

NON-PARTY.

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NON-MILITANT

The Common Cause

The Organ of the National Union of

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

Societies.

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Notes and Comments.

The Loyalty of Labour.

It is a small thing, when one measures the whole extent of a great social movement, that the will of one man should paralyse the political machine at Westminster. Labour has splendidly asserted its loyalty to the women's cause, and we know that the democratic forces are with us. How much depended morally as well as politically on the decision which the Labour Party's Conference took last Thursday, only those who have shared the hopes and anxieties of Suffrage workers during recent months can fully realise. A year ago the Labour Party declared that a franchise bill which excluded women would be "unacceptable." What did the word mean? Was it a politician's evasion? Did it mean only that Labour would be sorry to see women betrayed, but would assuage its sorrow by accepting more votes for men? We thought otherwise, and the National Union, remembering the steadiness of the Labour vote in the House and the generous services of some of its leaders, acted on the assumption that an "unacceptable" Bill would not be accepted. The event has confirmed its faith. After an exciting debate in which Mr. Snowden asserted the ascendancy of his powerful intellect and his honest eloquence, the conference amended the official resolution by adding words to it which admit of no ambiguity. The whole party, with its elaborate self-governing machinery, Trade-Unionists and Socialists, forwards and moderates, has instructed its representatives in the House to "oppose any Franchise Bill in which women are not included." Most of the Labour Members had deferred their decision on this point of policy and ethics until the Party should declare itself. The Party has spoken by a two to one majority, and we have gained a fighting phalanx in the House.

What it Means.

It is no small thing that Labour has done. We have made great demands on it, because we knew its honesty and its idealistic temper. But we are the last to deny that the choice was not an easy one. Labour, dependent as yet upon the votes of men, has said that it will not allow the extension of the vote of other men whose claim in right and reason is perfectly valid,

until the more urgent, the more fundamental demand of women for the removal of the sex barrier has been met. It may lose something in popularity among some of its possible adherents. We shall see to it that its manly and generous attitude shall be fully rewarded by the confidence and support of suffragists. The moral gain is clear. Women know henceforth that one body of men will make a united and self-sacrificing stand on their behalf. There is the less ground for bitterness, the less excuse for the extremist tactics of anger and despair. Politically, it means that an obstacle has been thrown across the path of that Liberalism which confines its principles to one sex. The Government's ambition is to undertake a sweeping reform of the franchise for men. That ambition is thwarted. There can be no comprehensive franchise reform in this Parliament, thanks to the firm stand of Labour, until women are admitted to the vote.

The Flux of Reform.

Mr. Pease, in a letter to his constituents, promises that his unlucky Reform Bill shall again be brought forward, not next Session, but in some later year. It is consigned already to "a dim and speculative future," and that is the first of our victories. The certainty of Labour opposition is the next. We see in this prospect the justification of our whole attitude. The Reform of the Franchise is inevitable. It has become an intolerable chaos, and no patching for party motives at plural voting will solve the problem. Liberalism must reform it or perish. Conservatism itself cannot ignore the task. When once a problem has become imperative, it has a way of shaping the destinies of Governments. The Ministry which cannot solve it goes, and ministry follows ministry, until the obstacle is removed. History furnishes an encouraging precedent. For many years the personality of Lord Palmerston obstructed the Reform movement of the sixties. The question was over-ripe, and the division of opinion had infected both the great parties, and made sport of the rigid lines of opinion. This was the result. From the beginning of 1865 to the close of 1868, no less than five Prime Ministers succeeded each other—Palmerston, Russell, Derby, Disraeli and Gladstone. The movement made its tools. A Ministry which dallied or obstructed gave way to a ministry in earnest, and in the end, Tories completed the work which Whigs had shirked. The parallel is instructive to-day. We are not intimidated by the ascendancy which an anti-suffragist Premier appears to enjoy. We do not see before him an eternity of office. The flux of reform is in motion. It is our task to give it motion and direction.

The Liberal Initiative.

Meanwhile we watch with a friendly scepticism the efforts of our friends in the House to make the most of the inadequate opportunity which Mr. Asquith has offered as a substitute for the unfulfilled pledge. A certain commendable activity is observable, but we are not favourably impressed by the direction which it has taken. We were told to expect a "Conciliation Cabinet," which would draft a compromise Bill. It was to be something far more august than the Conciliation Committee, and was to include the front bench men of both parties. The Conciliation Committee failed in its task, but at least it repre-

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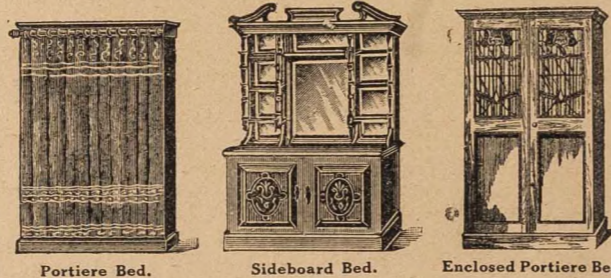


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ALL BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS to be addressed to The Manager, THE COMMON CAUSE, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

ADVERTISEMENTS (Societies, Miscellaneous, etc.) must reach the Office (2, Robert Street) not later than first post on Tuesday.

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The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies being a body which exists solely to obtain the enfranchisement of women, holds no official view upon any other topic. Opinions expressed upon other subjects must not be regarded as necessarily those of the Union.

The Political Situation.

The following statement in respect to the present situation has been sent out from the office of the National Union, signed by the President and officers:

Since last week the officers have seen Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Lloyd George and have conferred with the leaders of the Party Suffrage Societies.

Our opinion that the offer made by the Government is in no way the equivalent of the pledges given by the Prime Minister remains unchanged by anything we have heard. As it was not possible to redeem these pledges, we feel that the least the Government could have done would have been to refuse to proceed with any Franchise reform until the demand of the women had been fairly met. The proposal, as it at present stands, seems to offer no chance of success, and, in our opinion, the Union should concentrate its efforts on work for a Government Measure.

The following are the reasons which lead us to this conclusion:—

(1) The Free Vote.

A free vote is promised on a Private Member's Bill, but our experience during the past twelve months convinces us that a free vote is an impossibility in the present House of Commons. The vote was not "free" on the Conciliation Bill last year, and there is no reason to suppose that it would be free this year. On the contrary, the position has changed for the worse in the following respects:—

(a) Some of the Liberal Suffragists have become alarmed at the prospect of "embarrassing the Government" while the Cabinet is divided on our question, and will be more easily persuaded to vote against any measure of Women's Suffrage.

(b) The Nationalists who voted against the Conciliation Bill last March for tactical reasons have now announced that a majority in their party has become Anti-Suffragist. They are therefore provided with a double excuse for opposing the enfranchisement of Women.

(c) The Conservatives have made it clear that they would not support the Bill if it had to be carried by the Parliament Act. They would therefore oppose it in its third, if not in its second Session, and the vote, so far from being a vote on the merits of Women's Suffrage, would be a vote on the merits of the Parliament Act.

(2) The Chances of the Bill becoming Law.

Had we carried an Amendment to the Franchise Bill the Government would have become responsible for it; the Bill would have been pushed through the two subsequent sessions under the Parliament Act and women would have been on the register at the next General Election. The non-fulfilment of the Government's pledges has lost us a whole session, and we are offered instead facilities for a measure which cannot possibly become

sent an effort to rise above party. That will not be attempted again. The famous "Cabinette" was an improvised debater's joke, if one may trust the report given by "P. W. W." in the *Daily News and Leader*. What has really happened is that the Liberal Suffragist group has assumed responsibility for the Bill. It will work on its own lines, and hopes to produce something acceptable—to Liberals. It has chosen its committee, and no Cabinet Ministers figure upon it. Labour and the Irish party are ignored, and the Conservatives are assured that at a later stage they will be consulted, and that their votes will be welcomed in the lobbies for this Liberal Bill. We must be pardoned if we find our determination to observe a friendly neutrality confirmed. We shall back a party effort when the party acts officially, and can promise us a united vote.

Conservative Doubts.

We attach little importance to the form in which the new Bill is drafted. It may start on Dickinson or Conciliation lines, but in either case it risks a transformation in Committee. Anti-suffragists will join with the minority to widen or narrow it, as the case may be, and it will be left on third reading without a solid majority to back it. Meanwhile, the whole plan has not unnaturally focussed Conservative opposition. No Conservative accepts the procedure of the Parliament Act as satisfactory. When it is used for one of the Government's Bills, at least there is someone who can be made responsible to the country. The check of a reverse at the polls still operates against unpopular legislation. But with a Private Member's Bill there is no such check. It will not be an issue at the election, and no Government will stand or fall by it. Hence the perfectly reasonable demand voiced by the *Daily Telegraph*, *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Globe* for one of two things—a Government measure, or failing that, a referendum. At some point, it is urged, the country must decide. In this mood the Conservative Party will not back the Suffrage Bill when it goes for the second and third time to the Lords. We shall be fortunate if Conservative Suffragists consent to support it even at the first ordeal.

The Value of the Pledge.

We are now in a better position than we were last week to estimate the value of Mr. Asquith's substituted opportunity. We perceive clearly that the non-party atmosphere generated by the single-minded work of the Conciliation Committee during 1910 and 1911 has been hopelessly dissipated. We realise also that the special advantage of the Reform Bill procedure is lost. At no point will the Government make itself responsible for giving effect to the vote of the Commons. We are none the less assured by Liberal journalists that the new offer is an advance on the pledge given to the Conciliation Bill. In what respect? It also was promised an introduction independent of the luck of the ballot. It, too, was to have full closure facilities. It, too, was offered adequate time with an elastic week to start with. It, too, was assured in words of a free vote. So far there is no advance. The only point of apparent gain is that no promise had been given to the Conciliation Committee for facilities in second and third sessions to over-ride the Veto of the Lords. This has at length been promised, and it is likely to be our undoing. It has antagonised our Unionist supporters, and proved thereby that the time is passed for non-party solutions. The Reform Bill "torpedo" destroyed the hope of a solution by consent. The future lies with party action.

A Future Policy.

The National Union is resolved on the end. It remains to devise the means. We want a Government Bill, and it follows that we must make ourselves formidable to the party in power which refuses our demand, and helpful to the party which will assist us to secure it. We are not impressed by the success of the anti-Government tactics already followed by sister societies. Logical they may be, but a mere negative does not attract. Women squander their forces by appealing to the electors to vote against a certain candidate. They are formidable only when they begin to work for a candidate. It will lie with our forthcoming Council to define a policy. We will content ourselves with the suggestion that the experience gained by the work of the Election Fighting Fund has indicated the hopeful means. We are on sure ground in organising for Labour candidates the utmost help we can rally. It remains for consideration whether, in contests where no Labour candidate is standing, a similar organisation of Suffragists with Conservative sympathies should be formed to aid a friendly Conservative candidate.

law in the lifetime of this Parliament. Even if it should pass during two sessions the Unionists would vote against it in the third session because of their hostility to the Parliament Act. We are therefore invited to spend our resources on working for a Bill the passage of which can at the best be only a demonstration, and which has no real prospect of becoming law. This, of course, would not be the case if the Bill were to be immediately passed by the House of Lords, but it is improbable that Liberal Suffragists would support a measure of enfranchisement which would commend itself to that House.

(3) The Chances of the Bill commanding a Majority.

We gravely doubt whether Suffragists of all Parties in the House of Commons will be able to arrive at an agreement as to the precise character of the Bill to be introduced. If they fail to achieve this, the Bill will have to face the dangers of wrecking amendments, and in this case all the machinery that the Government can place at its disposal will not save it without the intervention of the Government Whips. So far nothing has happened to reassure us on this point. Liberal newspapers speak of a Bill which must be an "essential product of Liberalism," and do not seem to face the fact that the passage of the Bill can only be obtained by means of the co-operation of all Parties.

There are certain conditions on which it appears to us that a Private Member's Bill might have a chance of success, and none of these have so far been fulfilled.

1. It must be a measure agreed upon by all Suffragists in the House of Commons who will promise to support the Bill as it stands, and to vote against all amendments.
2. Some means must be found of neutralising, if not of winning, the Irish vote.
3. The Bill must be promoted by a Committee of all Parties, including Front Bench men from both sides of the House.
4. This Committee must pledge itself to oppose any Franchise Bill, until the women's demand has been fairly met.

In the meantime none of these safeguards has been guaranteed, and the Executive Committee cannot at present advise the Societies to spend work and money on a scheme which does not seem to promise success. Equally they wish to do or to say nothing which could prejudice the prospects of a Bill for which some Suffragists have decided to work.

Playing the Game.

Perhaps the most outstanding feature of the past fortnight's events is the singular emptiness and unreality of the proceedings in the House of Commons.

To persons in touch with the serious realities of life, the gentlemen of that assembly present themselves, too often, but as schoolboys solemnly obeying the rules of an intricate game, and believing—as cricketers mostly appear to do—that the issues of their sport are of concern to the world, and their temporary captain among the elect of the earth. To esteem games above intellectual effort is, of course, one of the few lessons really learned in most boys' schools; and it is, perhaps, foolish of women to feel surprised when they see the same spirit dominant among grey-haired men. Most Members of Parliament come from public schools; most of them believe that having learned "to play the game" is a prouder possession than knowledge or than the philosophic mind. And, of course, the game is played only among fellow-players. Outside are the "outsiders," men who have not learned to play games and women who are so unlucky—if not, indeed, so criminal—as not to be men at all. To them, and of them, game-players may speak as Lord Winterton once spoke in the House of Commons to Mr. Will Thorne; and as Mr. Lewis Harcourt spoke of women, in the same place, on Thursday, January 23rd. The blindness that permits men thus to offend against courtesy and justice is the outcome of an unintelligent education and of a ridiculously narrow code of "good form."

From this particular sort of acquired stupidity and this particular paralysis of the discriminating power, men who have been obliged to earn their livelihood as workers for weekly wages are naturally exempt. They, too, like all of us, have their "blind spots" and their limitations of judgment, but theirs are less artificial. In the recent debate Labour Members spoke like men belonging to another nation—men who, instead of following rules in a game, desired to see things really done. To read the speeches of Mr. Henderson and Mr. Keir Hardie amid the ordered periods of general discussion is like coming out of a

debating society into the open air. But the other Members were shocked. The rules of their game were being broken.

The two Labour Conferences which occurred in the week of the Franchise Bill's collapse showed the same refreshing vitality. Most of the topics discussed were matters of real interest, and Women's Suffrage was treated as a living issue; not as a mere shuttlecock. The presidential address at the Conference of 500 male delegates declared that

whatever happens Labour does not abandon the claim of women to enfranchisement, in the belief that it is founded on social justice and the natural and irresistible law of human progress.

The resolution moved ran as follows:

That this conference re-affirms its previous decisions regarding the enfranchisement of women, deploring the position created by the ruling of the Speaker, considers that the pledge of the Prime Minister can only be adequately and safely redeemed by the Government providing facilities during the coming session for a free vote of the House of Commons on a woman's measure, and should it obtain a second reading the Government becoming responsible for it through all its subsequent stages.

It calls upon the Parliamentary party to do all in its power to expedite the passage of a Bill during the coming session giving votes to women on a broad and democratic basis.

And to this an amendment was moved (jointly by the Independent Labour Party, the Women's Labour League and the Fabian Society) for the addition of the words:

It further calls upon the party in Parliament to oppose any Franchise Bill in which women are not included.

The movers of the amendment said, truly, that the Bill needed was one to enfranchise not men but women, the demand for the extension of the Franchise coming from women, not from men; and that only the Labour Party kept alive the faith of women in politics at all.

Mr. Philip Snowden, in supporting it, reminded his hearers of the resolution passed at last year's Conference that no franchise measure would be acceptable unless women were included in it, and declared that it did not meet "the needs of the present situation." The Government having withdrawn from Mr. Asquith's pledge the women were left in an infinitely worse position, and he asked the Conference to say that the whole force of the Labour movement would be on the side of women in demanding a Government measure. It was wrong that the opinions of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt should carry more weight than those of 400 elected Members of the House of Commons. "Let this Conference say that if the Government and the Cabinet stand in the way of the expression of the will of the House of Commons, then the Government and the Cabinet must give way."

The amendment was carried by a majority of nearly two to one, the representatives of 850,000 persons outvoting those of 437,000, amid deafening applause.

Later in the meeting the Chairman read the National Union's telegram, which declared that women's faith in the Labour movement was justified, and that hope was restored.

The Conference of the Women's Labour League held on Tuesday, January 28th, at Caxton Hall, was even more decided in its views. Not one delegate voted against the resolution which asked for the immediate introduction of a Government measure for the enfranchising of women. This unanimous vote, together with the frequently expressed opinion of the Women's Co-operative Guild, ought to do something towards checking the ridiculous assertion that working women are not in favour of their own enfranchisement.

It is gratifying to note that the Women's Labour League has no inclination towards "militancy." On this subject Dr. Ethel Bentham, who presided, spoke with force and dignity. If the Government, she said, willing delivered over the country to the storm that evasion would arouse, she did not like to think what the situation would be.

It will be difficult for even the most long-suffering and moderate and patient of us to restrain our indignation, and history will pass a lenient sentence on those whose judgment is swept away.

But that will not lessen the present evil effect of any imprudent words or deeds. Let it be for us who try to take the wide view of events to keep our heads, to show that there is in our hearts, and in the hearts of our party a deep determination—free from hysterics or excitement—that our cause shall win. Let us, indeed, break the Liberal Party if needs be—(applause)—but let it be at the ballot.

The Labour Party may be proud of the attitude of its women, and the members of the Women's Labour League of the attitude of their Party. To Suffragists, weary of the insincere Parliamentary game at which they have so long looked on, these plain words of people who are workers concerned with realities bring refreshment and encouragement.

The "Better Chance"!

SIR JOHN SIMON, at the Joint Campaign Committee's Conference at the Opera House on December 4th, 1912, speaking of the Franchise Bill, said that "what had now happened was that the Government had given to women Suffragists an opportunity they had never had before. The Prime Minister had made certain declarations, and it was clear that these declarations put Women's Suffrage in a position vastly superior to the position which private individuals had ever put it in, and had created a Parliamentary opportunity of which the sincere friends of Women's Suffrage ought to take advantage."

SIR EDWARD GREY, speaking to the meeting of the Women's Liberal Federation on December 16th, 1911, said: "The introduction of the Government Bill provides a better opportunity than Women's Suffrage has ever yet had of making real progress in the House of Commons."

MR. LLOYD GEORGE on the same occasion said:—"Our success next year, I think, is assured. I do not see what there is to prevent it."

The following message from Mr. Lloyd George to the N.U.W.S.S. appeared in THE COMMON CAUSE of November 23rd, 1911:—"The Prime Minister's pronouncement as to the attitude to be adopted by the Government towards the question seems to me to make the carrying of a Women's Suffrage amendment on broad democratic lines to next year's Franchise a certainty. . . . Next year provides the supreme opportunity, and nothing but unwise handling of that chance can compass failure."

MR. RUNCIMAN, to a Suffragist deputation on November 19th, 1911, said he "considered Mr. Asquith's latest suggestion a much better offer than the granting of facilities for the discussion of the Conciliation Bill."

The Women's Liberal Federation and Women's Suffrage.

The executive committee of the Women's Liberal Federation met on January 29th, and passed unanimously a very long resolution expressing their "profound disappointment" at the loss, owing to the Speaker's ruling, of the opportunity promised by the Prime Minister; their "keen regret" that a private Member's Bill should be the only method now available for obtaining Women's Suffrage in this Parliament; and that the Prime Minister should not have undertaken full Government responsibility for that Bill at its third reading. "Only by so doing," says the resolution, "could he have entirely redeemed the spirit of his reiterated pledge." After recapitulating the latest promises of Mr. Asquith, the resolution concludes in the following terms:—

The foregoing facilities having been guaranteed by the Prime Minister on behalf of the Government, the Liberal women are resolved to make full use of the Parliamentary opportunities that are open to them, and will concentrate their energies on obtaining an early victory in the House of Commons. The Executive believe that they can render no better service to Liberalism than by helping by every legitimate means to remove the reproach that lies at the door of the Liberal party as long as the vote is denied to women. There can be no real peace or concord in the Liberal ranks until the Women's Suffrage question is settled righteously.

Thus the Women's Liberal Federation, by the vote of their executive committee, agree with the Suffrage Societies in condemning the proposed Private Member's Bill as not being a fulfilment of Mr. Asquith's pledge, but differ from them in being ready to "concentrate their energies" upon this admittedly unsatisfactory Bill. It is this tameness of a Federation, who are Liberals first and women second, which encourages a Liberal Government to believe that the claims of women may always be flouted with impunity. If the Liberal women would firmly declare that they would work at no election until they had been recognised as "persons" entitled to vote, the Government would suddenly find some means of passing a Women's Suffrage Bill before the next General Election.

Suffragists, when organising tea parties for the home or for public functions would do well to consider the claims of the Women's Tea Company (9, Mincing Lane, E.C.), where special terms are offered for Suffrage shops and bazaars. The tea, coffee, and cocoa supplied by this firm are of genuine merit.

The claims to support of firms dealing in leadless glaze china are obvious, and we hope our readers will pay a visit to the Leadless Glaze China Company, 16, Belgrave Road, S.W. (behind Victoria Station), during the stock-taking sale which begins on Monday, February 10th, and continues until February 28th. Where every article is beautiful as well as useful it is difficult to make a selection, but it may be noted that the Staffordshire china tea-sets are especially attractive, and that there are many bargains to be found among the dinner-sets on view.

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The Women's Co-operative Guild and Women's Suffrage.

A meeting of the Central Committee of the Women's Co-operative Guild was held on January 31st, at which the following resolution was passed unanimously:—

"We consider that the offer of a Private Member's Bill, with special facilities, is not an adequate fulfilment of the Prime Minister's pledge, which can now only be fully redeemed by a Government measure. This measure, we continue to maintain, should be an Adult Suffrage Bill.

The gaining of the necessary support from all parties to a particular Private Member's Bill is practically impossible under the circumstances; no adoption of a Bill by the Government after second reading will meet the case, because it has been abundantly shown that no free vote on the merits of the question itself would be given on second reading; and the almost certain fact that any Conservative support would be lost when the House of Commons came to decide whether the Parliament Act should be enforced, shows that no Private Member's Bill could become law in the life of this Parliament.

The only way in which the Government's offer could be looked on as having any value at all would be if M.P.'s insisted that no Bill altering the franchise for men (including a Plural Voting Bill) should be passed unless preceded by the passage of a Women's Suffrage Bill. Whether even this would secure the enfranchisement of women is doubtful, but it would show a real intention among Liberal M.P.'s of endeavouring to retrieve the suffrage position. Nothing, however, can restore the lost confidence of women except a Government measure."

Thus the largest existing organisation of working women comes into line with the National Union and with the Labour Party. All these bodies are agreed that Mr. Asquith's present offer is not an adequate fulfilment of his pledge, and that he still owes us something more. The Labour men—who have votes and seats in Parliament—may be able to insist upon payment in full; and meanwhile they are determined that none of their own political accounts shall be settled in preference to that of women.

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The Labour Conference.

"Now we've done! That was the most important question before the conference." So one of the miners' delegates was overheard to say, putting down his agenda with a sigh of satisfaction, as the prolonged applause which greeted the passing of the Suffrage resolution died away.

To all appearance there were many of his mind—the tensely, the life, the enthusiasm shown during this debate were unique in the Conference. It was human, stirring, far above the range of ordinary discussions. The resolution—a rather unsatisfactory blend of conflicting views—was instantly relegated to the background. It was regarded not as a declaration of policy, but merely as an assertion of belief in Women's Suffrage. Its very mover (Mr. Rolf, of East Ham) recognised this, and made no speech, merely saying that on the amendment the discussion would arise. The resolution was formally seconded, and with a thrill of excitement the Conference turned to the fateful amendment, standing in the name of the Fabian Society, I.L.P., and Women's Labour League—"It further calls upon the party in Parliament to oppose any Franchise Bill in which women are not included."

Mr. Davey, of the I.L.P., in proposing this, pointed out that in the past a franchise bill had meant votes for men and not for women. Now it was time that there should be a Bill giving votes to women and not to men. If there was any demand for an extension of the franchise it was the women and not the men who had made it; but for the women's demand there would have been no franchise question. Let the Labour members, pledged as they were to the principle of Women's Suffrage, refuse to deal with any franchise Bill for men—let them now at last make the women the first point of all.

Mrs. Simons (Women's Labour League), seconding, asked the men to remember how the women had always helped them in their political and industrial struggles. "We have stood by you: we know you will stand by us," and she appealed to them—"Take no more for yourselves till you have got something for us."

At this point Mr. Will Thorne entered the debate with a very valuable little contribution. The position now is, he declared, that the Government cannot in one Bill enfranchise men and women. They will, therefore, bring in a Bill for one or the other purpose. Are the Parliamentary party to understand that should the Bill to enfranchise men be first introduced they are to vote against it? He did not want to object, but to make the Conference quite clear as to the full implication of their resolution. He was quite prepared to stand by their decision and vote against the Bill if they so determined, but he wanted them to realise the seriousness of what they were doing.

Mr. Sanders (of the Fabian Society), following in support of the amendment, pointed out to the Conference in what a different position the Women's Suffrage question now was from last year. By gross mismanagement or ignorance—he would not try to determine which—the women had been "sold." Under the circumstances, honourable men would have felt themselves bound to more than make good the promise they had been unable literally to fulfil. Their failure to do this made it incumbent on the men to put the women's question first in any matter relating to the franchise.

The Labour party, he pointed out, is the one party which has not yet deceived the women. If the Labour party also fails them, women engaged in politics cannot be expected any longer to believe that their claims are being considered seriously. Let the Labour party keep up its record of sincerity—he would even add that much-abused word "chivalry." Let them say to the other parties, "You are not prepared to keep your word. We are prepared to go one better than our word."

Then from the platform a speech was delivered by Mr. Stephen Walsh, who, according to the *Daily News*, "often takes an independent line" (independent of whom? one is constrained to ask!), and a vigorous attack was made on the amendment. His curious plea was that he had been sent to Parliament to support adult suffrage, and would not therefore feel justified in opposing a Franchise Bill without women. There were audible murmurs amongst many sections of the Conference—"Adult! that's Men!"—and when Mr. Walsh went on to claim that he represented the Miners' Federation, the murmur of dissatisfaction grew, and miners were heard to mutter, "He doesn't represent us!" However, Mr. Walsh begged to be allowed to "play the game" to his constituents by supporting any Bill to extend the franchise to men.

A pertinent question then came from a delegate, who asked if Mr. Walsh would give a definition of *adult* suffrage. "No,

I won't!" said Mr. Walsh. "I'm not going to be drawn into that now."

But Philip Snowden rose at the back of the hall, and as he began to speak an audible "hush" went round the Conference. Most of their speakers are treated with scant ceremony—delegates move about constantly, and there is generally an undercurrent of conversation. But to Philip Snowden they listened in a silence that could be felt. Not only so, but there was an instinctive movement—a surging up towards him. Every delegate turned in his seat. All those standing moved close up. Viewed from the gallery, it was like nothing so much as the sudden placing of a magnet on a board covered with scattered bits of steel.

He had heard, he said, from Mr. Walsh, what was assuredly the most extraordinary utterance ever made at a Labour conference. Usually, Mr. Walsh was distinguished for his logical faculty. To-day it seemed to have altogether deserted him. He talked of "playing the game." Let him "play the game," indeed! The question as to the meaning of adult suffrage was a very pertinent one, for the only inference from Mr. Walsh's speech was that it meant *manhood* suffrage. Mr. Walsh was still in the times more than fifty years ago when the House of Lords declared that in any franchise Act the term "person" meant man only, and not woman.

Mr. Walsh talked of the former declaration of the party—for six years they had declared for adult suffrage—yet now Walsh asked to be allowed to *sneak* more votes for men at the expense of the women's agitation. Let him "play the game"! Last year they had declared that no measure would be acceptable which did not include women. Now they had to put that principle into practice.

He would have liked, had it been in order, to have referred the resolution back, for the resolution did not meet the situation at all. He understood that it was the result of several hours' deliberation of the Standing Orders Committee, and he could not congratulate them on the outcome of their efforts.

For what was the position? Up to last Monday the women were led to believe that if the House of Commons gave a vote in favour of the enfranchisement of women, the enfranchisement of women would become a Government measure, and every member of the Government would be pledged to support it through all its stages. But Mr. Asquith himself stated in the House of Commons on Monday afternoon that anti-suffrage members of the Government would be free in all the stages of the private member's Women's Suffrage Bill not only to vote against it, but to use the influence of their position to the utmost limit. The Government had withdrawn from Mr. Asquith's pledge, and the women were in an infinitely worse position than they were a week ago. The present offer was only another mockery. There was no man with five minutes' experience of the House of Commons who believed for a single moment that there was a ghost of a chance of 6,000,000 or 8,000,000 of women being enfranchised by a Private Member's Bill.

He would appeal to them as Trade Unionists. Would they have been satisfied if, when they had made their demand for the repeal of the Taff Vale decision, they had been asked to rely on a Private Member's Bill? This was a question as important in the interests of the community and of the Labour section as any question that could be raised, and he wanted them to show as much interest in this as they did in other questions. The women had been tricked long enough. Let them say, in the words of Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, "Enough of this fooling! We will have no more of it." Let them say that the whole force of the Labour movement would be on the side of the women in demanding that the Government should make this a Government measure. That was the only way in which the matter could be solved.

They were told that it was impossible to have a Government measure because the Cabinet was divided. But "What's the Cabinet? Are we living in a democratic country? Was that great conference of delegates to stand aside because Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt were against them? Was the opinion of these men to carry more weight than the weight of 400 elected representatives in the House of Commons. Let the conference say that if the Government and the Cabinet stood in the way of the expression of the will of the House of Commons, then Cabinets and Cabinet-Government must go!"

Mr. Snowden had gone far beyond the allotted five minutes, and again the Chairman perfunctorily tapped with his pencil; but the Conference was determined to hear Snowden out, and the close of his speech was greeted with an outburst of overwhelming applause.

The Chairman called for the vote, and up went eager hands, but the cry was immediately raised, "Card vote!" meaning

that each delegate should vote, not as one person, but according to the number he represented, a vote for every thousand. Of a card vote the show of hands is no criterion, and the tensest excitement prevailed whilst the tellers went round.

"For the amendment, 870," declared the Chairman. "Those against?" Again the tellers went round.

"Against the amendment—437."

The scene which followed took us in the gallery by surprise, even after the reception of Snowden's speech. Delegates sprang to their feet and cheered wildly. It seemed as if they would never stop. For several minutes on end the clapping and cheering continued. Some of those personally favourable, but bound by previous decisions to vote against or abstain, were amongst the foremost of the rejoicers. They seemed as if they must make up in their enthusiasm for having been unable to cast their votes in our support.

To their credit, too, it should be said that during the first day they were subjected to considerable annoyance by irrelevant interruptions and speeches from the visitors' gallery on the part of militant suffragists. But the behaviour of the men under provocation—the good nature of the delegates and the gentleness of the stewards—were in striking contrast to the scenes which are often witnessed at Liberal meetings. Fears were expressed by some that the annoyance might influence their voting, as it probably would have done with many another set of men. One wished that some of the men who have "rattled" on account of tactics could have been there to take a lesson from these representative working men.

It is noteworthy, too, that of the 13 prominent delegates who contributed brief opinions of the Conference to the *Daily Citizen* afterwards, seven specifically mentioned the Women's Suffrage debate as the most important, vital, or stirring issue.

MARGARET ROBERTSON.

Women and the London County Council.

A Conference was held at the Caxton Hall, on February 3rd, of representatives of various Societies in order to formulate questions and statements for sending to candidates at the forthcoming London County Council elections.

Miss Agnes Hitchcock was in the chair, and the following bodies were represented:—Evening Play Centres Committee, General Federation of Working Girls' Clubs, Ladies' National Association for the Promotion of Social Purity, Metropolitan Association for befriending Young Servants, National Association for Women's Lodging Homes, National League for Physical Education and Improvement, National Society of Day Nurseries, National Union of Women Workers, Women's Industrial Council, Women's Local Government Advancement Committee, Women's Local Government Society, Women Sanitary Inspectors' Association, Mansion House Council for Health and Housing (to report only), Westminster Health Society (to report only), Women's Institute (to report only).

The following were the questions adopted:—

PARKS AND OPEN SPACES, ETC.

- (i.) Will you support such action as may be necessary to put a stop to cases of immorality in the Parks and Open Spaces?
- (ii.) Will you take action to secure more effective Police protection in the Parks and Open Spaces?
- (iii.) Are you in favour of the appointment of Women Officials in the Parks and Open Spaces for the better protection of Women and Children?
- (iv.) Are you in favour of increased facilities in Parks for Girls' games? Will you promote the setting aside of pitches for this purpose?
- (v.) Are you in favour of increasing the number of school buildings used in winter as Play Centres for elementary school children?

UNDERGROUND WORKROOMS.

Will you take action to promote amendments to Section 5 (38) of the London Building Act so that the word "habitable" shall apply to workplaces as well as to dwelling-houses?

(There are at present thousands of women and young girls employed all day in London in underground workrooms, which are often inadequately lighted, warmed and ventilated. By a

slight alteration in the wording of the London Building Act such workplaces could be brought as regards light, ventilation, etc., into line with dwellings.)

ACCOMMODATION FOR STORING AND COOKING FOOD IN TENEMENT HOUSES.

Will you take action to amend the sections in the London County Council General Powers Acts relating to the accommodation for storing and cooking food in tenement houses, so that the word "may" shall read "shall," and will you endeavour to have those sections made retrospective?

WATER SUPPLY.

Will you use your influence to ensure the provision of water on the upper floors of tenement houses and take steps to procure the deletion of the paragraph in Section 78, which provides a loophole by which many landlords escape from their obligations?

SMOKY CHIMNEYS.

Will you use your influence to see that the nuisance caused by chimneys smoking into rooms shall be added to those for the prevention of which the Local Authority shall make by-laws?

TRAINING OF GIRLS.

Are you in favour of extending the Day Trade School system to the training of girls for domestic service and especially for children's nurses?

LOCAL GOVERNMENT FRANCHISE.

(i.) Are you in favour of single Local Government Franchise for the United Kingdom for men and for women, married and single?

(ii.) Are you in favour of a Local Government Franchise for Women in England and Wales equal with that for women in Scotland and Ireland?

COUNTY AND BOROUGH COUNCILS QUALIFICATION BILL.

Are you in favour of a residential qualification for County and Town Councillors, alternative with the electoral qualification?

WOMEN CANDIDATES.

Will you within your own party, whether Moderate or Progressive, support the proposal to include in the list of party candidates for election to the London County Council in 1916 women candidates for at least one seat in every ten?

WOMEN AND CARE OF THE FEEBLE-MINDED.

Are you in favour of requiring at least two women members on every Local Committee that may be appointed to administer the promised new Mental Deficiency Bill?

WOMEN'S LODGING HOUSES.

(i.) Will you take action to secure the revision and the more strict enforcement of the by-laws affecting common lodging-houses in London?

(ii.) Will you take action to promote the provision by the L.C.C. of medium-sized lodging-homes, with accommodation for not more than 100 women each, in some half-dozen selected areas in London?

From the last question the General Federation of Girls' Clubs dissented; with that exception, every question was agreed upon.

There is not one of the matters discussed that does not in some way or another directly affect the welfare or happiness of women, and at the same time but few of the points would present themselves spontaneously to the minds of most men. We earnestly hope that all readers of THE COMMON CAUSE (both men and women) who may be municipal electors will read the questions carefully, and be disposed to press them upon candidates. Further explanation of the reasons which have led to their adoption may be obtained from the Societies whose representatives attended the Conference.

The Pioneer Players.

The performance of Miss Cicely Hamilton's three-act play, "A Matter of Money," has been postponed from February 2nd to February 9th. It will take place at the Little Theatre, John Street, Adelphi, at 8.15; and owing to the demand for seats will be repeated on Tuesday, February 11th, at 2.30. The cast will include Miss Sarah Brooke, Miss Winifred Mayo, Miss Ethel Warwick, Mr. J. Moffat Johnston and Mr. Ben Webster.

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A New Book.

EXPERIMENTS IN INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION. By Edward Cadbury. (Longmans, 5s. net.)

In this interesting volume, Mr. Cadbury gives a detailed account of the various steps by which Messrs. Cadbury Brothers have, in the course of fifty years, improved the position of their employees and of themselves as employers. These steps have been taken not by chance but in fulfilment of a specific aim.

The supreme principle has been the belief that business efficiency and the welfare of the employees are but different sides of the same problem. Character is an economic asset; and business efficiency depends not merely on the physical condition of employees, but on their general attitude and feeling towards the employer.

It is because Messrs. Cadbury have been guided by this principle that the success of their experiment is so important. There have been other manufacturers who have made a deliberate sacrifice of a part of their profits for the sake of creating better conditions for their workers, and such manufacturers have sometimes been very successful in business, but it has remained for Messrs. Cadbury to show that careful attention in every detail to the welfare of every person employed is actually an important factor in business success. The firm do not claim to be philanthropists—although Mr. Edward Cadbury does not succeed in concealing an innate humanity and love of justice lurking at the root of the innovations introduced by his father and his uncle—on the contrary, they point with satisfaction to the amazing development of their works, to "the elimination of waste, the reduction of cost in the various departments," and the fact that they are

competing with increasing success in foreign and colonial markets although their foreign competitors pay lower wages, the wages of the women workers being in some cases not more than half those paid at Bournville.

So greatly has the number of workers increased that six to seven hundred boys and girls are taken on every year. In choosing from the applicants there are three tests: educational acquirements, general tone and character, and physical efficiency. Beginners who have but just left school are preferred, and the first enquiry is as to the standard in which they were. Formerly at least half the girls were in the fifth standard; now none are taken on who have not attained the sixth; and on a recent occasion every girl, of fifty admitted together, was in the seventh. Experience has shown that the girls in the lower standards are poorer in physique and that they earn less wages.

The distance at which girls live is considered, and when it is over two miles, only those are taken who are

in touch with tramway or railway communications, and if the fares for the journey exceed a shilling per week, the firm makes up the difference for those aged sixteen and under.

Accepted applicants are examined by the works doctors and a form is filled up for each, which contains, together with many other particulars, a statement as to the sort of work for which he or she is most suited. The parents or guardians are required to sign an agreement that the young employee shall attend the evening classes up to the age of 18, shall receive free of charge any attention the dentists of the works may consider necessary up to the age of 21, and shall partake of instruction in gymnastics and swimming until the end of the term in which the eighteenth birthday is reached. This consent is acknowledged in a circular letter of thanks, which states the suggested course of study and explains briefly the educational policy pursued. The evening classes take place from 6.45 to 8.45, and a good tea is provided, at the cost of a penny, up to 6.30. No deduction is made from time-wages for any working time taken up by physical culture classes and it has been found that piece-work earnings have not appreciably lessened by the loss of this time. The voluntary classes in educational subjects, physical exercises, and swimming are largely attended.

Two whole-time medical officers, one a woman, are employed, besides four trained nurses. The nurses regularly visit any employees absent from work, and the doctors do so if requested, no charge being made. The cases of patients unable to have sufficient nourishment are brought before a committee, which meets weekly, and such food, cod liver oil, etc., as the doctor may prescribe in such cases, is given without payment. On the return to work of an employee after sickness extra food between meals may be considered necessary, and is supplied on presentation of a certificate. A few girls, whose hearts are weak, are allowed, by the doctor's order, to leave work five minutes earlier so as to avoid the rush of general departure. A convalescent home for women is wholly supported by the firm, and is largely used preventively in the cases of girls who are below the mark.

In the matter of teeth the first quarterly report of the firm's dentist (in 1905) revealed a deplorable condition of general un-

familiarity with tooth brushes. At present every new employee under the age 16 is kept supplied with free tooth brush and tooth powder, and workers above that age are expected to buy them at a nominal price. Moreover, Messrs. Cadbury keep four elementary schools in the district supplied with these necessities.

The maintenance of discipline is one of the problems of business management, and Messrs. Cadbury beginning, like most other employers, with fines and deductions, presently found, as other observant employers have done, that the system "was not in any way reformatory, and that it had little deterrent influence upon the offenders." In 1898 fines were superseded by record books, in which cases of misbehaviour or other offences were entered, and in the case of girls and women, cards have now replaced books. Each month "alleged offenders" come before one of the directors, the forewoman of the offender's department and the two head forewomen being present. She has a right to speak in her own defence. For the first two faults no other penalty than a caution is generally considered necessary, and a large proportion of workers cautioned do not appear again. Offenders who come up a second time are generally suspended from work for from three days to a week. It is often found that a girl who is troublesome is out of health, and a visit to the convalescent home often cures irritable temper or careless work. Reasonable excuses for lateness are accepted, and occasional lateness on the part of women or girls generally punctual is not recorded against them. The number of workers reported for lateness has diminished from 208 in 1901 to 7 in 1910—although the number of employees has gone on increasing.

In nothing is the humanity of the firm more evident than in the treatment of slow workers—girls who regularly earn less wages than the minimum fixed for their class of work. Such girls are examined by the doctor, a report of their general behaviour is prepared by their forewoman, and both reports are in the hands of the director who interviews each girl. It often appears that her health needs building up, sometimes that she sits up too late, or gets up too late and skips her breakfast, while others are underfed. In a few cases girls prove to be merely indolent, especially if they are only children from well-to-do homes, towards the expenses of which they contribute nothing. Some girls, again, cease to be slow if they take up a different sort of work. The last resort of dismissal—which is often the first resort in other workplaces—is seldom found necessary, and the greater number of slow workers are, by individual attention, brought up to the standard.

The wage tables given for the work of women and girls are particularly interesting. In the second quarter of the year 1912 there were 3,499 employees of whom 1,250 were under 18 years old. Of those who worked 42 hours a week, half made over and half under 15s. 11.94d. per week; of those who worked 48 hours, half made over and half under 18s. 3.36d.; one-quarter of the number working 42 hours earned more than 20s. 2.34d.; while one-quarter of those who worked 48 hours earned over 23s. 0.96d.

All workers are invited to make suggestions, which are considered by a committee and, if adopted, a report as to the suggestion's value is made by the forewoman a month later, and a prize to the estimated value is given. About a quarter of the suggestions made by girls in the last half year reported were accepted, and the average amount of the prize given for each seems to have been between 38s. and 39s.

The conditions of work are almost as important a matter as its remuneration. At Bournville hours are short, every endeavour is made to reduce overtime and short time to a minimum; and dismissal owing to shortness of work is avoided. A high standard of cleanliness is required and working overalls must be worn, the firm providing material for the first two free, and selling it, later, below cost price. Weekly baths, towel and soap are provided free, and the dressing rooms are warmed.

A proof of the firm's enlightenment is to be found in their declared approval of trade union organisation, and their gratification that "awakening industrial consciousness" among their girls has rendered possible the establishment of a branch of the National Federation of Women Workers.

As we read Mr. Cadbury's book we are struck with a quality running through the whole of these schemes which is, we venture to say, more common among women than among men—the consideration of details in individual cases. Men trained in business are apt to think persons made for rules; whereas nearly all women think of the person before the rule. For this reason, therefore, that introduction of daughters into their fathers' businesses which Miss Lowndes suggested recently in COMMON CAUSE would, we believe, help to promote that sort of organisation which Messrs. Cadbury have shown to be so valuable to employer as well as to employee.

In Parliament.

THE ARREST OF A MOTHER.—Mr. Keir Hardie last Monday (February 3rd) inquired of the President of the Local Government Board concerning the case (to which previous references have been made in these pages) of the young woman who was arrested and sent to Suffolk at the instance of the Samford Board of Guardians.

Mr. Burns replied that he had inquired into the case, and found that the Guardians had received information which "in their opinion afforded some justification" for the conclusion that there was an intention to evade paying for the maintenance of the child now in the workhouse, and that they did not communicate directly with the mother "lest she should abscond." They "understood that she was aware that the child had been taken to the workhouse." For himself, he had no jurisdiction as to the issue of the warrant and the circumstances of the arrest, but he thought it "very unfortunate that application for a warrant should have been made," and would communicate his view to the guardians, with a suggestion that they should repay to the person whom they have injured "any expenses incurred in connection with the arrest." He was prepared to sanction such expenditure, and would further request his inspector "to confer with the Guardians as to the future arrangements to be made for the care of this afflicted child."

It is obvious that the Guardians acted without any proper consideration for the person concerned, and without any care to ascertain whether they had or had not any case against her. Their outrageous treatment of her may, however, be, in the long run, a benefit in disguise, since we cannot but suppose that the "future arrangements" for the maintenance of the child will absolve his mother from the impossible task of entirely supporting throughout his whole life a person congenitally incapable of earning anything for himself.

CHILDREN IN A WORKHOUSE.—The prolonged stay of children in workhouses is universally admitted to be undesirable, yet there are Boards of Guardians who still neglect to arrange any other place of abode for children who may be chargeable. The Brecon Guardians appear, from a question and answer given in the House of Commons on the 3rd inst., to be conspicuous sinners in this respect. Mr. Whitehouse inquired whether the President of the Local Government Board was aware that the Guardians had been asked on three occasions by that Department what steps they were taking to secure the children's removal; that the reply made was that they were considering the question; and that at a recent meeting certain Guardians had openly stated their intention of doing nothing in the matter. Mr. Whitehouse desired to know whether, in these circumstances, steps would be taken to dissolve the Union.

Mr. Burns replied that there were, on the first day of this year, 17 children in the workhouse, including one in the infirmary ward. The facts were "generally" as stated by the question, and the Local Government Inspector for the district would before long be making a report upon the receipt of which he, Mr. Burns, would consider what further steps were to be taken.

The Brecon Guardians, if they are wise, will take immediate steps to fulfil their long-neglected duties.

"The Englishwoman."

The February number of *The Englishwoman* contains a review of the facts as to Women's Suffrage in Finland, by Baroness Allita Korf, in answer to Miss Sellers' depreciatory article in *The Nineteenth Century and After*; "The Unorganised Trade," by Dr. Wallis Chapman, a survey of domestic service; and "Women in the Co-operative Movement," by Miss Dorothy Sheepshanks. Of the victory won by the Women's Guild in their struggle for the establishment of a minimum wage for all employees of Co-operative Associations, she says:—

The whole matter has seemed to substantiate exactly the contentions of those who are pressing for the political equality of men and women. Here the women have got the vote. They have used it, and the position it has given them in the movement, to battle for other women. . . . They have won this victory without at any moment giving to the Co-operative world even a tendency on the part of female members to range themselves in opposition to the males. All have worked side by side. . . . That this should have been possible shows to some extent what is the moral effect of equality between the sexes. . . . To all who believe in the advance of women as one of the great features of this age, this record of accomplishment in the Co-operative movement must come as an encouragement for the future and an affirmation of the belief which they possess.

Foreign News.

The United States.

The case of Michigan is not yet settled. To quote the Governor of the State: "In all history there was never such an instance of delayed returns from any election. . . . Even in the old days of the post roads, returns reached the centre of the State far more quickly than in the present instance. This fact alone is ample cause for suspicion."

Opinion is divided as to what is likely to happen, but the belief is expressed that if the matter is carried up to the Supreme Court that body will nullify the entire election. According to the *Woman's Journal*, re-submission of the amendment under better and generally understood regulations with a vote at the election next April seems certain.

Hungary.

There is no country in which the situation more closely resembles the English than Hungary. One point of resemblance is the introduction of a Bill to give votes to more men just when the demand is for votes for some women. Since many members of the Government are favourable to Women's Suffrage there was a strong expectation that when the long-postponed Reform Bill put in an appearance it would be found to contain some measure of Women's Suffrage. This, however, was not the case.

The Bill was, after many delays, formally introduced on December 31st. It appears that the Opposition is at present boycotting the House, and as a result the seats of members, and also the galleries for strangers, were almost empty. In these depressing circumstances the Prime Minister, without troubling to make an introductory speech, laid the Bill on the table of the House. Its contents had leaked out beforehand.

It begins by stating that "the vote is to be granted to every male citizen who fulfils certain conditions." *Tout comme chez nous* we are tempted to exclaim; but there is a difference. The preamble of the Hungarian Bill devotes two quarto pages to a disquisition on the fitness of women for the vote, explaining that their services are indispensable to the State as well as to society, that in the struggle for life they bear a double burden, and other common-places, of which we are only too well aware. Having thus issued an unexceptionable suffrage pamphlet, the authors go on to explain that this is not the time, also that it would be very difficult to find just the right measure, that it would be wrong to include some and exclude others, class-feeling might be aroused. Therefore, these convinced suffragists decide for anti-suffragist action, and advise the exclusion of all women.

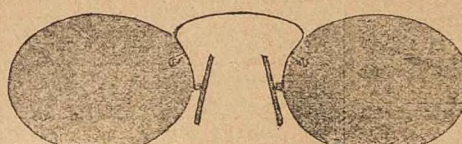
Those of us who had the good fortune to hear Miss Schwimmer's brilliant speech at the Stockholm Opera House will be reminded of her remarks on the exclusively male sphere of logic. We now have her assurance that this Bill in other respects, too, is "pure nonsense." Indeed, it has resulted in the resignation of one Cabinet Minister and the loss of several prominent members of the party. Probably it will be withdrawn, in which case there would be a good opportunity for women to press for inclusion in the next Bill. It may, however, pass with amendments, or—which seems very improbable—in its present form. Hungary, therefore, is engaged in a most exciting struggle, which, however, by no means hinders the preparations for the Congress. We learn also that the scheme of a Franchise Club, suggested by the one in London, has been carried out, and that a "Pageant of Great Women," written after the manner of the English original, has been recited by one of the leading actresses.

Unfortunately, suffragists have to mourn another of their staunchest friends, Dr. Gustav Dirner, Founder and President of the Hungarian Men's League. He will be greatly missed.

Austria.

Once more it seems as though Austrian women were nearing the first stage of their enfranchisement—i.e., the alteration of the Associations Law, which forbids women taking part in political associations. A similar law existed in Germany till 1908, and the progress made by German women since its abolition has been enormous. As yet the new Bill has only passed the Lower House. There seems no likelihood of the Upper House objecting to the part that concerns women, but there is always a "but" when it is a question of doing anything for women—there are other parts of the Bill which may arouse opposition, and in that case it would have to travel from House to House till agreement is attained.

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