. The whole tone of the country about our question has changed in the direction which we desire. There is no cause for despair; there is every cause for confidence and hope. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, of which I am the president, has held fast all through its career, now extending to more than forty years, to peaceful and law-abiding methods of work. We have no relish for the task of condemning the methods pursued by other suffragists, but we have on three several occasions in 1908, 1909, and 1911 categorically condemned methods of violence not for the sake of imputing blame, but to make our own position and methods clear, and we have had the satisfaction of seeing the methods of order becoming more and more widely accepted.

SEEK THE CAUSES.

There is another point of view which should not be left out of sight. Statesmen are the physicians of the body politic. When things go wrong, when for instance women who are by nature gentle and refined take to conduct which is condemned, and in my opinion justly condemned, as characterised by insensate violence, these disorders are symptoms of a social disease to the cure of which statesmen should apply themselves. Punishment, of course, will be meted out; the funds of the offending society may quite properly be charged with the cost of the actual damage done. But all this, natural and inevitable as it is, only touches the symptoms and not the cause. Force is no remedy. Statesmen must seek the causes and endeavour to remove them. The causes are similar to the causes which produced the unrest in India; the social and educational status of large masses of the population have changed without being accompanied by a corresponding change in their political status. In India, as Lord Morley said, the leaders of the unrest were striving for objects which we ourselves had taught them were desirable objects, "and unless we can somehow reconcile order with the satisfaction of those ideas and aspirations, the fault will not be theirs; it will be ours: it will be the breakdown of British statesmanship."

When Lord Morley's plan for extending some measure of representation to the people of India was before the country the air was thick in India and in London with crime and attempted crime. The lives of the Viceroy, Lord Minto, and his wife, were attempted in India; and Sir Curzon Wylie and an Indian gentleman were murdered in cold blood by a fanatic at the Imperial Institute at the very moment when the Indian Bill was before the House of Lords. Did this cause Lord Morley to withdraw the measure by which he hoped to combine the maintenance of order with the satisfaction of those ideals of self-government which educated natives of India had learned from Western civilisation? The question needs no answer. Lord Morley's advice to the House of Lords, and through that House to the country, was "Stick to your guns," do not be frightened away from prosecuting to their completion measures which you have deliberately advocated as necessary to produce a harmony where there is now discord. It may be hoped that British statesmanship will see that similar reasoning applies to the present situation. The crimes and errors committed by the women are far less serious than the crimes committed in connection with India. But surely the path of wisdom is the path which Lord Morley adopted with regard to India. That, at any rate, is the manly and courageous course.

(Reprinted from the "Daily News," March 9th, 1912.)

A Degree Standard in Home Science.

The editorial note in your last issue, which encourages further discussion of the subject of "A Degree Standard in Home Science," must be my justification for again seeking the hospitality of your columns. Miss Oakeley's article in the COMMON CAUSE of March 7th seems to me to require an answer, lest it might appear that the arguments she adduces are such as to make refutation difficult or impossible. On some points further discussion would, of course, be futile; thus in my article of March 2nd I carefully analysed the King's College Home

Science syllabus, and tried to show by specific reasons and appeal to definite facts that in the case of each of its constituent parts the work, when measured by the current standard, was of much too elementary a nature to justify its being described as of "degree standard." Miss Oakeley replies by stating her belief that the road traversed is "as severe and rugged as that followed in the ordinary B.Sc. . . . work"; and at that we must leave it. But amongst the arguments brought forward there are certain others, the discussion of which, I think, has not yet reached this stage.

(1) *The benefit to be derived from studying the elementary parts of a number of allied subjects (e.g., biology and bacteriology, physiology and hygiene) is represented as commensurable with that obtainable from a greater amount of specialisation in a few.* I do not wish to dwell here on the strange contradiction that, whilst on the one hand Miss Oakeley attempts to justify shallow digging in a wide field, on the other hand official description represents the King's College scheme as "the special contribution made by women to the general recognition of the necessity for specialisation." What I want to bring out with all possible clearness and emphasis is that in certain subjects, of which Domestic Science undoubtedly is one, it is not possible to achieve anything whatever without specialisation carried to a high degree. I believe firmly that it is extremely desirable for every woman to learn some science, and that increased efficiency in household work and household management can only be attained through a more general application of the scientific method. I admit unhesitatingly that there is a type of student who will eventually derive much more advantage from going some way in a number of sciences, physical and biological, than from trying to force an entry into parts of physical science clearly beyond her reach; but I utterly deny what the advocates of Domestic Science consciously or unconsciously postulate—namely, that acquisition of knowledge and the possibility of applying this knowledge to some definite purpose always start together, and ever after keep pace with one another. It all depends on the special purpose which the knowledge is to serve. Thus, in actuarial work, which is concerned with calculations as to probability of length of life, incidence of illness, etc., mathematical knowledge begins to tell only when a very advanced stage in the study of pure mathematics has been reached; elementary knowledge of dynamics, hydrostatics, electricity, etc., desirable as this would be from the point of view of the general student, would, as far as the above professional purpose goes, be useless as a substitute for the calculus of probability. For another example, I will, though with a certain amount of trepidation, venture into a realm of knowledge where unfortunately I am almost a stranger. It is commonly admitted that in the study of ancient languages, if general culture is the main object, it is better to acquire a fair knowledge of both Latin and Greek than to aim at a higher standard in one of them. But suppose that the knowledge were intended to serve as a foundation for the study of epigraphy; then, surely, for deciphering, say, Latin inscriptions, nothing short of a most thorough and most accurate knowledge of the Latin language, history and culture would be of any use whatever, and failure to attain such a high standard in Latin would not be compensated for by some acquaintance with Greek. And the same kind of limitation is operative in that direct application of science to housecraft which we are told is the great and novel feature of the King's College course. The scientific problems presented by cooking and cleaning are by nature physical and chemical, and if the scope of the phenomena studied is not to be artificially and arbitrarily reduced to the consideration of the softening of water, the function of baking powder, freezing mixtures and a few other such odds and ends, the physics and chemistry needed are of a very advanced nature. Take such a case as the change in the colour of green vegetables on being boiled, or the properties of flour on which depend the production of a large, well-shaped loaf: for a student to find out about such matters, or even to understand what others have found out, requires considerable specialisation in organic chemistry, and want of such advanced knowledge in chemistry will not be compensated for by elementary knowledge of economics and hygiene. I believe that a great deal of the support enlisted for Domestic Science has been gained by propagating the quite erroneous and incidentally mischievous belief that knowledge of even quite elementary science can be made to yield large returns in direct application to housecraft. A head-mistress told me only the other day how her girls learnt chemistry for a year, and how in the year following the sound knowledge thus gained "shed a flood of light" on all they were taught in the cookery lessons. Here was I, who for many years

had been a humble but, I hope, earnest student, teacher, worker in the realm of chemistry, who by taste and force of circumstances had been led to devote a good deal of attention to the craft of cookery, and yet to me it had never been vouchsafed to perceive more than a few—a very few—rays; and so I pondered sadly on the infectious nature of make-believes, and wondered which was likely to suffer most in this special case—the intellectual honesty supposed to be inculcated by the science teaching, or the practical achievements in the cookery class.

(2) *Expert opinion is quoted in support of an analogy between Domestic Science and established applied sciences, such as Engineering and Metallurgy.* Quotations are given from a reply by Sir Arthur Rücker to a paper originally written by me for a conference held at Gloucester last March, and then published in the *Englishwoman* of May and June, in which I emphatically deny the existence of any such analogy. I am specially glad of Miss Oakeley's mention of this phase in the controversy, as it gives me a valuable opportunity for trying to show what I consider the weakness, the danger, of this whole movement—namely, the introduction of standards different from and lower than those applied to men's work. In anticipation of an argument based on faulty analogy, I had tried to discount this beforehand by quoting definite facts in proof of my contention that so-called Domestic Science cannot as yet lay claim to rank as an applied science, and that in the study of it there cannot be any question of a degree standard. I deliberately chose agriculture rather than engineering to illustrate my point, because it seemed to me that anything I might say about agriculture would obviously apply with far greater force to engineering, an applied science at least as old as the Pyramids, which for more than 2,000 years has been the subject of conscientious, specialised study carried on on scientific lines. Moreover, agriculture, a subject only quite recently admitted to academic rank, seemed to me specially suitable because, without equalling Domestic Science in this respect, the great variety of the problems included within its scope makes it more akin to household subjects than is the case with engineering or metallurgy, which, by comparison, are extremely circumscribed and hence much more manageable.

My first point was that in the domain of technical literature agriculture holds its own, whilst Domestic Science is quite unrepresented. Agricultural periodicals, which now are numerous and of various kinds, representative alike of the empirical and the scientific side, date as far back as 1784; in 1840 appeared the monumental treatise on the subject written by the great German chemist, Liebig; advanced text-books abound. There is absolutely nothing to compare with this in Domestic Science: not a single periodical, either existing or contemplated, nor, as far as I know, any realisation of what the absence of this feature implies; no special treatises; no advanced text-books. Where are the students of Domestic Science to get their information? I have for years kept a sharp look-out, and in my search for books specially dealing with this subject, I have come across nothing really better than a little tenpenny German book called "Chemie in Küche und Haus." Compare with this the output in engineering and agriculture as recorded weekly in, say, the *Athenæum*.

Another difference as vital and as strongly marked is found when considering the workers, the available teachers. Think of the number of men who have found, who are finding, their life's work in the specialised scientific study of agriculture, of the number and standing of the men who might be expected to respond to an advertisement for a professor or lecturer in the subject! But when it comes to Domestic Science, how many people, men or women, are there who would satisfy the usual requirements made by London University in bestowing its hallmark of recognised teacher, which carries a guarantee not only of a high standard of knowledge, but also of successful accomplishment in the realm of research? Are there any such people at all? Theirs would have been pioneer work; why has it not been heard of? And hence I say, how is it possible to give students of Domestic Science teaching comparable with that obtainable in agriculture and engineering, when the specialist teacher, the person who to high attainments in pure science adds an intimate knowledge of at least certain portions of the craft, does not yet exist?

These were and are my arguments. How would such have been met in a controversy concerning men's work, and how have they been met in this instance? Sir Arthur Rücker, in his reply, makes out a strong case against confining knowledge within the strait-jacket of academic tradition, against too rigid a barrier between science and craft, general propositions it would

never have occurred to me to challenge; and this is practically all he does. In spite of my definite proofs to the contrary, the complete analogy between engineering and domestic science is postulated, and on this the whole argument is made to hinge. There is no attempt to show that my facts are incorrect, or misleading because partial; they are never referred to at all. So patent is the absence of connection between the so-called "reply" and what I had written, that a master at one of the chief schools preparing boys for engineering, whose opinion I had tried to ascertain on the subject of the postulated analogy between engineering and domestic science, expressed the view that Professor Rücker could only have read a *report* of my paper. Of course, I should be the first to admit that the opinion of one of the recognised leaders of contemporary science should carry great weight, but I submit that in this instance there is a tendency to consider the name as sufficient in itself to outweigh any arguments adduced on the other side. The extent to which this tendency may be carried is illustrated by the attitude taken up by an educational paper greatly predisposed in favour of Domestic Science. The editor asked me to supply a full abstract of the paper I had written for the Gloucester meeting; I was not told that this was wanted for the purpose of publishing replies by Sir Arthur Rücker and Professor Smithells, though, of course, such information would have made me all the more ready to comply with the request. For a special reason my abstract was supplied in two parts, and the first part was published in the same number as the article by Sir Arthur Rücker from which Miss Oakeley quotes. The editor, in his anxiety to guide his readers' judgment, wrote: "We feel that the balance of argument is strongly with Sir Arthur Rücker," quite oblivious of the fact that whilst the first part of my article dealt exclusively with Domestic Science in the curriculum of girls' secondary schools, Sir Arthur Rücker's reply was equally exclusively concerned with the claims of Domestic Science to academic recognition, a part of the subject treated of in my second instalment, which at that time was not even in the editor's hands. Again, I ask, could such a thing happen in a controversy vitally affecting the education of boys and the work of men?

May I before concluding be allowed to say a few words of personal explanation? Miss Oakeley in her letter has shown herself so courteous, so tolerant, so ready to allow for difference in point of view, that I feel specially sorry at having imputed to her an opinion she does not hold by misrepresenting her evaluation of the training to be obtained from a practical cook. Whilst I much regret that there should have been a misunderstanding, I feel bound to try and justify myself by reference to the passage in Miss Oakeley's letter to the COMMON CAUSE of February 22nd. She says that the description given in the editorial note of February 15th of the woman who has taken a degree course and then has added a lot of scrappy recipes to her mental furniture, "probably refers . . . to the case of a graduate . . . who has later taken a course in cookery from a practical cook." I submit that this passage fully justifies the interpretation I put upon it; it explicitly states the writer's belief that unsatisfactory results such as those described would follow from training by a practical cook, and hence implicitly must involve a condemnation of this mode of learning the craft.

Finally, Miss Oakeley pleads for an open mind and suspension of judgment on the part of University women, and under ordinary circumstances nothing could be more legitimately asked for—nay, demanded. But may I in my turn point out that the course followed by King's College makes an open mind, suspension of judgment, impossible. Divided as we might have been on *à priori* grounds as to the advisability, the possibility of directing the advanced study of domestic subjects along a road which is expected eventually to lead into the broad highway of academic study, yet in the interest of women as a whole, and in accordance with the attitude which we as a class should take up towards any genuine reform movement, it would have been incumbent on every one of us to watch practical results and be ready to submit to the supremacy of facts. But it is not a case of awaiting future events; it has from the beginning been proclaimed, *urbi et orbi*, that in the King's College course of Home Science a degree standard has been realised (and thereby a new era in home life inaugurated!) Can those of us who refuse to accept this as a fact do otherwise than look with suspicion on a craft which we consider to be sailing under false colours?

IDA FREUND,

Chemical Laboratory, Newnham College, Cambridge.

Practical Work in the Domestic Science Cause.

DEAR MADAM,—With reference to your courteous offer to allow more space in your pages for the subject of the Home Science scheme, I should like to explain that we do not at present intend to continue the discussion from the point of view of King's College for Women. I find that my colleagues on the scientific side are somewhat unwilling to be drawn into print, and I cannot combat their reluctance, as I am too much in sympathy with it. I have been tempted to depart from this attitude, chiefly because your readers form a public with which it is always a pleasure to exchange views, but I should not in any case have time myself to pursue the subject far. In case you see fit to publish this letter, I should be glad, however, to supply an omission in my communication of last week. I had intended to mention the amount of time devoted in the three-year course in Home Science to the practical Domestic Arts work, in the hope of correcting the impression which seems to be entertained that this subject is neglected. The total number of hours actually allotted in the Time Table is 540, instead of the 800 (or a little more) required, I believe, at present by the Board of Education or County Councils for teachers in the schools they regulate. In view of the facts that—

(1) Our aim admittedly includes less perfection of elaborate technical skill; (2) We do not require so much expenditure of the students' time in such tasks as cleaning cupboards, etc., as is, I think, given in the ordinary training courses, this amount of hours does not seem inadequate. I take this as a commonly recognised test, though I cannot altogether approve the method of judging of thoroughness in work by counting hours.

Again thanking you for your courtesy,

I am, yours faithfully,

King's College for Women, HILDA D. OAKELEY,
Kensington Square.

March 9th, 1912.

[We have endeavoured to obtain a reasoned reply to Miss Freund's article of February 29th from a man (or woman) of science but have, so far, failed. We regret this, for we recognise that, though Miss Oakeley has made out a very good case, based upon general considerations, she has naturally not been able to reply to Miss Freund's specific criticisms.—Ed. "C.C."]

Lord Haldane at Oxford.

On Saturday, March 9th, there was a fine meeting at Oxford Town Hall to hear Lord Haldane. The meeting was organised by the Oxford Women's Suffrage Society of the National Union and Miss Jane Harrison took the chair. Miss Ashton was the other speaker. Miss Harrison, having disclaimed the use of violence as "disastrous in policy and, what is much more important, wrong in principle," Lord Haldane made a speech in which he demonstrated what an assistance to right action and right thinking it is to have a mental grasp of the really great things.

LORD HALDANE said at the outset of his speech that he was aware there were not a few who held that, having regard to recent events, that meeting ought to have been postponed. He was there to dissent emphatically—(cheers)—from that opinion. Because a few misguided women, carried away by an excess of zeal for their cause, had shown devotion and courage in the form in which it was shown by the Dervishes—(laughter)—in the desert was no reason why they who held deep convictions on this question should refrain from expressing those convictions or from seeking to bring them home. Let them not concern themselves with what was transient and evanescent. He held that it was a profound mistake of judgment on the part of those who were now in prison and of others to take the line of action which they had. They had brought themselves in contact with the strong arm of the State, and the State had public opinion behind it in emphatically insisting on the preservation of law and order and the punishment of those who violated the elementary rules of citizenship. (Cheers.) But that was one of those incidents that often arose in the history of a great cause, which could delay but which could not interfere, and their purpose that night was to see to it that the judgment of those who were with them was not deflected or warped by these transient and evanescent events, but that they held firm to the great principle. Let them be quite clear about it. This was no new question. It was a question on which some of them had held strong views for many years, and if, as he was afraid was the case at this moment, the popularity of the cause that was rapidly gaining adherents had been affected, that was no reason why they should lose courage or abate one jot their efforts towards its success. (Cheers.)

WOMEN'S NEW STATUS.

He wanted, in the first place, to put before them in a few words the real grounds on which he for one was an adherent of this cause. If this were a question which could be discussed in the abstract apart from history and remote from current events, he would not be slow to

recognise that it was one on which legitimately there might be great divergences of opinion. Of course there were great divergences of opinion as it was, and thoroughly legitimate divergences of opinion, but divergences of opinion which surprised him somewhat when he compared the conclusions of those who supported them with their conclusions on other and germane matters. He read the other day an admirable and eloquent statement of the case against them from the lips of a lady of distinction in public affairs, Miss Violet Markham. At the Albert Hall meeting she said that there were vast differences fixed by nature between man and woman—different spheres of action, different provinces of duty, a different outlook on the world—and she said: "Is it not natural that while some things are assigned to the one other things should be assigned to the other?" And she disclaimed for those who thought as she said any desire to participate in work which they considered was not their own and could not be their own without interfering with other work which they had to do. But could that argument stand when brought to the touchstone of fact? Was this a question which could be dissociated from the new status which women had obtained in the course of the last half century? They had only to look at it to see that there had been a process of historical, legislative, and social evolution going on which had put woman in a very different place from what she once occupied. It was quite true that nature had fixed great differences between the work in life of man and woman. There would always be a distribution of duties, but the progress of events had been establishing a common sphere of work for men and women in public affairs, a sphere of work so far-reaching, so extensive, and so developed, that so far as rights and duties were concerned the differences were infinitely less than the common ground. It was not always so, and it was interesting to look back on the past few years. The highest office in the land, that of the Sovereign—(hear, hear)—had been held by Queen Elizabeth and Queen Victoria, both of whom took at least their full constitutional share in the affairs of government. (Cheers.)

A REVOLUTION IN THE LAW.

He would not pursue that delicate constitutional topic any farther—(laughter)—but one did not need to look at Sovereigns in order to see how the principle had been completely broken into—he meant the principle that Miss Violet Markham put forward in her speech. If they took the law as it affected women and compared it as it was now with what it was 50 years ago the revolution was extraordinary. In those days the woman could not own personal property; it passed on marriage to her husband. She could not manage or convey her own land; she was under the dominion of her husband, who was responsible for her at every turn, and she had but little responsibility for herself. The law recognised in her if married a personality that had passed away and had merged into another quite different; and in the case of the unmarried woman the law recognised what one might call nascent disabilities; it debarred her from rights that were to-day elementary and prevented her from taking any part in even the most simple and humble of the affairs of the social community. Changes in the law had swept away all that, and the woman was to-day as nearly as possible in the eye of the law on the same footing as man.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION.

He would pass from law to education. Seventy or eighty years ago there was no secondary education worth the name that a woman could attain to, and they knew what their accomplishments were very well from the pages of the gifted lady writers of that time who composed treatises on deportment. (Applause.) How did that stand to-day? He was Chairman at the present time of a Royal Commission that was sitting on the question of university education in London, and nothing had struck him more than the extraordinary development which had taken place and was at this moment taking place in the university education of women. Not only in London was college being added to college and professional training to professional training, but now it was almost a scandal—except where they had a fine old name which could bear the reproach, such as Oxford and Cambridge had—(laughter)—if they did not throw open the doors with absolute equality. Certainly no statutes of a university which had to come before Parliament would have much chance to-day if they did not recognise equality of the sexes. Professions were being thrown open right and left. The medical profession had long been honourably thrown open. He was astonished the other day to find a number of women dentists. (Laughter.) On the contrary, the law was less open, but it was not wholly debarred in other countries where more progress had been made in this instance than here. And he was told that the pulpit was not by any means wholly denied. In principle there was hardly a profession that was not thrown open.

WOMEN AND POLITICS.

Now he would come to what was more nearly the subject of their present controversies—he meant politics and public affairs in the widest sense. Why, when he thought of the powerful opposition he had had in the past from the Primrose League and the powerful opposition which he had striven to organise through the Women's Liberal Association, he was astonished at people who said women should not be admitted to share in political life. (Laughter and cheers.) Fifty years ago they could have spoken as Mrs. Ward and Miss Markham spoke with some show of justification. But all that was over and gone by. (Cheers.) It was quite true that there were many things women would never do—they were not adapted for them. There would be a division of work between the sexes, and the leadership in many things would come from men. There was the great problem of defence. The leadership in war—well that would always be a matter for men, not because of any law, but because nature had settled it so. But that did not lead him in the least to the conclusion that because national defence was an integral part of the life of the nation, and something that could not be neglected, therefore women were never to take any part in judging of that. They could choose their soldiers as well as anybody else, and he knew not any period in the history of our country, he knew not any crisis in our existence, when women had been wanting in inspiring the courage and making the sacrifices necessary for the vigorous conduct of a great war. (Cheers.) The women supported the cause of their country in the darkest hour of

the South African War without flagging, and for his part he passed by in the light of the record of events the fear that women might be wanting in that vital side of political life, or that they could not be trusted to give their support when their support was necessary. While he had a profound respect for some of those who differed from them on this question, while he knew how strong their judgment was, he could not feel that it rested on any grounds that it was possible to support to-day on the footing of political consistency; and yet this question was one of those great deep questions on which people would think differently, and probably would continue to do so for a long time.

THE PRACTICAL QUESTION—WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

This brought him to the practical question, What was to be done? That the cause of women's suffrage was growing he had no doubt. (Cheers.) It was not the base of a division between the two great parties; the two great parties themselves were riven. It was impossible on a question like this to form a government on women's suffrage. If they tried to do so the would find they were endeavouring to bring together people who were totally irreconcilable on the hundred and one other questions which they had to decide in the administration of affairs, and therefore it was impossible for any one party with the present divided state of opinion to take this matter up. There was only one thing to do, and that was not to leave it to Cabinets to decide, and the only form in which they could do that under the Constitution as it was was to leave it to Parliament to decide. He wished to take this opportunity of saying that he did not remember any question in which more forbearance and generosity when men thought deeply and differently had been shown than on this question. He thought they and he owed a great deal to the Prime Minister—(cheers)—who differed profoundly from them on this question, but who had thought it just and right not to use his supreme power to prevent this question from arising, but to say that he would leave it to the House of Commons to decide free from any intervention by himself. He felt that they who supported this movement in the face of an offer like that ought to accept it in the generous spirit in which it was offered and not to cavil, not to ask for things which they could not possibly get, but to accept the greatest chance that had ever been given to them. (Cheers.) For they had got the greatest chance that had ever been given to them. The Government had agreed to give time to this question—not niggardly time, not time limited to two days or anything of that kind, but a fair time for getting something done—and the Government had agreed that if the suffrage amendment was carried to its own Franchise Bill it would accept it and not use its strength as a Government to resist the alteration of that Bill. The House of Commons might say it was for the Conciliation Bill. It might read the Conciliation Bill a second time, and then it might say: "We wish to enlarge—as a great many people desire—the number of women who will be brought in under the Conciliation Bill." If Parliament did that it would be accepted. The House of Commons might say that it wished to submit the question of women's suffrage to a referendum. It would be perfectly within its rights if it did that, but he knew as a member of Parliament that if that proposal came up at any time he would vote strongly against it. (Cheers.)

THE CONCILIATION BILL.

There were some of them who thought the Conciliation Bill far too narrow; he thought so himself. But he spoke and voted for the Conciliation Bill when he was in the House of Commons because he recognised it was the practical measure before Parliament, and he would rather have that than not get the principle. (Cheers.) He hoped a good Bill might emerge out of this. He wanted to give them a word of warning. He did not himself believe that the votes of serious people would be seriously affected by what had happened in London during this week; but if that kind of thing were to go on, if the women's suffrage movement were to lose its character, then there might be a very unfavourable impression made on public opinion, and it might not help the Bill. Therefore he would ask all friends of the cause of women's suffrage to do what they could to preserve the attitude of putting forward their movement on the reasonable lines which had hitherto obtained. Let them see to it that there was no exaggerated language, but that they simply stuck firm by their cause. Parliament had given them a chance, and they would not influence their judges in their favour by throwing stones at them or even by sticking pins into them. (Laughter.) There were still a good many days before this Bill came on, and he hoped that meetings like the one he was addressing would show that this great cause, this tremendous cause, rested on justice and reason, on a solid conviction, and upon the desire to look at things from the point of view of the very highest interests of the State. (Cheers.) For his own part he was a believer in broadening the basis of democracy. He thought it would be good for the State to widen that basis by bringing in the minds of the women, who formed half our population—and he was not in the least afraid of numbers—(laughter)—to the decision of these great questions. Whatever the extension of the franchise, it should not shut women out. A great opportunity was given to us not merely in the interests of women, but in the interests of the country. A great responsibility rested with this generation at this moment—to take advantage of the first practical chance which Parliament had ever given.

There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.

(Loud cheers.)

(The above is reprinted from the report in the "Manchester Guardian.")

Text of the Conciliation Bill.

The Conciliation Bill is a private Member's Bill which has already passed its second reading once last year in precisely this form, and the year before with some differences. It is the Bill for which the Government has promised full facilities this

year, and the date of Second Reading has been fixed for March 22nd.

A BILL TO CONFER THE PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE ON WOMEN.

Be it enacted, etc.:

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.

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.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Auerbach.
Hon. Secretary to Press Committee: Miss Emily M. Leaf.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Geraldine Cook.
Hon. Secretary to Literatures Committee: Miss I. B. O'Malley, Telephone 1960 Victoria.
Telegrams: "Voiceless, London." **Hon. Sec. to Literatures Committee:** Miss I. B. O'Malley, Telephone 1960 Victoria.
Offices: Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

From Headquarters.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

At the meeting on Thursday last the following letter was passed and issued to members of Parliament and the Press.

In view of the most deplorable proceedings of the militant suffragists belonging to the Women's Social and Political Union and the consequent harm which may result to the whole suffrage movement, may we beg to remind you of the following facts:—

1. That those guilty of the disturbances of Friday and Monday last are a small and decreasing minority amongst suffragists. The lists of those appearing before the magistrates show the same names repeated again and again. There cannot, in our judgment, be more than a few hundred in all who have put themselves under the leadership of the Social and Political Union for the commission of lawless actions.

2. The great bulk of organised suffragists throughout the country have conducted their campaign in a strictly law-abiding and constitutional manner. We speak now more especially for the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, of which we are officers, but the same remark applies equally to the Women's Liberal Federation and the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association. Our own group of societies is rooted and grounded on claiming for women a share in the representative system of the country, on the lines of constitutional agitation only. Our organisation spreads now over the whole of Great Britain, and increases rapidly; at the beginning of October, 1910, it numbered 207 affiliated societies; it now numbers 365. The number of members, and none are reckoned who are not annual subscribers, has increased in the same time from 21,571 to more than 30,000.

3. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies have not only conducted their own work on law-abiding lines, they have emphatically and repeatedly protested against the use of violence in any form. These protests have appeared in the Press in November, 1908, October, 1909, and so recently as December 9th, 1911. They were repeated at a meeting in London on March 5th, 1912, and they are thoroughly and cordially endorsed by our whole organisation.

4. In addition to the suffrage societies, the following organisations have officially identified themselves with the demand for a measure of woman suffrage.

The Welsh Women's Liberal Federation.
The Independent Labour Party.
The Fabian Society.
The People's Suffrage Federation.

Other societies have repeatedly petitioned Parliament or passed resolutions asking for a measure of woman suffrage. Among them:—

The National British Women's Temperance Association.
The Scottish Union of the above.
The National Union of Women Workers.
The International Council of Women.
The Association of Headmistresses.
The Association of University Women Teachers.
The Incorporated Assistant Mistresses in Secondary Schools.
The Society of Registered Nurses.
The Nurses' International Congress.
The Women's Co-operative Guild (the only organised body representing the married working women of this country).

5. Resolutions in favour of the "Conciliation Bill" have been passed by 49 trade and labour councils, and 36 trade unions and federations. During the past year no subject has been more

2. For the purpose 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.
3. This Act may be cited as The Representation of the People Act, 1911.

It will be seen that this Bill would not give the vote to all women, nor to women "on the same terms as men," but only to women householders, whether married or unmarried.

prominently discussed throughout the country. The evidence afforded by the 22 by-elections in which the National Union has worked is, therefore, of the greatest importance. Thirty-one at least of the candidates standing have declared themselves definitely in favour of woman suffrage, in answer to specific questions, relating to the Bills before Parliament.

No fewer than 143 towns and local councils have passed resolutions in favour of some measure of enfranchisement of women, including practically every town of first-class importance in the United Kingdom.

6. The lawless section of suffragists have since November last lost no opportunity of attacking and decrying the Conciliation Bill, which all other great national woman suffrage organisations support. A weakening in the support of the Conciliation Bill would be welcome to that small section of suffragists who have lately made themselves conspicuous by wilful attacks upon private property.

We, therefore, make a strong personal appeal to you not to punish the great mass of law-abiding suffragists for the faults of the small section of law-breakers; and, above all, not to back the policy of these law-breakers by withholding your support from the Conciliation Bill.

Yours faithfully,

M. G. FAWCETT (President).
E. PALLISER (Hon. Parliamentary Secretary).
K. D. COURTNEY (Hon. Secretary).
F. M. STERLING (Hon. Treasurer *pro tem.*)

In connection with the above letter, Lady Selborne, writing from the offices of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, 48, Dover Street, Piccadilly, says:—

Dear Mrs. Fawcett,—May I say on behalf of our association, that we do feel deeply the injustice of including the constitutional societies in the blame which is laid upon those who break the law, and we wish to associate ourselves with the protest the National Union is addressing to members of Parliament.

Yours truly,
MAUD SELBORNE (President).

On the same occasion the following resolution for use at meetings was passed by the Executive Committee:—

"That this meeting expresses its deep indignation at the recent action of members of the Women's Social and Political Union in causing wilful destruction of property, and declares its conviction that such conduct is highly injurious to the cause of Women's Suffrage. At the same time it urges every member of Parliament who supports the principle of the enfranchisement of women to vote for the second reading of the Conciliation Bill on March 22nd on the ground that the patient and constitutional work of a vast number of earnest women and men should not suffer through the rash action of a small section; a section which has moreover lost no opportunity during the last four months of demonstrating its hostility to the Conciliation Bill."

CHAIRMAN AND SUB-COMMITTEES.

At the first meeting of the new Executive, held on Thursday, March 7th, Miss Ashton was elected Chairman and Mrs. Rackham and Miss Sterling Vice-Chairmen.

The following were elected members of Sub-Committees:—

BY-ELECTION COMMITTEE.

*Mrs. Fawcett. *Mrs. Auerbach.
*Miss Sterling. Miss Dimock.
*Miss Palliser. Mrs. Stanbury.
*Miss Courtney. Mrs. Abbott.

PRESS COMMITTEE.

*Mrs. Fawcett. Miss Marshall.
*Miss Palliser. Mrs. Hamilton.
*Miss Courtney. Mrs. Elkin.
*Miss Leaf. Mrs. Heitland.
Mrs. Swanwick.

LITERATURE COMMITTEE.

*Mrs. Fawcett. *Miss O'Malley.
*Miss Palliser. Miss I. O. Ford.
*Miss Courtney. Miss Jones.
Miss Royden. Miss Power.

FINANCE SUB-COMMITTEE.

*Mrs. Fawcett. Miss Dimock.
*Miss Sterling. Mrs. Stanbury.
*Miss Palliser. *Mrs. Auerbach.
*Miss Courtney. Mrs. Tanner.

ORGANISATION SUB-COMMITTEE.

*Mrs. Fawcett. Mrs. Franklin.
*Miss Sterling. Miss Macmillan.
*Miss Palliser. Mrs. Rackham.
*Miss Courtney. Mrs. Tanner.
*Mrs. Auerbach. Mrs. Abbott.
Mrs. Corbett Ashby. Miss Marshall.
Miss Dimock.

PUBLIC MEETINGS AND RECEPTIONS COMMITTEE.

*Mrs. Fawcett. *Mrs. Auerbach.
*Miss Palliser. Mrs. Franklin.
*Miss Courtney. Mrs. Stanbury.
*Miss Sterling. Miss Dimock.

*EX-officio.

ALBERT HALL MEETING.

Very hearty votes of thanks were passed by the Committee to the London Society for its admirable organisation of the Albert Hall meeting, also to the organist and the choir, as well as to the stewards and those who sold literature.

NEXT PROVINCIAL COUNCIL.

It was resolved, if convenient to the Rugby Society, to hold the Provincial Council meeting on Wednesday, May 8th, at Rugby.

NEW SOCIETIES.

The following new societies were affiliated to the Union:—
In the Surrey, Sussex and Hants Federation.—Aldershot.
In the South-Western Federation.—Exmouth.
In the West of England Federation.—Tewkesbury.
In the West Lancs., West Cheshire and North Wales Federation.—Chonley.
In the North-Western Federation.—Cleator Moor, Arlecdon and Frizington.
In the Scottish Federation.—Montrose.
In the South Wales Federation.—Swansea.

K. D. COURTNEY.

The National Union and Methods of Violence.

The resolution passed by the National Union Executive on Thursday last (see page 836) constitutes the fourth formal declaration, by resolution or manifesto, of the dissociation between the policy of the National Union and the policy of the W.S.P.U.

We quote these several statements, as they may be useful for reference.

No. I., published November, 1908, was a letter to members of Parliament, which was also sent to the Press; it ran as follows:—

"We wish to place on record our strong objections to all these and similar disturbances and breaches of the peace. We deeply regret them, and are convinced that our great cause, the basis of which is justice and not force, does not require such methods for its advocacy. They are completely at variance with the policy of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, which is one of steadfast adherence to lawful and constitutional methods of agitation.

"We appeal now, as we have appealed in the past, to reason, justice, and experience; the result of this appeal has been the gradual conversion of large numbers of men and women to our cause. So that at the general election, more than half the House of Commons, including two-thirds of the present Government, were returned as pledged supporters of woman's enfranchisement. We are unwilling to believe that arguments thus accepted and pledges thus given will be cast aside because other

methods have been adopted by what are known as the militant societies.

"The justice and expediency of any cause are not affected by the unwisdom of some of its advocates; nor should the steady argumentative agitation of 40 years be now ignored because in the disappointment of long-deferred hopes methods of anger and impatience and even of violence have been resorted to. While, therefore, we feel assured that members will not change their opinions nor abstain from voting because of the disorder that has occurred, we should not be candid if we did not state that the deepest disappointment exists in our union at the long delay that has occurred in placing a measure for the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women upon the Statute Book."

No. II. was the following resolution, passed by the General Council of the National Union, which met at Cardiff in October, 1909:—

"That the Council of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies strongly condemns the use of violence in political propaganda, and being convinced that the true way of advocating the cause of Women's Suffrage is by energetic, law-abiding propaganda, reaffirms its adherence to constitutional principles, and instructs the Executive Committee and the Societies to communicate this resolution to the Press."

No. III. was also a resolution, passed by a special General Council meeting on December 8th, 1911:—

"That in view of the political situation the N.U.W.S.S. strongly asserts its conviction that the steady pursuance of the policy it has adopted will lead to the enfranchisement of women in 1912, and emphatically condemns the resort to methods of violence in support of the cause of Women's Suffrage."

With these should be included an important speech made by Mrs. Fawcett at the Empress Rooms, Kensington, on March 5th, 1912, when she said:—

"We stand where we have always stood, and still strongly disapprove of the use of physical force as a means of political propaganda. Already we have made three definite pronouncements upon this subject. In these we definitely separated ourselves from such proceedings and condemned the use of physical violence."

Besides these formal protests, to which a fourth has now been added, speakers at meetings of the National Union have explained the position a thousand times, and handbills and leaflets on the subject have been distributed broadcast.

Most of us feel that it should not be necessary for the National Union, having in unequivocal terms condemned the use of violence in political propaganda, publicly to protest every time acts of violence are committed. But because of the hardness of men's hearts, and because, too, of the determination of the anti-suffragists to take every opportunity of misrepresenting us, it has seemed necessary once more to define our attitude, and, therefore, we have done so.

No better example can be found of the policy of misrepresentation to which the anti-suffragists are willing to stoop than a letter sent by Miss Gladys Pott to the *Times*, the substance of which was repeated in the *Standard* of March 9th.

This misrepresentation is valuable from two points of view—first, because it afforded an opportunity for Mrs. Fawcett's reply to Miss Pott; and, secondly, because it is a proof that the anti-suffragists find arguments directed against the principle of Women's Suffrage of no avail, and are anxious to involve all the societies in the charge of militancy. Nothing more disingenuous could be imagined than Miss Pott's pretence that the National Union has not condemned methods of violence; the public is surely entitled to expect that a responsible member of any society should ascertain the facts before writing to the papers.

If the National Union adopted the same course of action, it would insist on making the Anti-Suffrage League responsible for the anti-suffrage interruptions and attempted violence at many of our meetings, for the breaking of several shop windows last week, and for the brutal assaults on many of the suffragist women in the crowd on the night of Monday, March 4th. We do not condescend to these absurdities; we rely on the greatness of our cause, and have no need, as we have no inclination, to embark on a course of misrepresentation.

All these declarations, which have been forced upon us by ignorance or malice, are but the negative side of our great movement, and there is positive and active work of the greatest importance for all our members at the present most critical time.

There are signs enough that some so-called supporters of the movement are ready to be "afraid of any evil tidings," but nothing can really dismay or depress those who have a profound belief in the greatness and goodness of their cause. During the

LONDON SOCIETY OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES,

NON-MILITANT.

58, Victoria Street, S.W.

NON-PARTY.

PUBLIC RECEPTION, TUESDAY, MARCH 19,

Empress Rooms, Kensington (High Street Station), From 3.30 to 6 p.m. Chair:—Miss MARY LOWNDES (Chairman Artistes' League).
Speakers:—Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D., Miss CLEMENTINA BLACK, Miss A. MAUDE ROYDEN.
DISCUSSION INVITED.

last week, the events of which have saddened all constitutional suffragists, the last words of Mrs. Fawcett's "History of Women's Suffrage" must have occurred to many of us:—"Even if victory should be delayed, it cannot be delayed long. The suffragists ought to be the happiest of mankind, if happiness has been correctly defined as the perpetual striving for an object of supreme excellence and constantly making a nearer approach to it." K. D. COURTNEY.

Press Department.

THE SUNDAY PAPERS.

Lord Haldane's remark on Saturday, "that the men in Parliament to-day are too sane and too wise to let themselves be moved by the emotions of the halfpenny papers," comes as a welcome rebuke to the unbalanced utterances of the cheap press which has been profiting by the sensational circumstances connected with the tactics of the Women's Social and Political Union.

The Sunday papers, on the whole, are retrogressive and aloof from an understanding of the rapid progress and meaning of Women's Suffrage. The *Sunday Times* exhibits more than usual lack of discrimination in its suggestion that "till the sex can show that militants do not represent it, that its entrance into politics will not be marked by hysteria, etc., any final consideration of women's claim should be deferred." The crude biology by which it attempts to solve all political questions has now been turned to the question of Women's Suffrage. The mere statement that the Suffrage movement is contrary to "the immutable and unanswerable laws" of Nature is considered a sufficient answer to all that could possibly be said on our side of the question. The *Weekly Dispatch* and *The News of the World* have no comments of value, and *Reynold's Newspaper* shows bad taste as well as ignorance in its remarks on the "belated protest by the advocates of propriety" in relation to militant methods. An article in *Lloyd's Newspaper* on Sunday contains some temperate criticisms of militant tactics, and admits that "the refusal to widen the franchise cannot be logically supported." It then proceeds inconsequently to justify further postponement on the ground that "public opinion does not warrant such a revolution in tactics as that with which we are now threatened, and that on this account a demand sound in principle may yet be as inexpedient as if the principle were pernicious." Daily papers issued during the week have recognised the strength of the constitutional policy behind the great national Suffrage Societies and the political societies which demand the vote, a fact which many of the Sunday papers chose entirely to ignore. The *Observer* is frankly hostile. The *Sunday Chronicle*, in common with Sunday papers generally, records news fully.

The *Weekly Budget* is taking up the Suffrage warmly, and has a wide command of foreign news. It has lately given a whole page to overwhelming evidence collected from other countries that "women do want the vote." The *Church Family Newspaper* and the *Church Times* both show increasing interest in the subject, and the strong support afforded by the *Methodist Times* is based on a foundation of firm principle which precludes the fluctuations of policy which characterise inferior papers. It has lately published an article by Mrs. Henry Fawcett, and says that "it has been throughout the whole history of Women's Suffrage movement a convinced and fervent advocate of the woman's cause, basing its support on the religious, moral and social interests of the State. We believe that the Woman's Movement in England and the Adult Suffrage Movement in Germany will do more to preserve the peace of Europe than any other human race. Holding these convictions very strongly, we feel bound to put our columns at the service of the Movement during the present critical year."

The *Christian Commonwealth* published on February 28th a speech prepared by Mrs. Snowden for the Free Church Council, and rejected on the ground that it "would create a storm of feeling in certain quarters." Mrs. Snowden says in the speech "that the attitude of Free Church ministers at this crisis will be carefully noticed, and may cost the loyal support in the future of the brightest women in several denominations."

The *Universe and Catholic Weekly* records a powerful sermon favourable to Women's Suffrage preached in Westminster Cathedral.

The excellent article by Mrs. Fawcett in the *Daily News* on



**FASHIONABLE
TEA GOWNS**

For the coming Season. Rest Gowns and Tea Gowns of particularly elaborate character will be most fashionable, and the newest models are made from the richest qualities of gold and silver Broche, beautifully trimmed with lace, and also in many other rich fashionable fabrics.

BREAKFAST GOWN
in rich quality woolback satin: seams hand-vented, with large collar of linen lace and finished with big buttons.

Price **35/9**
In Cotton ratine same price.
Cap with large flat bow **12/9**

**Debenham
& Freebody.**
Wigmore Street,
(Cavendish Square) London, W.

March 9th has been reprinted, and should be widely circulated in the provinces.

During the coming week no effort should be spared to give full publicity to the clauses of the Conciliation Bill, and the fact that the Bill commands the support of constitutional suffragists, as opposed to the Militants.

We hear from Mansfield, Nottinghamshire, that the *Mansfield Advertiser* is publishing a series of four articles on *Woman's Suffrage*, contributed by officers of the local Society, and we urge local Societies to lose no time in taking up the press work as ardently elsewhere. E. M. LEAF.

Literature Department.

The harm done to the Cause by recent acts of militancy have made it more necessary than ever for the National Union to point out that it works by peaceful methods, and by peaceful methods only. In order to help make this plain, many of our societies have issued posters, and some are planning sandwich board parades. The Literature Department is not itself issuing any poster, as in view of the importance of haste, the expense of carriage, and the different wording suitable for different places, it is felt that the work can best be done locally; but we are issuing a simple leaflet containing a protest against violence, and we are also reprinting Mrs. Fawcett's article in Saturday's *Daily News*, "Window-breaking and After." Both of these should be widely distributed—Mrs. Fawcett's among those who will read a reasoned argument, and the other among those who require something very simple and brief.

We are stocking Miss Bertha Mason's "Story of the Suffrage Movement," with illustrations, 1s.; Miss Brownlow's "Women in Local Government," and Mrs. Pember Reeves' "Family Life on £1 per week," 2d. We are also printing Lord Haldane's speech at Oxford. I. B. O'MALLEY.

(All orders for literature should be addressed to the N.U., 14, Great Smith Street, S.W.)

Treasurer's Notes.

I.—GENERAL FUND.

Our members will be glad to know that recent events, far from damaging our finances, have already brought in certain gifts sent by friends who understand that our work must be increased, and who urge the necessity of greatly extending the

activity of the Constitutional Society at this time. The spirit of loyal enthusiasm and confidence displayed throughout the Union is most inspiring and encouraging to those at Headquarters.

ALBERT HALL COLLECTION.

I am now able to say that the total will exceed £7,000; the full accounts will be completed in a week or two.

F. M. STERLING. (Treasurer *pro tem.*)

Contributions to General Fund.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged since Nov. 1st, 1911 ...	1,788	1	9
Received from March 2nd to March 9th, 1912.			
Subscriptions:—			
Miss M. A. Sloane ...	10	6	
Mrs. Allan Bright ...	1	1	0
Miss Janet Dodge ...	2	2	0
Mrs. C. L. Wylie ...	1	0	
Mrs. Quinn ...	1	0	
Donations: 1912 Campaign—			
Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, towards expenses of Miss Gill's tour in Ireland ...	5	14	0
Miss Stehr (3rd monthly donation) ...	20	0	0
Mrs. Patterson ...	10	0	0
Mrs. C. L. Wylie ...	10	0	0
Girton College, self denial week ...	5	16	0
Mr. A. Garrett Anderson ...	25	0	0
Miss M. R. Courtauld ...	5	0	0
Miss A. Meacock ...	1	1	0
Miss J. Barrett ...	5	0	0
Affiliation Fees:—			
Leicester and Leicestershire W.S.S. (1st instalment) ...	1	15	0
Jarrow W.S.S. ...	6	3	
Arlecdon and Frizington W.S.S. ...	5	0	
Cleator Moor W.S.S. ...	5	0	
Burnham W.S.S. ...	15	3	
Wells W.S.S. ...	5	0	
Hawick W.S.S. (additional) ...	2	6	
N. and E. Essex W.S.S. ...	1	0	0
	£1,869	17	3

DONATIONS, ALBERT HALL MEETING.

	£	s.	d.
Already announced ...	1,742	5	0
SECOND LIST.			
Mrs. Chapman ...	2	2	0
Miss Chudleigh ...	1	1	0
Mrs. Cunliffe ...	10	0	0
Sir William and Lady Chance ...	25	0	0
Miss H. D. Cockle ...	20	0	0
Mr. R. F. Cholmeley ...	10	0	0
Miss D. F. Cholmeley ...	2	0	0
Mrs. B. A. Clough ...	50	0	0
Mrs. Stanton Coit ...	50	0	0
Miss C. D. Corbett ...	10	6	
Miss C. Courtauld ...	200	0	0
Miss S. R. Courtauld ...	200	0	0
Miss C. D. Courtauld ...	10	0	0
Miss Gertrude Cousins ...	1	0	0
Miss C. I. Coxhead ...	5	0	0
Miss Marion A. Cowell ...	5	0	0
Miss E. Coxon ...	1	0	0
Mrs. H. Cowell ...	5	0	0
Mrs. W. B. Crisp ...	3	0	0
Mrs. Cranfield ...	5	0	0
Miss M. Crosfield ...	10	0	0
	£2,355	1	6

By-Elections.

SOUTH MANCHESTER.

The Manchester Society did valuable work in the South Manchester election. Many open-air meetings were held in the constituency, the audiences being most sympathetic. Miss Ashton, Miss Robertson, Mrs. Aldersley, Mrs. Wilson, Miss Cox and others spoke at these meetings, and did much towards the success of the campaign. Much interest was taken by the public in our committee-room, where a large quantity of literature was sold and distributed. Several new members joined the society, and many COMMON CAUSES were sold.

D. DARLINGTON.

A South Manchester elector writes as follows: "There is no ground whatever for supposing that the defeated candidate in South Manchester lost anything by being a known supporter of women's suffrage. The contrary is the case. There never has been in my observation an election so absolutely dominated by a single issue—the Insurance Act. The actual turnover of voters as compared with the uncontented election fifteen months ago is estimated at 900. The present feeling among Manchester warehousemen and clerks and employers and doctors about the Insurance Act (whether right or wrong) is quite sufficient to account for that. Frankly, women's suffrage was not at all prominent. Both contending parties kept it out of sight. Sir Arthur Haworth could have been trusted loyally to support the cause in Parliament according to his promises, but he said as little about it as he possibly could. A very few Liberals are said to have withheld their votes from Sir Arthur on the ground of his support of women's suffrage. But I myself know

of more than twice as many who would have abstained from voting if Sir Arthur had not been pledged to the suffrage. Where, however, the suffrage candidate gained considerably and beyond a shadow of a doubt was election work. The Liberal campaign was rather slack until the last three days, but it would have been slack still but for Liberal suffragists, who, unless the candidate had been pledged, would have remained in their tents. The organisation was not very good, and it would have been in a worse fix but for the clerical and other aid given by members of the Manchester Society for Women's Suffrage. Finally, the Manchester Society secured for the Liberals eight motor-cars, lent on no other ground but women's suffrage.

Mr. Glazebrook, I understand, though himself against women's suffrage, declined to have the Anti-Suffrage League's effort associated with his campaign. It was certainly a very feeble effort!

E. NEVILLE SMITH.

Rusholme, Manchester, March 9.

HEREFORD.

Unluckily, Professor Hewins, who is anti, has been returned unopposed for Hereford, but we have had an excellent opportunity for doing propaganda work, and Hereford looks on our cause with much more favour than it did a week ago.

Professor Hewins received a deputation, introduced by the Rev. G. H. Davis, and while announcing his intention to vote against the Conciliation Bill, on the ground that women are not interested in politics, promised to consider the question and to meet us again at some future time.

Mrs. Davis and I addressed the Women's Liberal Association on Tuesday, and on Wednesday her husband, the Rev. G. H. Davies, took the chair at an open-air meeting in St. Peter's square. I spoke for about an hour and answered a great many questions, and then Mrs. Davies spoke.

On Thursday I had a most successful dinner-hour meeting at the railway station for the workers at two factories. The men listened with interest and promised to come to our meetings and accepted literature. I had intended to have an open-air meeting at night, but a speaker for the Union Defence League reached the "pitch" before me and kept it till nearly ten.

On Friday, Miss Brenda Spender and Miss Stephens accompanied me to Bulmer's Cider Works, where Miss Spender's maiden speech, introducing me, was well received.

On Saturday, Mrs. Merivale Mayer arrived, and she and Mrs. Davies spoke at three o'clock in St. Peter's Square, a meeting which I had arranged at the request of some country friends who are unable to attend evening meetings. Among the audience I noted an "anti" who had vindicated true womanliness by pelting me with my handbills the day before. At night we had a splendid meeting. Miss Spender took the chair and Mrs. Mayer and I spoke. Despite the weather, which was far from propitious, we kept our audience together for nearly three hours and made a large number of converts.

On Monday we are going to the gas-works to speak at the dinner-hour, and on Tuesday Mrs. Mayer and I are going to speak in the Percival Hall, the Rev. G. H. Davies will take the chair. We have been gratified by some promises of help in North Hereford.

E. J. D. MORRISON.

St. Peter's House, Hereford.

London Society.

DEPUTATION TO MR. RAYMOND GREENE, M.P. (N. HACKNEY).

On the afternoon of February 23rd, Miss Eve and Mrs. E. W. Benwell, accompanied by Miss E. Palliser, had an interview with Mr. Raymond Greene, M.P. for N. Hackney, at the House of Commons. Mr. Greene spoke with sympathy of women's suffrage, and said he should vote again for the Conciliation Bill. He said he realised that there was a good deal of feeling for the Bill

in his constituency, and that he had been a good deal impressed by the fact that the Borough Councils of Stoke Newington and Hackney had passed resolutions in favour of the Bill.

WEST END RECEPTIONS.

At the reception of February 27th, Miss Helen Ward, from the chair, pointed out the absurdity of the much advertised anti-suffragist canvass of women, by which they are able only to show some 48,000 anti-suffragist women out of a total of adult women numbering about 13,000,000. Miss Courtney again dealt with the political situation and gained the warm appreciation of her audience by her able replies to a large number of questions. The interesting speeches of Mrs. Harley and Miss G. Dykes Spicer were also cordially received.

On March 5th, Miss Sterling from the chair, and Mrs. Swanwick both exposed various inconsistencies and mis-statements made by the various speakers at the anti-suffrage Albert Hall meeting, and the Rev. Llewellyn Smith gave conclusive reasons for his position as a convinced suffragist.

The speech of the afternoon was, however, delivered by Mrs. Fawcett, who reviewing the past year showed the consistent and fruitful work of the N.U.W.S.S. as a constitutional and law abiding body. In regard to the recent new outbreaks of militancy, she pointed out that for the Government to deal severely merely with symptoms of unrest and to leave the causes unremedied would be unworthy of statesmen. Mrs. Fawcett further urged that indignation was just but that it should not be expressed with hysterical exaggeration and bitterness, and, calling for renewed and vigorous effort on the part of the Union, she declared that the ultimate triumph of our great cause was inevitably approaching.

EAST END RECEPTIONS.

We held a very successful reception at the Ratcliff Settlement on February 26th. Miss Young (in the chair) spoke on the woman wage earner and Mr. E. J. Urwick on the moral question. Miss Emily Ford gave some very delightful recitations and we are greatly indebted to Miss Adela Vernon and Miss Morgan for the musical part of the programme.

At the March 4th reception, Miss Helen Ward in the chair, Miss Agnes Dawson was the speaker and Miss Ruth Franklin and Miss Rosen sang songs which were received with enthusiastic appreciation. Miss Rosen also gave a short, but most impressive, address at discussion time. Seven new associates joined.

BLACKHEATH.

A successful public meeting, organised by this Branch, was held at the Concert Hall on February 23rd. The chair was taken by Sir Victor Horsley, B.S., F.R.S., who, before introducing the speakers, made a vigorous protest against the charge to which expression was given at the meeting of the anti-suffragists at the Albert Hall, that women had been indifferent and apathetic in the cause of social reform. Effective speeches were made by the Rev. Llewellyn Smith and Mrs. Pember Reeves, and on the resolution—"That this meeting calls upon the Government to enfranchise women in 1912," being put, the meeting, with one dissentient only, declared itself in favour.

In the regrettable absence of Mrs. Mackern, the Chairman of the Branch, through illness, the guests were received by the ex-Chairman, Mrs. Coppertwaite, assisted by the Local Committee and by Miss Watson, the representative of the London Society.

DEVONPORT.

A small but successful public meeting was held in the hall of the Hatcham Liberal Club on February 21st. The chair was taken by Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P. for the Borough, and Mrs. F. T. Swanwick was the principal speaker. They were supported on the platform by well-known ladies and gentlemen representative of all the local party organisations. Mrs. Swanwick's eloquent speech made a deep impression on her hearers and the Albert Hall resolution, which was briefly seconded by Miss Goddard, was carried with one dissentient. There was a good sale of the COMMON CAUSE and other literature, and several new members were enrolled.

By kind invitation of Miss Ingham Russell, Miss Emilie Gardner addressed the students of the Surrey Hostel of Goldsmith's College on March 2nd. Her speech aroused great interest and the local organiser was asked to call again soon for further discussion of the subject and a long list of new members.

FULHAM.

On February 28th, Miss Thomas kindly lent her drawing-room. Mr. Raikes Bromage was in the chair, and Mrs. Robie Uniscke most kindly took Miss Maude Royden's place at a moment's notice, the latter having been unavoidably prevented from attending. Mrs. Uniscke's very interesting speech was listened to with much attention.

NORTH HACKNEY.

Thursday, February 8th, there was a well-attended drawing-room meeting at 45, Clapton Common. Hostesses, Mrs. King and Mrs. Chaltis. Chair, F. King, Esq. Speakers, Mrs. Chaltis and Miss G. Dykes Spicer, B.A. Nine new members joined and 12 COMMON CAUSES were sold.

February 23rd.—About 40 members of the Branch attended the Albert Hall meeting.

On March 1st, the Branch felt much honoured in being able to hear both Mrs. Swanwick, M.A., and Mrs. Despard at the Rectory Road Lecture Hall. The Rev. F. Williams was in the chair. The Rev. Claud Hinsdill was unavoidably prevented from coming. The resolution calling upon Parliament to enfranchise women in 1912, was passed with acclamation and nem. con. by about

300 men and women. Some disappointment was felt by the Committee that no questions were asked, but the headmistress of a County Council school remarked afterwards that the speeches were so moderate and so convincing that there was nothing to be said. Three dozen Common Causes were sold and several membership forms were asked for. The hall was decorated with the N.U. colours and with the banners of the Hackney W.S. Society, the Church League and the Free Church League.

SOUTH KENSINGTON.
On February 22nd, a large drawing-room meeting was held at 15, Gledhow Gardens, by kind permission of Mrs. Erection Hensley. Mrs. Rendel was in the chair and Mrs. F. T. Swanwick gave a most interesting address which was listened to with the greatest attention.

LAMBETH NORTH.
A meeting was held, on March 4th, in the Weddon Street Mission Hall, at which about 200 people were present. Miss H. D. Cockle spoke and also Mr. Wilson, L.C.C., and Councillor Young; they both explained the difference between the methods of the militant and the non-militant suffragists, and urged the people as they went out to take leaflets to learn more about February 27th.

NORTH BADDINGTON.
A social meeting on the evening of February 27th, at 11, Lauderdale Parade, was very well attended. Mrs. Dreydel was in the chair and Miss Goddard spoke. There was a good discussion and the resolution was carried unanimously, several copies of the Common Cause were sold and a collection taken.

POPULAR.
Miss Emily Hill addressed the Poplar Liberal and Radical Association, at 102, East India Dock Road, on February 27th.

STEPNEY.
Miss Goddard addressed a most appreciative meeting of B.W.T.A. members at Stepney Meeting House, on February 29th.

Miss Goddard also spoke to the Ivy Leaves Girls' Club on "Votes and Wages." In both cases the audience "asked for more."

WALTON-ON-THAMES.
A very successful drawing-room meeting was held on the 5th inst., by kind permission of Mrs. Stein, at Rhineland. The chair was taken by Miss Gardner and Mrs. Holman addressed a large audience on some of the reasons why women want the vote and why that wish seems so near accomplishment. The meeting concluded with an entertainment given by members of the Actresses' Franchise League. Mrs. Meax and Mille. Ginnel sang and Miss Bensusan gave a humorous representation of a young anti-suffragist. "A Chat with Mrs. Chicky," a most amusing duologue, brought down the house. Miss Marianne Caldwell as the "anti" missionary and Miss Inez Bensusan as the redoubtable "charlady" were people we had met in real life and not mere stage characters.

WIMBLEDON NORTH.
On March 6th, a drawing-room meeting was held at 15, Bernard Gardens, by kind invitation of Mrs. Howe. Miss Gavin in the chair. Miss G. Dykes Spicer spoke encouragingly on the progress of the movement. She agreed with Lord Loreburn who, speaking at the Albert Hall anti-suffrage meeting, said that it was a great movement for good or for evil, and because she believed it was a movement for good, she called upon all present to give it their support. Mrs. Threlfall proposed a vote of thanks to the speaker, chairman and hostess. Five new members joined and four more promised to do so.

Federation Notes.

Scottish.

TWO DEPUTATIONS.

On February 26th an influential deputation waited on Mr. W. C. Gladstone, M.P. (Kilmarnock). It consisted of Miss Chrystal MacMillan, M.A., B.Sc.; Mrs. Fraser, L.L.A.; Kilmarnock W.S.S.; Mrs. Cowan, Kilmarnock W.S.S.; Mrs. Gordon, Vice-President, Oban W.S.S.; Mrs. Muir, President, Ayr W.S.S. (these three all being wives of electors); Miss Crompton, M.A.; Dr. Mary F. Nametti, Hon. Treasurer, Kilmarnock W.S.S., Hon. Secretary N. Ayr W.S.S., householder. It will be remembered that Mr. Gladstone had said if he were convinced that the majority of women wanted the vote he would be prepared to support them, and he had said the same to the anti-suffragists. Accordingly, the householders of Kilmarnock were canvassed with good results—in one quarter fifty per cent. and in another ninety per cent. signed. Mr. Gladstone, confronted with the figures, said he meant "a majority of the women of the country," and he also objected that householders were not democratic enough; he had no suggestion to make as to how the opinion of "the women of the country" was to be obtained.

On the same day, Sir George Younger (Ayr and Oban) received the same deputation (with the exception of Mrs. Cowan). He was entirely unsatisfactory, but said he might be absent from the voting. An electors' memorial is being got up, and a meeting, to be addressed by Miss Royden, on March 27th will help.

North Western.

AMBLESIDE held a debate on women's suffrage on February 13th, at which a resolution was carried with only 2 dissentients, and on the 15th, at a meeting between 80 and 90 members of the Women's Liberal Association, the resolution was carried almost unanimously. **LANCASTER** held a "White Elephant" tea on February 16th, which raised £4 for the funds of the Society. In **CARLISLE**, the subject of Women's Votes

was introduced by Mrs. James Morton at the February meetings of the B.W.T.A. A public meeting was held in the Town Hall, on February 15th, which was remarkable for the strong backing of men both on and off the platform. A sympathetic telegram was received from Mr. William Jones, M.P. The resolution, proposed by Mrs. Philip Snowden, and seconded by the Rev. S. Keeble, was carried unanimously and the speeches were received with great enthusiasm. E. E. Bone, Esq., late chairman of the Town Council, presided. Many New members were enrolled.

West Lancs., West Ches., and North Wales.
The **LLANDUDNO** Society held a very successful meeting in the Town Hall, on February 15th, which was remarkable for the strong backing of men both on and off the platform. A sympathetic telegram was received from Mr. William Jones, M.P. The resolution, proposed by Mrs. Philip Snowden, and seconded by the Rev. S. Keeble, was carried unanimously and the speeches were received with great enthusiasm. E. E. Bone, Esq., late chairman of the Town Council, presided. Many New members were enrolled.

The **BIRKENHEAD** Society held a well-attended public meeting in the Town Hall, Neston, on March 4th. Lady Norman Hill was in the chair.
The **WALLASEY AND WIERAL** Society gave an entertainment on February 15th, when scenes from "Emma" and "Pride and Prejudice" were admirably acted by Mr. and Mrs. Eben Wallace, Mrs. G. A. Stallybrass, Miss G. Weatherhead, and Mr. Ashley. Songs and violin solos from the Misses Mair, Lily Mahler, and Mr. G. A. Stallybrass completed a delightful programme which had a substantial result financially.

On February 27th, a drawing-room meeting was held at HESWALL, by kind permission of Mrs. Rohde. Mrs. Scoresby Routledge made an excellent speech and converted many.
On March 7th, a drawing-room meeting was held at NEW BRINGTON, through the kindness of Mrs. Stangeff Mr. Hield and Miss E. F. McPherson were the speakers. The **PRESTON** Society held a largely attended meeting in the Assembly Room of the Public Hall, on March 2nd. Mr. Willan took the chair and explained the constitution and policy of the N.U.W.S.S. The resolution, which was proposed by Miss Evelyn Deakin and seconded by Mrs. Philip Snowden, was carried unanimously, and with enthusiasm. The vote of thanks to the speakers was proposed by Mrs. Farnworth and seconded by Miss Todd.

N. and E. Riding (Yorks).
YORK—February 9th. Mrs. Thompson's drawing-room meeting at "Dringcote" proved a great success. Mrs. Knowles took the chair, and Miss Abadam spoke with her usual eloquence. Many present had not before been interested in suffrage.—February 20th. Mrs. Rackham came to speak at Mrs. K. E. T. Wilkinson's drawing-room meeting, and as a result six new members joined. Mrs. P. Newman presided.—February 29th. The annual meeting took place in the Assembly Rooms, Mrs. Edwin Gray presiding in the absence of the President. After the business was concluded, Miss L. O. Ford addressed the members.—March 1st. Mrs. Storey invited her friends to a drawing-room meeting; many of them had never before attended such a gathering. Mrs. Meyer gave an address and Mrs. Edwin Gray led an interesting discussion which resulted in four new members. The office, at 13, High Petergate, York (open Tuesdays and Thursdays), is proving a great success. 20 new members have been enrolled and 12 new subscribers to the Common Cause gained. In all 15 dozen Common Causes have been sold through the office since it opened.

COMMON CAUSE correspondent.—It is requested that contributions for the monthly reports for April, May and June, be sent to Mrs. Catt, 4, Pavilion Terrace, Scarborough, who has kindly undertaken to edit them for those months.

Oxford, Bucks and Berks.
MID-BUCKS.—This Society held two meetings in January; one for village-women at Great Missenden, at which Mrs. Savory spoke and gained us seven new members; the second at Aylesbury, by invitation of the Co-operative Women's Guild, when Miss M. Ransome spoke and two new members joined.

GERRARD'S CROSS.—A public meeting was held on Monday, February 19th, when a resolution calling on the Government to grant the franchise to women in 1912 was carried by an overwhelming majority. Miss Cicely Corbett, B.A., moved the resolution in an able and eloquent speech, emphasising the fact that it is for the sake of the women of England that women want the vote. Mr. Chancellor, M.P., seconded. The audience was exceptionally large for Gerrard's Cross, and gave an enthusiastic welcome to the chairman, Miss Dove, of High Wycombe. The meeting was a great success and a proof of the great interest that is felt in the subject.

NORTH BERKS.—An invitation to take part in a debate at Victoria Hall, Wantage, on February 8th, was received from the N.L.O.W.S., and Mrs. Haverfield was asked to speak for us. She was unfortunately prevented by illness, and Mr. Lindsay, of Balliol College, Oxford, very kindly took her place. Miss Pott proposed the resolution, which was carried, about one-third of the audience voting against it. At a debate arranged by the N.L.O.W.S. at Abingdon, on February 29th, between Miss Gladys Pott and Mrs. Rackham, the anti-suffrage resolution was carried, about fifty or sixty voting against it in an audience of about three hundred.

PANGBOURNE.—A well-attended public meeting was held at the New Hall, Pangbourne, on the night of March 6th. Mrs. Robie Unick took the chair. Miss Helen Ward very kindly came to speak instead of Miss Margaret Robertson, who was prevented by illness. The resolution, "That this meeting calls upon Parliament to enfranchise women in 1912," moved by Miss Ward, and seconded by Miss Royden, in a stirring speech, was carried, nine people in an audience of about three hundred voting against it. This was very satisfactory, considering the fact that a large section of the audience was distinctly hostile at the beginning of the proceedings. Several new members joined the Society.

CROWTHER.—A successful meeting was held on Monday, March 4th, at the St. George's Hall, Crowthorne. Mrs. Robie Unick presided and the speakers were Mr. J. Malcolm Mitchell and Miss Maude Royden. The resolution, calling upon Parliament to enfranchise women in 1912, was carried with one dissentient.

West Midland.
FORMATION OF A NEW SOCIETY AT KIDDERMINSTER.
Through the active co-operation of Mrs. Ellis Talbot the West Midland Federation has been able to start

a most promising branch of the N.U.W.S.S. at Kidderminster. A meeting was held at the Kingsley Hall on Thursday, February 29th. Mrs. Langley Browne presided, and a most excellent address was given by Miss Muriel Matters, after which 40 members joined.

International Suffrage Shop.

On Monday, March 4th, while crowds were rioting in the streets, a very interesting discussion took place in the pretty room at the shop in Adam Street. It was led by Mrs. Billington Greig, Miss Marsden being in the chair. Mrs. Greig, in her well-constructed speech developed the point that militant suffragists had overrated the power of the vote, and had allowed their propaganda to narrow them. She advocated more education and self development and less machinery; if "protests" were necessary, let them be protests arising out of some clear and passionately felt wrong, not the artificial manufacture of martyrs. The meeting was interrupted, but in no way disturbed, by the smashing of the plate-glass windows by the mob, and it went on with much warmth till nearly eleven o'clock.

The "Antis" at York.

A public anti-suffrage meeting was held in the Exhibition, York, on Friday evening, March 9th. Miss Milner was in the chair, supported by Colonel Sandilands, and Mrs. H. Norris addressed the meeting. There were about 300 present. It was soon apparent that a large number of suffragists were among the audience, and when the resolution was put to the meeting, so few voted for it and such a large majority against it, that it was apparent many besides members of suffrage societies had voted with the majority. The chairman declared the resolution defeated. The meeting ended in prolonged cheering. The next morning the following appeared on the posters of the *Yorkshire Herald*:—"York surprise in the suffragette war."

G. K. MEYER (Organising Secretary, York W.S.S.)

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.

STONE-THROWING.

Once more I have cancelled my order for your paper, and it is only fair to tell you why. If you really believe the W.S.P.U. to be dying then it is surely bad taste, if nothing else, to exult over a corpse before it is dead, and may still be supposed to be sentient; if you do not really believe it, then it is an unworthy taunt which you publish in your issue of March 7. May I advise that you either change your title of THE COMMON CAUSE—or try occasionally to remember its meaning? We are surely all of us in too critical a position to take to throwing stones at each other.

A MEMBER OF OVER TWENTY YEARS' STANDING, Wimbledon.

[This lady's phrase is quaint. Who threw stones? Every stone thrown by members of the W.S.P.U. hits members of the National Union. Yet we are even adjured not to say so! 'C'est par trop fort!' All our efforts were united to get a measure passed into law this year, and the W.S.P.U. are trying to smash our efforts, and we are not to say so! We can imagine our correspondent does not like to read the truth, and if so, she is wise to give up this paper, for she would read the truth here; we have no intention of suppressing it: truth is good for the Common Cause. Ed. C.C.]

A LOST SUBSCRIBER.

After glancing at this week's number of THE COMMON CAUSE I have decided that I never wish to see another number. I therefore make you a handsome present of the remainder of my subscription.

Your incitement of the Government to give the Militant Suffragists nine months' imprisonment is entirely worthy of you—jealousy could no further go. HERTHA AYRTON,

41, Norfolk Square, W. March 6th, 1912.

[We cannot retort upon Mrs. Ayrton with a *tu quoque*. We think her letter entirely unworthy of her, and regard her state of mind as being due to the narrowness indulged in by the W.S.P.U., which has gradually led its members to be out of touch with the wider world while intensely cultivating their own little coterie. Mrs. Ayrton is apparently about to foster this narrowness still further by refusing to read what fellow-suffragists think of her Union, and its works.

We on the other hand go to their meetings and read their paper, distasteful as we find both, because we wish to understand. We do not desire any severe punishments for the militants; on the contrary, we think some of them, certainly Mrs. Pankhurst, need nothing so much as a twelve months' rest cure. We only wish our penal system were civilised enough to give it to her.—Ed. C.C.]

A PROTEST.

As a result of the editorial attitude towards the W.S.P.U., set forth in issue of March 7, I have modified Miss Kate Foster's suggestion to the extent of instructing my newsgather to supply me with an extra copy of "Votes for Women" for distribution in place of THE COMMON CAUSE, which has been taken for the waiting-room for the last two years. Cancelling an order for one copy of course is not a point worthy of mention, but in this particular instance it means that 60 or 70 people who certainly would not buy it for themselves will no longer have an opportunity of reading the paper.

When such respected names as those of Dr. Frances Ede and Dr. Louisa Garrett Anderson appear in the lists of those women whose devotion to principle has led them to so much mental and physical suffering, apart from grave financial loss there is an additional reason why a fellow practitioner and member of the W.S.P.U. who cannot sufficiently admire their self-sacrifice should be specially careful to avoid anything that might appear to countenance sentiments such as are to be found under the headings "Our Handicap" and "Tactics of Despair." (Dr.) HELEN GORDON CLARK.

[We can quite understand Dr. Clark's point of view; she would naturally wish her patients not to know how seriously her Union is hampering and thwarting the work of our Union. They will not gather this from the daily press nor from the organ of the W.S.P.U.—Ed. C.C.]

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responsible, being given by a Cabinet Minister and worded in no vague terms. Why, therefore, should the days of impeachment be over when there is more than ample cause for impeachment?

As this is a matter of the utmost and most immediate gravity, I trust you will insert my point of view in your next issue. To that end, and out of respect for your space, I refrain in the meantime from further comment. CHARLES B. MABON.

Glasgow, March 9th, 1912.

AN APPEAL TO SECRETARIES.
We are very anxious that the pamphlet "Women's Suffrage—A Survey, 1908-1912," which we have had reprinted from the *Manchester Guardian*, should be widely circulated during the next few weeks. In our Federation area we have sent copies to all the members of Parliament, the officials of all the political associations, and also to prominent politicians in each division. We have already received a request for 500 copies from a Conservative Association in North Lancashire, which desires to circulate it amongst its committees and canvassers.

We hope that the secretaries of all the Federations will take this opportunity of making use of the pamphlet in a similar manner.

JANET BARNES,
(Hon. Secretary, Manchester Federation).
March 8th, 1912.

Our Advertisers.

We are asked to draw the attention of our readers to a change in the plans for the meeting of the Cymric Suffrage Union to-morrow evening, at which Mr. Walter Roch, M.P., is to be the principal speaker. The owners of the Small Queen's Hall have cancelled the let, and the meeting will therefore be held at the Steinway Hall, Lower Seymour Street, W., instead. The hour and all other arrangements are unaltered.

Other Societies.

IRISH WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.
A meeting was held in St. George's Parochial Hall, Dublin, on March 7th. The Rev. Fergus Greer presided. Mrs. Haslam emphasised the fact that the Association was a strictly non-party and non-militant one. She explained the aims of the Association and said that they were actively trying to get at least one woman doctor appointed to the Post Office to attend women employed in the Post Office in Dublin and its suburbs. Miss Perry, B.A. (Hon. Secretary, Conservative Franchise Association) said the vote was not an end in itself but a means to an end. Women would use the vote to safeguard their interests and to have their point of view considered. Miss Chenevix, B.A., Mrs. Richardson, and Miss Stuart, B.A., also addressed the meeting.

CHRISTIANES JOINT DEMONSTRATION.
Some alterations have been made. The assembly will be at Cleopatra's Needle, Embankment, at 1.45, and the procession will start at 2.15. The Church League section will march to Westminster Abbey, the Free Church League to Trafalgar Square.

Forthcoming Meetings.

ARRANGED BY THE NATIONAL UNION.
(The meetings are given only a fortnight in advance.)

MARCH 14.	Bexhill—Victoria Hall—Mrs. Philip Snowden, Mrs. Strickland (chair)	8.0
	Nottingham—Assembly Hall, North Church Street—Committee "At Home"—Women in Council Work—Miss Margaret Ashton, Mrs. Hamilton Baynes (chair)	3.0
	New Milton—Milton Hall—Mrs. Rackham, Dr. Stancomb (chair)	8.0
	Great Missenden—Schools—Dr. Drysdale, Miss Muriel Matters	8.0
	Eastbourne—Mrs. Stracey's drawing-room meeting—Mrs. Strickland	3.15
	Kirkby Thore—Parish Room—Miss Norma-Smith, Councillor J. Crosbie (chair)	8.0
	Yateley—Mrs. Wood's drawing-room meeting—Mrs. Dempster	3.30
	Hawkshead—Town Hall—Miss M. Robertson, B.A., Mrs. Ounliffe (chair)	7.45
	Mansfield—Town Hall—Councillor Margaret Ashton, Mrs. Gowmeadow, A. Richardson, Esq., J.P. (chair)	8.0
	Ambleside—Mr. Garside's Pavilion—Annual meeting—Mrs. M. Robertson, B.A.	3.0
	Coventry—Priory Row Assembly Rooms—White Elephant Tea—Speaker, Miss Morrison, M.A.	3.30
	Coventry—Priory Row Assembly Rooms—Clerks' meeting—Miss Morrison, M.A.	8.0
	Donhead St. Mary—Council School—Miss J. M. Barrett, Miss D. Walford, Miss Bishop (chair)	7.30
	Langport—At Mrs. H. G. Wedd's—"The Economic Position of Women"—Miss K. M. S. Robertson	3.0
	Middlesbrough—Mrs. Milburn Wilson's drawing-room meeting—Miss Fielden, Miss Elphick	3.0

MARCH 15.
Felixstowe—Miller's Rooms—"The history and work of the N.U."—Miss E. Place, D. J. Cowles, Esq. (chair) 4.15 |

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- Monkseaton-Mrs. Hinchcliffe's drawing-room meeting-Miss C. M. Gordon, Miss G. M. Fenwick (chair) 3.0
Fovant-Church Hall-Miss J. M. Barette, Miss D. 7.30
Grasmere-The New Hall-Miss M. Robertson, B.A., Prof. de Selincourt (chair) 8.0
Kirkby Stephen-Temperance Hall-Miss Norma-Smith, Mr. F. Harrison (chair) 8.0
Birmingham-10, Essay Row-Franchise Club 5.30
Weston-super-Mare-Town Hall-Religious Aspect of W.S.-Rev. C. Hinchliff, Rev. Fleming Williams, Miss K. M. S. Robertson, Canon Talbot (chair) 8.0
Middlesbrough-Mrs. Dickie's drawing-room meeting -Miss Fielden, Miss Elphick 3.30
Plymouth-Salsbury Road Council Schools-Miss L. Jenkin 8.0
MARCH 16. Newcastle-on-Tyne-Crosby's Cafe-Annual meeting -Miss Alice Low 8.0
Sidmouth-Temperance Cafe-Mrs. Rackham 4.0
Exeter-College Hall-Annual meeting-Mrs. Rackham 8.0
Eveshot-Vicarage-Rev. A. Creed's drawing-room meeting-Mrs. Dempster 3.30
Bristol-111a, Whiteladies Road-"At Home" to meet Miss Helen Fraser 5.0
MARCH 18. Nottingham-Office, 54, Long Row-Whist Drive-Admission 6d. 7.30
Totnes-Seymour Hotel Assembly Rooms-Mrs. Rackham 8.0
Penarth-Girls' Institute-Mrs. Charles Morgan 8.0
Rochester-Corn Exchange-The Lady Frances Balfour, Mrs. Abbott, Lady Brassey (chair) 8.0
Liverpool-Ladies' Employment Bureau, 27, Leese Street-Annual meeting-Miss E. F. Rathbone, Miss C. Leadley-Brown, Miss Dora Mason, Mrs. Egerton Stewart-Brown (chair) 5.0
Tisbury-Victoria Hall-Miss J. M. Barette, Miss D. Waldorf, J. Trehan, Esq. (chair) 7.30
Redhill-Rec's Rooms-Miss Irene Cox (Industrial Law Com.)-A. B. Gough, Esq., M.A., Ph.D. 8.0
Middlesbrough-Centenary Chapel-Women's meeting-Miss Fielden, Miss Elphick 3.0

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- MARCH 12. Tower Hamlets-Ratcliff Settlement-"At Home" -Mrs. F. Sterling, Mrs. Walter Roch (chair) 8.0
N. Highgate-Miss Alice Zimmern's "At Home" -Miss Abadam-Suffrage sketch, "Lady Butterby and Mrs. McBean" 8.30

- MARCH 13. Kensington-Empress Rooms, Royal Palace Hotel-Mrs. Fawcett, LL.D., Miss Clementina Black, Miss A. Maude Royden, Miss Mary Lowndes (chair) 3.30

- MARCH 20. Sutton-Miss Close's drawing-room meeting-Miss A. Maude Royden evening 7.30
Holborn-13, Bedford Square, W.C.-Lecture, "Good Queen Maud (wife of Henry I), and Hospital Movement" -Miss Lina Ekenstein-Tickets 2s. 6d.

- Balham-Mrs. Watson's drawing-room meeting -Miss Susan Lawrence 8.15
MARCH 21. Plaistow-Settlement House-"At Home"-Miss A. Maude Royden, Miss Agnes Dawson 8.0

- MARCH 25. Tower Hamlets-Ratcliff Settlement-"At Home" -Miss J. Thomson, B.A., Mrs. Leon (chair) 8.0
Southwark-Webber Street Mission, Blackfriars Road-Mrs. Rogers 3.0

- Paddington-Conservative Club-Debate-Miss C. Corbett, B.A., Mrs. Archibald, M.A., Alderman Handover (chair) 8.30

- MARCH 26. Kensington-Empress Rooms, Royal Palace Hotel-London Society's reception-Councillor Margaret Ashton, Miss I. O. Ford, Mr. Malcolm Mitchell, Miss Edith Paliser (chair) 3.30

- N. Paddington-41, Lauderdale Parade, Maida Vale -Social meeting-Miss Ruth Young, Miss Goddard 8.15

- MARCH 27. C Hackney-Mrs. Holder's drawing-room meeting -Mrs. Gunningham, M.A. 8.0

- MARCH 28. Wembleton-The Lecture Hall, Lingfield Road -Rev. W. C. Hawksley, Miss Helen Ward (chair) 3.0

- MARCH 15. Edinbrough-40, Shandwick Place-Public meeting -Mrs. Guyer 4.30
Edinbrough-"Tilmouth"-Public meeting -Miss Aliee Low 8.0

- Glasgow-Office, 202, Hope Street-Dr. Everett Molaren's "At Home" -Address on Eugenics-Miss Kerry 4.0

- Inverness-St. Margaret's-"W.S. from the Teachers' Point of View" -Miss Corrie, M.A. Evening 4.30
Falkirk-Mrs. Barr's drawing-room meeting-Dr. Elsie Inglis 8.30

- Falkirk-Lower Institute Hall-Dr. Elsie Inglis 8.0
Edinbrough-Guild of St. Mary, Old St. Paul-Miss Alice Low 8.0

- Soone-Public Hall-Miss Gorrie, Rev. J. W. Slater (chair) Evening 8.0
Perth-Craigie Hall-Dr. Elsie Inglis, Wm. Munro, Esq. (chair) Evening 8.0

- MARCH 21. Perth-Cherrybank School-Miss Gorrie, D. B. Nicolson, Esq. (chair) Evening 4.30

- MARCH 22. Edinbrough-40, Shandwick Place-Public meeting -Perth-White Horse Hall-Miss Gorrie, J. Saunders, Esq. (chair) Evening 4.0
Glasgow-Office, 202, Hope Street-Miss Macnaught's "At Home" 4.0

- MARCH 26. Edinbrough-Music Hall-Lord Robert Cecil, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Miss Chrystal Macmillan, M.A., B.Sc. (chair) 8.0

- MARCH 27. Aberdeen-Music Hall-The Lady Frances Balfour, Mrs. Philip Snowden 8.0

- MARCH 14. Dublin-33, Molesworth Street-Irish W.S. and Local Government Association-"W.S. as it affects temperance and women's work" 8.0

- MARCH 15. Roscrea-Temperance Hall-"Why women should have votes"-Miss Buchanan, P.L.G., Mrs. Haslam, Mr. Wm. Treanor (chair) 3.15

- Roscrea-Temperance Hall-"Why women should have votes"-Miss Buchanan, P.L.G., Mrs. Haslam, Mr. A. C. Houlihan, B.A. (chair) 8.0

MEETINGS ADDRESSED BY MEMBERS OF THE UNION.

- MARCH 14. Burley-in-Wharfedale-Congregational School-Mrs. Parrish 7.30
Bristol-Goulter Street, Barton Hill-Women's Adult School-Miss Helen Fraser 8.0

- Yeovil-League of Young Liberals-Miss K. M. S. Robertson 8.0

- MARCH 18. Bristol-Kingsland Road Co-operative Society-Miss Helen Fraser 8.0

- MARCH 19. Birmingham-Conway Road Adult Schools, Sparkbrook Middlesbrough-Linthorpe Co-operative Buildings Women's Guild 7.30

- MARCH 21. Bristol-Redland Adult School, Blackboy Hill-Miss Helen Fraser 8.0

- MARCH 22. Edinburgh-Marshall Street Hall-Central Liberal Association-Miss Alice Low 8.0

- MARCH 24. Oldham-Independent Labour Party Rooms, Union Street-Mrs. Jagger 7.0

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