

The Common Cause,

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Women's Suffrage

Societies.

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ONE PENNY.

Notes and Comments.

Home Rule that is no Home Rule.

Parliament reassembled on the 10th and on the 11th Mr. Asquith introduced the Home Rule Bill. As everyone knew beforehand, women are not included in the Bill, although it is impossible, even on anti-suffrage grounds, to defend the exclusion of women from the electorate of a subordinate Parliament such as we are given to understand the Irish Parliament will be. It is impossible also to understand the position of Mr. Birrell who allowed women to be put into the Bill that failed to pass and who now suggests that until the British Parliament has given women the right to vote for its members, it cannot give them the right to vote for a subordinate Parliament—surely a very different matter. He declares that the Imperial Parliament could not settle the Irish franchise; but it will be doing so, and there are even suggestions that such an innovation as proportional representation (a most desirable one, he it said) may be tried. The Irish Members who ratted so badly over the Conciliation Bill have not shown themselves very amenable to reason, but we hope they may recognise that if they oppose the introduction of women by amendment, they may have to face the implacable opposition of women for the next two years, and that even Nationalist women may say Home Rule which leaves the home unrepresented is no Home Rule, and they don't care how soon it takes its place with the other lost measures.

The "Stranger Within Thy Gates."

No appeal for autonomy but finds its echo in the hearts of women. Whether we are Unionists and believe Ireland can best govern itself through its representatives in England or whether we are Home Rulers and believe in a transfer of some of the representatives and some of the work to Dublin, we who want the due representation of women will echo the concluding words of the Prime Minister: "The claim comes this time, not from remote outlying quarters but from a people close to our own doors, associated with us by every tie of kindred, of interest, of social and industrial intercourse, who have borne and are bearing their share, and a noble share it has been, in the building up and the holding together of the greatest Empire in history." The "people" who are now crying for representation are not even "close to our own doors," they are within them; are they alone not to be heard?

What is Failure?

There is one phrase constantly used by the more impulsive suffragists against which we wish firmly to protest. They say

the National Union is prepared to go on with the methods which it has used for forty years and which "have failed"—the proof of "failure" being that these methods have not yet secured the Parliamentary vote for women. Now the National Union has ever since 1867 worked to win the Parliamentary vote for women, and it has done so mainly by educative propaganda—by trying to make women desire their own enfranchisement and to make men grant it to them because it is just. The granting to women of votes for the Imperial Parliament will be one of the greatest social revolutions the world has ever seen; it could not and it ought not to take place without great development in the minds and hearts of men and women having preceded it; only by education could such development take place. One might as truly say that all ideals of justice and humanity had "failed" because they had not yet been accomplished on earth. The work done in educating women has opened their eyes to the wider issues involved in a woman's duty; we cannot for one moment admit that such work has "failed" or can fail. "The price of liberty is eternal vigilance" and short cuts, new and ingenious forms of "protest," machinery and dodges are no substitute for the work of the spirit without which even votes would be useless.

Our Human Material.

Another phrase of which we have heard more than enough is that the National Union is so foolish as to "trust" politicians and that other organisations (which shall be nameless) know better. There is no question of trusting or not trusting. We have to work with what material we have and it is mostly not very fine material and its sense of honour, where women are concerned, suffers from the double standard which many men and most politicians apply to human affairs. If women would refuse to marry men with a double standard in marriage, and if they would refuse to work for men with a double standard in politics we should get on faster. Some

women are refusing and more and more will do so.

Mrs. Auerbach and her Party.

We have an example in the action of Mrs. Auerbach, Hon. Treasurer of the National Union, who, upon receiving the news of the defection of Colonel Rawson, Member for Reigate, resigned from the Women's Unionist Association and from her post of chairman of the North West Ward. "Recent events have shown me," she writes, "that members of Parliament can hold it consistent to repudiate their pledges to support the Conciliation Bill, pledges which were given to law-abiding and constitutional women; and I can but regard their action as a further proof of the political helplessness of those who are not directly represented in Parliament."

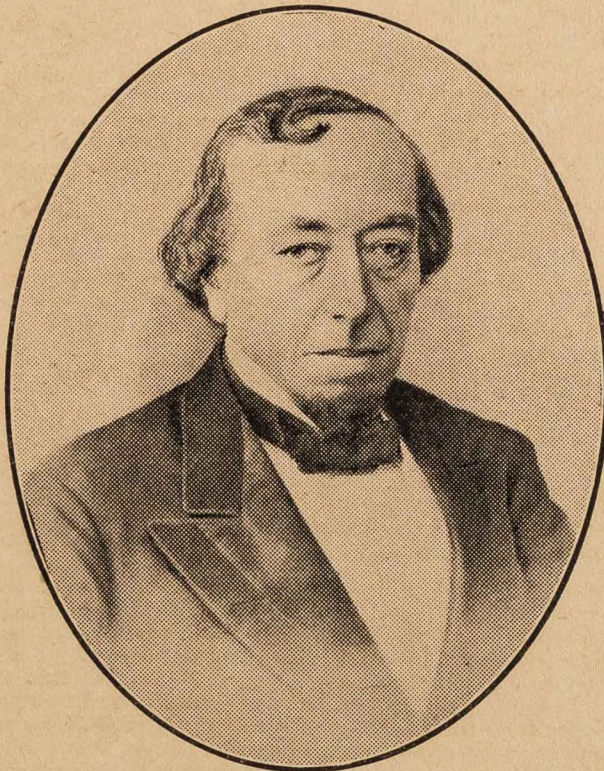


Photo: Hughes & Mullins.

LORD BEACONSFIELD.

Reprisals.

Mr. McKenna seems to have no more sense than Lord Gladstone, and to think he can check the militant suffragists by severity whereas all he does is to transfer to their side a certain amount of sympathy which otherwise they would not have. The present Home Secretary is an Anti-Suffragist and it is quite possible that, like Mr. Hobhouse, he is pursuing the tactics of provocation so unworthy of a responsible Minister, in treating as if they were criminals guilty of "dishonesty, cruelty, indecency or serious violence," women whose worst crime is that they have broken some glass as a protest against the ruin of human life. Twenty-five members of the W.S.P.U. adopted the hunger-strike on Good Friday as a protest against being treated as criminals and they were then forcibly fed until they became too ill to be imprisoned any longer, since when they have been released. One would have supposed that the same treatment might have been accorded to these women as was accorded to Sir Starr Jameson and Mr. Ginnell, to say nothing of Mr. Hooley.

Known by Your Company.

We are glad to note that the two ablest women in the Anti-Suffrage camp, Mrs. Humphry Ward and Miss Violet Markham, have written excellent letters to the *Times*, repudiating, as we hoped they would, the distorted views of Sir Almoth Wright. The *Times* itself has taken fright, for after publishing the letter in its most important place and type and recommending it warmly in a leader of the same date, it published on April 9th a leader stating that there had been "heated exaggeration on both sides," that women "have been pictured as the mere puppets of ill-regulated emotions and the unreasonable victims of the most unfortunate physiological conditions"; that we might with advantage turn from "this nightmare of sex ignorance and sex bitterness to life as one knows it." With all this we are in hearty agreement, but—who began it? Really, having studied all the letters in this controversy, the wild and diseased imaginings are not to be found in the letters of the women, who answer with remarkable dignity and moderation the preposterous charge of universal hysteria. If women who knew men who had lost their balance on account of love troubles were to rush into print with an exposure of these cases and a statement that they were universal and that such insanity should disqualify all men from citizen rights, we should like to know what would have been said of them? "To such sweeping statements as Sir A. Wright makes," writes Mrs. Ward, "how easy is reply! Chivalry is not all on one side, nor weakness either." This is nobly written. Meanwhile the National League for opposing Women's Suffrage stands convicted through the hand of its own Hon. Secretary, Mrs. Moberley Bell, of having circulated Sir Almoth's letter to the Houses of Parliament and to some of the N.U.T., because "we felt he had put forward some of the points that we would like to make in a masterly and professional (*sic!*) manner." We can only hope that, in the words of Miss Rathbone, the League's action may serve as a "moral emetic" to some of its members who will not begin to realise what company they are in.

Correspondence.

Last week we mentioned a large number of excellent letters which had appeared on this subject. There appeared also a passionate and righteous letter in the *Church Times* of April 4th by the Rev. T. A. Lacey; we are glad so fiery a letter should have come from a man.

On April 12th there appeared a letter from the *Times* over the signature "Educationalist" (how shy they always are!), which tried to make our flesh creep by the statement that our schools were staffed by "unmarried Suffragists." Now, since the outcry among Antis against married women teachers, surely it is unreasonable to cry out also when they are unmarried, for logic decrees that a thing must either be or not be; as to their being Suffragists—does anyone suppose that they are appointed for their views on Women's Suffrage? Are they not Suffragists for the very good reasons that the enormous majority of intelligent, educated women earning their own living are Suffragists? For the same reasons which make most of the women working in local government Suffragists? (This is true to such an extent that Mrs. Ward has been driven to try to found a brand-new Anti-Suffrage Local Government Society.) For the same reasons that make working women, as soon as they are organised in Trade Unions, become Suffragists? The elementary school teachers, it is true, are not awake yet; but it would be strange indeed if the system so admirably described by Mr. Holmes in his great book, "What is and what might be," had not warped and stunted those who come under its blighting influence. If men's red tape did not tie up women's minds we should not so hate it.

The Insurance Act and Women.

The following list was published in the *Standard* of women who have been appointed members of the Advisory Committee appointed under the National Insurance Act to give advice in connection with the making and altering of regulations under Part I. of the Act:—

Mrs. O. M. Aldridge, Women Confectioners' Society.
Miss M. A. Henry, National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks.
Miss Mary Macarthur, National Federation of Women Workers.
Miss Grace Neal, Domestic Workers' Union of Great Britain.
The Countess of Aberdeen, Women's National Health Association of Ireland.
Miss Bondfield, Women's Trade Union League.
Mrs. Allan H. Bright, National Union of Women Workers.
Mrs. Edwin Gray, National Union of Women Workers.
Miss E. H. Halliwell, social worker in Scotland.
Miss L. Harris, Women's Co-operative Guild.
Miss S. C. Harrison, social worker in Ireland.
Miss G. Morgan, Poor Law Guardian.
Miss Constance Smith, National Union of Women Workers.
Miss Gertrude Tuckwell, Women's Trade Union League.
Mrs. Bedingfield and Miss Alice Gregory, both of the Incorporated Midwives' Institute.
Miss M. Hardman, superintendent Leicester District Nursing Association.
Miss A. Michie, superintendent Worcester City and County Nursing Association.
Nominated by the Association of Registered Medical Women, 3—Miss M. H. F. Ivens, M.S.; Miss C. E. Long, M.D. (Brux.); Miss A. H. Watson.

There will also be included in the Advisory Committee five persons (of whom one will be a woman) from the Advisory Committees to the Scottish, Irish, and Welsh Commissions.

That Kind of Person.

The *Individualist* for this month has the following paragraph:—

"On February 27th, Alexander Taylor Sturgeon, one of the two plain-clothes constables, on whose sole evidence Miss Brown was wrongly convicted of solicitation as a prostitute, was himself convicted in the Edinburgh Sheriff Court of what the presiding Sheriff described as a "singularly cold-blooded and brutal bigamy, and was sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment. He was a married man with five children, but represented himself as a bachelor to a very respectable young woman, and went through the form of marriage and left for Canada with her. On this becoming known, the information was sent to the other side of the Atlantic, and he was returned to this country as an undesirable alien. There is nothing to be surprised at in all this. A *police des mœurs*, in Glasgow as well as in Paris, is naturally composed of persons of this sort."

"Practically."

In a long article (in the *Standard*, April 12th) by Mr. D. A. Harris (Cardiff N.L.O.W.S.) which is a monument of misrepresentation, the following is worth quoting: "While suffragists have been distinguishing themselves as law-breakers the 'antis' have earned distinction by canvassing *practically the whole* of the women municipal voters of the United Kingdom on the question of woman suffrage. They were rewarded for their efforts in securing a majority against the extension of the Parliamentary vote to women of nearly 17,000 in a *total electorate* of 66,171." We need not repeat the many evidences we have published from time to time of the entirely untrustworthy nature of the canvasses by which the Antis have indeed "earned distinction," but we would here draw attention to the peculiar use of the word "practically," to imply that 66,171 is "practically the whole" of a million and a quarter!

Our Portrait.

Primrose Day being the one upon which many people all over these islands do honour to the memory of Lord Beaconsfield, we publish to-day his portrait and two quotations showing him a constant supporter of the enfranchisement of women, a point in which he differed from the royal lady to whom he was so devoted. On June 20th, 1848, in the House, he said: "I observe that in a recent debate in another place and country some ridicule was occasioned by a gentleman advocating the rights of another sex to the Suffrage. But as far as mere abstract reasoning is concerned, I should like to see anybody get up and oppose that claim." He remained consistent on this matter, and on April 27th, 1866, he said, "The conditions on which he upheld universal Suffrage should not be confined to the male sex. Now I have always been of opinion that if there is to be universal Suffrage, women have as much right to vote as men. And more than that—a woman having property now ought to have a vote in a country in which she may hold manorial courts and sometimes act as churchwarden."

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LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS should be addressed to the Editor, THE COMMON CAUSE, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C., accompanied by a stamped envelope addressed if it is desired that they should be returned. The Editor accepts no responsibility, however, for matter which is offered unsolicited.

CORRESPONDENTS ARE REQUESTED TO NOTE that this paper goes to press on Tuesday. The latest news, notices, and reports should, therefore, reach the Editor by first post on Monday. The Editor reminds correspondents, however, that the work is made much easier if news is sent in as long beforehand as possible. Monday is only mentioned as the last 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.

Contents.

Portrait: Lord Beaconsfield	17	Press Department	24
Notes and Comments	17	Literature Department	24
A Business-Like Policy	19	Treasurer's Notes	24
Literature Propaganda	20	By-election	24
Riotous Agitation	20	London Society's Receptions	26
Cook-a-Doodle-Do	21	Holiday Tours	26
Ellen Key's Latest Book	22	Federation Notes	27
Dr. Saleeby Protest	23	Teachers and Women's Suffrage	28
Mr. Brasiford on the Situation	23	Reviews	28
The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies	23	Letters to the Editor	29
From Headquarters	24	Forthcoming Meetings	30

A Business-Like Policy.

The defeat of the Conciliation Bill has not unnaturally caused many members of the National Union to ask themselves whether the time has come for the Union in any way to "revise its strategy," and if so in what direction it would be most profitable to do so. It may not be inopportune to remind those who are considering the matter, of certain factors in the present situation which must be taken into account in estimating our chance of future success.

It is obvious that our success this year now depends upon the passage through the House of Commons of the Reform Bill and upon the inclusion in it of a women's suffrage amendment. On April 2nd Mr. Asquith replied in the affirmative to a question from Mr. King as to whether he still adhered to the promises given on May 20th, 1908, December 9th, 1909, and on November 17th and 17th, 1911, that the contemplated Government measure of electoral reform would be so drafted as to be capable of amendment in the direction of including the franchise for women, and that, if the present House of Commons chose to include women as voters in the Franchise Bill, the Government would not hold it to be its duty to oppose such amendment. Probably no one had suspected Mr. Asquith of intending to break the promises he had reiterated on several occasions, but it is satisfactory to have another public assurance on the subject. The point that now remains in doubt is the date of the introduction of the Reform Bill, and (what is more important), the question as to whether time will be found in an already overburdened session for the Committee stage of a highly contentious measure.

It has been freely stated that even if the Government introduce the Reform Bill, it will be dropped for this session, while the immediate forms desired by the Liberal Government will be obtained under Mr. Harold Baker's Plural Voting Bill. In connection with this suggestion there are three points to be remembered (1) That on November 17th, Mr. Asquith formally stated that it was the intention of the Government that the Reform Bill should go through all its stages in the session of 1912; (2) That at the Albert Hall on February 23rd, Mr. Lloyd George used the following words: "When I hear suggestions that the Government propose not to introduce a Reform Bill, or if they do introduce it, that it will not be persevered with, or that it will not be drafted in such a way as to give opportunity for amendment, I say that is an imputation of deep dishonour which I decline to discuss. No Government could commit such an out-

rage on public faith without forfeiting the respect of every honest man and woman in the land"; (3) That the length of a Parliamentary session is determined by the Financial year, and the session of 1912 could perfectly well be continued until March, 1913.

Nevertheless, the National Union is not unmindful of the danger of the shelving of the Reform Bill, and now that Parliament has re-assembled, one of its first objects will be to obtain a definite assurance on this point. Should a satisfactory assurance not be forthcoming it is obvious that the necessity of summoning a special Council meeting of the Union to consider the whole situation would immediately arise. In the meantime, however, assuming that the Government will keep its pledges and that the Reform Bill will go through all its stages this session, it is important to consider what the chances of any women's suffrage amendment would be and how they can be strengthened by the work of the National Union.

The two main causes of the defeat of the Conciliation Bill were (1) The defection of the Nationalist Party, (2) the opposition or abstention on the part of Liberals and Unionists who had previously voted for the Conciliation Bill. This was made possible, as has already been pointed out, by the disastrous effects of militant action on public opinion. These two causes had nothing to do with the principle of women's suffrage, but although they were due to temporary conditions, it is not impossible that they might operate with equally disastrous results on another occasion. Our problem, therefore, is how to mitigate if not wholly to obviate these two dangers. The adverse vote of the Irish Party was dictated by tactical considerations, the party acting under the orders of Mr. Redmond, who was no doubt influenced by his own hostility to Women's Suffrage. The majority of the Irish Members are strong suffragists, and we believe that they felt keenly the obligation under which they found themselves, to strike a blow against the enfranchisement of women. No doubt they will welcome the opportunity of redeeming their treatment of the Conciliation Bill by supporting a Women's Suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill; but if Mr. Redmond persists in the belief that the passage through the House of Commons of a women's suffrage measure would endanger the prospects of Home Rule, we cannot hope that he will refrain from using his influence against it. It is therefore extremely important to demonstrate to the Nationalist Party that they will undoubtedly endanger the Home Rule Bill, if they evoke the hostility of suffragists. From the ideal point of view it is not necessary to show that one movement for liberty is helped, not hindered by the success of another; and dealing with the question only on the ground of tactics it would be possible to prove to Mr. Redmond that he had made a mistake. The Irish Women's Suffrage Societies are already showing their resentment, suffragists are withdrawing their support from the United Irish League, and a spirited protest against the action of the Irish Party from Professor Oldham appeared in the papers on April 3rd. In England much could be done by the Liberal women who have hitherto taken an active part in Home Rule propaganda, but we believe that the difficulty must effectively be met by supporters of Women's Suffrage in the Cabinet. The National Union will do all in its power to bring pressure to bear on the Irish Party, but it is obvious that the ordinary method of working through the constituencies is, in the case of the majority of Nationalist Members, almost useless.

Our task is a more obvious one in dealing with the second principal cause of the defeat of the Conciliation Bill, the opposition or abstention of those whose support we should have been able to count upon. Our work here, and indeed throughout the country, is to make ourselves formidable in the constituencies, so that if members of Parliament are not constrained by a sense of honour to keep their pledges, they may do so for their own advantage. Unhappily, the National Union cannot prevent outbreaks of militancy whose disastrous effect upon public opinion enables members to abandon their support of women's suffrage with a light heart. We cannot prevent these outbreaks, but we can form so strong a body of opinion in the constituency that it will be unaffected by militancy, and the member will vote straight in his own interests. It is not necessary to enumerate here the ordinary methods of suffrage work, they are only too familiar to most readers of the COMMON CAUSE, but we do wish to remind those whose ingenuity is devising new methods that these should be designed with the practical object of putting every member at a disadvantage in his constituency if he is not a supporter of women's suffrage.

Miss Royden has reminded us of the scheme by which canvassers should withdraw from a constituency in which the candidate is not a suffragist. The organisation of this scheme will need work and money, but it is a hundred times more

effective than easier and more sensational methods. Mrs. Fawcett has suggested the possibility of modifying our election policy and supporting Labour candidates unless the candidates selected by the other parties have given proof of their sincere advocacy of Women's Suffrage. Majorities at elections tend to grow smaller; if the National Union can show that it is able in one way or another to turn the scale in a number of constituencies, the passage of some measure of Women's Suffrage would become a matter of serious consideration to the Government.

It is to this end that all our energies must be directed. We cannot afford to waste time and effort on schemes which, even if they were to "relieve the feelings," are unproductive of any practical result. What has been described as "a strenuous and business-like policy" is required, and the National Union may be relied upon to carry it out.

K. D. COURTNEY.

Literature Propaganda during the Summer of 1912.

The defeat of the Conciliation Bill has made it doubly necessary to strengthen the constitutional agitation in the country, and whatever new methods are suggested for doing this, it is obvious that they will not be effective unless they are accompanied by a more and more systematic and vigorous use of the old ones.

One of the old methods which I believe is capable of much greater development and more complete organisation than it has yet received is that of propaganda by literature. I do not wish either to undervalue the devoted work that is being done in this department by many of the Societies, or to pretend that it is more important than any other department. But we are anxious to give every form of propaganda its greatest possible development, and I believe that in some parts of the country this form might be more widely used than it is. The summer months are more favourable to it than the winter ones, and for the sake of members who have not yet done much in this way and wish to do more, I will recapitulate some of the methods which have been found useful among our Societies.

First with regard to the sale of literature. Many Societies have now started Suffrage shops. In places where circumstances do not admit of this, it is sometimes found possible to have a stall in the market place or elsewhere during the summer months, and this is most excellent, not only as a means of selling literature, but as an advertisement of the Society and a centre of propaganda. I do not know whether stalls on the sea front have been tried at any of the watering places, but if permission to have them could be secured, I should think they would be likely to prove a great success.

To come to the free distribution of literature. Since last summer we have added to our stock of publications a large number of cheap leaflets which can be had at 2s. 6d. per 1,000. It has been found by recent experience that in crowded parts of London 1,000 leaflets can be given away in about an hour and a half. Of course, the expense of distributing leaflets wholesale in this way is somewhat heavy if they are all given free by the Society to the distributors; but it is often found that members are willing to buy 2s. 6d. worth of leaflets to give away, or that members who cannot afford the time to distribute themselves will subscribe 2s. 6d. to buy 1,000 leaflets for somebody else who cannot afford the money but can afford the time. This street corner distribution is rather like scattering seeds by the wayside, but it undoubtedly reaches many who would not otherwise ever hear the arguments for Women's Suffrage, and those who remember the strong effect that the written words on which one's eyes light occasionally may have should not disdain it.

Those, however, who desire to make sure that none of the leaflets they distribute will be wasted, may undertake the more heroic task of a house-to-house canvass. Most political workers know what successes have been achieved in this way by the "Crusaders" of the Women's Liberal Federation, who take round and explain a leaflet on some different aspect of Liberalism every month. I am glad to say that some of our Societies have, in addition to their other work, undertaken an educational literature campaign of a similar character. For the sake of those who have not yet done so, I give here an account of the scheme of work that is being carried out by the Nottingham Society. Every member who will undertake to

help is asked to fix upon 20 houses which form her district. She is given a new leaflet every three weeks, which she takes to these houses and explains. After visiting her district once, she is asked to send the names and addresses of those she visits to the Society's office. After four visits it is hoped that she will be able to get some one in her district to lend a sitting-room for a parlour meeting, to which the inhabitants of all the 20 houses visited are invited. A speaker, type-written cards of invitation, and, if necessary, tea and cake are provided by the Society. The names and addresses of all persons visited are filed at the office, in order that they may be invited to larger meetings. In time many of them become members, and perhaps do visiting in their turn.

This form of house-to-house canvass is most useful in poor districts. The rich householder, though not necessarily less ignorant than the poor one, is less likely to be patient while a leaflet is explained. The rich must not, of course, be left alone; every opportunity should be given them of passing the eye of the needle, but perhaps the opportunity is best provided by their own friends. Every society has probably already sent copies of Mrs. Fawcett's book to its local M.P.s. Much might be done if every member who has a visiting list would go through it, and send copies to all the friends on it who are still in an undecided state of mind about suffrage. The book only costs sixpence, and it is so short, lucid and delightfully written that few who have once opened it will refuse to read it to the end. None of our pamphlets quite equal it, but it might be followed up by gifts of some of the best of them—and by new ones as they come out. Every Suffragist who lives near any kind of a reading room should see that it is to be found there, and Suffragists going abroad might take a few copies to give to the libraries of steamers and hotels, which are generally only too glad to add any new volumes to their supply. The comfortably off, who think themselves too busy to read suffrage literature at home, may read it if it falls into their hands on a wet day in Switzerland, or on some other similar propitious occasion.

I have only spoken here of some of the methods which are being used by our members and societies to make our literature widely known. I should be most grateful for further suggestions, which I can pass on to others. If only every member will do something, our leaflets will soon penetrate every house in the land.

I. B. O'MALLEY.

Riotous Agitation.

II.

Notwithstanding the lengthy period of Chartist agitation and the extremely limited nature of the Reform Bill passed in 1832, it was not until 1866 that any Government seriously undertook the long overdue revision and extension of our voting system. In April of that year a Reform Bill was introduced by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Russell, and thrown out amid much popular excitement; and that summer occurred the now famous episode of Hyde Park railings, alluded to by Mr. Hobhouse. This event is worth describing at length, since during the last few years it has been referred to in hundreds of "militant" speeches and articles as forming a precedent which should guide the actions and form the manners of women Suffragists.

During 1866 an immense number of meetings were held in all parts of the country in favour of Reform, and in July it was decided to hold a mass meeting in Hyde Park in the evening, with a number of different platforms and speakers, in the manner that we are ourselves so familiar with. This demonstration was organised by Mr. Edward Beales, the President of the Reform League. Processions of men with banners were to converge from all sides of London upon the Park, which according to the programme was to be entered at five o'clock; and an extremely large meeting was evidently anticipated.

Mr. Walpole, the Home Secretary, a weak Minister in a difficult position, conceived the idea that this meeting was likely to prove a danger to the community, and decided upon the illegal action of closing the Park and prohibiting the demonstration. Mr. Beales, who was a lawyer of some repute, was of opinion that the authorities had no legal power to interfere thus with public rights, and determined to proceed with the demonstration as arranged. At five o'clock, therefore, the first of the processionists arrived at the Park gates, to find them closed and a line of police drawn up outside. Mr. Beales

and other Reformers drove up in a carriage, from which they alighted and endeavoured to obtain admission to the Park. This was refused, by authority, they were told, of the Commissioner of Police. After protesting, they returned to their carriage and drove to Trafalgar Square, followed by crowds of the demonstrators, and there held a meeting, where resolutions were passed demanding the Suffrage.

A great number of the men who had marched to Hyde Park, however, did not follow the leaders to Trafalgar Square, and they assembled in phalanxes in Park Lane, gazing, on a hot July evening, through the railing at the Park where they had intended to assemble, and from which they were unjustly (as they felt) excluded. The crowd consisted not only of Reformers, but partly of sightseers, boys, and London roughs. This mass of people, swaying about, impinged violently upon the Park railings in some one spot, and found them shake. A little more swaying and pushing and the impediment was removed—the railings were flat on the ground. There was a delighted rush of people to the spot, and a scramble to enter the Park; more railings went down before the determined pressure, and soon half a mile of iron rails were lying on the grass, and the mob of men and boys were capering and jumping over the flower beds and disporting themselves delightedly on the forbidden sward.

The people having thus got in, it will be realised that it was by no means an easy matter to get them out again with a gate half a mile wide to guard. Various encounters with the police took place, and Life Guards were billeted in the neighbourhood, but the attempts made to clear the Park were on the whole unsuccessful. Many of the mob spent the summer night on the grass, and what we talk of as a Reform Riot was probably little more than a huge lark to most of the people concerned.

There is no reason to suppose that rioting was contemplated, or would have taken place had the Park been open to the demonstrators, but no doubt the incident of the railings drew more public attention to the importance of the popular demonstration in favour of the Suffrage than it might have attracted had it been carried out as planned. This, however, is not an admission that organised rioting is needful for the carrying of any reform. The genius of the British nation lies not in violence, but in restraint. With an intense love of liberty and independence has always been allied a preference for constitutional methods, and a patient continuance in lawful modes of agitation. As civilisation advances this noble self-restraint becomes even more characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race, and many during the last few weeks of labour unrest may have felt proud of their country, and of the patient endurance and restraint manifested by thousands of half-starved people waiting quietly for the conclusion of the coal strike.

The great popular demonstrations of 1866 were crowned the following year by the triumphant passage of the long-desired Reform Bill, granting the household Suffrage for men householders in the towns, and other franchises.

The next extension of the Franchise was in 1884, when the vote was granted to agricultural labourers. Even Mr. Hobhouse does not assert that this reform was accelerated by any popular uprising of a riotous character.

It is necessary to remember, however, when deprecating violent methods of agitation, that the movement for Women's Suffrage is in a very different position to all the political agitations for Reform that have preceded it, and that this difference is unquestionably the provocative cause of much that we may feel bound to protest against, and that we regret. In 1866, when processions and meetings were taking place in all parts of the country, the Press was occupied with little else. Accounts of these demonstrations filled the columns of the newspapers, and after a London procession of some 10,000 men, correspondents in the press disputed for weeks as to how many people passed a given lamp-post during a given period. The "Antis" of the time counted hundreds only as they filed by; the Suffragists saw a quarter of a million.

We, too, have had our meetings, we have organised our processions; and for the Conciliation Bill alone it is probable that the meetings arranged have far exceeded in number and equalled in enthusiasm all that were held in '66 and '67 in favour of the household franchise; but about these meetings the Press of our own day is silent; and an unjust boycott has stifled as far as has been possible the cry of English citizens for Liberty. We have marched in processions far greater and more imposing than those organised by Mr. Beales and his friends, but after two days the Press has forgotten them, and far more notice has been extended by the newspapers of to-day to the trial of some contemptible murderer than to all the public demonstrations for Reform that our streets during this century have known.

It is this unjust boycott, combined with the bad faith of many

politicians and hitherto trusted friends, that leads some women to abandon hope through the constitutional method and to adopt in its stead a defiance of law and order. But these are counsels of despair, and we have no reason to despair; are we not also of the bulldog race? The difficulties of our position are indeed great, yet they do but demand of the women of this country a double portion of the dogged persistency, the patience and the tenacity of the usually law-abiding Briton.

Lord Althorp's advice, given at the moment of disappointment in 1831 to Reformers, may most aptly be pondered and acted upon to-day, after the lapse of more than 80 years. "If the people of England remain firm and determined, but peaceable, I hope and believe there is no doubt of their ultimate and speedy success. There is only one chance of failure—if their disappointment should lead them into acts of violence, or to unconstitutional measures of resistance."*

M. LOWNDES.

* Annual Register, 1831.

Cock-a-Doodle-Do.

Mr. Harold Owen, who has been somewhat in evidence lately as the writer of Anti-Suffrage articles in the daily papers, has now published quite a fat book†, in which he expounds his own idiosyncrasies and predilections in a style which is fairly common among Anti-Suffragists, and which will, we are sure, appeal to a very well-marked type among them. The kind of medical student who goes to women's meetings in order to bellow down the speakers, and pelt them with mud; who breaks their windows and burns them in effigy in order to demonstrate his superiority, will find this book a manual after his own heart. Panic is his weapon, fear his motive, "menace" and "peril" and "madness" are his favourite words. In fact, Mr. Owen so often suggests that a consideration of this question is calculated to unhinge the mind, that it is charitable to suppose the process had gone pretty far before he had finished his very spiteful and silly book.

He sets out with the assertion that "the State, considered merely as a Government, has no need of women at all." The vote is "the special creation of men," and therefore women have no right to it. Since men only are soldiers and sailors, statesmen, ambassadors, civil servants (except in very subordinate posts where women could be easily dispensed with), and police, he concludes that "the sphere into which woman wishes to enter is a sphere that has no need of her whatever." The nature of his reasoning (?) is disclosed by this wonderful sentence: "No woman is needed in the legal profession whatever—a fact which is proved by its own self." One can only imagine he means by this that, since women are not in the legal profession in England, it shows that there is no need for women in that profession. But women are not in the legal profession for the very simple reason that men, having the power, prohibit women from qualifying, and it is a matter of indifference to Mr. Owen whether women wish to qualify, or whether other women wish for the services of legal women. For note, he goes on to say, "No woman is needed in the medical profession . . . if every woman doctor retired to-morrow, the practice of surgery and medicine would continue unimpaired." The self-revelation of these astounding sentences is apparently unconscious. Women, he thinks, are "not needed" in the medical profession; he has not begun to realise the immense power for good that the medical women have been already and will be in the future; how they have, with knowledge, been able to overcome the fantastic imaginings of men concerning that sex before which man is "frankly perplexed," so that the ravings of a Sir Almoth Wright now fall harmless on the ears of all the millions of women who know better! When one thinks of the thousands of women saved by Dr. Garrett Anderson and her colleagues from the clutch of Giant Despair; of those to whom the close prison of sex meant melancholy, hysteria, premature age; of the growth of self-respect, courage, responsibility, even in one generation of women, one turns to these pioneers with gratitude for that they unlocked doors to us women which no anti can ever close again. Men like Mr. Owen would fain make and administer the laws, and keep even the knowledge of what they are from women; they would keep science to be the preserve of their own sex, for subjection is the lot of the ignorant. But, happily, men like Mr. Owen are dying out, and more and more men are helping

† "Woman Adrift: the Menace of Suffragism," by Harold Owen. (Stanley Paul and Co., pp. 333, 6s.)

women to gain the knowledge and the discipline without which no freedom and no progress are possible. Directly—by proving in their own persons the capacity of women, indirectly—by the help of the knowledge they have spread among women, the women pioneers are deserving the thanks and the blessings of future generation.

Mr. Owen's conception of the State is quite childish. He chooses to consider it "merely as a Government," and because it exists without women sharing in it, therefore "woman is wholly superfluous to the State except as a bearer of children and a nursing mother." Like a greedy and tyrannical little boy, he declares: This apple (the world) is mine, and you shall only have of it what I choose to give you." Of women as the other half of the genus *Homo*, he seems to have no conception. Of the State as made up of women as well as men, of the greatest happiness of the greatest number (not only of males) he reckons nothing. Like most Antis, when it suits him, he exaggerates the differences between men and women (always amiably suggesting that women are on the verge of lunacy, for apparently the word of command has been passed round upon that point), but although these differences are so stupendous that his brain frequently, on his own confession, reels when contemplating them, yet he is perfectly satisfied that man represents woman's interests by his votes "just as he represents her interests by his labour." Of course man's representation of woman is much simplified if he can say, with Mr. Owen, "when I don't understand you it is because you are mad, and mad people should not be represented, they should be shut up—in the Home."

Mr. Owen has chosen, for the most part, to take as representatives of the Suffrage movement only the militants, and he has an easy victory in making rather coarse game of their "violence," their "martyrdom," and their special pleading. We ourselves have never been clear as to whether they desired to be thought soldiers fighting a really dangerous battle, in which they inflicted suffering and defeat on the enemy, or whether they held themselves voluntary martyrs who suffered but did not inflict wrong. In whatever light one regards their methods however, these have absolutely nothing to do with the demand for the vote, which was put forward for over forty years before militancy was thought of, and which is now being supported by thousands upon thousands of women totally out of sympathy with militancy. Mr. Owen presents the delusion so dear to the Antis that their women are doing "a woman's duty, without noise, riot or notoriety, whereas with those who do want the vote it has become a preoccupation, almost a sole occupation, sometimes a profession." We do not deny of course that, for all we know, lots of Antis may be doing their private duty, but indeed so are thousands of suffragists, and Mr. Owen should really ask himself how about all those married working-women of the Co-operative Guild, those women teachers in secondary schools, those members of the National Union of Women Workers, and the whole body of medical women! They are not "professional suffragists," but women doing some of the best of the world's work.

The familiar accusation is brought against women that they are narrow, and only regard private interests. To take one instance only; our author's way of treating the marriage question (the common way of men, be it noted) shows plainly how narrow and private interests have been embodied in the law instead of the great interests of the race and the nation. Men have seen quite clearly that the condonation of adultery in a wife would mean that a man might have to support another man's child, and this private and personal danger (together with a man's sense of outraged proprietorship) led to the inequality of the divorce law as between man and woman. What man did not see, or, seeing, did not consider important, was that a husband's infidelity involves: (1) the infidelity of some other man's wife, or (2) the ruin of an unmarried girl, with all the corresponding injury to her possible offspring, or (3) the existence of a class of professional prostitutes, who constitute one of the gravest causes of physical degeneration known to the medical profession. Now, thanks to the growing knowledge of women, and their increasing care for matters of racial and national importance, all these matters are going to be considered from a larger point of view, and the whole of Mr. Owen's chapter on this subject may be studied as a really illuminating example of special pleading in compounding for sins a man's inclined to by damning those he has no mind to.

Mr. Owen professes to be convinced that the vast majority of women do not want to have the vote, but the only evidences he brings are the discredited canvasses of his league, a few rubbishy anonymous "on-dits," and the weight of the names of Queen Victoria, Mrs. Craigie, and Mrs. Humphry Ward. We

should not think of taking Queen Victoria as an authority on franchise reform, and with all due respect for the other ladies, authority for authority, we consider the following names of distinguished women Suffragists more than equally worth consideration: Florence Nightingale, Mary Carpenter, Miss Buss, Miss Beale, Miss Clough, Mrs. Josephine Butler, Mrs. Garrett Anderson, Madame Curie, Mrs. Meynell, Mrs. Creighton, and Mrs. Bramwell Booth. Probably the same ignorance prevails in Mr. Owen's mind about these women as about the support we have had from the best men. Besides John Stuart Mill (whom, by the way, he says we never mention!!!), he knows no one. He has presumably not heard of Abraham Lincoln, Giuseppe Mazzini, William Lloyd Garrison, and George Meredith.

This is no fight of women against men, and may it never be so. If all men—which Heaven forbid!—were of the same type as this author it would be difficult to say how long women could have patience with such crowing cockerels. Happily, men still are men, we believe, and women are women, and men and women together will yet solve the problems of human life in a way undreamed of by Mr. Owen and his like.

Ellen Key's Latest Book.

"Love and Marriage." By Ellen Key, translated from the Swedish by Arthur G. Chater, with a critical and biographical introduction by Havelock Ellis. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. Price 6s.)

Ellen Key is known to the whole civilised Western world as a great reformer, a deep thinker, and the author of remarkable books on the emancipation of women and the psychology of the child. There are few who could combine in so high a degree as she historical and philosophic learning, experience of life, the conception of daring and original ideas, and the power of setting them forth convincingly, which qualities, added to the fact that she is a woman, make her peculiarly fitted to treat the complicated subject of this book, in which she propounds the problem of sex-relations in our day, attempts to indicate their future development, and to suggest a practical means by which State-control may further, instead of as at present retarding, that development. Briefly stated the main thesis is as follows:—

Love has been and is in process of evolution from the unconscious instinctive emotion which exists, even in some animals, to that perfect personal love which "is life's highest value, as well directly for the individual as indirectly for the new lives created." As in all evolution there have been forerunners—highly developed individuals whose pure exalted love, condemned by the social law of their day, has yet remained the theme of poets and the object of sympathy and admiration to succeeding generations, which instinctively recognise in it the ideal towards which their evolution tends. There is a real sanction for marriage founded on love in its highest sense, and while the ideal of perfect love remained in an early stage of evolution, our marriage-law answered fairly satisfactorily to the needs of the race, as it still does to those of a large proportion of society. The acuteness of the problem now consists in the fact that this law does not answer the needs of the more and more numerous individuals whose development has reached a higher stage, and for whom marriage means "the perfectly free union of a man and a woman who through mutual love desire to promote the happiness of each other and of the race."

There are other things which have helped the evolution of love in their time and have now become a drag on evolution, and must be discarded. Christianity, while it did much towards the spiritualisation of the ideal of love, and helped to raise the status of women, became impossible as the religion of the future when it laid the foundations of sexual morality in an existence beyond this world. "That moral standard will alone be all-embracing which is determined by the belief that the meaning of life is its development through individuals towards higher and higher forms of life for the whole race." This implies elasticity in the standard, since human nature being manifold, the means of development towards the highest forms of life will be different for different individuals. "The more perfect race will be in the fullest sense of the word created by love. But this will not take place until love has become a religion, the highest expression of the fear of life—not the fear of God—when faith in life has scattered the superstition and unbelief which still disfigure love." Christianity must go to make place for the religion of Life; and the present marriage-

law must go, not to make place for what is generally called "free love," which the author describes as "freedom for any sort of love," but for the complete freedom that corresponds with perfect development.

Until this is reached by the majority, the present marriage-law must be replaced by a new one, "entailing hitherto unknown limitations as well as extensions of liberty," "such forms as will promote a life-enhancing use of the sexual powers for the individual and the race," and, without hindering the higher development of individuals, will provide a support for those weaker vessels by setting a legal limitation to freedom.

"While the individualist can only be satisfied with the full freedom of love, he is compelled by the sense of solidarity, at least for the present, to demand a new law for marriage, since the majority is not yet ready for perfect freedom." Suggestions for this new law are made in the final chapter, and simultaneously the anomalies and hypocrisy produced by existing conditions are ruthlessly exposed.

To be consistent with the present needs of society the law should procure perfect equality between men and women, since love is the only truly moral ground for marriage, and love rests on equality. The married woman should retain full authority over her person and property, and thus enjoy the independence already possessed by the unmarried. The legal form of marriage should be a civil one, and divorce free. A woman should be self-supporting when possible, and she should under certain conditions be maintained by the State during the infancy of her children, and receive subsidies for their maintenance also. The distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate children would be abolished. There would be a system of inspection for distributing subsidies and supervising the treatment of children.

This is a very bald outline, and disagreement with or disapproval of the dry bones of the argument should deter no one from reading what is a fascinating book. So many aspects of modern social conditions are reviewed and brought into touch with the subject; competition between men and women in the labour-market, the effect of economic conditions on marriage and offspring, the different types of modern women whose evolution has taken place under our own eyes, which are already being succeeded by newer types—all these things, and many more, make of every page a possible battlefield, and for that reason are most stimulating reading. The author may occasionally appear unsympathetic in dealing with types or forms which have been or are necessary stages in our evolution. Her references to the women's movement as expressed in the demand for political equality would imply that those who make this demand have lost sight of the wood for the trees, or are incapable of realising the true inward meaning of the end they are trying to achieve, and are conscious only of the means as an aim in itself. If this were meant it would be unjust, but it is easier to attribute these expressions to the natural aloofness of the prophetic mind which embraces the past and the future in one vast whole, and for which present types and individualities are as past ones, so many necessary stages on the road, and therefore treated quite impersonally.

Many will, of course, find it impossible to accept some of the fundamental bases of argument, but even for these there will be much interest and pleasure to be derived from the depth and breadth with which the subject is treated, the great power of sympathy with, and insight into human nature, the capacity to see all round a question while enthusiastically advocating a definite point of view, and above all the wonderful spirit of optimism which pervades the whole book, and which cannot be better summed up than in its concluding words: "Those who believe in the perfectibility of mankind for and through love must, however, learn to reckon not in hundreds of years, and still less in tens, but in thousands." L. C. J.

Dr. Saleeby Protests.

To the Editor, etc.

DEAR MADAM,—I enclose for publication in your journal, if you will, a letter returned to me from the *Times* with a polite reference to the fact that many letters of protest had been inserted. There is need for more protests when such evil things appear in print and here is mine. I am, yours, etc., C. W. SALEEBY.

SIR ALMROTH WRIGHT'S LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *Times*.
SIR,—After hearing so much about Sir Almroth Wright's letter while abroad, I have just come home to read it in my *Times*, from which,

though the print can scarcely be credited, I copy the following three passages, taken in sequence at some intervals:—

"Now the medical woman is, of course, never on the side of modesty. . . ."

"Even the uneducated man in the street resents it as an outrage to civilisation when he sees a man strike a blow at a woman."
"Is it wonder if men feel that they have had enough of the militant suffragist, and that the State would be well rid of her if she were crushed under the soldiers' shields. . . ."

"Though I no longer practise medicine, I have studied it in the company of medical women, I have lived and worked for three months in York Dispensary beside a woman colleague, I have called in medical women to attend to women for whom I was socially responsible, and have discussed the cases with them; and I protest against the abominable slander, cast by this knight indeed, against all his professional colleagues who are not by this knight indeed, against all his professional colleagues who are not by his own sex. Sir Almroth Wright strikes this moral blow against thousands of women doctors and nurses; he suggests by implication that, say, Mrs. Despard should be crushed to death; and in between these two sentences he says that it is an outrage to civilisation when a man strikes a blow at a woman."

By his own mouth let him and his shameful letter be judged.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

C. W. SALEEBY, M.D., F.R.S. Edin.

Winchmore Hill, N., April 7.

Mr. Brailsford on the Situation.

In the monthly paper of the Men's League there is an interesting article by Mr. Brailsford, from which we quote the following passages:—

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

"It is a nice question in political psychology what part the recent militancy really played in the defection of the persons who broke their pledges in company with Mr. Sydney Buxton, Mr. Masterman, and Mr. Crawshaw-Williams. I question myself whether they really are so unreasonable as they would have us believe. If the W.S.P.U. had resorted to tactics of intimidation in order to secure the passage of the Conciliation Bill members would have had a case for refusing to yield to violence. But as its motive and its demand was something totally different, no clear-headed member need have hesitated to support a Bill which the W.S.P.U. frankly dislikes. The real motives of the deserters and the abstainers were, I think, rather more elusive. Some of them are Anti-Suffragists at heart; others dread the electoral effect of the Conciliation Bill; the Liberals among them share the Irish fear of the disruptive effect of Woman Suffrage, and the Unionists were afraid that the Bill might have led to something wider. All this reinforced a resentment against militant tactics which is nearly universal in the House. These are men who would have voted for Woman Suffrage so long as public opinion was clearly behind it. The disastrous effect of the recent militancy was that it scandalised public opinion. The pressure which had hitherto kept unsteady members true to their pledges was temporarily relaxed, and an atmosphere created in which these men supposed that they might safely face their constituents with a dishonourable vote in their records. In 1911, while all the societies stood together and town councils all over the country were passing resolutions for the Conciliation Bill, such "ratting" as this would have been impossible. In the conditions created, first, by the announcement of the Manhood Suffrage Bill, then by the shattering of the unity among Suffragists, and, lastly, by the outbreak of March 1st, desertion became possible and for the moment safe."

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

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

OBJECT: To obtain the Parliamentary franchise for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men.
METHODS: (a) The promotion of the claim of women to the Parliamentary vote by united action in Parliament and by all constitutional methods of agitation in this country. (b) The organisation of Women's Suffrage Societies on a non-party basis.

Hon. Secretaries: Miss K. D. COURTNEY. **President:** Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.
Miss Edith Palliser (Parliamentary). **Secretary:** Miss GERALDINE COOKE. **Hon. Treasurer:** Mrs. AUBREACH.
Telegrams: "Voiceless, London." **Hon. Sec. to Literature Committee:** Miss I. B. O'MALLEY. **Telephone:** 1960 Victoria.
Offices: Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

From Headquarters.

The Easter Tour planned by Miss Philippa Fawcett multiplied into three. Miss Fawcett and Miss Sheepshanks went to Bicester; Mrs. Fyffe, Miss Jamieson, Miss Neville and Miss Stoehr to Betchworth; Miss Hewitt, Miss Blackstone and Miss Chambers to Chepstow. We publish reports of two of the campaigns in this issue and hope to give further details next week.

The Nottingham By-election is in full swing and will be nearly over when this number appears. The local Society engaged a Committee room directly the election was announced, and Mrs. Cowmeadow went to Nottingham on Friday. She has since been joined by Miss Hvistendahl and Mrs. Cooper. The Candidates' answers were obtained at once. Mr. Dobson has pledged himself to vote for a Women's Suffrage Bill or Amendment in any form and through all its stages and is answering questions at meetings very satisfactorily. Sir J. Rees has not changed his hostile attitude since he talked out Mr. Dickinson's Bill in 1908. We are therefore supporting Mr. Dobson and a vigorous campaign is being carried on. The Secretary is Mrs. Dowson. The Office of the Society is 54, Long Row, Nottingham. Some of our friends have kindly sent subscriptions for this election, which is of special importance, as being the first which has taken place since the defeat of the Conciliation Bill.

GERALDINE COOKE.

Press Department.

The following report of the Press in West Lancashire and West Cheshire has been sent to us:—

"The Women's Suffrage Cause is on the whole well treated by the papers in the West Lancashire and West Cheshire area. The leading Conservative paper, the *Liverpool Courier*, is edited by a keen suffragist, Mr. Robert Hield, and can always be relied upon for good reports and occasionally for favourable if somewhat guarded leaders. The Liberal paper, the *Daily Post*, has always adopted a particularly obnoxious anti attitude but has slightly improved during the last year and gives fairly good reports.

The *Lancashire Daily Post* has on the whole been most favourable, and local Suffrage activities have been treated very fairly.

The two papers in the area which are the most whole hearted in the cause are the *Birkenhead News* and the *Wallasey News*, which are edited by two sisters who are keen Suffragists, and their papers have been advocating Women's Suffrage for 17 and 10 years respectively.

Two of the St. Helen's papers, the *Reporter* and the *Chronicle*, devote a column weekly to Suffrage propaganda, and the work of the Federation Press Secretary, in regard to the former paper especially, is invaluable. The latter obtains its notes from the COMMON CAUSE.

For several weeks the *Chorley News* agreed to publish a similar column but the militant tactics caused them to abandon the scheme although they had no hesitation in printing long accounts of the stone-throwing of the W.S.P.U. members.

Nearly all the papers in the area can be relied on to publish accounts of local meetings and letters on Suffrage, and the papers which are actively Anti are very few."

The result of the organisation of Press work in the Federations is increasingly satisfactory, and much comment has been made on the surprisingly favourable tone of the Anti-Suffrage Press in general on the subject of the defeat of the Conciliation Bill. We owe grateful thanks to Mrs. Leadley Brown and to the Press secretaries of the Federations and Societies who are doing so much to combat the harmful effects of misrepresentation, and to circulate the information and the views which are essential.

E. M. LEAF.

Literature Department.

NEW PAMPHLET.

The National Union has published a new pamphlet, "Women's Suffrage: An Address by Mr. Rowland Prothero,

M.V.O." Mr. Prothero was for some time Editor of the Quarterly Review; he is a distinguished writer and his opinion will have weight with many who do not read other Suffrage Literature. (No. A 84, price 3d.)

MRS. FAWCETT AND JOHN STUART MILL.

The Oxford University Press has re-published Mill's three famous essays, "On Liberty," "Representative Government," and "The Subjection of Women," in one volume, with an introduction by Mrs. Fawcett. Nothing could be more timely. Mill is one of those who has recognised most clearly that while women are in subjection there can be no true liberty and no true representative Government. His three essays express the principles for which suffragists are fighting to-day. Even people who do not agree with him in detail will be glad to re-read these pleas for freedom with the comments of one of those who is doing most for freedom at the present time.

(Can be obtained from the National Union, price 1s., leather 1s. 6d.)

I. B. O'MALLEY.

Treasurer's Notes.

The COMMON CAUSE of the last few weeks has contained an innovation in the shape of a notice printed on the outside page showing how suffragists can join our Union, and quite a number of sympathisers have already taken advantage of this information and have filled up the form and enrolled themselves as members of the National Union. We offer these new friends a very hearty welcome and assure them that active help and support were never of such value as at the present time. Every additional member who joins the National Union enables us to extend the great campaign we are conducting all over the country and thereby strengthens the cause of women's suffrage. A similar form of membership will again be found on the last page of this issue and I urge all readers who are not yet members of our Union to join at once, so that they, too, can take their part in this great movement of national service—for no greater service can be rendered to our country to-day than that of working to make women free—free to give all that they are able and free to receive all that is their due.

Among the contributions which we have received this week is the sum of 5s. which is sent us as our commission on the sale of COMMON CAUSE Cigarettes; as I believe they are of excellent quality, I hope smokers will continue to help our Funds by giving preference to the COMMON CAUSE Cigarettes and recommending them to their friends.

The list of Albert Hall donations is still so large that the money received this week cannot be acknowledged until next for want of space.

HELENA AUERBACH.

By-Election.

EAST NOTTINGHAM.

Candidates: Sir J. D. Rees (U.),
Mr. T. W. Dobson (L.).

Unionist majority in December, 1910.—1,470.
Polling:—Friday, April 19th.

National Union Committee Room:—89, St. Ann's Well Street.

An early start was made by the Nottingham Society, and the candidates were interviewed immediately after their adoption. The replies of Mr. Dobson were quite satisfactory, excepting that he would not mention his support in his election address. Sir J. Rees maintained his old position, as a determined anti, and we are therefore instructed to support Mr. Dobson as a Suffragist. Our committee room was early a centre of attraction, and a good crowd gathered to our first open-air meeting on Saturday. It was on the whole sympathetic, and leaflets were eagerly taken. We also distributed leaflets at three Liberal meetings, and got searching questions asked of the candidate, to which he gave emphatic and favourable replies. The Nottingham Society is giving valuable help, and Mrs. Dowson took the chair at Saturday's meeting. With polling day on Friday the campaign will be short but strenuous. We are opening a second committee room on Monday, and expect Mrs. Cooper to help us. So far as one can judge the Suffragist candidate seems to have a good chance of success.

C. E. COWMEADOW.

youth and promises her protection. Let the wife see that she gets it.

In making the provision the husband must aim first at certainty, remembering that he hopes to retire at (say) 60, but that he may be dead to-morrow. It may not be nice to contemplate, but it is true. How then can he make *certain* provision?

Obviously he must not live right up to his income. No man in his senses does that. But although time and death are against you,

YOU CAN FIGHT THE FUTURE.

The best and safest way is to invest £140 a year to purchase: An income for life for his wife, payable from his death, of £250. An income for himself and his wife at age 60 for life, of £420. An income for 20 years for his family, of from £250-£420.

This is the best provision any man can make, and every wife should see that it is made.

UNMARRIED WOMEN.

Unmarried women, too, can gain economic independence. The professional and the business woman must obtain it. A woman of 25 can obtain a pension of £100 a year at age 50 for an annual payment of £34. The difficulty is that the woman of 25 generally thinks that she won't need a pension at age 50. But marriage should not mean economic dependence on man. It is wiser and happier otherwise. Let every girl make her own provision.

THE WIDOW.

Every widow desires economic independence. In other words, as large an income from her money as can be obtained with absolute safety. How is she to get it? We answer unhesitatingly, by purchasing an annuity. She wants two things—absolute security and a big income.

In a comparative list of the whole of the offices selling annuities in this country, the Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada gives a larger annuity than any other office, and there is probably no office that can give better security. The books of the company are regularly audited by the Canadian Government, and the policies in force last year amounted to over £33,000,000. In a table given in the *Standard* of the 2nd of March last, the financial editor pointed out that the advantage of the Sun of Canada over the highest English or Scottish office ranged from 1½ per cent. to 5 per cent. of the purchase money.

We might mention that this office gives proportionately increased annuities to impaired lives, and also issues a policy guaranteeing the return of the excess purchase money in the event of early death. Policies can be made payable until the death of the last of two or more lives; but it is impossible to tell of all the good things to be obtained from this office. We can only advise applying, stating age, to Mr. D. Victor Mirams, the District Manager, the Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada, 40, Canada House, Norfolk Street, Strand, W.C.

The Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada will pay you 3 per cent. per annum in cash on your life assurance premiums in addition to a splendid bonus.

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Economic Independence.

By D. VICTOR MIRAMS.

Writing in the COMMON CAUSE of the 4th April, Mrs. Fawcett quoted Gladstone: "You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side." In my opinion

GLADSTONE AND MRS. FAWCETT ARE WRONG.

You can fight against the future. Time is *not* on your side. Nothing can prevent the political freedom of women, but that is not our final aim. The next fight must be for the

ECONOMIC FREEDOM OF WOMEN.

The large majority of married women are quite unaware of the extent and condition of their husbands' finances. The ideal state of things is the division of the total surplus income, after providing for common obligations, between husband and wife, to be spent as each desires. The one thing, however, which we wish to insist on is that the husband *must* provide a *certain* income for his wife for life. The man seeks the woman in her

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

PUBLIC RECEPTION, TUESDAY, APRIL 23,

3.30 to 6 p.m. Empress Rooms, Kensington (High Street Station), Chair:—Hon. Mrs. SPENCER GRAVES (Hon. Treas. L.S.W.S.)
 Speakers:—Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D., Mrs. CORBETT ASHBY, B.A. (Ex. Com. N.U.W.S.S.)
 DISCUSSION INVITED.

London Society's Weekly Receptions.

A MEETING GROUND FOR SUFFRAGISTS.

The success of the London Society's receptions before Easter has confirmed the general opinion that there is a real need for a fixed place of meeting where, each week, members of the Societies in the N.U.W.S.S., as well as enquirers can be sure of hearing our leaders deal with the principles underlying our movement, and with each political crisis as it arises. The Executive Committee of the L.S.W.S. has therefore arranged for the receptions to begin again on April 23rd in the Empress Rooms, Kensington High Street, and to continue every Tuesday until the end of June from 3.30 to 6. Mrs. Fawcett will herself open the series on the

23rd, and it is hoped that all who can will make a point of being present and ensuring that this opening of the summer campaign shall be full of life and enthusiasm. The strenuous work before us calls for vigorous effort from old members as well as of that of many new recruits, and all are called upon to do that in them lies to promote the real object of the weekly receptions as a centre where all may gain new zeal by meeting leaders and fellow workers and by encouraging outsiders to realise that they are at all times cordially welcome. Discussion and questions will be allowed, and particulars of new schemes of work will be announced from week to week. Cards containing the names of speakers are being printed, and can be obtained on application to Miss Strachey at 58, Victoria Street, S.W. They will also be advertised each week in THE COMMON CAUSE and elsewhere.

Contributions.

ALBERT HALL MEETING, February 23rd, 1912.
Already announced 4,658 9 9

SEVENTH LIST.

Mrs. Annie Jenkins	...	(paid)	3 6
Mrs. Jevons	...	(paid)	1 0
Miss Johnson	...	(paid)	1 0
Miss Fanny Johnson	...	(paid)	1 0
Mrs. A. Johnson	...	(paid)	1 0
Mrs. C. Jones	...	(paid)	1 0
Mrs. Garrett Jones	...	(paid)	2 0
Mrs. D. Jordan	...	(paid)	1 0
Mrs. Kayser	...	(paid)	5 0
Mrs. Kellatt	...	(paid)	1 0
Miss A. M. Kempthorne	...	(paid)	5 0
Mrs. Kincaid	...	(paid)	1 0
Miss King	...	(paid)	5 6
Lady Clerk P.O. Saving Bank	...	(paid)	1 0
Miss Lake	...	(paid)	10 0
Miss F. Lampont	...	(paid)	20 0
Mrs. T. Lawrence	...	(paid)	10 0
Miss S. Lawrence	...	(paid)	5 0
Mrs. and Miss Lawson	...	(paid)	1 0
Mrs. Kitt Ledger	...	(paid)	1 0
Miss M. Lees	...	(paid)	500 0
Mrs. Marjorie Leon	...	(paid)	1 0
Miss Elinor Leysche	...	(paid)	5 0
Mr. and Mrs. Lindsay	...	(paid)	1 0
Miss Alice Low	...	(paid)	1 0
Miss Mary Lowndes	...	(paid)	3 0
Mrs. Luff	...	(paid)	1 0
Miss Mackenzie	...	(paid)	10 0
Miss Mahler	...	(paid)	10 0
Mrs. Maitland	...	(paid)	2 0
Miss Anna Martin	...	(paid)	1 0
Miss M. Martineau	...	(paid)	3 0
Mrs. Maude	...	(paid)	3 0
Miss Ellen McArthur	...	(paid)	5 0
Mrs. Mercer	...	(paid)	1 0
Merioneth W.F.L.	...	(paid)	2 6
Mrs. Merivale Meyer	...	(paid)	1 10
Mrs. C. Meyerstein	...	(paid)	5 0
Miss Montgomery	...	(paid)	1 0
Miss Laura T. Morrison	...	(paid)	20 0
Miss E. J. D. Morrison	...	(paid)	10 0
Miss G. E. Moseley	...	(paid)	1 0
Dr. Muller	...	(paid)	1 0
Miss J. Muntz	...	(paid)	5 0
Miss Nachbar	...	(paid)	1 0
Miss E. M. Nash	...	(paid)	5 0
Mrs. Roland New	...	(paid)	1 0
Miss B. Newcombe	...	(paid)	10 0
			£5,320 5 3

Hull Society and the N.U.T.

This week has been one of increasing activity among the members of the local branch of the National Union, and we have been most fortunate in having the invaluable assistance of Mrs. Cowmeadow. Women's Suffrage has been one of the chief subjects for discussion among the delegates to the Conference and the N.U. Suffrage Shop with its ample supply of literature has been a great attraction. We have had many interesting conversations with people already interested in the Cause, and what is of far greater importance, with many who are totally ignorant of the main facts of the movement. A successful Public Meeting was held on Saturday, April 6, when addresses were given by Miss Helen Ward and Mrs. Cowmeadow. The chair was taken by Mrs. Gardner (Hull Education Committee). The resolution calling upon the N.U.T. to support Women's Suffrage in the interests of their members was carried with five dissentients. An account of the Women's Suffrage resolution and vote will be found elsewhere.

Holiday Work in Surrey.

In response to Miss Fawcett's appeal in the "Common Cause," a small party of suffragists, consisting of Mrs. Fyffe, Miss Jameson, Miss Neville, Miss Eve and Miss Stoen spent a short Easter holiday at Brockham Green and Betchworth, two adjoining villages in Surrey, where Mrs. Forrester and her two daughters had already found rooms for them. It was soon discovered that the Antis had already been at work in the neighbourhood, and that in most of the larger houses suffrage propaganda were not welcomed. All the cottages were visited, including those at Buckland Green, many of them twice over, and though a few of the women refused to listen, most were amiable,

and a great many sympathetic. On Easter Monday an open-air meeting was held on Brockham Green in the evening, at which there was a very good gathering. Miss Neville took the chair, and Miss Jameson spoke for over an hour in a biting wind. At Betchworth, with Miss Stoehr in the chair, Miss Jameson spoke again out-of-doors to a most attentive and interested audience who asked several intelligent questions. In addition, a small tea meeting was held in a cottage where Miss Eve spoke, and another at the village inn, where some of the party were staying. These informal meetings were felt to be especially useful. Mrs. Fyffe acted as organiser and everyone, including the Misses Forrester, worked hard at visiting and distributing literature. A very real interest in the question of Women's Suffrage has been aroused in the neighbourhood and there is every prospect that by the time the large meeting which is being arranged for next month takes place there will be sufficient members enrolled to form a small society for Brockham Green and Betchworth, with the Misses Forrester as honorary secretaries. The success of the campaign is largely due to the Forrester family, whose kindness and hospitality were greatly appreciated by the whole party.

H. I. W. FYFFE.

Holiday Tour in Mid Oxfordshire.

Miss Sheepshanks, Miss Hart-Davis and I met at Bicester (our headquarters) on the evening of Thursday, April 4. On Friday, April 5, Miss Sheepshanks and I went to Oxford and called on Miss Eden Lewis, sister of the Secretary of the Oxford Society (who was herself away) and other members of the National Union. Dr. and Mrs. Herberston very kindly offered to come over to Bicester during the week with their motor car to help us, and the two Miss Adairs arranged to help to canvass Islip on the next day. On Saturday, April 6, Miss Hart-Davis and I cycled to Islip, where, with the invaluable help of the Misses Adair, we canvassed the whole village. In the evening we held an open-air meeting which began with two women, one man and a baby, and innumerable children playing a game of which the chief feature was beating a tin can, and which ended with about 20 adults and the children not beating a can. On returning to Bicester we found that Miss Sheepshanks, who had spent the day in calling on different people in the town, had met with a rather chilly reception and had found that former supporters had been alienated by the action of the militants. She had, however, one piece of good news, namely, that the Rev. Rhys Price, the congregational minister, had promised to take the chair at an indoor meeting if we wished. We accordingly decided to attempt an indoor meeting, although everybody, including our suffrage friends in Oxford, said either that we should have an empty room or that there would be a disturbance. On Easter Monday Professor Herberston very kindly came over in his motor car to take us to Lower and Upper Heyford. I cycled over beforehand to canvass the villages. Miss Sheepshanks and Miss Hart-Davis had a small open-air afternoon meeting in Lower Heyford with an attendance of about 20, and then came on in the car to Upper Heyford, where we had intended to have another afternoon meeting. The Curate in charge, the Rev. A. Haynes, who was most friendly and helpful, told us, however, that it would be far better to have an evening meeting at the allotments. After having tea at the inn (where the landlady informed us that we behaved "as ladies should") we adjourned to the allotments, and went round inviting the men to our meeting. Mr. Haynes very kindly arranged for us to have the use of a large barn, which not only protected the audience and ourselves from the biting wind, but kept the audience within measurable distance of the speakers. (We have

found that in most of our village open-air meetings the audience tries to remain as far away as possible, presumably in order that they may preserve an attitude of detachment. This is not only trying to the voice, but makes one feel and look rather ridiculous. There was an attendance of quite 40 adults (the population is, I think, under 300). Both men and women listened with interest and made intelligent remarks afterwards. Mr. Haynes contributed greatly to the success of the meeting by putting forward the usual "Anti" arguments, some of which were effectually disposed of by members of the audience. The labourers were strongly anti-militant, although we were told that when Lady Jersey had dined at the Rectory they had expressed their disapproval by breaking the windows, and that in connection with some parish dispute a considerable number of the inhabitants had been thrown into the river by their fellow parishioners!

Tuesday, April 9 we spent in a house-to-house canvass of Bicester with the kind assistance of Miss Stark of the Oxford Society. The chief incidents of the day were, on the one hand, our warm reception by the Prioresse of the Benedictine Convent, who followed us down the road to wish us success, and urged her neighbours to attend our meeting, and on the other hand, the remark of an old man who, on receiving our leaflets said, "Votes for women! Votes for dawgs."

On Wednesday, Miss Eden Lewis came over from Oxford and we held small meetings at Blackthorne and Launton, first conducting a house-to-house canvass.

Thursday, April 11, was the day of our indoor meeting at Bicester, which turned out quite a success in spite of gloomy forebodings. There were over 100 people present and there was practically no disturbance, beyond what was caused by a man somewhat the worse for liquor, and some hooligans of "good family," who were egging him on. Professor Herberston and Miss Skrine motored over from Oxford. The former made a short, but effective speech, and the latter was a most capable steward and seller of "Common Causes."

Our tour ended on Friday, April 12, with an open-air meeting in Bicester Market, in which we had the assistance of Miss Allen and Miss Adair of the Oxford Society, and of five students from Ruskin College, whom Miss Eden Lewis had asked to come over. One of these, Mr. Tom Clayton acted as chairman, and he and Mr. Ernest Selley made excellent speeches. There was a large and apparently friendly audience, and our last impression of the attitude of Bicester to the suffrage, was much more favourable than our first. It will be gathered from the above notes that in the short time at our disposal, we could have effected hardly anything had it not been for the unfailing and generous help which we received from the Oxford Society, to the members of which we tender our most sincere thanks.

PHILIPPA FAWCETT.

A Joint Meeting.

A joint meeting will be held by the Women's Liberal Federation and the Liverpool Society for Women's Suffrage at Hope Hall, Hope Street, Liverpool, on Friday, April 26, at 8 p.m. The speakers will be F. Dyke Acland, Esq., M.P. (Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs) and Mrs. Philip Snowden. Mrs. Egerton Stewart-Brown will take the chair and will be supported on the platform by the following:—Miss Eleanor Rathbone, C.C., Mrs. Richard Holt, Miss Ivens, M.S., Sir Benjamin Johnson, Professor Bosanquet, Messrs. Richard Holt, M.P., Allan Bright, John Edwards, I.L.P., John Lea, R. R. Meade-King, Max Muspratt, C.C., E. K. Muspratt, Hugh Rathbone and Alderman Williams. Tickets 1s. 6d., 6d. and 3d., may be obtained from Miss Chubb, 52, Hatherley Street, Prince's Road, Liverpool. There will be a few free seats.

Federation Notes.

North and East Ridings (Yorks).

ORGANISATION WORK.
During March Miss Fielden and Miss Elphick worked indefatigably in MIDDLESBRO, addressing numerous meetings, including one at the Women's Settlement, by the kind permission of Mrs. Harris. A public meeting in the High School was well attended. Dr. Ewart presided, and Dr. Saleeby was the principal speaker. On March 11th Miss Elphick and Miss Fielden spoke at Mrs. Malley's Drawing-room Meeting. Mrs. Howell took the chair. An address at the Mothers' Temperance meeting found a most attentive and sympathetic audience. On March 13th Mrs. Morrish gave a Drawing-room Meeting; there was a splendid attendance.

The Annual Meeting of the Middlesbro' Society was held on March 13th. Dr. Levick presided. After the preliminary business, the meeting was public, and the resolution, which was seconded by Miss Purvis, was carried unanimously. The last year's officers were re-elected with an additional hon. sec. and vice-president. Mrs. Howell is greatly to be congratulated on the balance-sheet, as the Society is young, having just celebrated its first birthday. March 14th Mrs. Malley and Wilson gave a Drawing-room Meeting. There was much interesting discussion. March 15th, a Drawing-room Meeting was held by Mrs. Currie in Marton (the Postmaster General's constituency); as at all other meetings, literature and badges sold well. Collections were taken and new members joined. March 18th, Miss Fielden addressed the Wesleyan Women's Union, the Rev. Harrison in the chair. The audience were most interested. In the evening she addressed the League of Young Liberals. Mr. Wright presided. The resolution was unanimous. March 19th, Mrs. Smith took the chair at the Women's Co-operative Guild, Victoria Hall, the meeting was well attended. March 20th, Miss Fielden left Middlesbro' and spoke that evening at Yeading.

March 22nd, an evening meeting was held in the Church House, GIMSBY, the chair was taken (pro tem.) by the Rev. J. Smith, followed by Miss Clara Bennett (Secretary W.L. Association and P.G.). Several new members joined. On March 23rd, an open-air meeting was held in Riby Square. There was a very interested audience. A meeting in the evening at Burslem Road Schools, Cleethorpes, when the resolution was carried. An interested audience assembled in Miss Erskins' drawing room on the 25th. In the evening a meeting was held in NORTH THORBSBY, which was packed, as a result of splendid canvassing done by Miss Soverly. The chair was taken by Miss Young. This was a new ground and the resolution was carried with two dissentients. On March 27th Mrs. Stairs Thorpe gave a drawing-room meeting. Twenty-one new members joined, and it is hoped to form a branch. Miss Fielden addressed the Trades and Labour Council in the evening. March 28th, a meeting organised by Mrs. Stairs Thorpe (Guisborough) was held in the Cleveland Hall. The resolution, seconded by Mrs. Cobham (wife of the Rector), was carried nem. con., 17 members joined and a collection was taken.

BARDRETON.—On February 8th a public meeting was held in the Model Café, Promenade. Councillor Lambert presided, and Miss Abadam gave an eloquent and forcible address. She dwelt specially on the non-party character of the Women's Suffrage movement. Proceeding, she drew a parallel between this movement and that for the abolition of slavery in America. She concluded by showing how suffragists meant to use their liberty. On March 20th Miss Margaret Robertson, B.A., came to speak. The meeting was well attended, and all were most interested in the speaker's vigorous and telling address. Questions were put, and Miss Robertson's answers were much appreciated. Mrs. C. G. Southcott presided. Our resolution, which was moved by Miss Robertson, seconded by Mrs. G. G. Southcott, and supported by Geo. Tucker, and supported by several others, was carried with enthusiasm. Seven new members were added to our roll.

The same afternoon Miss Elphick and the Secretary went for a Suffrage canvass to the Women's Co-operative Guild. The members were much interested, but expressed disgust at the damage done by members of the W.S.P.U.

On the previous evening Miss Elphick read a paper on "What the Vote Means to the Women and the Nation" at the Liberal Club. There was a small attendance, but the resolution was carried unanimously.

HULL.—A large audience assembled in the Church Institute on March 19th to hear Miss Margaret Robertson. Much disappointment was felt at the announcement that a telegram had been received stating that she was unable to get to Hull in time for the meeting owing to the dislocation of the train service due to the strike. Most inspiring addresses were given by Mrs. F. Richardson and Miss Annie Jackson, to whom the best thanks of the Society were given for so kindly speaking at such a short notice.

SCARBOROUGH.—March 22, Miss Margaret Robertson, B.A., gave an earnest and delightful address. On the "Present Crisis" at St. Nicholas' Boarding House (Mrs. E. R. Cross in the chair). She recapitulated the history of the Suffrage movement, in particular that of the last three years, and her audience were more than ever convinced of the folly of militant tactics at this moment. The Rev. J. Wain proposed a cordial vote of thanks, and everyone hoped Miss Robertson would come again. THE COMMON CAUSE sold well. A large meeting assembled on March 19th at the Liberal Club to hear Miss Alison Garland of the Women's Liberal Association, who delivered a racy and energetic Suffrage speech. Mrs. Alderson Smith took the chair. This meeting was arranged by and for the Scarborough Liberal Women and its success is very encouraging, especially as similar meetings have hitherto been difficult to promote. It is probable that the recent emphatic re-assertion by the borough member (Mr. W. R. Rea) of his belief in W.S. (just after the window-breaking by the W.S.P.U.) greatly helped the cause amongst members of his party.

The committee of the Scarborough W.S. have decided to rent a larger office in which it will be possible to hold meetings.

YORK.—The president and committee of the York branch were "At Home" in the Assembly Rooms on Thursday, March 21st, when a large gathering assembled. Mrs. M. Herberston, B.A., gave an address which converted many. The Hon. Mrs. Wilkinson gave an interesting account of the International Women's Suffrage movement. Miss Bailey kindly sang two songs. Mrs. Edwin Gray presided over the Suffrage March and an excellent tea was provided by the Suffrage members. The meeting resulted in 14 new members. On Tuesday, March 26th, Mrs. Holmes was "At Home" at 55, Wentworth Road. Mrs. Davis gave an interesting and convincing address, "Why Women Need the Vote." Mrs. Holmes explained the National Union, its aims and policy. Several ladies gave in their names as members. Eight dozen COMMON CAUSES have been sold through the office during March. WHITBY.—A meeting for the Lythe members of the Whitley and District Society was kindly arranged by Miss Watson at her house on Tuesday, April 2nd. Miss Wiseman gave an eloquent address, and Miss Thornton briefly described the Federation system.

Oxford, Bucks and Berks.

WOKINGHAM.—The first public meeting held here was in November at the Town Hall. Sir Donald Robertson was in the chair, and the speakers were Lady Willoughby de Broke and Mrs. Robie Uniacke. The fourteen members who joined as a result of this meeting were temporarily attached to the Crowther Society which had organised the meeting. Since then a drawing-room meeting held on March 13th, at The Studio, Great Marlborough Street, was held by Mrs. L. Garry (chair), was addressed by Mrs. Corbett Ashby and Mrs. Uniacke, and a public meeting was held on March 27, in the Town Hall, at which Colonel Kensington took the chair, and Mrs. Corbett Ashby and Mrs. Merivale Mayer spoke. Ten new members resulted from these meetings, bringing the number up to 24, so that it became possible to start the new branch which has now affiliated. Mrs. Robie Uniacke is chairman, Miss Violet Eustace hon. sec. and treasurer. Other members of the committee are Miss Churchill, Miss Maud Barron, Miss Garrard, and Miss Adelaide Eustace.

HIGH WYCOMBE.—A preliminary meeting took place on February 13th, at Godstowe School, by kind invitation of Mrs. Scott, to discuss the formation of a Society. On Tuesday, March 5th, a public meeting, held by kind permission of Miss Whitehead, at Wycombe Abbey School, was addressed by Miss Fawcett, and a resolution was unanimously passed in favour of forming a society with Miss Dove as president, Miss B. Wheeler as treasurer, and Mrs. R. H. Berney as secretary. On March 14 the Executive Committee met at the President's house to discuss plans for organisation. On March 30th, a drawing-room meeting took place at Airlie House, by kind invitation of Miss Daniel. Miss Helen Ward spoke, and suggested various schemes of organisation. Wednesday, April 3rd, a Reading Circle was formed, and the first meeting took place at Ulverscroft to read and discuss Mrs. Fawcett's book. An office has been engaged from May 1st, at 1, White Hart Street. The membership is between 70 and 80.

MID. BUCKS.—A public meeting was held at Great Missenden on March 14th. The speakers were Miss Muriel Matters and Dr. Drysdale. The resolution in favour of Women's Suffrage was carried. Miss Ruth Young was the speaker at the annual meeting of the society at Wendover on March 21st.

NORTH BERKS.—The Wallingford Literary Debating Society asked for a speaker on Women's Suffrage at their meeting on March 11th. It was held in the Free Library at Wallingford, and the room was very well filled. Miss Helga Gill spoke for forty minutes, and was followed by others who made short speeches for or against. After Miss Gill's final reply a resolution in favour of granting the suffrage to women was put by the chairman, and was carried—34 voting in favour and 4 against it. A good many of the audience did not vote. A petition was sent to Major Henderson, member for North Berks, signed by five representative voters, asking him to vote for the second reading of the Conciliation Bill. Major Henderson replied courteously, but refused.

MAIDENHEAD.—Mrs. Corbett Ashby spoke at a large drawing-room meeting at Ascot, where Lady Selborne was the chief speaker. Great success attended their efforts, and a public meeting is announced for April 23rd at the Royal Hotel, Ascot, to follow up the impression produced. Miss A. Maude Royden visited the Federation early in March, and spoke to an appreciative audience at Maidenhead. Her return visit in June is much looked forward to. One member of Parliament, Mr. Ernest Gardner, voted for the second reading of the Conciliation Bill, and was "the only member who crossed from the 'no' to the 'aye' lobby" (vide the Standard for April 1st).

CROWTHER.—The annual public meeting took place on March 4th with Mrs. Robie Uniacke in the chair. The speakers were Miss A. Maude Royden and Mr. F. Richardson (honorary secretary, Men's League for W.S.). The meeting was well attended, a number of working men being among the audience. The resolution was carried with three dissentients.

BERKHAMSTED.—A very successful meeting was held at the Town Hall on March 20th. The speakers were Miss Margaret Ashton and Miss Helen Ward. A resolution urging members to vote for the Conciliation Bill was carried by a large majority. The audience showed great interest in the proceedings and several comments were made.

PANGBOURNE.—A small meeting was held at the Friends' Institute on April 2nd, at which Miss Margaret Jones read the manifesto from the National Union, and spoke on the political situation, emphasising the necessity for increased work and enthusiasm as a reply to the rejection of the Conciliation Bill. There were about forty present, mostly members of the society. READING.—Since the delivery campaign great impetus has been given to the Suffrage movement locally; new members have been enrolled and six meetings held as follows:—February 16th, drawing-room meeting by kindness of the Misses Turquand, Colonel Kensington in the chair. Mrs. Robie Uniacke and Miss Helga Gill delivered intensely interesting addresses to an appreciative audience.

March 12th. A speech by Miss Helga Gill was much enjoyed by members and friends of the "Women's Own

Meeting." Park Institute, Chair was taken by Sister Edith. Several new members joined. March 12th. The League of Young Liberals held a debate in Cross Street Hall. Mr. Malcolm Mitchell spoke for and Mr. Lewis Jones against Women's Suffrage. Five minutes speeches followed from the audience and many good points were made. The vote was against us, but educational work was done of which we hope to reap the fruits later.

March 29th. Meeting for members and friends at Salmon's Cafe, presided over by Councillor Edith Sutton and addressed by Miss Helen Ward in the absence through illness of Mrs. Uniacke. After an inspiring speech in which Miss Ward discussed the political situation and emphasised the fact that a temporary defeat could only be the signal for showing greater determination and a more courageous spirit than ever before in the woman's movement, a vote of thanks was proposed by Miss Marsden, who said the vote was much needed in her profession so that teachers might have a more direct voice in legislation on education. Dr. Gifford seconded in an able speech. Several members were enrolled.

Meetings were held at Caversham on March 4th at West Institute, chairman, Colonel Kensington, speaker Miss Royden; and on March 5th at the Women's Liberal Association, when a debate was held between Mr. Lewis Jones (against) and Mrs. Mortimer (for) with Mrs. Fawcett in the chair. After the speeches the programme included some musical items.

West Midland.

A NEW SOCIETY
Through the activity of our Hon. Sec., Miss Noel Wright, a society has been started at MALVERN, which proved to be very keen and enthusiastic. A most successful meeting was held on March 28th, when thirty members joined. This was followed up by the election of officers, and the branch is now organised and will shortly affiliate to the N.U. and federate to the West Midlands. The officers are:—Chairman, Mrs. Urwick; Hon. Secretary, Miss Dawson; Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. Radford. K. M. HARBERT.

West Lancs., West Cheshire and North Wales.

The weeks preceding the second reading of the Conciliation Bill were full of activity, and work done amongst members of political associations was most successful. In BOULTON, Mr. Bonar Law's constituency, 38 of the local Conservative Association signed a petition in favour of Women's Suffrage, the Lancashire and Cheshire Liberal Federation passed a resolution in favour of the Bill, and work in the North Wales constituencies was equally successful.

THE LIVERPOOL Society held a special service in St. Margaret's, Anfield, on the night of the second reading of the Bill. The vicar, Prebendary Wakefield, owing to whose kindness the service was held, addressed a crowded congregation taking for his text the words, "And they marvelled that he should speak with the woman."

The annual meeting was held on March 18th when Miss Eleanor Rathbone, C.C., read the annual report, and Miss Brunner the financial statement. The officers and committee having been re-elected (with the addition of three new members) short speeches on the Political Situation, Federation Work and Press Work were given by Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Miss C. Leadley Brown and Miss Dora Mason respectively. A resolution condemning militant tactics was passed. Mrs. Egerton Stewart Brown was in the chair.

THE BIRKENHEAD Society held its annual meeting on March 29th. There was a splendid attendance of members and friends. Mrs. Ziegler took the chair, and after the honorary secretary and honorary treasurer had read the report and balance-sheet Mrs. Harley gave an interesting account of how the conditions of women's work was not so crying as it is now that the State interferes so largely with women's work. Miss MacCrindell followed with an address on Woman's Suffrage from the Point of View of a Social Worker. The speakers were accorded a hearty vote of thanks for their kindness in addressing the meeting.

THE NEWTON AND DISTRICT branch held a meeting and entertainment at Earlestone on March 15th. The chair was taken by the Rev. G. N. Armitage, and apologies were sent by Lady Gerard and Lord Wolmer, the local M.P. The chairman expressed his strong condemnation of militant tactics, but affirmed his unshaken belief that it is right to give women the vote. Mrs. Egerton Stewart Brown moved a resolution in support of the Conciliation Bill, and urged the M.P. for the Newton division to vote for the second reading and all its further stages. The resolution was seconded by the honorary secretary, Miss Watkins, and carried without a dissentient.

Scottish.

The Federation is this month doing its best to help the Aberdeen Society to gather in the not inconsiderable fruits of its great meeting on March 27th. Miss Emily Foggo has come for a while to work with me here, and with her aid we have secured 34 new members in a very short time. Our latest venture is the taking of a shop—an excellently-situated new and bright one in the chief street. We propose to make it an office, tea room, and general rendezvous, and hope to sell abundance of literature. By means of a small "Fancy Stall" we shall try to pay the rent, and gifts of articles of any kind (in good condition) will be gratefully welcomed to sell thereat. The W.S.P.U. has had for some time a large shop; we trust that the National Union effort will be no less successful. English friends may be glad to help their Scottish sisters in the distant North by contributions to our stall. My address now is: Suffrage Shop, 474, Union Street, Aberdeen.

ALICE CROMPTON.

Among the reports too late for insertion last week are those from Glasgow and Ayr, the latter society is one of those formed this year and already doing notable work. Its second members' meeting was held on March 14th, at which the president, Mrs. Muir, gave an account of the Albert Hall demonstration and the Council meetings in London. The honorary secretary reporting on meetings, gave an interesting account of the deputation to Sir G. Younger, M.P. for Ayr. On March 27th a successful public meeting was held in the Council Chamber the inspiring and instructive address given by Miss Royden resulting in an addition to the membership.

roll bringing it up to 50. The Glasgow Society has carried on successfully the Friday meetings in the office, all of which have been very well attended. An address from Miss Kerry (secretary, Glasgow Eugenic Society) on the 15th was much enjoyed, and was followed by an interesting discussion. The result of an able speech on the 22nd from Miss Beatrice Clugston on "The Women's Friendly Society of Scotland" was the suggestion for a branch Society for Educated Women Workers on the lines of those formed by teachers and nurses. The society is looking forward to and preparing for a Sale of Work on May 24th, which Lady Frances Balfour has kindly consented to open.

The GRIEF Society has sent notice of a Cake and Candy Sale, held in the drawing-room at Mayfield, kindly lent by Miss Mutter-Napier, opened by the Lady Frances Balfour in the afternoon of the 25th, at which the sum of over £12 was realised for the benefit of the Scottish Federation.

North of Scotland.

Two meetings of the Inverness Society have to be reported this month, both held in St. Margaret's. (1) On March 1st, "An Evening with the Anti-Suffragists" proved very successful. Mrs. J. Fraser presided, and in her opening remarks dealt with the speeches delivered at the anti-suffrage demonstration held in the Albert Hall, London, on the previous evening. An address was given by Mrs. Crittenley, and papers read by Mrs. Robertson and Mrs. Boyd in which all the stock arguments of the anti side were once again exploded. The usual discussion followed. (2) On March 22nd, Miss Carrie, M.A., took as her subject "Women's Suffrage from the Teachers' Point of View," treating the matter in a witty and convincing manner. At this meeting Mrs. Hunter, President, was welcomed back from her lecturing tour.

NAIRN Society reports a largely-attended social meeting in the Congregational Church Hall on March 7th. Mr. J. A. Reach presided. H. C. Boyd, M.A., L.L.B., Inverness, delivered an interesting and well-reasoned address, and during the evening a musical programme was submitted. It was intimated that the membership of the Nairn Society now stood at 107.

UNBRIDGE SOCIETY.

The April "At Home" was held on the 1st at Brookfield Restaurant. The subject for discussion was "British Women in History." The opener explained how the traditional position of those women who were heads of families, heads of religious houses, judges in county courts and "freemen" of cities, included the right to sit in Parliament or to elect proxies to take their place. Their right was illegally, and without any evidence produced then or since, denied by Sir Edward (Lord) Coke. This unlawful decision has been made the precedent for later judges' pronouncements, including Lord Lorburn's as Lord Chancellor. Other speakers brought forward the career of Queens Beatrix and Margaret of Anjou, and the work of women in Mediaeval Guilds. The political situation was reviewed. Two poems were read, and "Bill Stubbs" and the following members and visitors spoke or recited:—Mrs. Blower, Mrs. Budding, Miss Lees, Miss Raleigh, Miss Humphries, Miss Weir, Miss West and others. There was a good collection.

The Younger Suffragists.

The Younger Suffragists will hold their third annual Hat and Fresh Flower Sale on April 23, 24 and 25, at 50, Porchester Terrace, Hyde Park. Encouraged by their previous success, the Sale which they open next week will be on a larger scale than those of 1910 and 1911. As heretofore, all good will be offered at strictly market prices, the Younger Suffragists' principle being that there should be no extortion from those who are already paying heavily for their Cause. But those who cannot find anything to please them amid the hundred hats and quantities of wild and garden flowers, should at least find pleasure in Mrs. Franklin's beautiful pictures, and will be made welcome at tea by the hostesses, and the Honorable Mrs. Franklin and Emily, Lady Lawrence.

Local Councils.

We have received two additions to the list published last week of local councils which passed resolutions during the past two years in favour of Women's Suffrage:—Chester-le-Street (Urban and Rural District); Weybridge (Urban District).

An Interesting Conference on Girls.

Prison Visitors—Rescue Workers—and those familiar with the conditions which produce or foster crime have long been faced with the problem of the young girl over 16 (the age of consent) who is drifting into vice. The concomitants of this life—drunkenness—disorderly conduct, etc., sooner or later, generally sooner, bring the young girl into sharp contact with the law. When arrested and charged, the magistrate at once enquires as to the offender's mode of life, and in passing sentence all the surrounding circumstances are taken into account. It cannot be pretended that the usual sentence which recurs with monotonous regularity in such cases, has any elevating effect on the offender. It is expensive to the country and useless to the girl. Can a better method be found?

To discuss this important question an all-day

Private Conference is to be held on Friday, April 26, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Cecil Chapman.

This Conference on "Girls over sixteen in Moral Danger; Punishment or Re-education," is arranged by the Ladies' National Association for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice and for the Promotion of Social Purity, with the co-operation of the British Committee of the Abolitionist Federation, the Church Army, the Girls' Friendly Society, the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women, the National Union of Women Workers Rescue and Preventative Committee, the Penal Reform League and the Salvation Army.

Papers will be read by Mr. T. R. Bridgwater, Miss Pickersgill-Cunliffe (Prison Visitor) and Mr. Clark Hall in the morning; by Dr. Jane Walker, Mr. H. Goldstone (Probation Officer), Mrs. Bramwell Booth, Miss Martindale and Captain St. John in the afternoon, while Adeline, Duchess of Bedford, and others will take part in the discussion.

Cards of Admission may be obtained from the Ladies' National Association, 19, Tottill Street, Westminster, S.W.

Teachers and Women's Suffrage.

On April 10th the National Union of Teachers decided by 36,225 to 22,284 (majority 13,941) that it was not their business to vote for or against the following resolution which had been circulated by the Executive Committee:—

"That this conference expresses its sympathy with those members of the National Union of Teachers who desire to possess and exercise the Parliamentary franchise, but because they are women, and for that reason alone, are by law debarred from it."

No vote was taken on the resolution. The vote recorded was "for the previous question," and the opponents of Women's Suffrage preferred not to take a vote on the resolution. This is interesting when one considers how anxious they always profess to be for a referendum. Miss Cleghorn, the retiring President, made an admirable and moderate speech and she was seconded by Mr. Bakers (Vice-President) and supported by Mr. Croft (a member of the Executive). Mrs. Burgwin and Mr. Cook, who supported the motion for the previous question, did so mainly for three "reasons" (1) the methods of the W.S.P.U. (2) their objection to a form of franchise which would not give the vote to all women teachers, and (3) their contention that the N.U.T. had nothing to do with politics. Mrs. Burgwin, however, maintained that "the arguments and sophistries of the suffrage associations dissolved when she thought of the actualities of life as she knew them," and that women knew nothing of politics unless they had a man to teach them. If women teachers really believe men when men tell them politics has nothing to do with education, then certainly it is high time they learnt to think for themselves, an art not yet acquired by some of them, including Mrs. Burgwin.

At the third annual conference of the National Federation of Women Teachers which was held on Saturday, also at Hull, the resolution of sympathy with disfranchised women teachers was passed and also a resolution in favour of equal pay for women teachers of equal qualification and status.

New Players.

Miss Adeline Bourne, and Mr. Henry Ainley will appear in the first performance of *The Next Religion*, by Israel Zangwill, to be given on Thursday and Friday, 18th and 19th, at the Pavilion Theatre, Piccadilly Circus, at 2.30. It is a curious thought that a play can be censored because it is religious and can then be produced in a music hall.

Reviews.

SOME REPRINTS.

The Oxford University Press reprints in one volume, J. S. Mill's three treatises, "On Liberty," "Representative Government," "The Subjection of Women," as one of the "World's Classics," price 1s. net., cloth. As Mrs. Fawcett points out in a pithy introduction, the republication of these three short, but great books is very opportune at the present moment when so many of the issues before us involve great principles dealt with in Mill's incomparably lucid and high-minded style. Mrs. Fawcett points out that many people "talk about Mill

and his views without reading his books and obviously without understanding him or his outlook on life." This is undoubtedly true of many Anti-Suffragists. Even suffragists will find, however, that if they have not recently been studying Mill, their grasp of principle will be immensely strengthened by re-reading, and at this time of temporary check it is most helpful to live awhile in his company, who never wavered in his selfless belief that freedom was the path of development.

These three books really belong together and it is a most serviceable and handy little volume which contains all three; for "Liberty" deals with the limits of interference, Representative Government with the merits and conditions of the representation which regulates interference and "The Subjection of Women," with a particular but extensive application of injustice in such representation. We hope that the existence of this edition may send back very many suffragists to basing their claim on reasons which have stood and will stand the test of time.

DREAM LIFE AND REAL LIFE and DREAMS, by Olive Schreiner (2s. each, net.), are re-issued by Mr. T. Fisher Unwin. The collection in the second volume has long been a favourite with many. It contains the exquisite "Three dreams in a desert," and the little gem which begins, "I thought I stood in Heaven before God's throne, and God asked me what I had come for. I said I had come to arraign my brother, Man."

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A WORKING WOMAN. By Adelheid Popp, with introductions by August Bebel and J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P. (Fisher Unwin, 3s. 6d.)

It was, as Mr. Macdonald explains in his charmingly written preface, one of the last acts of Mrs. Ramsay Macdonald's life, to arrange for the publication of this little book. She said of it, "we must have it in English. And if every rich and contented woman in the land would but read it, how wise she would become." This is exactly what one feels on reading it. Those who wish to know at first hand, not from the bloodless reports in blue books, or the sympathetic and optimistic accounts of kindly onlookers, but from the actual sweated woman herself how she regards her lot and what effect it has on her, should read this really remarkable book.

The account the writer gives of her childhood, "I remember no tender words, no kisses, but only the anguish which I endured as I crept into a corner or under the bed when my father brought home too little money, and my mother reproached him," helps one to understand that the "unhuman" look one sees written on the faces of many of the sweated workers—starvation, cold, perpetual work, and fear of everyone—"I had an unconquerable dread of my father, and I never remember to have spoken to him or to have been addressed by him," she says—is what fills the childhood of many of those women.

Fran Popp, being a girl of most unusual power and intelligence, rose above all this misery, earned the respect of her employers and of her fellow workers and eventually became at 22 a speaker, and an organiser in the Trade Union and Socialist world in Vienna. But one feels as one reads her words, how impossible it must be for the ordinary child with its brain half starved, its affections undeveloped, its morals non-existent to become human; to ever afterwards rise above a merely animal kind of existence.

More keenly than ever this book makes one feel how important is the spiritual side, if one may use such an expression, of the vote. Adelheid herself says, in describing her first speech, "I spoke of the sufferings, the sweating, and the mental poverty of working women. I laid special emphasis on the last, for it seemed to me the foundation of all the other backwardness and harmful characteristics of working women." These are fine words for a girl of 22 especially. Those who condemn Socialism as something unholy, or as something which, as one lady put it, will "even arrange what kind of hats we must all wear," would do well too, to read this book. The description of the author's gradual awakening to a knowledge of all Socialism means for the workers is beautifully done. It is also amusing and rather pathetic to read that after her name appeared for the first time in the Social Democratic paper, her employer addressed her next day as Miss —, "which was not his custom in talking to the other workers."

Her short married life, from the age of 25 to 29, was so happy, so unclouded, that one closes the book with a feeling of thankfulness that at last she knew something of what life can be at its best.

All anti-suffragists, anti-Socialists, and anti-

marriage persons ought to read this book in order to be enlightened; and those with the contrary views ought to read it to be encouraged and strengthened; and also because to converse with a pure and noble mind, such as Adelheid Popp possesses is always a great happiness.

I. O. FORD.

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.

THE N.U.T. AND WOMEN SUFFRAGE.

As a member of the National Union of Teachers I am greatly disgusted with the result of the voting at the Annual Conference against the resolution expressing sympathy with the Woman Suffrage movement, and especially with the statements made by some of the speakers that, by supporting the resolution, the N.U.T. would be supporting the policy of the Militant Suffragettes. This is to imply that the militants are the only women wanting the vote, and disregards entirely the continual and strenuous constitutional work of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies with its over 30,000 subscribing members, the Party Leagues and the Church Leagues for Women's Suffrage, as well as many other societies all opposed to militant tactics.

It would be interesting to know how many delegates received instructions from their local Associations how to vote on this question, for I feel that the result does not represent the real feeling of the women members of the N.U.T. In the Association to which I belong, the resolution was being entirely ignored until I asked when it was going to be brought before the members, and I think probably the same thing may have happened in other places where the secretary or officials were opposed to it, as very few of the individual members knew that the resolution had been sent from the N.U.T.

The statement that the Conference was not the place for discussing the Woman Suffrage question is beside the mark, seeing that it is a question considered by many public bodies concerned in the welfare of the country, that women teachers are greatly interested in children and education, and that many of them would like to have a voice in the government which is so much occupied in legislating for these.

ANNE M. LAWRENCE (Hon. Sec. of Antecord and Frizington W.S.S.).

"AN EFFECTIVE PLAN OF CAMPAIGN."

So far as I am able to gather from your leading article this week your plan of action seems to be a repetition and continuation of former methods, in the hope that what has failed in the case of the Conciliation Bill will be successful in the case of the much more problematical amendment to the Reform Bill. I yield to no woman in my earnest desire to have some measure of votes for women become law this year; and I am one of the many who will have seriously to reconsider their future actions should the stinging insult of more votes being given to men without any being given to women become an actual fact. But I am with Miss Royden in thinking that there may be some more effective method of making our feelings known than the one which has been pursued to the present defeat. And if there should be a better, or any additional effective methods, why not try them before instead of after the event?

We may leave out of account the militant society and its methods. To appeal to them to change their methods is absolutely futile and quite silly waste of time. They believe their conduct to be necessary and right, and the more earnest and sincere (however wrong-headed from another point of view) people are the more determined they necessarily are in pursuing what seems to them to be a right course. To rail at them is to put oneself on the same plane as the honourable suffragists who leave their societies and the honourable members of Parliament who break their pledges, because one or two out of thousands do things of which they disapprove. They are just in the same childish (but natural because childish) position as is Tommy, who won't play with Johnny because Johnny wants to play in a different way than Tommy.

The more we may disagree with militant methods the more necessary it becomes for us to use any and every means to prove peaceful ones effective and useful. I agree with you that the women belonging to political parties (personally I belong to none, so the cap does not fit here) have a peculiar power in their hands which at this particular juncture they could use more effectively than any other women. But they have always had this power, and they have not used it. Is there any hope that they will use it now? If they really want a vote, they may. But so many women wish for a vote never leaves the academic stage; and women generally are such well-drilled, well-used-to-personal-sacrifice creatures that the idea of refusing to help the men they live with is too horribly revolutionary an attitude for them to take up. It needs moral courage and backbone, and woman's age-long experience of personal devotion to individuals has not been an ideal training ground for the development of qualities which lead one to put the common good before the personal comfort. Miss Royden's suggestion might well be adopted by the women of the Liberal and Conservative parties, and in

my opinion would do more in three months to convince the Government that women really want votes than three years of window smashing, or fifty years of the peaceful persuasion of the N.U.W.S.S. These remarks however, do not and cannot apply to the women of the Socialist and Labour parties. Many of the women belonging to these have left their political party and have joined the militant and other suffrage societies. If the men of these parties had been as vindictive as some of the "suffragist" members who voted against the Conciliation Bill; or had as vague an idea of human freedom as animates the latter, the Labour and Socialist parties would vote against the suffrage to a man, for it has cost them some of their most devoted women workers. But, on the contrary, they are with us to a man, proving, thereby, that they have, faulty as they may be, a larger conception of the humanity of women than the men of either of the other parties. So that of the women who have remained faithful to their political parties, those belonging to the Socialist and Labour can legitimately do no other now than support the latter for all they are worth.

There is one point of attack which I think is too much ignored by all the suffrage societies. They are far too "classy." I am by way of coming into contact, continuously, in a friendly, intimate way, with numbers of working women. And the suffrage societies are disesteemed by them. They (the suffrage societies) are "manned" and managed by "fine ladies," between whom and the average, every-day, workaday woman, there is a gulf; and it is almost impossible to dispel the idea that this movement is not one really concerned with vital matters of every-day, human life. The branch of the society in my own town is probably typical of fessional and "independent" classes almost entirely. The working woman is conspicuous by her absence. Our public meetings are cold and ladylike. Yet the working woman is quite eager to come to meetings and to be interested. Two attempts have lately been made here to get her to meetings. In neither case was any advertising done (other than personal invitations). One meeting was attended by over a hundred women, and at the second there was an audience of a hundred. This, it seems to me, is the work that needs doing. The working men of the country, belonging to all three parties, in whose hands alone lies the power to bring pressure to bear on members of Parliament, are cold about the suffrage. Why? Only because their women are cold. Once let every man live with a woman who is a suffragist, and we shall soon know whether women want votes! Some people argue plaintively, "If we could only get the working men to come to our meetings!" We do not need them. What we want is to convince the working woman that she wants a vote. She will look after the working man.

Here lies an enormous and most promising field of work. It is too much neglected. And we neglect it at our cost.

ADA NIELD CHEW.

Kilnerdeyne, Rochdale, April 14th, 1912. Mrs. Chew is under some misapprehension as to the policy of the National Union. Miss Royden's letter referred to a suggestion made by Miss Marshall (now Assistant Parliamentary Secretary) and sanctioned by the Council some time ago, and it "only" requires to be carried out! We are in hearty agreement with Mrs. Chew's admiration of the staunchness of the Labour party and with her contention that much more should be done to help the working women to become articulate. It should be possible, now that the practical measure is the Reform Bill, to find an amendment which will focus the energies of working men and women whom the Conciliation Bill left cold, and the National Union strongly advocates co-operation with all bodies working to this end. There is nothing to prevent any society from being as "working-class" as it likes.—ED. "C.C."

WOMEN'S DIFFICULTIES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

I have read with interest the article by Miss Kilgour in your last week's issue, and can endorse from personal experience all she says about the difficulty of running women candidates for local governing bodies on independent and non-party lines.

At the recent election for Guardians in one of the divisions of Liverpool, Mrs. Chas. Morrison, who for several years has been one of the most useful and highly esteemed lady members of the West Derby Board, came forward as an Independent candidate. She was until lately an active member of the Liberal party, and has done splendid service for that party, and her husband is a Liberal C.C. But in consequence of the refusal of the Government to take up the question of Women's Suffrage she retired from the W.L.A. Committee last autumn, though still a member of the W.L.A. The consequence was that the Liberal party organisation did not support her, nor did the Liberal electors vote for her in large numbers and she was defeated at the poll by a small majority, her successful opponent being a strong Conservative. Had she stood as a Liberal, she would doubtless have been returned.

With regard to the difficulty of getting women to stand for our City Councils Miss Kilgour rightly points out that it is enormously increased by the ineligibility of married women (except in Birmingham where an enlightened Revising Barrister has allowed their claims as voters). I have been asked by one of the Men's Liberal Associations to stand for their ward and have had to decline simply because I am a married woman, much to the surprise of many of the men who see the absurdity of our exclusion on that ground.

NESSE STEWART-BROWN (Mrs. E. Stewart-Brown). Liverpool, April 14th.

APPEAL FOR FLOWERS.

MISS SYLVIA CLARK writes appealing for help to brighten the Mothers' Meetings in connection with the Marylebone Health Society. Flowers, cakes, etc., should

"Thinking Women Read The Standard"

IN a few weeks this phrase became a truism. Why? Order The Standard for a week, or a day, and you will see. It is because, since October 3, The Standard's daily news pages have included one headed:

"WOMAN'S PLATFORM"

which every Thinking Woman in the land, and very many thinking men, want to see and to study every day. "WOMAN'S PLATFORM" has ended what was called the "Press Boycott" of the serious interests of thinking women—not their ribbons and ornaments, but their thoughts, aims, claims, views, hopes, deeds, and—WORK.

"WOMAN'S PLATFORM" in The Standard has already become the Thinking Woman's own medium in the Daily Press of Great Britain. All thinking women, modern women, are keenly interested in "WOMAN'S PLATFORM." They know that it is their own; they themselves determine how much it can serve their own interests by:—

- 1. Following "WOMAN'S PLATFORM" closely and day by day in The Standard, and using it freely in women's interests, as opportunity offers.
2. Inducing the largest possible number of the general public—men and women—to do the same thing, thus extending the scope of its services to women.

The Standard, 104, SHOE LANE, LONDON, E.C.

be addressed "Mothers' Club," 8, Oghe Mews, Oghe Street, Langham Street, W., and should be timed to arrive on Tuesday mornings.

GRATITUDE.

It may be useful to publish, as was suggested last week a list of those members of the House of Commons who broke their promises; but what is more important is that we should remember the old definition of gratitude and send to every member who voted for us on March 28 an acknowledgment of his support, from the branch societies in his constituency.

[The Executive has recommended to the Societies that they should do this, and doubtless most of them would not need any reminder.—Ed. "C. C."]

Our Advertisers.

The curative effect of light is now beginning to be recognised on all hands, but the knowledge gained is not yet, for the most part, of a very precise character, as few scientists have devoted themselves to the subject. One of the best known of the pioneers is Dr. Gelda Polocka, of Lisbon, who with her sister, Madame Gibaud, has made some wonderful discoveries as to the effect of different coloured lights on different diseases.

Other Societies.

IRISH WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION. The monthly meeting was held at 33, Molesworth Street, on April 11th. Mrs. Hill Tickell took the chair and Miss Corbett (N.U.W.S.S.) gave an address. Mrs. Haslam read some letters reporting progress from different branches of the Society.

THE WOMEN TAXPAYER'S AGENCY. Recovers all Income-tax Overpaid since the 5th of April, 1909. Secures Abatements and Exemptions. Prepares Accounts for Super-tax and Income-tax. Conducts Appeals before the Commissioners. Advises on Investments with regard to Income-tax.

CULTURE HYGIENIQUE. The New Infiltration Light Massage. Completely curing Rheumatism, Neuritis and Gout. Inflammation of the eyes, Nourished and Inflamed Throat, Restoring Vigour and Perfect Circulation of the Blood.

The FRENCH HAT SHOP. The "PAULINE," 7/6, with Veil. An exceedingly smart small Hat for Spring wear in all weathers, and made in the new Shot Straw, trimmed entirely camelion silk.

TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE. On April 13th there was a procession at Aylesbury, terminating in a meeting in the Market Square, addressed by Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Miss Georgina Brackenbury and Mr. Victor Duval. There was a great crowd and a few noisy youths persistently interrupted the speakers.

FREE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE. A successful meeting has been held at Lewisham, with Rev. O. Fleming Williams and Mrs. Sambrook as speakers. New branches are projected at Bradford and other Yorkshire towns, also in Oxford and Birmingham.

THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE. The Actresses' Franchise League held its monthly "At Home" last Friday, at the Criterion, when Miss Winifred Mayo acted as hostess. Miss Maud Hoffman, who presided, referred to the women's movement as a struggle between the forces of the intellect and the intuitive or spiritual forces.

THE CATHOLIC WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY. Office, 51, Blandford Street, Baker Street, W. The office is open from 5 to 6 on Tuesdays and Fridays, or by appointment.

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

Table of meeting dates and locations: APRIL 18. Winchester—Odd Fellows Hall, St. Georges Street—"At Home"—Mrs. Dempster—Captain Carey, R.N. (chair) 3.0. Hexham—Town Hall—Mrs. Philip Snowden, Alfred Hawson, Esq. (chair) 7.30.

Table of meeting dates and locations: APRIL 23. Newcastle-on-Tyne—27, Ridley Place—Suffrage choir practice, conducted by Mrs. Bellas Simpson 8.0. Cambridge—20, Green Street—"Suffrage and Local Government"—Mrs. Rackham 8.0.

SENSIBLE WOMEN AND MEN. Smoke COMMON CAUSE Cigarettes, because they're GOOD, and because for every 100 sold, I send 6d. to the N.U.W.S.S. Write me NOW for sample. 50—2/6 (Virginian), 3/- (Turkish). FELIX S. BERLYN, King Street, 34, Manchester.

"Flako" Regd. THE LAST WORD IN SOAP. TRY FLAKO this week on your Woollens, Flannels, Laces, Silks, and Fine Flannels. Won't Shrink Flannels. AN EXCELLENT HAIR WASH.

THE LAST WORD IN SOAP. TRY FLAKO this week on your Woollens, Flannels, Laces, Silks, and Fine Flannels. Won't Shrink Flannels. AN EXCELLENT HAIR WASH. From all Grocers, 1d. and 3d. Packets. SEND 1d. STAMP FOR FREE SAMPLE TO DEPT. C.C. JOHN KNIGHT LTD., Soapmakers by Appointment to H.M. King George V. The Royal Primrose Soap Works, London, E.

Table of meeting dates and locations: APRIL 25. Knutsford—Town Hall—Mrs. F. T. Swanwick, M.A., Miss I. O. Ford, F. S. Oppenheim, Esq., M.A. (chair) 8.0. Bath—Suffrage picnic to South Stoke leaves Guildhill at 3.30, Miss Baretti 7.0.

Table of meeting dates and locations: APRIL 18. Willesden—Miss Blake's "At Home"—Dr. Granger Evans and others 3-6. APRIL 19. Balham—Footing Graveney Council School—Miss C. Black, A. E. Derry, Esq. (chair) 8.0.

The Easiest Sweeping is BISSELL SWEEPING. If you haven't a BISSELL SWEEPER in your home you are losing a lot of comfort that you might enjoy at a very slight cost. Price from 10/6. Same Price Everywhere. MARKT & CO. (London), LD., 98-100, Clerkenwell Road, LONDON, E.C.

Table of meeting dates and locations: APRIL 19. Edinburgh—40, Shandwick Place—"At Home"—Miss K. M. Loudon, Miss Alice Low 4.30. APRIL 20. Dingwall—Masonic Hall—Dr. Elsie Inglis Afternoon. Edinburgh—40, Shandwick Place—"At Home" 4.30. Edinburgh—Buclench Street Hall—Jumble Sale 2.30.

Table of meeting dates and locations: APRIL 17. (N.U.W.S.S.)—Sarıbiton—Assembly Rooms 3.0. APRIL 18. Catholic Association, 55, Russell Square 8.0. (W.F.L.)—Athenaeum Hall, Glasgow—(Tax Resistance) 8.0.

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Men's Society for Women's Rights.

A

PUBLIC MEETING

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PICCADILLY CIRCUS, W.,

ON

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**"How Votes for Women will affect
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SPEAKERS:

Miss ABADAM,

Dr. C. W. SALEEBY, M.D., F.R.S.Edin.

Mr. JOSEPH CLAYTON

IN THE CHAIR.

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Women's Freedom League. PUBLIC MEETING

ATHENAEUM, GLASGOW,

SATURDAY, 20th APRIL, at 8 p.m. Doors open 7.30.

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Miss SEMPLE.

Chair—Rev. JAS. BARR, Govan.

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I herewith enclose cheque postal order for £ s. d., the amount of my annual subscription.

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To the Secretary _____ Society for Women's Suffrage

Or the Secretary National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14, Great Smith Street, London, Westminster, S.W.