

# The Common Cause,

The Organ of the National Union of

# Women's Suffrage

Societies.

Vol. IV. No. 157.

Registered as  
a Newspaper.

APRIL 11, 1912.

ONE PENNY.

### Notes and Comments.

#### In Parliament.

On April 2nd Mr. Asquith replied in the affirmative to a question from Mr. King whether he still adhered to the promises given on May 20th, 1908, on December 9th, 1909, and on November 7th 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.

The Home Rule Bill is down for Tuesday, April 11th.

#### The Coal Strike.

The coal strike is over, and in a week or two it is to be hoped that industry may be everywhere resumed. The men have got an Act of Parliament which is not all they wanted but which is a concession wrung from an unwilling Parliament. This should be thoroughly understood. Right or wrong, this Act was procured by compulsion of men who had the power to inflict enormous disaster and suffering upon the nation, and who were prepared to inflict it.

#### Work for Party Women.

Two things are necessary to bring success to the work of the Suffrage societies during the remainder of this session. One is that the women of the Liberal and Labour parties should work as they never have worked before to secure the passage of a Reform Bill including women; the other is that the W.S.P.U. should refrain from wrecking this as they have wrecked the Conciliation Bill. Men are so far from reasonable that it is possible the W.S.P.U. might succeed if they tried their utmost, since it is unhappily more easy to alienate than to win back support. No harm would result from their doing their utmost, as the Labour party will, by constitutional methods to get the Government to include women in the Bill, and we hope that they may even now realise that by this means they would be ensuring that substantial solidarity without which the cause must be

endangered. As for the Liberal and Labour women, it is through them that pressure can and must be put on the Irish members. These women cannot be accused of indifference to the cause of Home Rule: their work has been to back up candidates who would work for that measure, and they have been, as some women think, even culpably backward in pressing the claims of their own sex to enfranchisement. Now is the time for the fulfilment of the pledge given so long ago as 1908, and held before Liberal women by their leader, Lady Carlisle, as being the certain accomplishment of their hopes: it is for

Lady Carlisle and her followers to secure this accomplishment. The People's Suffrage Federation which was formed soon after that pledge was given has always presented an unsympathetic aspect to any compromise, but has done little active propaganda; now at last it has got under way and we are willing and eager to co-operate. It is quite possible that the many forces which were so wonderfully rallied by Lord Lytton and Mr. Brailsford, and which are now dispersed may rally again under powerful leadership within the House and be led to victory: but every leader is discouraged and annoyed by guerilla bands sniping on him from his own side.

#### Twice in a Generation.

One of the instances given by Mr. Harold Baker in the House on March 28th of the way in which women could make their wishes felt without the vote, deserves more than passing recognition. Referring to the case of the pit-brow women, Mr. Baker congratulated them for that they had twice in a generation without the vote saved themselves from extinction. Men, through their labour organisation, behind the women's backs, and unknown to the women, so manoeuvred as actually to get passed in committee an amendment prohibiting the employment of other women in the future at this perfectly healthy, decent and moral work; they brought forward, but were unable to substantiate, the plea that the work was bad for the women themselves. Because the Mayor of Wigan is an unusually active and fair-minded man; because Mr. Stephen Walsh is a remarkably just and courageous man; because the women were



Photo: Mayall.

LADY STRACHEY.

uncommonly plucky, and because the women's organisations worked for all they were worth, these pit-brow women were graciously permitted to continue their precarious existence and are now called upon to be grateful because they have "twice in a generation" been only *threatened* with extinction. Really, does Mr. Baker think it would have been possible twice in a generation to endeavour to take away from 6,000 men a perfectly honest means of livelihood and that they would tolerate having to spend time and money and precious energy in resisting such manifestly unfair encroachments on their rights? We did do it even without the vote; but if we had had the vote, the Miners' Federation could never have threatened the women in this cowardly way.

**The "Prestige" of Helplessness.**

Mr. Harold Baker also declared that their independence of party actually gave women an added *prestige* in local government. Prestige, it would seem, is not as useful as votes, when getting a candidate adopted. We have just heard of a case in one of the metropolitan boroughs where the women tried very hard to get the local association to adopt a woman. They offered three candidates: one was refused because she stood as an independent; it was objected to the second that she did not live in the ward, though she did live in the borough; when a third was brought forward to whom neither of these objections could be raised, they suddenly remembered that the vacancy occurred through the death of a man, and, therefore, could only be filled by a man! Since women have only become eligible quite recently, this last decision throws a flood of light on the "neglect" by women of their "great work in local government."

**Protection for Women and Girls.**

Another valuable commentary on Mr. Baker's contention that men had women's interests at heart is the fact that the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, No. 2 (White Slave Traffic), has again been shelved, Sir Frederick Banbury and Mr. Booth objecting. Attempts have been made for a long time past to amend the law so as to secure better protection for women and girls, but there is "no pressure" in the House for such legislation. "Pressure" is only exercised by votes.

**Twenty-one Members of the Government.**

A correspondent kindly points out that six more names should be added to the list we gave last week of members of the Government voting for the Conciliation Bill, making 21 in all. The names omitted were: Mr. W. W. Bann, Mr. Ellis Griffith, Mr. P. Illingworth, Mr. W. Jones, Mr. J. H. Lewis, and Mr. Macnamara.

**Women Poor-Law Guardians.**

At the election of Guardians of the Poor for Macclesfield three women guardians were among the retiring candidates, and all were re-elected. In addition two new women guardians were returned (one unopposed for a rural district), thus giving women a larger representation here than ever before.

In the election of guardians for Chesterton Union, four women gained seats in two wards. There are now five women guardians on the Chesterton Board.

**The Leaders of the W.S.P.U.**

On April 4th Mrs. Pankhurst was excused the remainder of her two months' sentence for breaking a window, and she was then committed for trial with Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence on a charge of conspiracy, to begin on April 23rd at the Central Criminal Court. Upon her undertaking not directly or indirectly to take any active part, or incite any other person to take any active part, in any public disorder of any kind until the trial had taken place, Mrs. Pankhurst was admitted to bail.

**A Lost Opportunity.**

At last we have it! We have been asking for some time past what on earth we could have done more than we have done to declare we object altogether to violence in political agitation, and the Antis, who show the weakness of their case by trying so desperately hard to confuse the issues, have hitherto not made plain what we might have done. Now at last the tension is relieved. We have it in the *Anti-Suffrage Review* for April: we should long ago have combined in determining that "we would take no further step whatever towards the attainment of our ends until there is an absolute cessation of the militant crusade!" "That," says the *Review*, "would have been the 'repudiation' which the country had reason to expect, if discrimination had to be made between non-militants and militants." How simple! Yet how effective! Why has the thought not occurred to us before? Doubtless, if we had, ever since 1906, sat with demurely folded hands and closed lips, Mr. Asquith would have been so touched that he would himself have put us into his Reform Bill. Oh, why did the idea never occur

to us? We have to make the humiliating confession that it—actually—never—did!

**Dealing Faithfully with Sir A. Wright.**

When we dealt with Sir Almoth Wright last week we expressed sympathetic commiseration for the Anti-Suffragists at having so outrageous a supporter. It appears from letters to the *Times* by Lady Robert Cecil and Miss Eaton that the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage is actually circulating the letter as part of its propaganda, and references in the House show that some of that party are not unwilling to adopt it. The *Times* of April 8th contains, we are glad to say, a letter from Miss Violet Markham repudiating Sir Almoth's diseased imaginings, and we are wondering how long it will take Mrs. Ward and Lady Jersey and Lady Robson to purge themselves of complicity. Meanwhile it is interesting to note the large number of very moderately worded and weighty replies that have appeared.

Dr. Edkins described the letter as "a ridiculous travesty of the truth," and doubted whether it could have been meant seriously. Sir Douglas Powell wrote: "Even when expressed with accuracy and reserve they are scarcely decorous, but when put forward in the form of exaggerated half-truths, interspersed with unsavoury imaginings, as a contribution to one side of a passionate controversy, they are the more to be deplored."

Sir Victor Horsley made a spirited attack on the "perverted ideas" of the eminent bacteriologist, and declared that he has not only insulted women, but men, too, and the whole medical profession.

Dr. Agnes Savill had a temperately worded and very pertinent contribution, and there were also excellent letters by Miss May Sinclair, Mrs. Steel, Mrs. Acland, Mrs. Meynell, Lady Castlereagh, all dealing wisely and well with the many points raised. Mr. Stanley Leathes remarks drily, concerning Sir Almoth's precious "Truce of God"—"Men are seldom beaten; women often are, and beaten by men."

Our own belief is that Sir Almoth wrote again "*pour épater le bourgeois*," and had his tongue in his cheek. We do not think any the better of him for that. To quote Queen Victoria, when a dirty story was told in her hearing—"We are not amused!"

**An Abominable Suggestion.**

The baser sort of anti-suffragists are trying on a very ugly trick which it is time to expose. Mr. Fordham suggested that Mrs. Jacobs was not quite sane, and a paragraph in last week's *Truth* ran as follows:—"Anyone not being a member of the disorderly classes (what *does* that mean?) who goes about breaking shop windows with a hammer under the impression that this will establish her fitness to have a vote is *primâ facie* insane. The only visible reason for rejecting that explanation of her conduct is that she is a woman and that women may be hopelessly irrational without being technically insane. This view of the case, however, does not strengthen their claim to votes." Does it not occur to this gay caricaturist that "this view of the case" does not either strengthen the moral claim of the holder of such views to absolute power over the women whom he chooses to caricature?

**How History is Written.**

In the "Late Extra Edition" of the *Westminster Gazette* of April 2nd, there appeared a review of the "Englishwoman" in which occurred the following passage: "In allowing the writer of its leading article to express so frank a disapproval of militant tactics, the 'Englishwoman' takes a step before which all the more serious and reasonable advocates of the cause have hesitated far too long." The *Westminster* has for years been one of the worst in totally ignoring the enormous constitutional movement and in advertising the militants. We beg to refer those of our readers who may have been misled by the *Westminster* to page 837 of our issue of March 14th, where Miss Courtney shows that as far back as November, 1908, the National Union Executive made a clear and definite statement to Members of Parliament and the Press dissociating themselves from all approval of "militancy," and that resolutions had also been passed by the Council of the Union to that effect. The "COMMON CAUSE" has from the beginning, in its first leader, as in the present issue, never advocated any but methods of constitutional action and peaceful penetration.

**Our Portrait.**

It is fitting that in this issue, when we publish Miss Kilgour's careful and informed article on women in local government, we should have the portrait of one like Lady Strachey (President of the Women's Local Government Society), who, though the mother of a large family, has been able to perform all her private duties to admiration, and yet be an ardent Suffragist and a member of the National Union Executive, as well as a delightful and witty writer.

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British Isles: 6s. 6d., Abroad: 8s. 8d. per annum. Copies of back numbers 1d. (post free), or 2jd. when more than three months old. A few copies of Vol. I. to be had at 3jd. each, post free.

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.

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**Looking Forward.**

We spoke last week of a wise estimate of forces, and we should like to make some small contributions this week to an estimate.

These latter years of unrest in labour and politics, the revision of the constitution, even the death of two trusted monarchs in rapid succession, and beyond all else, and the ultimate cause of much of the rest, the economic and physical changes in the modern world and the education of women have brought about our ears many accepted shibboleths, and now the men in the street, the girls longing for scope for their faculties, even the members of Parliament and the newspapers are being thrown back upon first principles and trying to evolve some theory of government, some principle of "good" which shall stand the onslaughts of hard and very rapidly moving events, and yet not be too miserably opposed to their interests, aspirations, prejudices, and parties. Those who are only playing a game (and this is what many politicians and pressmen are doing) are finding this an increasingly amusing and intriguing one; those who have devoted their lives to accomplishing are baulked and frustrated by the clash of opposing interests and principles.

Force is often declared by the Anti-Suffragists to be the basis of government. They generally limit it to physical, and often even to muscular, force, and lay themselves open to obvious retorts. But we have always been quite ready to admit that government rests upon force, and that it is even possible for considerable periods that government may act through forces that are immorally directed. The philosopher is familiar with the notion that in ethics (the science of morality) we are concerned with conduct as directed by a sense of right and wrong, either in the individual or (as "public opinion") in the community—sanctioned by the forces at the command of the State. These forces may be, and frequently have been, at all periods of the world's history, immorally directed, and it is one of the great pleas for democratic government that if, in coercing the nation, the will of the nation is felt, that is more likely on the whole to be in the direction of moral right than the will of one or a few—"Vox Populi, vox Dei." The bias, common to all humanity, of seeing questions from one's own individual or class or sex point of view is so great and so universal, that representative government is admittedly the type of government most likely to arrive at the greatest good of the greatest number; by representative government we endeavour to secure that the pooled forces of the nation (derived from taxation, mental and physical effort, shall be directed in accordance with

a moral principle—the greatest good of the greatest number. Of course so complicated a system, so imperfectly worked as our semi-representative system, may break down in a thousand ways, and when government, *quâ* government, is once defeated, this suggests to all the persons and groups of persons with a grievance that perhaps they may secure what they want by a further breakdown of government.

At the opening of this session the House of Commons discussed the question of a statutory minimum wage and rejected it as an impossibility; a few weeks later the very same Government which had contumeliously rejected the proposal, passed a skeleton Bill embodying the principle, and some members of the Government even desired to allow the insertion of actual sums of money (5s. and 2s.) as legal minima. What was the cause of this right-about-face? Compulsion and nothing else. A million miners by combining to refuse work, held up the whole nation to ransom, and compelled the passage of the very measure which the Government had refused. It was not the compulsion of crude physical force in the sense commonly intended by Anti-Suffragists—it was the compulsion exercised by the refusal of a necessity of life. The Government did not wish to pass the Bill; the Opposition did not wish to pass it; even the Labour party did not like it. The Minimum Wage Bill was passed under compulsion.

Nobody likes being compelled to do anything, and governments, which are there to compel others, like it least of all. Therefore it is natural to find the existence of compulsion glossed over or obscured. When the militant Suffragists declare that their disorder did not affect the passage of the Conciliation Bill because the disorder of the miners (and there has been quite enough actual disorder) did not affect the passage of the Minimum Wage Bill, they lay their finger on the undoubted existence of cant, but they choose to ignore the existence of the forces which create the cant. Their outbreak of concerted violence made many men who have not a firm hold of principles angry and disgusted, and these men were filled with the quite human and very foolish desire to punish somebody, and were helped (we are sorry to say it, but it is true) by the very masculine tendency to lump all women together—like the wolf in the fable: "*Si ce n'était pas toi, c'était donc ta sœur!*"—like the youth in "Little Dorrit," members of Parliament opined: "Better hang wrong f'ler than no f'ler," and so they punished the millions of non-militant Suffragists for the thousands of militants. Of course, they couldn't have done this if women Suffragists had been strong enough to compel them; and of course they are not going to admit that, because that is one of the things politicians never do admit. We could not compel them to pass the Conciliation Bill. We could only induce them to *want* to pass it, and as there were a large number of reasons unconnected with Women's Suffrage why they did not want to pass it, and as the W.S.P.U. kindly gave them an excuse for raving, they rattled with the unctuous declaration of rectitude so necessary to the modern politician.

Now, we only look back in order to shape our course for the future. Failures should be lessons in success. Members were able to break their pledges because they were given a convenient excuse, but they jumped at the excuse because they wanted to break their pledges. Where that wonderful power, the human spirit, is concerned there never is any finality, and so we shall never cease hoping that the militants may come to see more clearly the forces at work, and may remove the excuses they have so lavishly given; our work it must be to proceed, as we have always done, in an endeavour to make politicians *want* more and more to enfranchise women, and the only way to make them want it is to make their constituents want it.

One seems to hear at once the cry of the weary, the angry, the impatient—"So you want us just to go on doing as before? This policy has failed, and you want us to go on failing! Men have broken their word of honour to us, and you wish us to be accomplices in their dishonour!" No, but after the hot fit comes the cold fit. The work of the National Union is to bring to book in his own constituency every man who has broken his word; to ascertain and organise the opinion of Suffragists in his constituency, and to make it felt; to use all the other organisations working by methods analogous to ours, and to co-operate with them.

When the Government Reform Bill is introduced we have our great opportunity of finding what form of Women's Suffrage can command a majority in the House. The Government has for 25 years been the block to progress; the Government now agrees to stand aside as a Government and leave the matter to a free vote of the House. What we have got to do is to induce our theoretical friends to concentrate upon some amendment that will pass, and to press forward on the line of least resistance. We have never abandoned our demand for enfranchise-

ment on the same terms as men; we have always been willing to help on any measure that seemed likely to pass.

It would, of course, be an enormous advantage to have a Government measure, because this would ensure leadership and coherence in the House and in the country; it is particularly unfortunate that on both occasions when a Reform Bill has been practical politics we should have a large majority in the House and a Prime Minister hostile to us; were Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman still living, no one could doubt that women would have been included in the Reform Bill. For the present we must do what we can with leaders who are not the actual head of the Cabinet, and we are fortunate in that some of the most distinguished members of the Opposition are willing to co-operate. The issue is simplified and deepened. We have one measure to work for, and we are one with many other great forces working for the more complete and rational representation of the people.

We see no need for "a new gospel" or for "fresh methods." We must make our value tell; we must increase our pressure where it will be felt; we must not under any circumstances imitate those very politicians whom we are united in condemning, because they hit out wildly in their spleen and give vent to their emotions, not knowing what they do. We must know what we do and why do we it.

### A Hindrance to Women's Work in Local Government.

Women are constantly urged to put their best efforts into local government, instead of seeking the Parliamentary enfranchisement of women. Nevertheless, it is demonstrable that the lack of the Parliamentary vote is a serious hindrance to women's work in local government. That lack has helped to impose disabilities on women in local government and to perpetuate them.

The unprecedented insertion of the word "male" in the Reform Act of 1832 was followed by the introduction of the same word into the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, by which unwarranted innovation women "were debarred from the exercise of their ancient rights, which nevertheless remained intact in parishes and non-corporate towns." Tardy reparation was made in 1869 by an amendment to delete "male" from the Municipal Corporations Act, an amendment carried without a dissentient vote. But it is not without significance that this restoration of municipal rights took place two years later than the presentation of the first petition for Women's Suffrage.

Was it the memory of the injustice done in 1835 that caused Parliament in 1882 to say explicitly in the Municipal Corporations Act of that year, in section 63, "For all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to vote at municipal elections, words in this Act imputing the masculine gender include women"? Be that as it may, the insertion of the words would not have been so much as thought of if women had had the Parliamentary vote. And that insertion, harmless, if not laudable, as it must have seemed at the time, has cost women dear. There was another section in the Act (section 11 (3)) saying "every person shall be qualified to be elected and to be a councillor, who is at the time of election qualified to elect to the office of councillor." When County Councils were created in 1888, the two sections above quoted were incorporated in the Local Government Act of that year; and it was on the strength of them that lawyers advised that Lady Sandhurst and Miss Cobden might be run for the London County Council. The candidate defeated by Lady Sandhurst brought an election petition against her on the sole ground that she was a woman, and that therefore the votes for her were illegally cast. The case was given against her. It was carried to the Appeal Court. There the Lord Chief Justice, who presided, said that, but for section 63, which said that women might vote, there would be strong reason for reading "person" in section 11 as including a woman; but, said he, this reading would virtually be striking out section 63, which must have been intended to say that for women their only right was the right to vote. So the result was a decision which for the next 18 years prohibited any registrar in a County Council or Town Council election from accepting the nomination of a woman. The late Lord Hobhouse, himself an eminent lawyer, always thought this judgment bad law.

The Local Government (England and Wales) Act, 1894, created Parish and District Councils, and modified the constitution of Boards of Guardians. It made a "Parochial Register" of electors, by rolling into one the Local Government Register of 1888 and the Parliamentary Register. Some married women

were added by a clause (43), won by Mr. Walter McLaren, which read thus—"For the purposes of this Act" (note these opening words) "a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being on any local government register of electors, or for being an elector of any local authority, provided that a husband and wife shall not both be qualified in respect of the same property." This clause was a distinct gain. But the utilisation of the Parliamentary Register, without making compensatory provision for the classes of women who were excluded by sex, and by sex alone, from that register, did women a great wrong. Prior to 1894, unmarried women and widows in England and Wales had had the local government franchise on the same terms as men. But the inclusion of the Parliamentary Register gave for the first time the local government franchise to lodgers, to men lodgers, and not to women lodgers, to men "service-voters," and not to women who might have claimed on similar qualifications, such as matrons, school-mistresses, and others. Similarly, men owners came to be placed on the Parochial Register. Owners, men and women alike, had had votes in the election of Poor Law Guardians; now the rights of men owners were enlarged, and those of women owners were taken away. All this injustice was the direct result of women not having the Parliamentary franchise. Mr. Walter McLaren had actually carried against the Liberal Government an instruction that would enable amendments to be moved in Committee to remedy the defects whereby the above three classes of women were excluded, and also (at that stage) married women ratepayers. But in the final result no more was achieved than the insertion of clause 43, already quoted, with the limiting words in the forefront—an appreciable boon because of the principle involved, though the clause qualifies a very limited number of women.

Notwithstanding its faults, the Local Government Act, 1894, was a great measure, and it gave to women a largely increased share in local government. It provided for the first time a residential qualification for candidates. It declared that married as well as single women were eligible as Poor Law Guardians and for Parish and District Councils. The London Vestries, too, thanks to Mr. James Stuart, were technically classed as District Councils, and under the Act for six years women did invaluable service as members of those bodies, in improving the homes of the poor in some of the most neglected parts of London. But women were shortly to receive another lesson on the insecurity of their hold on any rights in local government.

In 1894, it was in respect to electoral rights that women suffered; in 1899, the loss was to be in regard to eligibility. The London Government Bill of 1899, a Government measure, was drafted without recognition of the fact that twelve women were actually serving as members of London Vestries, the bodies which, if the Bill became law were to be replaced by so-called Metropolitan Borough Councils—not Borough Councils under the Municipal Corporations Act, but "glorified vestries," as they were called at that time. The House of Commons, after a good deal of controversy, inserted a clause, advocated by members of both parties, which provided for the eligibility of women as councillors and as aldermen of the new London Borough Councils. The Lords disagreed, and so amended the Bill as explicitly to exclude women from serving on the Councils in any capacity. Against this exclusion Lord Salisbury protested:—"These Councils differ very little from the Vestries. It is not pretended that they do. . . . I maintain that women are as necessary for the purpose of assisting these local bodies to provide decent lodging for the working classes as they are for the purpose of administering the Poor Law. It is quite as essential and a far more pressing and urgent duty." The Archbishop of York urged that "the capacity shown by women in dealing with such questions shows that they are qualified for places on the new Councils." Lord Londonderry and Lord Kimberley also opposed the disqualification. But it was all in vain. The Jockey Club had made up its mind on the question—so a prominent member declared—and the result was seen in that the lobby of the House of Lords was thronged by peers whose faces were unfamiliar to the doorkeepers, and who did not even trouble to be present at the debate, but voted for the disabling clause, which was carried by 182 to 68.

When the Lords' amendments were considered in the Commons Mr. Leonard Courtney proposed to yield the point as to the eligibility of women as aldermen, but to insist on retaining the view of the Commons in respect of the office of elected councillor. The Government had sent out a whip warning its followers that "A most important and early division is certain. as the Government will agree with the Lords' amendment to disqualify women from serving as councillors on the new councils." Mr. Courtney spoke tactfully and with unanswerable argument,

and was supported by Mr. John Dillon, Mr. Birrell, and others indeed from every quarter of the House, Mr. Faithfull Begg stating that he proposed to vote against his party on the occasion. Mr. Balfour was obdurate, and stated that the Government was unanimously of opinion that it was not in the interests of the Bill to enter into a contest with the Upper House on the question. Mr. Courtney's amendment was defeated, and the Lords' amendment was adopted by 243 to 174.

Women should note that never before had any class of persons been deprived of eligibility. Is it conceivable that this wrong, without precedent, would have been inflicted on Parliamentary electors?

The next check to the participation of women in local government was given by the Education Act, 1902, and the London Education Act, 1903—a check which was the "incidental result" of the transfer to County and Borough Councils, to which at that time women were ineligible, of the powers of School Boards, on which they were serving.

So far it has been shown that the lack of the Parliamentary vote has been the original cause of women's disabilities in local government. There is another way in which it acts injuriously, one consequence of women not having the vote is an abiding fear in the minds of some Anti-Suffragists that they may get it! In a legislator this fear may produce an attitude inimical to women's participation in local government. Suggest to one possessed by this fear the removal of some non-Parliamentary disability, and he cannot consider the question simply on its merits; he thinks: "How will this affect the probability of women's enfranchisement?" In 1907, when the Qualification of Women (County and Borough Councils) Bill was before the House of Lords, Lord James of Hereford urged against the second reading that, if the Bill became law, all arguments against the granting of the Parliamentary franchise would be weakened! The next speaker followed suit. A search in *Hansard* would supply other instances.

Women are reproached for not coming forward for election to Town and County Councils in greater numbers. But for all these Councils, without exception, an electoral qualification is required. It is only for the London County Council that the Parochial Register is used in the election; and hence it is only for that Council that any married women are eligible. Elsewhere married women are excluded from eligibility because by judge-made law, based on coverture, they cannot be on the burgess roll or the local government register. (See *Regina v. Harrald*, 1873.) The presence of a married woman on the Birmingham City Council is exceptional, and was rendered possible by the logical interpretation put by the Birmingham revising barrister on the Qualification of Women Act, 1907. Women have vainly sought to induce Parliament to make a residential qualification available for candidates for County and Borough Councils; this is a question on which apparently all women take one view, but they have not the power of the vote to make their pressure effective.

Consider, too, the hard case of the would-be woman candidate. The Conservative Association and the Liberal and Radical Association have their ready-made machinery, and are first in the field in the municipal contest, or the County Council election; they want to test their organisation before the next Parliamentary fight, and to get it thoroughly into working order; to run a woman would bring in foreign elements and be no test. A party may have party obligations to a Parliamentary elector, or to more than one; little bargains which link arrangements in municipal elections with arrangements in Parliamentary elections are not unknown: a person who has not the Parliamentary vote is not in the inner circle. Moreover, each party association is accustomed to choose at its own time, in its own way, the candidates that it will run in local elections, without reference to outside electors, and least of all to women electors. The actual work of getting votes promised, sufficient in number to give a large measure of assurance, may by a rich association be completed weeks before the date of the election. How shall the woman candidate come in? To stand independently is a costly business; to conduct the campaign, starting it with no ready-made organisation, is arduous work: a woman has to ask herself whether she can do better with her money and effort, seeing how doubtful success is. If women were Parliamentary electors, they could not be neglected locally, and party organisations would act differently. Men's prejudice, too, would gradually vanish.

What time, labour, and money have through long years been expended by women in getting leave to do useful unpaid work in local government! Effort that might have been spent in the doing of it, if women had had "the vote"!

M. S. KILGOUR.

### Riotous Agitation.

The development of their campaign in favour of Women's Suffrage by the militants in the direction of destructive violence has no doubt caused many people to consider afresh the historical aspect of riotous agitations for reform.

It is difficult to believe that when Mr. Hobhouse, speaking at Bristol on February 16th, alluded to rioting as an efficacious and masculine method of obtaining enfranchisement that he was oblivious of the fact that he addressed an audience in London of angry and exasperated members of the W.S.P.U. as well as the assembly before him of Bristol Anti-Suffragists. That a minister of the Crown should allow himself to use language which might be regarded as a direct incitement to violence by certain members of the community, is a matter for the gravest reprehension, and in no way to be palliated by the fact that the persons so incited ought to have been too acute to allow themselves to be led into an obvious trap by an avowed opponent.

The service rendered by Mr. Hobhouse on this occasion to Lord Curzon and his following of reactionaries will not perhaps be recorded by Liberal historians with any particular pride when they come to write a dispassionate history of the Asquith administration.

Mr. Hobhouse, it should be noted, though speaking at Bristol, alluded to the burning of Nottingham Castle in 1831 as the "popular and sentimental uprising" which secured the passing of the Reform Bill in the following year. Now the Bristol riots of the same autumn were far more serious and disastrous to the city concerned and the country than anything that happened at Nottingham; they, however, do not appear to have been alluded to. The fact is, Bristol riots are not a popular subject in Bristol. They are still remembered as a disgrace to the city, and as having occasioned a destruction of fine buildings, the loss of which is still deplored.

When ministers and others talk glibly about the efficiency of riots in securing reform, they are committing themselves to a position which demands examination.

What is the truth about the Bristol riots? A Reform Bill for the enfranchising of £10 occupiers in the boroughs and leaseholders and copyholders in country districts had passed the House of Commons by a majority of 109, but had been thrown out in the Lords by a majority on division of 41. The feeling in the country against the House of Lords and against individual members of the House ran high, and expressed itself in a number of riotous acts in different parts of the country. The turbulent state of public opinion was evidently, however, largely due also to the influence of the Revolution in France which had taken place during 1830, and had greatly stirred national feeling.

The Recorder of Bristol, Sir Charles Wetherell, had consistently in the Commons voted against Reform, and his arrival in Bristol to "open the King's Commission" in November was the immediate occasion of the Bristol riots, which seem to have been largely a violent demonstration against an unpopular person, as indeed was the case in Nottingham likewise. During these riots three prisons were broken open and burned, the Mansion House was destroyed by fire, also the Bishop's palace, and some forty of the principle houses of the city. During three days a drunken and violent mob, almost unrestrained by the civil or military power, retained possession of a large part of Bristol, and when order was at length restored it was found that some 12 people had been killed or died of drink, and about 90 had been wounded and disabled. One hundred and thirteen prisoners were tried for their part in these proceedings, and of them four were hanged, 26 sentenced to death whose punishment was commuted to long terms of transportation, and some 50 others condemned to varying periods of imprisonment.

Of all these wretched and unfortunate people, is there one whose name has come down to posterity as a Reformer who sacrificed his life or liberty for the good of his brethren? Is there anyone who reads this paper who could name a single person who suffered at Bristol for the cause of liberty? I am sure there is not. After hours of research I have failed to find out any such name. All are swept away into a deserved and ignominious oblivion. Whatever Mr. Hobhouse may say, whatever may be asserted by leaders who try to rouse foolish and unbalanced women to imitate the ill deeds of the past, it is not those who stir up violent and anti-social passions in persons who are so unfortunate as to be led by them whose names are remembered and whose deeds are honoured.

It will be recalled that in 1832, after various vicissitudes, a fresh Reform Bill was introduced by the Government and

secured a large majority in the Commons; the Bill was carried then in the Upper House by a substantial majority.

It is to be doubted, however, whether many of the people who took part in the riots of 1831 were in a position to enjoy enfranchisement under the Reform Act of the following year. At any rate a movement was soon on foot for securing a wider measure of suffrage. When it became known that the Liberal Government had no intention of legislating further in this direction, a great impulse was given to the activities of popular reformers, and in 1837 the rise of Chartism was already a menace. The Chartists were people who banded together to support a Charter, and it may surprise some for whom the term Chartist is vaguely connected with riots to learn what this Charter demanded.

The Chartists agitated in favour of "six points" of Reform: Manhood Suffrage, Vote by Ballot, Annual Parliaments, Payment of Members, Redistribution in Equal Electoral Districts, and no property qualifications for Members. Riots in favour of Chartism continued during ten or eleven years (especially serious disturbances having taken place in Birmingham and Monmouth), and only died out after the failure of the great Kennington meeting to overawe Parliament, owing to the admirable military dispositions by which the Duke of Wellington frustrated the mob.

It will be noted that to-day, after 80 years, only three of the six points of the Chartists have so far been secured. Those people who point out the advantage of rioting to obtain Reform, while dwelling upon the ridiculous and misleading incident of Hyde Park railings (to be presently described), quite forgot to allude to the long years of Chartist for a Suffrage which is not yet secured.

M. LOWNDES.

(To be continued.)

### Prisoners of Despair.

Thou mute and sullen Soul  
So like my little prisoned bird  
That pined, with downward drooping head  
And ruffled wings;  
What shall avail thee, Soul?

My captive bird has flown;  
Now he is getting in the fields  
Freedom and healing for his wings,  
A nest in the hedge.  
Say, when wilt thou be gone?

Thou Captive, shalt forget  
The close air and the prison bars;  
Thou shalt go forth. Be not afraid.  
One gray-lit dawn  
Shall find thee singing, Soul!

L. M. E.

### Lord Robert Cecil in Edinburgh.

At the great meeting in Edinburgh on March 26th, Lord Robert Cecil was the chief speaker. After explaining the Conciliation Bill briefly, he continued:—

Well, what does this women's sphere argument amount to? I must confess that it is a matter I have always had great difficulty in dealing with seriously, but you should always try to take your opponent as seriously as possible. Well, what does she say? She says women ought to be engaged in municipal government. They ought to vote for, and they ought to sit upon County Councils, Borough Councils, City Councils, and in England Boards of Guardians, and all the rest of it, but they ought not to have a vote for the Imperial Parliament. Municipal affairs are female; Imperial affairs are male. (Laughter.) Well, I confess at first sight, and, indeed, at something more than first sight, that has always appeared to me one of the most absurd opinions any rational person could hold, and I do not really believe that the more you examine it, you can in any way diminish its inherent interest.

After all, merely at the first blush to tell me that the ordinary duties of the municipal authorities are specially feminine seems to me extravagantly absurd; looking after roads, lighting, etc., why these should be particularly feminine I have never been able to understand. But I think, from reading what Mrs. Humphry Ward and others says with candour, I think what is in her mind is this: that a good deal of the municipal work, not all of it, but a good deal of it, has to do with matters directly affecting the home. It involves to some extent administration

of laws, not to a very large extent, but to some extent of laws affecting children, education and the like. It has some considerable bearing on the question of housing. It has a little bearing, although not very much, on the question of wages, and, of course, it has a considerable bearing on all questions of sanitation, and what I understand to be the views of those ladies and gentlemen are that anything that affects the home is within the woman's sphere and nothing which is beyond the home.

But after all the business of those local authorities is purely administrative. They have to administer laws which are passed in the House of Commons, and I have never been able to understand why, if it is the sphere of women to administer laws affecting the home, it is not equally her sphere to have her say as to what those laws are to be.

Take perhaps the most typical question of all of them—the education law. I suppose that the most extreme obscurantist on the subject that exists will admit that the education of children is emphatically a matter within the sphere of women and undoubtedly the administration of the education laws falls to the municipal authorities, or in Scotland to special authorities constituted for the purpose. But is it quite certain that women would not have been able to give us valuable assistance in the framing of these laws which now exist? Are we perfectly satisfied with our system, the general lines of our educational system? Why, I scarcely ever take up a paper dealing with education that I do not find grievous lamentations over the system and over the code which regulates our elementary education in this country. I believe that it is now a commonplace of every educational expert that our elementary education has proceeded on too theoretical a basis; that it has been too much confined to theoretical training; that it has neglected manual training; that it has neglected practical subjects—(applause)—that it has neglected what is called domestic science; and it has neglected a number of other things that people are beginning to say are as much a part of education as rules of arithmetic or the spelling of a word in a book.

Ladies and gentlemen, I cannot help thinking that if we had had the practical ability of women to assist us in framing those laws, we should have avoided many of the mistakes into which we have undoubtedly fallen.

But that is not the only thing. I am not going, of course, to express any opinion on any ordinary political questions of the day, but I am merely saying what everyone admits and knows to be true, when I say that in England, at any rate, we are suffering now, and we have suffered for years under a grievous controversy as to what is to be the religious education of the children of the country.

Well, now I do venture to say this, that if the education of children is a proper subject for women's consideration, religious education of children is even more obviously and necessarily within their sphere. (Applause.) And I say that it is perfectly fatuous for us, dealing with a subject like religious education, to say that we can afford to do without the views and opinions of the women of this country, and that we can reply exclusively upon male opinion on such a subject as that. I have merely taken education, but the same will be equally true if I deal with the housing or any of the other subjects which I enumerated just now; and therefore I say this, that it is to me perfectly evident if you are to give women a share in the administration of those things, you are bound to give women a share in legislation which makes the foundation of the administration.

Now I wish to say this: people talk in a general way about the Imperial Parliament, and Mrs. Humphry Ward and her friends talk as if the Imperial Parliament was solely concerned with what she calls "Imperial affairs," and, of course, nothing is more ridiculously untrue. You might divide the business of Parliament under three great heads. Sometimes it is engaged in considering and altering, and as some people think, improving the machinery and constitution of the country, the machinery by which we are governing this constitution. Of course, the whole controversy is whether women should have a part in the constitutional controversy of the country; and you have no right to say as part of the argument—to assume that they are incapable of having an opinion of constitutional subjects, because that is to assume that they are also incapable of having an opinion on municipal subjects. Therefore, as far as constitutional questions are concerned, I say that the matter must be left in abeyance as to whether women are or are not capable of considering that question, even assuming the general doctrine of women's sphere.

Now, what are the other subjects? Domestic legislation, and Imperial affairs—and of those unquestionably domestic

legislation occupies enormously the most part of the attention of Parliament. And what is this domestic legislation? Almost all of it directly or indirectly affects the home, and therefore what we are asked to say—I will make that good in a moment—what we are asked to say by Mrs. Humphry Ward is that you are to exclude women from all voice in the election of members of Parliament, because members of Parliament will devote a small portion of their time when they are elected to Imperial affairs, which Mrs. Humphry Ward thinks women are not entitled, or are not fitted to have any opinion on. But if—surely even on her own showing—if the vast majority of the time of the members of Parliament is devoted to subjects which are within a woman's sphere and a small portion of their time is devoted to Imperial affairs, it is mere folly—it is ridiculous to say that on that ground, therefore, women are to be excluded from having a voice in the election of members of Parliament. We are going to elect men, one fifth of whose time is to be given to a subject upon which women know nothing, and four fifths of their time are to be given to subjects on which women are capable of giving an opinion. Yet Mrs. Humphry Ward asks us to say women are to have no voice in the selection of those gentlemen because one fifth of their time is to be occupied in a way which women do not understand and four fifths of their time is to be devoted to what is well within their comprehension.

I think when you examine it you will see that what I say is true.

Just consider what has been done in Parliament this year. I leave out sham fights, as I call them, essentially party debates which have no particular significance. (Laughter.) But look at the practical legislation, the practical business part of which has been matters connected with general administration—money, and so on. The only Bill we have before us is the Minimum Wage Bill. I say nothing about whether that is good or bad, but unquestionably it is absurd to say that women have no concern in it. Why, in the first place, who is going to suffer if wages go down? Who is going to benefit if wages go up? Why, the women and children more than anybody else in the country. (Loud applause.) Then, if you treat it as a Bill not so much affecting wages, but as a Bill to put an end to a great industrial dispute, I say again, who is to suffer by these industrial disputes? Why, it is the women and children. I am not saying for a moment, it would not be the place for me to argue whether this party or that is right or wrong in this dispute, but I merely say this: no one, whatever their opinions may be will contradict me when I say it is the women and children who suffer always in a great controversy in the industrial world. It is said, I do not know with what truth, that in the Liverpool strike last year, 500 babies died. It may be an exaggeration, but whether it be an exaggeration or not, it represents the fact that misfortunes fall first upon the poor, and that among the poor they fall first upon the women and children. Therefore, to say that a thing like the Minimum Wage Bill is not a matter on which we may fairly ask the opinion of the women of this country is not only to commit a great folly but a great injustice.

Well, I told you about the Government business in Parliament. Look at what is called the Private Members Bill. There have been three Bills discussed this Session. The fourth we hope to discuss on Thursday. The first was a Bill for the abolition of plural voting. Again I do not express any opinion on its justice or injustice, but that Bill is essentially a matter of constitutional machinery; and if we are right in saying that women are capable of giving an opinion on any of those subjects, then women ought to have a vote on any subject on which they have a right to express an opinion.

What are the other two Bills? The first was a Bill—an Education Bill dealing with that very topic to which I referred—the religious education in elementary schools. And then there was a Bill about housing, emphatically a matter on which the opinion of women would be most valuable.

That is the kind of thing which occupies the attention of Parliament, far more than any other subject at the present time. Whether you call it socialism or social reform, or whatever you like to call it, that is the topic which is occupying the attention of Parliament more than anything else at the present day. And I say it is folly to say we can afford to do without the opinion of women on subjects of that kind.

Even if you turn to the Bills that are to come, setting aside, if you will, Home Rule and the Reform Bill as constitutional matter, what is the other Bill? A Bill dealing with the establishment and endowment of the Church in Wales. Again I express no opinion, but that is a Bill which is urged upon us by its advocates as likely to quicken and free and

elevate the religion over all the kingdom, and it is objected to by its opponents as likely to be an injustice and a hindrance to the development of the religious life of the country. Is it seriously to be contended that religion is outside the sphere of women? Go into any church of any denomination and see who makes the majority of the congregation—(loud applause)—and then come and tell me whether you think women ought to be allowed to vote on a matter so closely connected with the religious life of the nation.

And if you pass from those to smaller matters, that will be brought before us, such as the Bill for ensuring the purity of the supply of milk—affecting most exclusively women and children—or a Bill for promoting temperance, surely a matter upon which women have a right to be heard; or a Bill dealing with that very thorny problem—the control of the feeble-minded, a matter on which women, if anyone have the strongest right to have an opinion.

I say that is the business of Parliament—four fifths of it; and what is the remaining one-fifth which is of a character so difficult that if women were allowed even to join in an indirect way—one million to eight of the men who have to deal with these deplorable subjects—that would bring about the downfall of the British Empire? For what are those Imperial matters that have an exclusive male interest? They are the matters which deal with the external affairs of this country, and these are its defences. I deny altogether that women are incapable of dealing with either one or the other. (Loud applause.) I cannot understand where the anti-suffragists have studied history. Where are they going to show to me any evidence that women are less patriotic than men? I say that from the time of the Old Testament down to the days of Queen Victoria, women have shown themselves as patriotic and as Imperial as any man in the Kingdom. (Loud applause.) Well, I may be told that they have not such technical knowledge as men have. Yes! I wonder how much technical knowledge the average male elector has on the subject? (Laughter and cheers.) I wonder how many men—I would be sorry to answer any question on the subject myself—I wonder how many men can tell me exactly the difference between a Dreadnought and a warship of the King Edward VII. class, whatever that may be? Or could even discuss intelligently the relative strength of a German battleship of the First Class and an English cruiser of the First Class? I venture to say that there is a profound, a necessarily profound ignorance amongst male electors on almost any technical question dealing with the Army and Navy; no reproach to them, no reproach at all, but they are not incapable of forming a sound judgment on the general principles of Army and Navy defence, because they do not know how many buttons are on a uniform nor how many guns should be on a ship.

Then I am told—and this is an argument which seems to find great favour with the opponents of the question—that women ought not to have a vote on Imperial grounds because they are physically less strong than men. I confess that seems to me the most amazing of all the objections to women's suffrage. If it were true I suppose we ought to give a special and extra vote to everyone who is very strong—(laughter)—and Sandow ought to have at least ten votes. (Laughter.) And I suppose before anyone was allowed to exercise the franchise in a polling booth, he ought to wrestle with the policeman outside. (Laughter.) What nonsense all this is! Did anyone ever say that a cripple or an invalid was not to vote, or an old man was to lose his vote when he became too feeble to work or bear arms or propose a test that any man should not vote until he had shown his ability to fight for his country? No such test exists in this country. We do not believe in governing entirely by physical force. We believe, at least I believe that the great advance that civilisation has made from barbarism is to substitute reason for force. (Hear, hear.) Even if I thought differently I should say that women in England have had the municipal vote and that under the municipalities we have placed the peace of this country, and if anything represents the element of force in governing this country, undoubtedly it is the Police Force. We do not hesitate to grant to women the control of the Police Force. Why should we think it unwomanly to give them the control of the Army? Of course I say the control—but no one proposes to give them the control—all I say is to give them a voice in it. All we ask is that women have a voice in all that affects the children's lives or their own welfare, just as much as any man in the country.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I am afraid all these arguments are probably familiar to many of you; they have to be stated and re-stated, because the old objections are raised over and

over again. But in the last few weeks an entirely novel objection has been invented. We are told that we are not to give the vote to the women—to one million women of this country—because elsewhere five hundred of them (now, that is an exaggeration) have broken some windows in some of the thoroughfares of London. (Hear, hear.) This is an argument. I am ashamed to say I have seen copies of the answers which some Members of Parliament have written, members who have pretended hitherto to be in favour of the suffrage and who have been appealed to, to support the Bill again, and who have written answers in the crudest and vulgarest terms refusing to support it because of the action of these militant women. Now, I do not wish there to be any mistake. I am against those methods. I always have been against them. I have said so all along and I repeat it now. I say this also that if we are to lay down this principle that the moment some extremist commits an act in support of a cause, we are to abandon that cause, then I say there is not a party nor a cause in the political world which could go on for five minutes. (Cheers.) I say that none of us have a clean record in this respect. I may speak first for my own party. I do not wish to say a word against any of those who have said extreme things in my own party. It is absurd for a member of the Conservative or Unionist party to give himself an air of superior virtue when he knows what has been said under conditions of excitement, when he knew what had been said by members of his party in Ireland. Am I to be told that because some Ulstermen have said strong things about what they will do if Home Rule is passed, am I to abandon the cause of Unionism and the cause of Ulster? Well, I say it is ridiculous and absurd. If I pass from my own party and take the other, how are Home Rulers to justify their attitude to the women's movement? I see that Mr. Sydney Buxton read—shall we say a very superior letter (I do not want to use extreme language)—(laughter)—in which he solemnly reproved the militant suffragists for their action, and he went on to say that it made it impossible for him to support the Conciliation Bill, and finally concluded with rather a curious insult—by pitying, with great condescension, the supporters of the movement for the loss incurred by the action he was taking. (Laughter.)

Well, but has Mr. Sydney Buxton never heard of agrarian outrages in Ireland? I am not going into the question as to whether they were justifiable, or by whom they were committed, but they were committed by extremists who were in sympathy with Home Rule. They stand incomparably worse than anything that has been done by the women. They stand on precisely the same footing—the same logical footing. Has Mr. Sydney Buxton ever said or ever suggested that he would abandon Home Rule because of agrarian murders and outrages in Ireland? I say he has never done anything of the kind, and I say quite candidly, if I were a Home Ruler, the mere fact that a few persons in the west of Ireland had committed some outrage, I should think it ridiculous to be asked to change my opinion on account of anything like that. I need not deal with the Labour Party because, to their honour be it said, there is not one of them who threatens to go back on account of these events.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I do not wish to say anything harsh about these gentlemen who have made these outrages the

#### NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

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

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

**Hon. Secretaries:** Miss K. D. COURTNEY. **President:** Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.  
**Hon. Treasurer:** Mrs. AUERBACH.  
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**Miss Edith Palliser (Parliamentary).** **Hon. Sec. to Literature Committee:** Miss I. B. O'MALLEY. Telephone 1 1960 Victoria.  
**Telegrams:** "Voiceless, London." **Offices:** Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

#### Press Department.

##### SOME PAPERS IN THE MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT FEDERATION.

The *Bolton Evening News* and the *Bolton Evening Chronicle*, with their associated weeklies, give excellent reports of suffrage gatherings, and gatherings, and publish articles supplied by the Bolton Association. At Blackburn also, Women's Suffrage is well supported by the Press, as it is by the members of the borough, Sir Henry Norman and Mr. Philip Snowden. The *Blackburn Times*, of which Sir George Toulmin, M.P., is one of the proprietors, and to which Mr. Snowden is a contributor, always has good reports of suffrage meetings, and has given the Blackburn Society valued editorial support. This is equally true of the *Northern Daily Telegraph* and *Weekly Telegraph*. The latter had a good leader note on March 30th on the defeat of the Conciliation Bill. The *Manchester City News*, which gives a good deal to women's interests, has for several months had a weekly series of notes of a kind

excuse for abandoning our Cause, but I must say that I cannot believe that any rational person can really have been convinced by the arguments they put forward. I do think they have been the victims of unconscious self-deception. If not, I should be compelled to brand them as cowards and hypocrites. Now, ladies and gentlemen, we are not going to be moved—whether we deplore them or not—and I do deplore them without any exception—by the extravagances of a few women in London.

We believe our cause is founded on right and justice. We believe the women want the vote for the necessary protection of their own economic condition, for the necessary improvement of their own social life. We believe that it is not only good for women that they should have the vote, but that is even more for the good of the country.

I am told sometimes that women are different from men and that, therefore, they ought not to have a vote. I think, on the contrary, that that is the very reason that they should be enfranchised. Are we so completely satisfied with the male Government of this country? Is it true that we can boast of the complete success of our social and political administration? This does not seem to me a time when any politician can seriously make that claim. For my part I believe firmly that the virtue, the courage, the vigour of man are mainly desirable for the good government of the State, but I believe also that the patience, and the endurance, and the self-sacrifice of women are equally desirable. I believe that just as a household requires a man and a woman for its really successful administration, so also is it true with the State; and I think we cannot afford to exclude from the Government of the country that section of the community—that half of the community, which is not the least industrious, which is not the least virtuous, and which is not, in the true sense of the word, the least public spirited and hope that the prosperity and safety of this Kingdom will remain as secure as it has been in the past.

Holding these views, I beg to move that this meeting calls upon the Members of Parliament for the City of Edinburgh, Leith Burghs, and the County of Midlothian to be present in the House of Commons on March 28th, to vote for the second reading of the Conciliation Bill.

#### A "Shameful Deed."

The following appeared in the *Times* of April 3rd:—In a letter declining to take part in Sunday's Nationalist demonstration, Professor C. H. Oldham, of University College, Dublin, wrote to the secretary as follows:—"The action of Mr. Redmond in using the collective vote of the Irish Party to kill the Women's Franchise Bill in the House of Commons was, no doubt, a question of Parliamentary tactics on which he, as our responsible leader, was entitled to decide. But, personally, I deplore his action. As an Irishman I am ashamed by the thought that our movement for Irish liberty has been stained by the foul blow against human freedom. I do not know how I am to go through the humiliating farce of speaking in defence of Irish rights at a moment when my conscience is guilty of the knowledge that my national leader, acting on my behalf, has done this shameful deed. As I am a loyal Irishman anxious to support Mr. Redmond and our party, I do not wish to strike a discordant note by speaking at this moment."

helpful to the women's movement generally, and is generous in its treatment of suffrage matter suitable for a non-political paper. The attention of readers in the Ashton-under-Lyne District is directed to a new paper, the *Weekly Sentinel*, which was started there about six months ago. In a recent issue a long illustrated interview with Mrs. Graeme Hamilton, the President of the Ashton Women's Suffrage Society, appeared, together with a candid report headed "Feeble Opposition Meeting at Ashton," and an able and outspoken leading article in favour of Women's Enfranchisement. Such open thorough-going, and intelligent support deserves recognition.

#### Literature Department.

##### WELSH LEAFLETS.

The Bangor Society has shown great enterprise in translating our leaflets into Welsh. Suffragists working in Wales will be

glad to hear that extracts from Lord Haldane's speech at Oxford, as well as extracts from Mr. Lloyd George's speech at Bath can now be had in the language dear to the heart of the latter Minister. It is hoped that all the other Welsh societies will help Bangor in distributing the leaflets, which can be had from Mrs. Hudson Williams, Plas Tirion, Bangor, North Wales.

I. B. O'MALLEY.

#### Another Model Memorial.

The following shows the work of the Bangor and District W.S.S. in presenting a memorial to Mr. Lloyd George:—

##### COPY OF LETTER FROM MRS. PRICE WHITE.

20th March, 1912.

To the Right Honble. D. Lloyd George, M.P.  
 DEAR SIR,—I respectfully beg to submit to your notice the enclosed memorial signed by certain of your constituents and supporters. Only prominent Liberals in each borough were approached. When it is remembered that the recent action of the militant suffragists has prejudiced the suffrage question in the minds of many, and that the fundamental difference between the constitutional and the militant societies is not generally understood, the percentage of signatories is remarkable.

I would especially invite your attention to the memorandum giving evidence of support from public bodies in Carnarvonshire. The sheet quoting support from the W. Lancs. and W. Cheshire area of our Federation is especially interesting as showing the result of work in Conservative constituencies and the amount of support obtained from Conservative bodies.

I remain, yours faithfully,

C. PRICE WHITE, Hon. Sec.

##### TEXT OF MEMORIAL.

To the Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George, M.P., &c.,  
 Chancellor of the Exchequer.

WE, the undersigned, being your Constituents, or Residents in your Constituency, desire to record our appreciation of the courageous efforts you are making on behalf of a just and needed reform. We urge the Members of the Welsh Parliamentary Party to do all in their power to support your efforts to secure the Parliamentary Enfranchisement of Women upon a wide and democratic basis.

Signed by 239 persons as follows:—

|                     |    |
|---------------------|----|
| Carnarvon           | 63 |
| Bangor              | 70 |
| Pwllheli            | 65 |
| Criccieth and Nevin | 27 |
| Conway              | 14 |

This memorial was brought to the notice of (a) Members of Committee of Liberal Associations; (b) Members of Committee of Women's Liberal Associations; (c) Nonconformist Ministers; (d) other prominent Liberals, including officials and members of local bodies.

Of those interviewed, 88 per cent. signed.

##### CARNARVONSHIRE.

RECENT MANIFESTATIONS OF PUBLIC OPINION IN FAVOUR OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN THIS COUNTY.

| Public Bodies.   | Resolutions in Support from Party Associations. | Other Bodies.                                 |
|--|---|---|
| Carnarvonshire County Council, July 1911 (with no dissentients). | Arfon Liberal Association, 1912.                | Pwllheli Free Church Council.                 |
| Bangor City Council.   | Eifion Liberal Association, 1911.               | Pwllheli Board of Guardians.                  |
| Bethesda Urban District Council.                                 | Bangor M.L.A.                                   | Women's Temperance Associations of Carnarvon. |
| Llandudno Urban District Council.                                | Bangor W.L.M.                                   | Pwllheli, Abererch, Lithfaen, Llanelltharw.   |
| Llanfairfechan Urban District Council.                           | Carnarvon W.L.A.                                |   |
| Penmaenmawr Urban District Council.                              | Penmaenmawr W.L.F.                              |   |
| Pwllheli Town Council.   | Pwllheli W.L.F.                                 |   |
| Lleyn Rural District Council.                                    | Portmadoc Liberal Club.                         |   |
| Nevin Parish Council.  |   |   |


| Memorials.  | Deputations.  | Meetings held during last 12 months.  | New Societies Formed 1911-12.   |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1911. From Carnarvon Boroughs. Signed by leading Liberals (Men and Women) by Members of Town Councils and of other Public Bodies. | To Mr. Lloyd George, August, 1910.  | Total of 28 Meetings (Public and Semi-Public).  | Bethesda, Criccieth, Holyhead, Penmaenmawr, Pwllheli, Portmadoc.        |
| 1910. Llandudno. Voters Petition signed by 700 Men.   | To Mr. Ellis Davies, vonshire, 3 in from the four Anglesey, and South Carnarvonshire Societies. | 25 in Carnarvonshire, 3 in Anglesey, and 1 in South Carnarvonshire resolutions in favour were passed. |   |
| 1911. Penmaenmawr. Women Householders.  |   |   | Branch Societies Under Bangor. Llanfairfechan. Menai Bridge. Beaumaris. |
| 1912. Pwllheli. Women Householders, now completed.  |   |   | Under Carnarvon. Talysarn. Penygroes.                                   |
| Feb., 1912. Criccieth. Women Ratepayers, 109 signed out of 147.   |   |   |   |

A FEW SELECTED INSTANCES OF SUPPORT FROM OTHER PARTS OF THE AREA OF THE WEST LANCASHIRE, WEST CHESHIRE AND NORTH WALES FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

| Public Bodies.                   | Party Associations.  | Memorials Signed by Prominent Constituents and Supporters Only.  |
|----------------------------------|--|--|
| Liverpool City Council.          | Liverpool (Men's) Liberal Federal Council, January, 1912 (representing the Liberal Associations of nine constituencies). | have been presented to many of the M.P.'s in the area. The following instances are selected to show the amount of support even in Conservative Constituencies.   |
| Preston Town Council.            | Southport (Men's) Liberal Association.   | Memorial presented to Mr. Rigby Swift, Con. M.P. for St. Helens, Lancs., includes signatures of 13 out of the 17 members of the Conservative Association Executive Committee, and 30 out of the 36 members of the St. Helens Town Council. |
| Warrington T.C.                  | Preston (Men's) Liberal Association Practically all the Women's Liberal Associations in the area.                        | Memorial presented to Lord Balcarras, Con. M.P. for Chorley, signed by the Town Clerk and 29 out of the 31 members of the Chorley Town Council.  |
| Widnes T.C.                      | Widnes (Men's) Liberal Association.  | Memorial to the Right Hon. A. Bonar Law, M.P., signed by 38 out of 51 members of Executive Committee of the Conservative Association and by 32 out of 44 members of Bootle Town Council.   |
| Wallasey T.C.                    | Widnes (Men's) Liberal Association.  |  |
| Wrexham T.C.                     | Granby Street, Liverpool, Men's Liberal Club.  |  |
| Holyhead Urban District Council. |  |  |
| Dolgelly U.D.C.                  |  |  |
| Llangollen U.D.C.                |  |  |
| Huyton U.D.C.                    |  |  |
| Ormskirk, U.D.C.                 |  |  |
| The Liverpool Trades' Council.   |  |  |

Lodge Lane, Liverpool, Men's Liberal Club.

### NECK-WEAR NOVELTIES.



Collar, as sketch, in rich Taffeta Silks, all colours bordered with black, natural and toupe Marabout Feather.

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### THE WOMEN TAXPAYERS 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.

The Agency's Clients include Mrs. Stanton Coit and many well-known Suffragists, Doctors, Actresses, etc.

HAMPDEN HOUSE, KINGSWAY, W.C. Tel. 6049 Central.

Great Meeting in Edinburgh.

Under the auspices of the Edinburgh Society a crowded demonstration was held in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, on Tuesday, 28th March, in support of the Conciliation Bill.

The meeting was addressed by Lord Robert Cecil and Mrs. Philip Snowden, who had never before had the pleasure of speaking together. The chair was taken by Miss Chrystal Macmillan, M.A., B.Sc.

The resolution was carried with only two dissentients, and as there were a large number of people in the hall who were believed to be opposed to Woman's Suffrage, let us hope that the speeches had convinced them of the error of their point of view.

The collection amounted to about £17. Forty new members were gained

Contributions.

Table listing names and contribution amounts for the Edinburgh meeting, including Mrs. Henry Fawcett, Miss P. Fawcett, Mrs. Ferguson, etc.

Table listing names and contribution amounts for the London Society, including Miss Isabel Hervey, Mrs. Arthur Hickmott, Miss E. D. Higginson, etc.

Organisation in Herefordshire.

A week's work in Ross finished the campaign for the present in this county. In some respects Ross was more encouraging than Leominster, but here again one realised that recent events had made work doubly difficult—people appearing to be nervous of associating themselves with the cause.

London Society.

CONCILIATION BILL. During the weeks preceding the Second Reading the London Society arranged a very large number of deputations and memorials to Members of Parliament in the constituencies of its area.

Treasurer's Notes.

Although the news of the defeat of the Conciliation Bill greeted me on my arrival last week from South Africa, yet I am glad to find myself once more among my comrades, and to be here to take my share of whatever disappointment the present hour may have brought.

There is so much besides that is encouraging and consoling at the present time. In reviewing all that has happened during the few months of my absence, I note with special satisfaction (1) the continuous increase in the number of our societies and of our members, (2) the expansion in the work of every department, more especially those of organisation, and literature, and (3) the unprecedented increase in the number and size of the recent donations to our funds.

To know that we have the means to meet whatever demands a new situation may make upon us—this knowledge is the greatest consolation we can possibly have. The work done by Miss Sterling with untiring zeal during the last four months has contributed in a large measure to this result, and I venture to offer Miss Sterling the grateful thanks of the whole Union.

May the determination and generosity now animating Suffragists continue undiminished until this cause is won.

HELENA AUERBACH.

the other speaker. Much discussion took place in regard to the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill. Miss Palliser gave her reasons for anticipating a very close division, and Miss I. O. Ford aroused much enthusiasm by describing the great progress the cause was making among the workers in the North, the gist of her remarks being that whether we lost the Conciliation Bill or not, our cause was bound to go forward.

Mr. Fawcett will open the Summer Campaign at the first of the new series of receptions on April 23rd.

CENTRAL AND SOUTH HACKNEY.—Three drawing-room meetings have been held during the month. The first took place on March 13th, when Mrs. Brock was our hostess, and the second on March 14th by kind invitation of Mrs. Russell Smith, when Mrs. Corby presided.

NORTH KENSINGTON.—A very successful meeting took place on March 26th at 33, Ladbroke Square, by kind permission of Lady Stawell. Miss Stawell was in the chair and Mrs. Corbett Ashby spoke. The resolution in support of the Conciliation Bill, and expressing deep regret at the withdrawal of Mr. Burgoyne's support, was passed with four dissentients, and three new members joined.

NORTH PADDINGTON.—March 26th. The social evening held at 11, Lauderdale Parade, under the auspices of the North Paddington committee was very successful; the room was crowded, Miss Ruth Young took the chair and spoke from it, the other speaker being Miss Margery Goddard. The audience were much interested, several questions were asked, a good collection was taken, several copies of the Common Cause sold and literature distributed. The social evenings will be continued after Easter.

DRAMATIC PERFORMANCE AT HIGGATE. With the valuable aid of Mrs. Fisher White (Actresses' Franchise League) the Higgate and East St. Pancras branches will present a Triple Bill on Wednesday, April 24th, 8 p.m., at St. Augustine's Hall, Archway Road, Higgate, N. The programme will consist of a dramatic presentation of George Meredith's well-known "Ballad of Fair Ladies in Revolt"; a witty propaganda duologue, "The Ideal Woman," in which Miss Millicent Wadham, the author, will act the title-role; and, by kind permission of Mr. Leon M. Lion, his stirring play

of "The Mobswoman," in which, as well as in the "Ballad," Mrs. Fisher White will take a leading part. Selections of music will be given by members of the South Place Orchestra. Tickets, 2s. 6d. reserved, 1s. unreserved, can be obtained from Mrs. Rand, 3, Holly Terrace, Higgate, N. All profits will go towards the funds of the London Society.

Federation Notes.

Surrey, Sussex and Hants. PORTSMOUTH. Portsmouth canvassed its wards last winter, holding meetings which culminated in one on March 15th, in the Town Hall, of over 1,000, addressed by Mrs. Snowden (the Chairman), Lady Selborne, and the late Liberal candidate. A resolution passed by a splendid majority, and five women's associations, two men's political associations, three suffrage ones, University women and nurses were content. Suffrage songs were sung. On March 4th a concert was given for the funds. Mr. Harold Baker has received a protest against his anti-suffrage attitude. Miss Corbett and the Secretary of the Mgn's League spoke at Southampton on March 7th, the Rev. A. Andrew presiding. The Suffrage resolution was carried.

On March 13th Miss Courtney lost a debate with Miss Port, at Camberley, but the Suffrage Society increased its membership afterwards. On the 20th, Mrs. Bassett lectured at Mrs. Hilson's on "Life in London on £1 a week." The proceeds are to help to pay the deficit on the Sweated Industries Exhibition.

On the 15th the Rev. A. D. Pennington presided at Ringwood, when Mrs. Backham spoke on payment of members, women's wages, infant mortality and the white slave trade. A Suffrage resolution condemning lawlessness passed *nem con*. Mrs. Backham addressed a good working-class audience at New Milton, on the 14th, Dr. Stancomb presiding. Mrs. Snowden addressed a large, sympathetic audience at Bexhill-on-Sea, on the 14th, Mrs. Strickland in the chair. The resolution passed *nem con*. On the 16th Mrs. Deming presided at a meeting at the Eastcott Vicarage, discussion following. Some anti-suffragists were present. On the 20th Mr. Cameron Grant addressed a good meeting at Heathfield, on social and industrial evils. Miss Abadam following with an eloquent, witty speech. The Rev. Frendary Pennington presided, and the applause was enthusiastic. There was a collection for local funds. The Vicar of Ewshot presided at the first Aldershot meeting on the 21st. Mrs. Dempster spoke, and the resolution was carried *nem con*. Five members joined. On the 22nd Mrs. Scoresby Routledge and Mrs. Seyd addressed a meeting for Oxted and Limsfield, Mr. Hogg, of the Men's League, presiding. The Suffrage resolution, protesting against militancy, was carried unanimously. Miss Corbett lectured at Horsted Keynes, on March 22nd, and at Danchill, on the 23rd, on "Women at Work" and "Lands where Women Vote." Mrs. Gordon Clark held a drawing-room meeting at Hicham, on the 25th, when Mrs. Backham and Miss Susan Lawrence spoke. Fourteen members joined. Miss O'Shea addressed the Worthing annual meeting on the 26th on the political situation. On March 18th, Dr. Gough, B.D., presided at a public meeting at Reigate, when Miss Young spoke on economic matters. The resolution condemning militancy and calling for the member's support was carried unanimously, but the member withdrew his support owing to militant violence. The Woking annual meeting, with an "At Home," took place on March 29th, Miss Atkinson presiding. Miss Hadow spoke cheerfully on our serious reverse. £3 12s. 2d. was collected, and a Suffrage resolution was carried unanimously. Nearly £1 worth of literature was sold.

OXFORD, BERKS AND BUCKS. OXFORD. A special meeting of the Committee was held on April 2nd. In view of the difficulty of calling a General Meeting of the Society at Easter time, they unanimously passed the following resolution, which is being sent to the Press:—"The Committee of the Oxford Women's Suffrage Society, which has publicly recorded its disapproval of militant methods, protests against the conduct of those Members of Parliament who held it consistent with their political and personal honour to repudiate their pledges to support the Conciliation Bill, and regards their action as a fresh proof of the political helplessness of those who are not directly represented in Parliament." The Committee hopes to call a General Meeting of the Society in May.

WEST MIDLAND. BIRMINGHAM.—Twenty-one meetings have been held or addressed by members of this society during March. A good meeting was held at Harborne when Lady Stout gave an interesting address on "Women Voters in New Zealand." Four adult schools had speakers sent to them, and from the remarks made by the women on these occasions, showing the great need of further educating the working women, it has been decided to organise a regular canvass of them in their own homes. At the last election of Poor Law Guardians, nine women were returned, eight of them heading the poll and seven out of the nine being members of the N.U. Society in Birmingham. On the 26th, a members' meeting was held. Mrs. Osler presided, and the speakers were Miss Muriel Matters and Miss Knight. Both speeches were much enjoyed. Fifteen new members have joined during the month.

KIDDERMINSTER.—This newly formed Society held its first meeting on March 22nd, when Mrs. Talbot kindly lent her drawing-room and provided hospitalities. The speakers were Mrs. Harley (Hon. Treasurer of the West Midland Federation) and Miss Noel Wright (Hon. Secretary), and the audience was most interested and keen. Six new members joined. Another drawing-room meeting was held on the 29th, by the kind invitation of Mrs. Anton, The Gables, Miss Morrison, organiser for the Federation, spoke, and, again, several members were enrolled, thus bringing up the membership to sixty, which is most encouraging as the fruit of one month's work.

OTFORD.—A meeting was held on March 12th, the speaker being Miss Smyth. At this meeting a resolution was passed protesting against militancy, and deploring the recent outbreak in London.

STURTON COLDFIELD AND DISTRICT. On March 1st, a deputation from this Society waited on the members of the committee of the Liberal Associa-

tion and a resolution in favour of Women's Suffrage was forwarded to Mr. Asquith.

SOUTH LULU AND DISTRICT. Two drawing-room meetings have been held by this Society during the past month, the first at the home of Mrs. Whitcomb of Bentley Heath, at which Mrs. Osler spoke on some practical aspects of the woman's question as it affects women workers. On the 6th, the hostess was Mrs. Harvey Brooks, South Lullu Rectory, who is a very keen member of the committee, and on this occasion Mrs. Reid and Miss Noel Wright spoke. A good deal of literature was sold, and four new members joined.

SHROPSHIRE. A very successful rummage sale was held on March 22, in order to raise funds for the Glass and China Stall which this Society is to hold at the Franchise Fete in Leamington next month. A Common Cause edition has recently been formed whose special duty it is to increase the sale of the paper and the weekly order has been doubled. After rather a strenuous contest Mrs. Harley, President of this Society has been elected a poor-law guardian on the Urban Board, this being the first time a woman has successfully contested an election in Shropshire.

WARWICK AND LEAMINGTON.—The annual meeting of this Society was held at the Masonic Rooms, Leamington, on March 27th, Mrs. Ring and Miss Noel Wright were the speakers, and the report was duly passed. Members have been very busy during the month in preparation for the Franchise Fete, which is to be held in the Winter Hall, Leamington, on April 17th and 18th; one great feature of the fete is the performance of Mr. Bartie's play, "The Twelve Pound Look," by the Actresses' Franchise League. A recent canvass among Leamington women municipal voters gave the following figures:—Number of voters, 1,514; canvassed, 975; suffragists, 505.

WORCESTER.—A crowded and enthusiastic meeting was held on Thursday, March 28th, in the Public Hall, the Dean of Worcester presiding. The speakers were Lady Frances Balfour and Sir John Cockburn, K.C.M.G., who both gave splendid addresses. Twenty new members joined the Society. The Worcester Men's Debating Society threw their debate open to ladies on March 29th, when the resolution proposed was "That the present attitude of militant suffragettes, this Society is of the opinion that the franchise should be extended to women." There was an animated discussion, and the result of the ballot was:—On the members' votes the resolution was lost by four, but on the visitors' vote it was carried by 38.

STRATFORD-ON-AVON. The annual public meeting of this branch of the N.U.W.S. was held on March 27th, at the lecture room of the Public Library, and was preceded by a business meeting, at which were read the reports of the Secretary and the Treasurer—both very satisfactory.

The speakers, Miss Knapp, the Secretary of the Warwick Society and Mrs. Arbuthnot (of Leamington), gave excellent addresses, while Mrs. Lowe presided over the meeting and put the following resolution which was passed unanimously:—"That this meeting calls on Parliament to enfranchise women in 1912." The meeting was most interesting, though disappointment was felt that the Committee had felt constrained to release Miss K. Courtney, who had kindly promised to be the chief speaker, on account of the local strike and through postponement of the second reading of the Conciliation Bill.

LANCASTER held a public meeting in the Friends Hall on March 27, Miss Margaret Ashton was the principal speaker and Mrs. Cardwell, the Mayor, was in the chair. Mr. Hulme, M.P. for Lancaster, sent a telegram congratulating the meeting on its success, and five new members joined. The resolution was carried with only two dissentients.

AMBLESIDE had very successful meetings during March in Windermere and Gasmere. Miss Margaret Robertson was the speaker. The annual general meeting was held on March 14 at Ambleside. Arlecdon and Frizington had a white elephant tea on March 26th, at which Miss May Lawrence of Penrith, gave an account of the history of the W.S. Movement. Mrs. B. BARROWBY held a business meeting and at the meeting of the Ruskin League—on March 31—"Women's Suffrage a Delusion" was the paper for discussion. Members of the local Suffrage Society attended and were invited to come again on April 14 and expound their views.

WORKINGTON held a public meeting on March 14. Miss M. Bardsley from Carlisle was the speaker and Mr. Mason was the chairman. Good reports were given in the "West Cumberland Times," the "Workington News," and "Workington Star."

HAWKSHED has worked hard during February and March, and got a satisfactory reply re the Conciliation Bill from Mr. Haddock, M.P. On March 19th a memorial, signed by men and women of Hawkshead was forwarded to him, and on March 14th a public meeting was held, at which a resolution was unanimously carried and forwarded to Mr. Haddock, asking him to vote or pair for the Bill.

APPLEBY held meeting in Appleby, Kirby Stephen, and other villages. Miss Norma Smith was the speaker, and many new members joined. Appleby Town Council passed a resolution in favour of W.S. on March 14th. Miss E. L. Matravers gave a small "At Home" in CARLISLE, on March 19th, for elementary school teachers. Mrs. Buchanan presided. On March 20th Miss Matravers addressed the Stanwix Women's Liberal Association on the subject of W.S.

SCOTCH. It is quite impossible to do justice to the Scottish Federation's work in March, it is already far beyond the limits of space permitted, though some reports are not yet to hand. The difficulty of condensing is further increased by several societies having sent interesting articles from local newspapers so cheerfully supporting the Cause, that one longs to embody them in the report. The campaign of meetings, public and private, has been carried through at immense difficulty owing to the bad train service—a difficulty only surmounted by the constant care of Miss Kirby in the office, and the kindly patience of the speakers, who entered into the inevitable vacancies at sudden call. Organising (besides that already reported by Miss Crompton) has been steadily pursued during the month with very good results, the successful work of Miss Sheard in Dundee, Fifeshire and Stirling, and of Miss Gorrie at Tayside and Perth,

deserving separate notice instead of only being touched on in the following reports from Societies.

HAWKICK SOCIETY held a most successful "At Home" on February 27th, when Mrs. Lindsay Watson addressed an appreciative audience on the enfranchisement of women. Miss Williamson, hon. sec., also gave a short speech. A musical and dramatic programme was much enjoyed, and tea and refreshments were served by ladies of the Society.

TAYSIDE SOCIETY held a public meeting on March 6th, in the small Blyth Hall, Provost Leitch presiding. The audience, including a good many electors, passed unanimously a resolution—moved by Miss Gorrie, in an able and instructive address—calling on the Government to enfranchise women in 1912; Mr. Percy Sturrock, in a forcible speech, seconded. Mrs. C. L. Mitchell, president of the Society, gave a drawing-room meeting, addressed by Miss Gorrie, at which a number of members joined, a result also achieved at an "At Home" in Wormit, arranged by the Misses Maxwell and Duncan, when Miss Sheard gave a telling address. At all the meetings pamphlets and the Common Cause were sold, and the membership has doubled during the fortnight.

PERTH SOCIETY held its second annual meeting on March 6th, in the Episcopal Church Hall, when Mrs. Murray, Manor, presided over a good attendance. Miss Beauchamp, hon. sec., proved from the year's report a steady advance in membership. The Common Cause was sold, and the membership has doubled during the fortnight. The Perth Society held its second annual meeting on March 6th, in the Episcopal Church Hall, when Mrs. Murray, Manor, presided over a good attendance. Miss Beauchamp, hon. sec., proved from the year's report a steady advance in membership. The Common Cause was sold, and the membership has doubled during the fortnight.

DUNDEE SOCIETY during Miss Sheard's visit, held two "At Homes" in the office, one drawing-room meeting, and two evening meetings, the first a Church Guild, the second for the girls on the "Gourier" staff. Severe weather interfered somewhat with attendance, but new members were gained, and fresh interest awakened, which the Society may be trusted to keep alive.

ST. ANDREW'S SOCIETY has strenuously supported Miss Sheard's work. Efforts are being made to spread the suffrage education actively. Craik, Anstruther, Pittenweem and St. Monans were visited, and when possible, outdoor meetings arranged in addition to others. On the 7th, a drawing-room meeting at Craik was addressed by Miss Sheard, and on the 8th, another at Anstruther, at which sixteen members joined. Good propaganda work has been done in sale of pamphlets and the Common Cause.

KILMACOLM SOCIETY held its annual meeting on the 11th, when the work of the year was satisfactorily reported upon, and, at the conclusion of a business, a resolution was passed expressing deep indignation at the recent outbreak of militancy in London.

PERTH SOCIETY sends a splendid roll of meetings, two of which should have been included in last month's report. A drawing-room meeting given by Mrs. Roy Gordon, of Malter, and another by Mrs. John Ritchie, Perth, both adding to the membership. The annual business meeting of the Society was held in the Grand Temperance Hotel on March 5th, when a most satisfactory report, showing a steadily growing membership, an increasing attendance at meetings, and a balance in hand of funds, was submitted by Mrs. A. Smith. The President, Mrs. Scott Murray, and hon. sec., Mrs. Smith, were re-elected, and Miss G. Dewar appointed hon. treasurer, with the following committee—Mrs. Slater, Mrs. Grant, Miss Newlands, Miss Wright, Miss Mitchell, Miss Robertson and Miss Miller. On the 7th the committee gave an "At Home" in the Guild Hall, at which in the unavoidable absence of Dr. Inglis, Miss B. B. Robertson presided, and gave an interesting address, and five new members joined. By the kindness of Miss J. Mitchell, Scone, a drawing-room meeting was held on the 12th, addressed by Miss Chrystal Macmillan, Miss Mitchell making a strong suffrage appeal from the chair, and new members were enrolled, in moving a vote of thanks, Mrs. Murray pointed out that the number of members in Scone was now so large it would be advisable to form a separate branch, some being in the constituency represented by Mr. Young, a pronounced opponent to the Conciliation Bill. Preparations for the following meeting, five drawing-room meetings, and four hall meetings were held and well attended, and several addresses were given by Miss Gorrie with very good results, and speeches made by influential electors in the district. On the 19th, Mrs. B. B. Robertson gave a most interesting address, an audience of over 1,000 gathered to hear Mrs. Snowden in the City Hall, a good proportion of electors being present. Miss Haldane of Cloan presided. Mrs. Snowden was received with enthusiasm, and in an eloquent speech, the points of which were appreciatively applauded, moved the following resolution—"That this meeting calls upon the House of Commons to pass a measure for the enfranchisement of women during the Session, 1912." This was ably seconded by C. U. Robertson, Esq., Inverlathen, and carried, with two dissentients. A cordial vote of thanks to the speakers was moved by F. Norie-Miller, Esq., (prospective Unionist candidate) and to Miss Haldane by J. Saunders, Esq.

INVERLATHEN SOCIETY held a well-attended meeting in the Library Hall on the 18th, when Miss Robertson, in a drawing-room, gave an address on the non-militant character of the National Union. Mr. C. M. Robertson in an interesting speech, declared himself a life-long supporter of Woman Suffrage, and Miss Beauchamp's address gave some well-appreciated suffrage information. A resolution protesting against militant methods being made an excuse for refusing support to Woman Suffrage was carried, and a vote of thanks moved by Mr. G. Fisher, who mentioned with satisfaction, the strong support promised that day by the Lord Advocate.

PERTH SOCIETY seized the opportunity of questioning a prospective parliamentary candidate, when on the 19th, Mr. D. H. L. Young (Unionist) addressed a public meeting of Dumbartonshire electors. Miss Meta Kerr, the hon. sec., who questioned, received an unsatisfactory reply, which, however, aroused questions from an elector, in answering which, Mr. Young declared himself opposed to Women Suffrage.

GUTHROCK SOCIETY, unavoidably disappointed of the presence of Dr. Inglis at their meeting on the 22nd, received with interest the address given by Miss Edith Cotterill, who filled the vacancy, travelling from Edinburgh by an inconvenient train at a moment's notice. Facts new to many members were presented which have

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WHAT DO YOU THINK?

aroused fresh sympathy, and the resolution which was passed at the meeting has been forwarded to Col. Greig. CHIEF SOCIETY held a public meeting in the Porteous Hall on the 25th, at which Miss Chrystal Macmillan presided, giving an explanation of the political position, and Lady Frances Balfour addressed the meeting in a stirring speech which appealed to every patriotic spirit, and answered every anti-suffrage argument. A resolution calling upon the Marquis of Tullibardine to vote for the Conciliation Bill, was carried with one dissentient. In a leading article of a local paper, discussing the meeting, a hope of open air meetings during summer was mentioned, "at which petitions would be willingly signed by electors calling upon the member for the constituency to give his support."

ANDROSSAN SOCIETY held a most successful meeting in the Town Hall, Salteats, on the 26th. Mr. A. Ballantyne, Glasgow, in the chair, and Miss Royden as speaker. The beautiful address given called forth the following testimony from the press: "The really admirable quality of the speaking is one of the striking features of the Suffrage movement. Their spokeswomen are usually highly educated—so highly educated that the average man must blush to think that such women are denied a right of citizenship, which is granted to the most ignorant and debased of men." Votes of thanks were moved by Mrs. Kerr, hon. sec., and Mr. J. T. Fawcett.

The EDINBURGH SOCIETY'S work for the month includes office "At Home" on the 1st, 8th, 15th and 22nd, speakers being Miss Low, Miss Gordon, Mrs. Gordon, Mrs. Guyer, Miss Beauchamp and Miss McLaren—the last giving a most touching appeal on "How the Law Protects the Child"; all were well attended and resulted in financial profit. On March 10th, Miss Low spoke at Old St. Paul's to the Guild of St. Mary, and on the 22nd, by invitation, addressed the Central Edinburgh Liberal Association with most satisfactory results. On the 26th a splendidly-enthusiastic meeting of 1,300, welcomed Lord Robert Cecil and Mrs. Snowden in the music hall, and thoroughly appreciated the fine addresses given. An open-air demonstration was held on the 28th, at which Miss Alice Low, Miss Hilda Cotterill, Miss Lisa Gordon, Miss Ireland and Miss Stuart Paterson addressed attentive crowds. Warm thanks are due to Miss Paterson for so kindly coming from Glasgow to help with her admirable speaking. In addition to the deputations to Mr. Galland and Mr. Tre already noticed, good parliamentary work has been done in writing to other members, and letters to these have been sent from electors at the request of the Society.

FLORENCE HILLIARD.

Foreign News.

The Netherlands. A considerable amount of work, both direct and indirect, is being done here for the suffrage cause. Membership of the Dutch Suffrage Association is increasing fast, and the opposition to the Tariff Reform proposals, which would largely increase the price of living in the country, has drawn in many women who previously took no interest in politics. No doubt they would have said, like the old lady in the story, that they never interfered with politics till politics interfered with them. 63,000 women signed the petition against the Bill, among them many working women, who would be the greatest sufferers by the proposed change. From opposition to a proposed measure to propaganda for Women's Suffrage is a single step, and Dutch women have learnt much during this agitation.

Federation of University Women Prize Fellowship.

A Prize Fellowship of £120 was offered by the Federation of University Women in December last, open to women who have been engaged during a number of years in research, the results of which have been published. Thirteen applications were received, investigations in zoology, geology, physiology, botany, physics, history, Oriental religions, English literature, French literature, and philosophy, being submitted. The Fellowship has been awarded to Miss C. E. Spurgeon, Docteur de l'Université de Paris, Lecturer in English Literature at Bedford College, London. Miss Spurgeon's published work deals chiefly with Mysticism in Poetry and with Chaucer criticism. A volume published in French by Hachette et Cie, entitled "Chaucer devant la Critique depuis son temps jusqu'à nos jours," forms the basis of a work in several volumes "Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusions, 1362-1900," to be published by the Chaucer Society, on which Miss Spurgeon is now engaged.

Who's Wright?

A lusty knight, a learned knight  
The gauntlet did throw down;  
A courtly knight, he came to fight  
The fair sex—Nay, no frown!

The rules of chivalry upset  
Had been by modern maids  
(And matrons, too, a goodly few!)  
In window-smashing raids.

The women all rose up betimes  
(And loud their plaints they grew);  
To Times the wrote, who wished the vote,  
Who wished it not, wrote too.

And men, too, wrote to say him nay;  
The cause became more strong,  
Because alas! Sir Almoth Wright's  
Completely in the wrong.

Oh! Medical misguided! What's  
The B.M.A. for meeting  
As punishment full mete for an  
Offence that's known as "bleating"?  
A MEDICAL STUDENT.

Reviews.

"The Englishwoman," April, 1912.  
The April number of the *Englishwoman*, though good, has hardly so many articles of outstanding excellence as usual. "Men and Marriage" is perhaps the most interesting, and Mrs. Macrosty cannot be blamed if she has supplied a text for one of the silliest articles (in the *Standard*) that the Suffrage movement has ever evoked from its antagonists. Her article is a singularly candid statement of the fact that women have out-stripped the intellectual standard set for them by men, and is of great value.

"Where Woman Has Never a Soul to Save," is an unconvincing re-statement of the thesis which is at regular intervals presented to us, that women to whom "geography is practically non-existent," who "do not read books," but only newspapers, who "keep their eyes down-cast" when talking to a man, though he, "on his part, avoids looking at them," are really better off, more refined, and altogether enviable than ourselves "in our frèer and more solitary lives." These women "are quite aware that any relaxation of the harem laws would only weaken . . . the position they hold." Among other things, one imagines, it would teach them that the refusal to admit a doctor and so "in most cases" to rear only two or three children out of eight or nine, is a crime and not a virtue. "It is the women who object to the presence of a man-doctor." What a commentary on the result of this domesticity which sets personal delicacy above the helpless lives of more than half one's children!

At the other end of the scale is "Advertising" as a profession for women, wherein we learn with amazement that writing advertisements *improves the style*. We recall hideous abuses of our noble language, and are dumb with astonishment. Mrs. Regan makes an interesting point when she states that women do not, for the most part, realise the importance of expenditure on advertisement. Of the non-controversial articles, Miss Lowndes' "Nature and Art in Brittany" is delightful.  
A. M. R.

BANNERS AND BANNER-MAKING.  
The suggestive and stimulating article by Miss M. Lowndes on "Banners and Banner-Making" is reprinted from *The Englishwoman*, and can be obtained (3d.) from the Artists' Suffrage League, 259, King's Road, Chelsea. Miss Lowndes is not bigoted, and allows her heraldry to be mitigated by her sense of beauty; but she roundly tells you that mere convenience is not an ideal worthy of the designer.

A LIVING WAGE: A NATIONAL NECESSITY. HOW BEST TO GET IT. By C. C. Cotterill. (A. C. Fifield, 6d.)

This little book demands but the briefest notice. With the spirit in which Miss Cotterill approaches the condition of the poor most will agree; though some may feel less sanguine than she appears to do of finding any simple solution to the problem of poverty. Her suggestion is that a Royal Commission be at once appointed to establish a national minimum wage. How the living wage is to be enforced, by whom it is to be paid, what its relation is to be to the economic wage—these are questions into which the writer does not enter. They are questions which meet at the very outset those who wish seriously to consider the question.  
M. A. H.

THE MODERN WOMAN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT:—A historical survey by Dr. Kaethe Schirmacher, translated from the German by Carl Conrad Eckhardt, Ph.D.

There is much that is both interesting and instructive in Dr. Schirmacher's book, but it is hard to say to what extent the English translation can be regarded as an accurate historical survey. Mr. Eckhardt, it would appear, is a German residing in the West of America, and his knowledge of the English language has not enabled him to give a correct version of this book in English.

In reading about Hungary, we come across the following sentence: "Then the admission of women to the university was agitated" (page 130). Frequently the translator speaks of the "higher institutions of learning," presumably meaning institutions for higher education, and in one place we find the remarkable statement that "In recent years many new callings have been opened to women living in the cities. They are engaged in the manufacture of confectionery."

Prominent and wealthy women have established businesses of their own, in which fine confections are produced—in many cases by destitute, nervous and over-worked women music teachers." (Page 80.) It is hard to imagine what this sentence actually means.

Therefore, when we read that "the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies transferred the leadership of the movement to the National Women's Social and Political Union, whose members are known by the name of Suffragettes"—and that "this transference of leadership" took place during the autumn of 1905" (Page 64), we must ask ourselves, whether this extraordinary mis-statement is the fault of the author or the translator. We also learn that Mrs. Fawcett is the leader of the Suffragettes. (Page 69.)

This must naturally detract very greatly from the value of the book, but to what extent these errors must be put down to the author, and to what extent they are due to bad translation it is impossible to say without having seen the original.

There is only one criticism which we might offer Dr. Schirmacher. She has perhaps given undue attention to some characters to the neglect of others. In the section dealing with South Africa, there is no mention of Olive Schreiner, and even Mrs. Despard finds no place in the book.

MARGARET WETZLAR COIT.

Local Councils which have Passed Resolutions in favour of Women's Suffrage during the Past Two Years.

C.=City, T.=Town, R.D.C.=Rural District Council, U.D.C.=Urban District Council, P.C.=Parish Council, C.C.=County Council, M.C.=Municipal Corporation, C.B.=County Borough, R.B.=Royal Borough, P.B.=Police Borough.)

LONDON BOROUGHES.  
Battersea. Poplar.  
Camdenwell. Southwark.  
Hackney. Stoke Newington.  
Lambeth. Wandsworth.  
Paddington.

ENGLAND.  
Adel-cum-Eccup R.D.C. Leicester T.  
Altrincham U.D.C. Leigh U.D.C.  
Ambleside. Leichworth.  
Amfield Plain U.D.C. Liverpool C.  
Barnsley R.D.C. Macclesfield T.  
Birkenhead T. Manchester C.  
Birmingham C. Middleton R.D.C.  
Blaydon U.D.C. Newcastle-on-Tyne T.  
Bradford C. Nottingham T.  
Bredbury U.D.C. Oldham T.  
Bridlington R.D.C. Ormskirk U.D.C.  
Brighton T. Penryn.  
Burton-on-Trent T. Preston T.  
Canterbury. Prestwich U.D.C.  
Chelmsford R.D.C. Radcliffe U.D.C.  
Chester T. Radcliffe U.D.C.  
Cuckfield U.D.C. Ramsgate T.  
Derby T. Rochdale T.  
Devonport T. Rochdale U.D.C.  
Dover T. Scarborough T.  
Enfield U.D.C. Sheffield C.  
Falmouth T. Solihull R.D.C.  
Felling U.D.C. Southport M.C., C.B.  
Filey U.D.C. Spennymoor U.D.C.  
Folkestone T. Stevenage U.D.C.  
Plixton P.C. Struen.  
Frizington and Alecton. Tynemouth R.D.C.  
Hale U.D.C. Urmost U.D.C.  
Haltwhistle R.D.C. Uxbridge U.D.C.  
Harrogate T. Wallasey M.C.  
Hartlepool T. Warrington T.  
Heaton Norris U.D.C. Wellingboro' U.D.C.  
Hetton U.D.C. Wess Bromwich M.C., C.B.  
Heywood T. Whitehaven R.D.C.  
Huddersfield M.C., C.B. Widnes M.C.  
Hull M.C., C.B., C.C. Wilkesden U.D.C.  
Kendal. Wolverhampton T.  
Keswick U.D.C. Wrexham.

SCOTLAND.  
Arbroath R.B. Kilmarnock.  
Bonnyrigg. Kilmarnock.  
Brechin C., R.B. Kilminning P.B.  
Broughty Ferry P.B. Kirkcaldy R.B.  
Crieff. Kirkwall R.B.  
Cumnock. Kirriemuir.  
Dumfries. Lerwick.  
Dundee C., C.B. Montrose R.B.  
Edinburgh C. North Berwick R.B.  
Elgin C., R.B. Peebles R.B.  
Forfar R.B. Perth R.B.  
Fraserburgh P.B. St. Ola.  
Glasgow C. Saltcoats P.B.  
Haddington. Stornoway.  
Hamilton. Stromness.  
Hawick. Thurso.  
Innerleithen. Tranent.  
Inverness T., R.B. Wick R.B.  
Inverurie.

IRELAND.  
Bray (Co. Wicklow) U.D.C. Limerick C.  
Cork C. Newry (Co. Down) U.D.C.  
Dublin C. Pembroke (Co. Dublin) U.D.C.  
Dublin C.C. U.D.C.  
Galway C.C., U.D.C. Warrenpoint.

WALES.  
Bangor. Ljeyn R.D.C.  
Bethesda U.D.C. Newport.  
Cardiff. Penarth U.D.C.  
Carmarvon C.C. Penmaenmawr U.D.C.  
Chepstow U.D.C. Penryn.  
Holyhead U.D.C. Portmadoc.  
Llandudno U.D.C. Pwllheli.  
Llanfairfechan U.D.C. Rhyl U.D.C.  
Llanfyllen U.D.C. Swansea.

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.

AN APPEAL TO LIBERAL SUFFRAGISTS.  
The adverse vote on the Conciliation Bill makes it essential that all Suffragists should consider in what way they can bring pressure to bear to influence Parliamentary votes. Members of the National Union are debarred from using Militant methods.

We are continually told to shew evidence of a wide demand for Women's Suffrage. All our great societies, our numerous meetings and demonstrations appear to make little impression on the Government, and we are now beating our brains for fresh methods.

Mr. Asquith's main argument in the late debate, was the unsuitability of women, as a sex, for political life. Is it not therefore logical and womanly for Liberal women to take their great party leader at his word, and withdraw from all party work and organisation, till we are hall-marked by the vote.

Large numbers of leading Liberal women have already withdrawn, on these lines, and a great responsibility rests on those who remain in the ranks of Liberal organisation; for have they not the power now of tipping the scale for the Suffrage?

Liberal women have worked faithfully and patiently for long. It has always been required of them by their party. We have never been told as a sex, that we are unfit to work in organised associations in the constituencies, nor to undertake canvassing and election work. If our work is of value, we can exert pressure by withholding it, until the time comes when we are considered worthy to share political dignity and privilege as well as work.

The fact cannot be ignored that a Liberal Government is bringing in a Bill which enfranchises all men, while our claims are relegated to the very slender hopes of an amendment.

The experience of those of us who have already taken this step is curious. Anti-Suffrage Liberal men (what a paradox!) have been enraged with us, and those of only moderate suffrage sympathies have been won over. The antagonistic attitude of Liberal antis is comically illogical, as we are only carrying out to its logical results their view that, as a sex, we are unfit for political activities.

Signs are not wanting that the already numerous defections of Liberal women are causing anxiety at headquarters. No party woman likes to withdraw; but must not non-militants use every means in their power at the present extreme crisis in suffrage affairs?

In the ranks of the non-party National Union we can make the best possible use of any talents we possess for the cause of purity and the uplift and freedom of womanhood. Women have proved themselves equal to any sacrifice—and it may be that ardent party workers are now called upon for even this one—for a time at any rate!

MADLINE GRUBB.  
Winscombe.  
THE EFFECTIVE PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.  
The rejection of the Conciliation Bill has compelled us all to ask ourselves whether it is not time for the National Union to adopt new methods and a new policy. Whether the next Council meeting be called in July, as usual, or earlier, to meet fresh developments, it is the duty of every member to be considering every possibility and every plan of campaign.

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

The question of tax-resistance will no doubt come up again, but it cannot be adopted as the policy of the Union unless and until the Council has decided on it. But there is one form of campaign which may be begun at once, and that is the one outlined by Miss Catherine Marshall some time ago. It is the organization of large numbers of Suffragists, both men and women, who will undertake now, in writing, to withdraw support from any candidate of their own party who is an anti-Suffragist, and give it to one who is a Suffragist, at the cost of leaving their own constituency for another.

This policy has never been organised on a large scale all over the country. If it were, we of the N.U.W.S.S. would wield a weapon of power to terrorise the political associations most wholesomely. We should be in a position to demand that adopted candidates should not only call themselves Suffragists, but state this plainly in their election addresses. We are all a little sick of the gentleman whose address is invariably, and to his great regret, "already in the hands of the printers" when he is approached by a Suffrage deputation.

The advantage of this policy is:—  
(1) That it may (and should) be adopted at once, as it is strictly in line with National Union policy and methods.

(2) It brings into play our strongest weapon, and one which women are at least as competent to wield as men—I mean canvassing.

(3) It hurts our opponents where they feel it most (loss of canvassers at election-time) instead of where they feel it least (loss of money to insurance companies for plate-glass windows).

Its one disadvantage is that it is not calculated to relieve anybody's feelings—except as hard work may relieve them. And most of us, including myself, are feeling that we must relieve them or die in the attempt. But I have long been convinced that only persons endowed with votes can afford to have feelings. I am saving mine up till I have one, too.

A. MAUDE ROYDEN.  
Frankly Hall, Birkenhead, April 6th, 1912.

AN UNSCRUPULOUS LEADER

MAY I ask if THE COMMON CAUSE will give a black list of those Members of Parliament who had promised to vote for Woman Suffrage and on March 28th voted against it? Surely no self-respecting woman should help them in their constituencies at the next General Election. If we cannot bring ourselves to work against them, at least let men of no principle be left completely alone. There are always Labour Members on whom we can concentrate.

Some of the younger men before the debate talked glibly as to how they did not want the Suffrage to come in this form, at this particular moment, but said they would work for it at another time. Very little did they realise that times out of number this question has been shelved in exactly the same way. Women's "unselfishness" has always been counted on. Well do we remember 21 years ago listening to the then Countess of Carlisle, the head, as she still is, of the Women's Liberal Federation. She sat with the glorious background of Castle Howard behind her, giving her prestige and distinction, and pleaded earnestly with her hearers, who were eager then to bring the Suffrage question prominently forward within the Federation. Her plea was—and she was herself a strong Suffragist—"let us be unselfish; let us stand aside. The Home Rule matter is so important and pressing. Let us hold back and work only for that." And we held back.

And now we see these very Home Rulers shrinking back from even affirming the principle of our vote. Some of us would find it hard to work against Home Rule, but may we not refuse to help? The time has gone by for allowing men selfishly to trade on women's unselfishness. We, too, are selfish if we refuse to listen to the cry of our still more helpless sisters. Would it not be a good lesson to Mr. Redmond to endeavour to prove his profiting by the week, the thought of which was so tempting to him that he deliberately stole it from women? Women are not his constituents, so he does not fear them. He has sinned, and perhaps he should have to wait a little longer, and, like Moses, never personally enter the promised land. It might be better for Ireland, after all, to have as leader a man of greater principle, as it would be a triumph if, through the women, a better man were found.

ELIZABETH COBB.  
Wealdstone House, April 7th, 1912.

SIR ALMROTH WRIGHT'S LETTER.

It is stated in an article in *The Nation* of the 6th inst, that the letter by Sir Almoth Wright in *The Times* of March 28th contributed to the rejection of the Conciliation Bill. If this assumption is correct, then the opponents of women's suffrage have cause for rejoicing at the immediate success of an ingenious political trick, familiar to the professional politician of launching an indictment of the advocates of a measure at a time when no opportunity could be afforded for a reasoned reply.

An immediate victory is, however, often dearly purchased by doubtful methods, and the opponents of women's suffrage may yet find that the weapon employed by them to snatch a quick advantage will not bear the strain of a sustained fight; we see even now the effects of that letter upon the minds of many men

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and women who have had time to reflect upon the doctrine preached by its author. They are, perhaps, realising now for the first time the true meaning of the denial of political rights and privileges to women.

Those women who have joined the ranks of the anti-suffragists have not so far publicly approved Sir Almoth Wright's views. Their hesitancy in acclaiming him as their champion shows at least a lack of enthusiasm which is not surprising, since, in his attack upon Suffragists, he does not spare the anti-suffragist women who claim a fitness to instruct the male voter on political questions, and a competence to work side by side with men on local governing bodies. It is, of course, disheartening for anti-suffragist ladies who have striven hard to draw the distinction between women and that of the purely male political sphere, to have this distinctive line swept away by Sir Almoth Wright who has finally declared that men and women cannot work side by side.

Sir Almoth Wright's letter has been described as a bombshell. But a bombshell has sometimes an awkward rick of blowing up something quite different from that which it was aimed at; and when the noise and smoke and dust have cleared away from the explosion of this famous letter, it may be found that it has not resulted in any damage to the suffrage cause, but has cleared a way for that cause by destroying obstacles that have long obscured the view of right thinking but not well instructed men and women.

Sussex.

EDITH PALMER

Mrs. DALTON (Sidmouth) proposes a boycott of all anti-suffragist trades people.

**The Distribution of "The Common Cause."**

As we receive every week letters from secretaries of new societies asking us about the terms on which THE COMMON CAUSE is supplied to newsgagents, it seems to us that a few words on this subject would be useful, especially now that new societies are joining the Union at such a very rapid rate. When the new secretary goes round to the newsgagents in her area, and hears a different story from each one, she would be greatly helped in her dealings with them, if she could say with authority, "Such and such are the terms on which THE COMMON CAUSE can be supplied to you."

THE COMMON CAUSE is supplied "on sale or return." Therefore, if a newsgagent informs his customer that THE COMMON CAUSE is non-

returnable, either he is misinformed, or he has not taken trouble. Or, again, the inevitable middleman may be at fault.

It is that unknown quantity the wholesale newsgagent, the middleman, who supplies the shopkeeper, and each firm has its own business procedure. We do not pretend to be acquainted with all the variations and permutations which prevail, from the wholesale agent who will not countenance any returns of any paper if he can help it, and who has assured us that he acts thus in our interest entirely, to the one who sends out the papers at thirteen to the dozen and receives them back calculated on quite a different basis. But as we supply them, one and all, "on sale or return," on the understanding that they will supply their customers in turn on these same terms, we are justified in asking those of our friends, who are willing to take so much trouble for the paper, to find out from any newsgagent who talks of difficulties with returns, exactly what those difficulties are, so that we may have an opportunity of clearing them away.

We know, for instance, that some weekly papers are not supplied on sale or return; some of those with the largest circulations only permit two returns in every dozen sent out. It is, of course, so much simpler for a newsgagent to deal with all the papers exactly alike. Much of his work has to be done before most of us are awake in the morning, so that we may receive our morning paper at breakfast time, and it is often a tired and sleepy newsvendor who feels that his customer is trying to lay one more burden upon his reluctant shoulders when she interviews him in the afternoon.

There is, however, no royal road with newsgagents, and we must rely greatly upon members of the National Union to call upon them and endeavour by personal effort to make the paper known to them and to secure the regular subscribers who make the trade.

**Tax Resistance at Newcastle-on-Tyne.**

The first protest to be made in Newcastle-on-Tyne against the injustice of demanding the imperial taxes from women, who are excluded from any share in the government of their country took place on Thursday last, when the goods of Dr. Ethel Williams, who had refused to pay her income tax, were put to auction, having been distrained the previous Saturday.

The event aroused a vast amount of interest in the city, and the sale-rooms were crowded with a sympathetic and curious audience. Through the kindness of Mr. Adam Russell, the auctioneer, himself a suffragist, Dr. Ethel Williams had an opportunity, before the sale began, of explaining her position.

She had refused to pay her income tax because she stood for the principle that women who had the responsibilities of citizens should not be thrust out from the duties and privileges of citizens. She chose this moment for her protest because the present House of Parliament, which a year ago had said by a majority of 157 votes that it desired to enfranchise women, had just said by an adverse vote of 14 that women should not be enfranchised, and it had been openly said in the lobby of the House that it was the biggest joke of the year. She chose that form of protest, because it was a peculiarly English method, by which English men and women in the past had won the liberties which English men enjoy to-day. The constitution of our country was not written in the statute book, but in the hearts of our people, and it was the duty of citizens to protest against unjust laws that they might uphold the constitution. It was against the absolutely unconstitutional character of the taxation of a class which had no representation that she protested.

A working man who was present spontaneously spoke in support of the protest, saying he had never heard a common sense argument why women should not have the vote.

**Women's Tax Resistance League.**

There will be an open-air meeting in the Market Square, Aylesbury, on Saturday, April 13, at 7. Miss Brackenbury, Mr. Victor Duval, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson. Preceded by a procession, with banners, starting from Market Square punctually at 6.

The sale of Mrs. Hamilton's property will take place at the "Red Lion," Wendover, Tuesday, April 16, at 6 p.m.

A drawing-room meeting was held on Thursday, March 21, by invitation of Mrs. H. C. Saunders, at her house in Knightsbridge, under the auspices of the Women's Tax Resistance League. Mrs. Saunders presided, and, in welcoming her guests stated that she had just become a member of the league. Mrs. Cecil Chapman reminded her audience that Mr. Sydney Buxton and others in the House of Commons, who were deserting the women in their hour of need were really paid for their services there by the women taxpayers, and that for that reason alone women ought now to refuse to pay their share of these salaries. She said that she most firmly believed in this form of protest, and considered that when women were thoroughly aware of the need for special legislation on behalf of helpless women and children they would not hesitate to use it. She instanced bills dealing with urgent and vital questions which had been allowed to lie on the table for years, and also gave some very startling facts and figures with regard to the white slave traffic. Mrs. Kington Parkes suggested that in the minds of Suffragists at the present moment there is pre-eminently

the feeling that a way must be found by which they can protest against the action of the Government towards women's enfranchisement. She pointed out that tax resistance was the most logical and effectual weapon which tax-paying women of this country can use against what she held to be the unconstitutional attitude of the Government. It is they who have said, Mrs. Kington Parkes continued, that "taxation and representation should go together," and who continue to demand taxation from a very large section of the people who are not allowed any voice in deciding how these sums of money shall be spent.

A resolution was passed justifying tax-paying women in refusing to subscribe to the tyranny of unrepresentative government. Several new members joined the league.

**Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association.**

A meeting was held at 33, Molesworth Street, on March 29th. Miss Mary Hayden, M.A., presided, and Miss O'Nowlan read a paper on the work of the Association of United Irishwomen. The Association was formed a little more than a year ago with the aim of bringing together the women of Ireland to improve the conditions of rural life. There are already over 20 branches of the Association scattered over Ireland. The Association encourages rural amusements, use of Irish manufactured materials; it also helps the sick and aged and promotes co-operation among women in the sale of produce.



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**Forthcoming Meetings.  
ARRANGED BY THE NATIONAL UNION.**

(The meetings are given only a fortnight in advance.)

APRIL 11.  
Bexhill-on-Sea—Victoria Hall—Lecture on "Norway"—Mrs. Strickland evening.  
Bath—South Stoke Picnic Chambers—Miss Johnston evening.

APRIL 12  
Cheltenham—Town Hall—Canon Talbot, Miss Nina Boyle, Mr. Agg-Gardner, M.P. (chair) 8.0  
Brighton—Y.M.C.A. Hall, Old Steine—Brighton and Hove Committee "At Home"—Mrs. Corbett Ashby 8.0

APRIL 13  
Scarborough—St. Nicholas House—Whist Drive 8.0

APRIL 15.  
Roehdale—Provident Hall—Miss A. Maude Royden, The Lady Beatrice Kemp (chair) 7.30  
Roehdale—"Beechwood"—drawing-room meeting afternoon.

Nottingham—Office, 54, Long Row—Whist Drive admission 6d. 7.30  
Seaton Carew—Café—Miss Tilby's drawing-room meeting—Mrs. Rackham 3

Sunderland—Bide Hall, Burdon Road—Mrs. Rackham, Councillor Hartley French (chair) 8.0  
Alderley Edge—Public Hall—Miss M. Robertson, J. R. Tomlinson, Esq., Miss Ashton (chair) 7.30

Chester-le-Street—Mechanic's Hall—Mrs. P. Snowden, Viscountess Hawick (chair), Mr. J. W. Taylor, M.P. 7.30

APRIL 16  
Newcastle-on-Tyne—27, Ridley Place—Suffrage choir practice, conducted by Mrs. Bellas Simpson 8.0  
Shildon—Dean Street Schools—Mrs. P. Snowden, Miss Lucas (chair) 7.30

APRIL 17.  
Bath—Post Office Chambers, Northgate Street—"Mock trial of W.S." 8.0  
Newcastle-on-Tyne—Lorraine Hall—Shop Assistants' Meeting—Mrs. Racham, Dr. Ethel Williams (chair) 8.0

Tynemouth—St. Owen's Hall—Mrs. Snowden 7.30  
Walsend—Café—Miss Fenwick's drawing-room meeting—Mrs. Rackham 3.0

Leamington—Franchise Fete—The Winter Hall—Opened by Countess of Selborne, Mr. F. R. Benson (chair) 2.30  
Worthing—"At Home"—31, Warwick Street—Mrs. Tuffley (hostess), Mrs. Grimsdale (Women's Co-operative Guild) 4.0

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  
Leamington—Franchise Fete—The Winter Hall—Opened by the Lady Beatrice Kemp, Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck (chair) 2.30

Tunbridge Wells, Matfield—Mrs. Perkin "At Home," 4.30  
New Forest—New Milton—Bagoda Tea Rooms—Miss Margaret Robertson 4.30

APRIL 19.  
Bath—Coombe Donan—Mrs. Blackett's drawing-room meeting—Dr. Mary Morris 4.30  
Hove—Town Hall—Brighton and Hove Committee "At Home"—Mrs. Robie Uniacke 3.15

Darlington—Mechanic's Hall—Mrs. Philip Snowden, Gervase Markham, Esq. (chair) 8.0

APRIL 20.  
Nottingham—Office, 54, Long Row—"G. B. Shaw as Dramatist"—Mr. Belby 7.30

APRIL 22.  
Eccles—Morton St. Andrew's School—"Women and Children in Factories and Workshops" Lecturer from Industrial Law Committee 8.0

Tunbridge Wells—The Misses Scott "At Home"—the Suffrage Society's Office 4.0

APRIL 23.  
Newcastle-on-Tyne—27, Ridley Place—Suffrage choir practice conducted by Mrs. Bellas Simpson 8.0

APRIL 24.  
Worthing—"At Home"—31, Warwick Street—Hostesses, the Miss Thorp, Mrs. Thompson on "Citizenship" 4.0

SCOTLAND.

April 20.  
Dingwall—Masonic Hall—Dr. Elsie Inglis afternoon.

**MEETINGS ADDRESSED BY MEMBERS OF THE UNION.**

April 11.  
Dublin—33, Molesworth Street—Irish W. S. and Local Government Association—Committee meeting 11.30—Miss C. Corbett, B.A., will speak at 12.0

APRIL 14.  
Huntingdon—Trinity Union Church Men's Brotherhood—Mrs. Rackham 3.30

APRIL 15.  
Birmingham—Farm Street Women's Adult School—Mrs. Ring 3.30  
Shifnal—Young Liberals—Mrs. Osler 8.0

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Printed and Published by OBEY & CO. LIMITED, 83-4, Long Acre, London, W.C., for the Proprietors, The Common Cause Publishing Co., Ltd., and Published at 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. Manchester: John Heywood; Abel Heywood and Son; W. H. Smith and Son. Newcastle-on-Tyne: W. H. Smith and Son. Edinburgh and Glasgow: J. Menzies and Co. Dublin and Belfast: Eason and Son.

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