

The Common Cause

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Notes and Comments.

The Will to Succeed.

A brief interval of ten days separates us at length from the ordeal that must decide the fortunes of women's suffrage in this Parliament. The votes which will be cast in the Commons during the fateful week which opens on the Monday after next will be the measure of our work and the reward of our sacrifices during all the years that lie behind us. A proposal which will mark a step into a new era of civilisation has become at last a familiar and hopeful issue in our current politics. By labours which no other cause in our generation has exacted from its followers, the work of conversion, we believe, is already completed. The chances of the suffrage amendments rest, in a sense, with our supporters in the House. Patient organisation within the lobbies, good generalship and a sense of comradeship which rises above party—these factors are working for us against the small arts of the scaremonger and the calculations of the electioneer. But much still depends even in these last days upon our own efforts. There is still a margin of doubtful and neutral Members. There are still men who, if they cannot be induced to vote for us, may yet be persuaded to abstain. The only rule of safety is that each of our Societies should act as though the winning of a majority depended on securing the vote of its own Member. It is not too late for deputations of influential constituents to visit him at the House, nor even to convince him by memorials that his support for women's emancipation will be popular. Our fate is in our own hands. The first element in success is the will to succeed.

Which Amendment?

Inside the House the atmosphere is in one respect more hopeful than we have known it in recent years. The routine work of lobbying and organisation is no longer left to outsiders. Under the inspiring leadership of Mr. Acland and Lord Robert Cecil, the Suffragist Members of the two chief parties have formed themselves into working groups, which allow no day to pass without its effort. They are engaged in a systematic canvass, and they are working together with cordial understanding. The practical question assumes to-day the optimistic form—Which of the two compromise amendments has the better chance? There is no longer a doubt that the Dickinson proposal will rally a larger body of Conservative support than most of us had ventured to expect; and we reckon, at the least, on Conservative Suffragists not to vote against it. "The truest friends of suffrage for women," as Lady Selborne puts in an admirable article in the *Conservative Franchise Review*, "will

pledge themselves to vote for both the amendments in succession." It is equally certain that if the Dickinson proposal should unluckily fail, the vast majority of Liberal suffragists will support the Conciliation amendment. Indeed, if the issue lay only with the Members from the United Kingdom, it is evident that either of these amendments could be carried with ease. The choice between them rests in effect with the Irish Party. Their vote is essential to the success of the Dickinson amendment. It is much less indispensable to the Conciliation proposal. No genuine suffragist will hesitate to prefer the more generous scheme. We should have thought that the Irish Party, faced with this alternative, would instinctively cast its vote for the more democratic plan.

The Grey Amendment.

It is good news that the anti-suffragists have decided after all to challenge a division on Sir Edward Grey's amendment to delete the word "male." An affirmation of the principle of women's suffrage will have more than an academic meaning on such an occasion as this. If the House declares its will that women shall not be excluded from the Bill, it is morally bound on pain of confessing its impotence as a legislative machine to decide further what women shall be included.

Resignations.

The *Manchester Guardian* does good service in calling attention to the activity of the two hereditary Cabinet Ministers in spreading the rumour that they propose to resign if women's suffrage should be carried. That is precisely the manœuvre best calculated to stimulate the zeal of our friends on the Front Bench. Sir Edward Grey, in particular, has publicly stated that any threats of resignation are contrary to the spirit of the Government's offer. But we doubt whether Members will take these threats very seriously. The Front Bench has always been a more congenial seat to Mr. Harcourt than the sacrificial altar. As for Mr. Churchill, we venture to predict that when a Women's Suffrage Amendment is carried he will proceed to review his past record. It lends itself to judicious selection. We can already hear him reminding the women electors of Dundee that he was once a patron of the Conciliation Committee. In his brief public career all his opinions have been subject to modification, save only his belief in the desirability of office.

The Militant "Deputation."

We are afraid that all the appeals from fellow-suffragists have failed to move the W.S.P.U. from its purpose to hold a militant demonstration during the critical week. A "Deputation" of working women, under Mrs. Drummond, will apparently attempt to force its way into the House while the debate is proceeding. For the physical courage and devotion of the rank and file who have been persuaded to engage in this disastrous undertaking we can only feel respect. But the leaders cannot fail to perceive the consequences of their policy. No competent judge inside or outside the House doubts that the window-breaking of last March played a decisive part in the wrecking of the Conciliation Bill. When these tactics are repeated, we can only suppose that the leaders, who have always refused to give this second opportunity for suffrage its fair chance, regard the risk of a second wreck with indifference, or even with satisfaction. The Conciliation Bill was not "torpedoed." It was stoned. If a second disaster were to result from the same

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

The House of Commons and the Women's Suffrage Amendments.

In the week beginning January 20th the Government Franchise Bill will go into Committee, and the opportunity will have arrived, which was promised by Mr. Asquith as long ago as 1908, for obtaining the enfranchisement of women by means of Amendment to a Government measure.

In accordance with the Prime Minister's subsequent promise to the Women's Suffrage deputation of November 1911 the Bill has been drafted in such a way as to make possible the inclusion of women on any terms the House of Commons may decide; and whatever measure of Women's Suffrage the House does decide upon will be accepted by the Government and incorporated as an integral part of the Bill. Mr. Asquith, being opposed to Women's Suffrage, was not prepared to introduce any Women's Suffrage Measure himself, but he is prepared to bow to the will of the House of Commons. Women's Suffrage, like Catholic Emancipation in 1827-9, is a question which cuts across all parties, and makes it difficult for either a Liberal or a Conservative Government to initiate legislation on the matter. But all are agreed that the question is ripe for settlement, and that so long as it remains unsettled it will be a disrupting force very embarrassing to any Government that may be in power. Mr. Asquith has, therefore, taken the course adopted by Sir Robert Peel with regard to Catholic Emancipation, a course which aroused bitter criticism at the time, but which later generations have seen to be a piece of wise statesmanship, saving the country from many years of internal conflict, growing daily more embittered and more of an obstacle in the way of all peaceful social development.

The responsibility for granting or withholding Women's Suffrage will rest with the House of Commons. It is a great responsibility and a great opportunity. How will it be met?

The levity with which the question was treated in the House in old days is a thing of the past. A thorough-going Anti-Suffragist Member, interviewed by his constituents the other day, called them to witness that he had never treated the matter as a joke; he had "always realised that it was no laughing matter."

The great debate on the Conciliation Bill in 1910, lasting two days, and involving the leading speakers of all parties in the House, brought forward all the theoretical and practical arguments for and against the granting of the Parliamentary

methods, the result would not be to prove the thesis of the W.S.P.U. It has maintained that no unofficial effort for suffrage has a chance. The real inference would be that no effort accompanied by tactics of irritation and provocation had a chance. But these tactics may be regarded to-day with comparative equanimity. The W.S.P.U. can no longer be confused with the Suffrage movement, and members realise that the sane judgment of the community will not endure the breaking of pledges in a moment of unreasoning ill-temper.

Under the Parliament Act.

Sir Henry Craik can have derived no comfort from the answer of the Prime Minister to a question designed to suggest that Women's Suffrage, if embodied in the Franchise Bill, ought not to receive the benefit of the Parliament Act. Mr. Asquith's reply left standing and intact the plain statement of Sir John Simon that the provisions of the Parliament Act will apply to it. That is, indeed, as we show elsewhere, a legitimate inference from the Prime Minister's own pledges. Nor have we forgotten that Mr. Lloyd George, in his speech at the Albert Hall meeting last February, sketched the procedure under the Parliament Act in sufficiently clear terms:—

"This year, this session, determines as far as the next general election is concerned, the fate of this question. I am proceeding on the assumption that the House of Lords, if it is sent up there, may reject it. . . . You had better prepare your plans on the assumption that they will throw it out, at any rate the first and second time, and that it will go through the third time."

Sir John Simon himself hardly spoke more clearly. But, indeed, the question is hardly worth raising. Every one knows that there is only one explanation of the length and congestion of this abnormal session. There are three Bills which must be passed this year a first time, if they are to receive the benefit of the Parliament Act. One of the three is the Franchise Bill, and the suffrage amendment when carried will be treated as an "integral part" of it.

The Referendum Once More.

The real purpose of Sir Henry Craik's question was, we suppose, to advertise the almost forgotten expedient of a referendum. The compilers of Parliamentary gossip in the Westminster Gazette and the Observer have simultaneously drawn this rusty weapon from the cobwebs of their armoury. They have forgotten that this matter was irrevocably settled by the Speaker last time. Invited to give a ruling as to whether a referendum might be introduced into the Home Rule Bill, he was content to adopt as his own a classical ruling by his predecessor, Mr. Speaker Peel. It was to the effect that a matter of such "transcendent importance" could not be brought into the scope of such a Bill, nor could the electors be empowered to "override the decision of this House." These are clear general principles, and they apply as obviously to Women's Suffrage as to Home Rule. There can be no question of a referendum, for the sufficient reason that it would be out of order to propose it. We need hardly go on to argue that, if it could be proposed, it could not be carried. Liberals cannot support what Mr. Lloyd George has denounced as a costly method of delaying justice, nor will Unionists make a precedent which would infallibly be used against Tariff Reform.

The Labour Party's Conference.

The Labour Leader, by arrangement with the National Union and the Election Fighting Fund, issues a special Women's Suffrage supplement. It contains articles by Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Snowden, Miss I. O. Ford, Miss Margaret Macmillan, and Miss Margaret Robertson, as well as a cartoon by Mr. Henry Holiday, who is as staunch a suffragist as he is a distinguished artist. It will be distributed with the COMMON CAUSE next week. The purpose of this supplement is to make an appeal to the whole Labour Party to follow the lead of the I.L.P., and to reaffirm at their conference, which meets at the end of this month, their decision to treat any Franchise Bill which fails to enfranchise women as "unacceptable." An unacceptable Bill ought clearly to be rejected. We are out to win, and it is not for the rejection of the Bill but for the passage of the amendments that we are working. But this conference will meet after their fate is known, and its vote will suffice to destroy a Bill which must aggravate the grievance under which women labour if it fails to bring redress. Our hope is that, if the party in power will not do justice, Labour will place itself across the road and forbid all progress with any franchise reform which does not liberate women. We count on the Labour Party to be true to its magnificent record and its generous impulses, and to act as the one organised body of electors which is prepared to make a firm stand for the rights of women.

Franchise to women; and since then the question has been in the forefront of political controversy, in the Press, and at elections; masses of literature have been issued by the various Women's Suffrage organisations, whose number increases almost every month; vast numbers of meetings have been held; and a constant stream of resolutions, memorials, and petitions has besieged the Government and the Private Member.

One thing, at any rate, seems certain; the question will not be allowed this time to be side-tracked or evaded by any technical quibbling. The House will discuss and vote upon

1. the question whether any women at all are to be included in the Bill, as Parliamentary Electors.
2. the question which women shall be included.

The first point will be raised when Sir Edward Grey moves the deletion of the word "male" from Clause 1, Sub-section 1, of the Bill. If that word is allowed to remain no Women's Suffrage Amendment can be moved. The Parliamentary franchise will be definitely confined to male persons only. If the word "male" is deleted the House will have declared its opinion that the question of including women ought, at any rate, to be discussed, and will then proceed to consider whether all women, or only some women, should be included. A number of Amendments on this point are put down on the Order Paper, but the three official amendments, backed by the three organised groups of Suffragists in the House, are:

(a) Adult Suffrage, giving the Parliamentary vote to men and women on equal terms.

This Amendment would enfranchise about 11 million women, *i.e.*, about a million more women than men. It will be supported by Mr. Henderson, Mr. Snowden, and others.

(b) The "Dickinson" Amendment.

Giving votes to women over 25 years of age who are householders or wives of householders. This amendment would enfranchise about 6 million women. It will be supported by Mr. Dickinson (Lib.), Mr. Acland (Lib.), Mr. Goulding (Con.), Sir John Rolleston (Con.), and others.

(c) The "Conciliation" Amendment.

Giving votes to those women only who are on the municipal register. This amendment would enfranchise about 1½ million women. It will be supported by Mr. Murray Macdonald (Lib.), Mr. Bentham (Lib.), Mr. Alfred Lyttelton (Con.), Mr. Goldman (Con.), and others.

The House will have the opportunity of voting on the largest Amendment first; then, if that fails, on the next largest; and if that, too, fails on the smallest of the three—the Conciliation Amendment.

This arrangement will give the least possible opportunity for any "jockeying" of the vote, or any evasion on the part of Members who want to get the credit for being Suffragists, but avoid giving their support to any practicable form of Women's Suffrage. Each of these solutions will this time be voted on as a practicable solution. The House will know that, if it passes any one of them, that one will be thenceforward adopted as an integral part of the Government Bill. This consideration need not lead Conservatives to oppose the Women's Suffrage Amendments. All that their favourable vote will mean is that if the Franchise Bill is to be passed they would prefer that it should include some women. A Conservative Member told a deputation the other day that he would consider it illogical to vote for an Amendment to a Bill he disapproved of. An analysis of that Member's voting on the Amendments to the Home Rule Bill reveals one long series of "illogical" acts! But of course such a contention is absurd. If you disapprove of a Bill all the more reason for getting it amended!

One great difficulty in the way of the passage of any Women's Suffrage measure on former occasions has always been the question whether married women were to be included or not. If the Bill included them there were always some Members who said: "Give votes to widows and spinsters, by all means, but it would never do for our wives to have votes. They might disagree with us; besides, anyhow, they have us to represent them." The obvious reply to such argument is: "If your wives disagree with you how can you say you represent them? If you do represent them that means that their views are the same as yours, and in that case where is the harm in giving them votes?" But these gentlemen were not moved by reason or logic. When, in deference to their objections, a measure was brought in excluding wives, the same people were found exclaiming indignantly "What! not give my wife a vote? Why,

if any woman deserves a vote it is my wife, the pick of her sex." Then there were always a certain number of Members who sat on the fence, though, as one of them said the other day, the position is very uncomfortable owing to over-crowding! There was always one excuse or another for not voting for the particular measure of Women's Suffrage which happened to be before Parliament.

But this time every one will have an opportunity of voting for the kind of Women's Suffrage he prefers. Everyone who believes in any kind of Women's Suffrage at all must vote for the deletion of the word "male," as a necessary preliminary to discussing the question. Then the House must decide whether it desires to include all women, on the same terms as men, or women householders and wives of householders, or only those women who have the Municipal Vote.

Every one is agreed that the first of these proposals has no chance of passing. Men are too much afraid of putting women electors in a majority. It will have the support of the whole Labour Party, a section of the Liberal Party, and a few Conservatives whose belief in political equality between men and women outweighs their fear of creating a large new electorate. But the amendment will have a big majority against it.

Of the two other Amendments, according to the latest estimates the smallest one (Women Municipal Voters only) seems, at the moment, to have the best chance of passing. This would be very disappointing for Suffragists who have been building their hopes on the "Dickinson" Amendment; but a quarter of a loaf is better than no bread, and the passage of the Conciliation Amendment will at any rate break down the sex-barrier which at present excludes all women from any share of political representation whatever.

These estimates leave out of account the vote of the Irish Party. It is common knowledge that the fate of the Women's Suffrage Amendments rests ultimately with them. It is probable that they can prevent the passage of any measure of Women's Suffrage. It is certain that they can, if they choose, determine whether Women's Suffrage, if carried at all, shall be carried in the form of the Dickinson or the Conciliation Amendment.

Women Lawyers in Russia.

(From Our Special Correspondent.)

ST. PETERSBURG.

The Bill admitting women lawyers to the legal profession, having passed the Duma last session, was handed over to a Committee of the Council of the Empire, where a hot debate on the question took place a few days ago. The Conservative members of the Committee could not help agreeing with the rest as to the soundness of the underlying principle, acknowledging that it was both illogical and inconsistent to admit women to the study of law without giving them the possibility of applying their knowledge in practice.

Yet the Conservatives tried to find some fault with the Bill, maintaining that the wording of it was not sufficiently clear and definite to admit of its being carried into law.

However, the advocates of Women's Rights knew how to defend their cause, and the Bill was accepted by the Committee in its original form and sent to the Council of the Empire, where it will be considered in the near future. Should the Bill receive a majority there, it will become law, and a number of young intellectual enthusiastic spirits will be added to the legal profession—all those women graduates who studied law partly for "love of the thing," partly because they hoped that some day they, too, will enjoy those rights that so long have been the privilege of one sex only.

The opening up of the legal profession will supply an urgent demand from wide areas of Russia, since the population of the country districts is wholly without legal advice at present. Women lawyers will be as welcome there as women doctors are, who, in a short time, succeeded in gaining the full confidence of the peasants.

A Persian Simile.

An address upon "The Equality of Women" was delivered at Essex Hall by Abdul Baha, in which he compared men and women to the two wings of a bird, and pointed out that no bird could fly upward unless both wings were strong and were guided by a common impulse. He spoke of the courage and spirit of the Persian women and declared that the emancipation of women could not now be stopped.

The Young Woman's Career.

As the holiday time, which is marked out for the young at Christmas and the New Year, draws to a close, many mothers and, one hopes, fathers are anxiously considering what course they should pursue with regard to the young daughters who have just left school, and with their new grown-up frocks and their still very adolescent ideas, have presumably come home to stop. Let the fathers and mothers—and let the aunts who care for their nieces—look around them and consider the situation very carefully before any one settles that such a course is permissible for their beloved girl, on the threshold of her fortunes, any more than for her brother.

The older people, looking round on their own generation, will see that about half of the women of their family and acquaintance have remained unmarried; and everywhere they may note the disadvantage of their economic position. They see those who, as girls 20 and 30 years ago, were content with an ordinary home life, who "did the flowers," played tennis, and drove with their mothers over the long country roads to pay calls—now in middle-age turned out of their comfortable homes. They see many of them thrown into the hard world with small pittances on which to live out half their lives, with comparatively expensive tastes, and with neither training, energy, nor inclination, after many years of idleness, to earn anything for their own support. These women were brought up on the tacit understanding that their profession would be marriage; they were prepared for no other profession, but they were often enough given but small opportunity to secure a husband, and, therefore, maintenance. They did not marry; there was no one to marry them.

In those parts of London and of England where the residents of the upper middle-class mostly congregate the proportion of the sexes between the ages of 30 and 35 (according to recent calculations) is about 1,800 women to 1,000 men. How is it possible that most women should marry? Let parents remember that it is impossible, as things are in England to-day, and let them give their daughters as good a professional training as circumstances will permit. Professional women, of course, often marry; but they are not compelled to seek marriage as their only means of livelihood, or to accept any suitor, for economic reasons, who might be an undesired husband.

It may be readily admitted that while many professions and callings are now open to women, comparatively few are well paid. In choosing a profession for a girl it may, perhaps, be laid down as a rule that it should either be a pleasant and absorbing form of work, or else give promise of substantially improving prospects as years pass. Those who are wedded to Art will be little likely to make a fortune; but those who begin life with typewriter and ledger should have a scheme of advancement to sweeten drudgery.

There are many different arts and crafts (as exemplified in the Englishwoman Exhibition, held at the Maddox Street Galleries in November) in which women with aptitude and cleverness may make a living. Some few may do much better than this, according to their qualities; but whoever serves Art in the studio, or the workshop, may look for much quiet happiness, and days and years of absorbing interest, combined, probably enough, with little more than the bare necessities of life.

The business capacities of women have been in this country much neglected. It is notorious that the sons of business men very frequently fail to show any aptitude for their fathers' professions, and many an eldest son, destined for a stool in his father's office has rebelled at the fate assigned to him, and to the bitter disappointment of his elders declined a promising career. It is quite conceivable that the eldest daughter in such a family, if suitably educated, might prove to have capacity for the very part declined by her brother. Daughters often inherit their father's qualities, and might in many ways prove themselves, as trusted head clerks or managers of departments, of the greatest help and comfort to their father in his declining years, while providing well for their own future.

Shopkeepers on a large scale should undoubtedly train their daughters, where a profession is desirable, to manage branch establishments; and there is reason to believe that a great number of well-educated women would much enjoy shopkeeping, and show great aptitude for commercial enterprises.

Housekeeping, on what might be called the grand scale, one would think, should be wholly in the hands of highly-trained and competent women. The State employs immense numbers of housekeepers, in commissariat departments great and small;

and institutions of all sorts need (though they do not always have) at the head of catering departments tried and competent officials of unimpeachable probity. Those who take a social science training should bear such possibilities as those in mind.

Competent persons who are compelled to begin in a small way as clerk in an office should note that the secretarial profession is not (as is commonly supposed) over-stocked with women. On the contrary, a really good secretary, with education and experience, need never be a day without lucrative employment.

To the young woman of scientific tastes and suitable qualities the great medical profession has thrown open its doors; more hospitably indeed than many other professions at the present time. Of course, parents considering a career for their daughters must remember that the training for this profession takes at least five years, and the aspirant will need to bear in mind that these years will be strenuous ones. On the other hand, it may be noted that good openings for the fully-trained medical woman tend to increase. At present no State provision is made in India for the medical attendance of the millions of purdah women living under our sway. One cannot but believe that before many years have passed the Government of the country will be calling for trained and competent women doctors for the Indian Empire, as well as for many official posts at home and abroad, of which the present trend of legislation gives hints.

For those with scientific tastes who do not aspire to medicine as a career pharmacy offers useful and interesting work. Doctors' daughters, with a knowledge of dispensing, may, under the new regulations with regard to National Insurance, prove invaluable assistants at home, and may acquire under their father's tuition professional knowledge which shall make them independent.

All parents seeking a career for their daughters will naturally obtain details regarding the different Civil Service posts open to women, and also the positions offered by the great teaching profession, in many ways one of the most honourable that a woman can pursue.

What is needed at this moment is that fathers should occupy themselves in seeing that suitable openings are secured for their young daughters when they are not able themselves to provide for them for life. Hitherto they have tried to place their sons and have left their daughters to do their own bargaining. Is it wonderful that they are exploited by their employers?

M. LOWNDES.

The History of Learning.

Professor Patrick Geddes, whose "Masques of Learning" were recently produced with so much success in Edinburgh, has consented to give in London a course of five lectures on "The History of Learning," which may be regarded as a forerunner to the production of the Masques in the University of London. As Professor Geddes will deal in these lectures with the part women, as well as men, have taken in the history of world-culture, and as he has something to say on the dawning Future, as well as on the story of the Past, and the interpretation of the Present, the course will be of especial interest to all women who are taking thought on the development of the race.

The lectures will be held at Crosby Hall, More's Garden, Chelsea, commencing on January 29th, at 8.15 p.m. Further particulars can be obtained from J. Ross, Esq., 2, More's Garden, Chelsea, S.W.

A Suffragist Medical Officer.

It is always pleasant to hear of keen Suffragists being commended for the excellence of their public work. One of the most recent examples is that of Miss Sophia Seekings, M.D., B.S., D.P.H., a staunch supporter of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, who has been temporarily filling the post of Medical Officer of Health for Tottenham. Dr. Seekings was one of the first women to carry out the duties of this onerous post. At the end of her six months' tenure, the Chairman of the Public Health Committee bore testimony to the efficiency with which she had fulfilled them, and the officers under her, so far from resenting feminine rule, worked their hardest during her tenure of office, and at its close combined to present her with a silver rose-bowl, bearing an inscription recording their esteem and respect.

Women's Suffrage and the Parliament Act.

An important reply was given by Mr. Asquith to a question asked in the House of Commons on Tuesday, December 31st.

Sir Henry Craik asked the Prime Minister whether the Solicitor-General expressed the view of the Government when he said, in the London Opera House on 4th December, that the Franchise Bill, with a Woman Suffrage Amendment, was secure in enjoying the full advantage of the Parliament Act; and whether a Bill, altered in a sense contradictory of a previous decision of the present House of Commons, would be one to which the Government would be prepared, without any further appeal to the people, to apply the provisions of the Parliament Act?

To which Mr. Asquith replied:

My hon. and learned friend, in the speech to which the hon. Member refers, was, I am informed, careful to point out that what he was saying did not constitute any new declaration made either on behalf of the Government or of myself. I must refer the hon. gentleman to my own public declarations on the subject, to which at present I have nothing to add.

It will be seen that the significance of Mr. Asquith's reply consists in his statement that Sir John Simon was careful to point out that what he was saying did not constitute "any new declaration." So as Mr. Asquith challenged none of Sir John Simon's conclusions, he has virtually admitted that what the Solicitor-General said on December 4th, does represent the intention of the Government as expressed in Mr. Asquith's promises given in November, 1911.

It is worth while, therefore, to recapitulate the principal points made by Sir John Simon in this connection.

He dealt briefly with the first three pledges, pointing out that the first two have already been fulfilled, and that the third is a definite pledge which can undoubtedly be relied upon.

The Prime Minister—(applause)—speaking for the Government, and in the name of the Government, has made declarations, some of which Mr. Henderson has referred to to-day, and it is perfectly clear that the result of those declarations made by and on behalf of the Government, puts the question of Women's Suffrage in a position vastly superior to the position which private individuals could ever put it in, and has created a Parliamentary opportunity of which the sincere friends of Women's Suffrage ought now to take full advantage.

Now, Mr. Asquith has, as I think is quite clear from his recorded statements, done four things, and we all know him to be a man who has great powers of clear and unambiguous statement. I trust that I can state in precise language what those four things are. In the first place, the Prime Minister announced the intention of the Government to introduce, and the hope of the Government to carry into law, a Franchise Bill in this session of 1912. That was his first announcement. Ladies and gentlemen, here is the Bill: I hold a copy of it in my hands.

The second was this. Mr. Asquith promised that the Government Bill should be so drafted as to admit of amendments introducing women to the Parliamentary franchise on other terms than men. Here, again, is the Bill, and when you turn to this Bill you will find that it is a Bill which, both by its title and its contents, precisely and exactly corresponds with the Prime Minister's pledge.

In the third place, sir, he promised that the Government, as a Government, would not oppose such Women's Suffrage Amendments, but that the Government, as a Government, would leave the matter to the House of Commons as a whole. There again we have the most definite assurance upon which, I need hardly say, I rely unreservedly, and upon which I think every reasonable and candid citizen ought, in common decency, to rely.

Sir John Simon's comments on the fourth promise are those which were called in question, and it will be seen that he spoke in perfectly definite terms. If Mr. Asquith had not intended his pledges to carry the interpretation put upon them by the Solicitor-General, he was bound to make this clear when questioned upon the subject in the House of Commons.

The following are Sir John Simon's words:

Lastly, sir, Mr. Asquith said, in the fourth place, that he would promise that the Government would regard any amendment which enfranchised women, if it was carried by the House, as an integral part of the Bill, and would defend it in all its stages. (Applause.)

Now on that I should like just to say a word or two. The Prime Minister pointed out that this question of Women's Suffrage from the Parliamentary point of view stands upon a footing entirely its own because, of course, it is a question in which divisions of opinion, acute as they are, in no way correspond to the ordinary distinctions of party. And, since that is so, the Liberal Government, as a Government, is not able to propose Women's Suffrage. The same thing would unquestionably be true if the Conservative Opposition were called upon to take up the work of Government in their turn. So far, the situation is a perfectly plain one. But it is one thing for a Government to make itself responsible for initiating proposals for Women's Suffrage; it is quite another thing, when you are dealing with a question which cuts athwart ordinary party associations and ordinary party antagonisms—it is quite another thing, I say, for a Government to give the House

of Commons an opportunity, after free discussion, and without Government pressure direct or indirect—(applause)—of expressing its deliberate opinion. (Applause.) Now, sir, it is that deliberate decision of the House of Commons, when it has been incorporated into the Government Bill, which may then, as Mr. Asquith himself has pointed out, fairly claim all the protection, all the support, which a Government, and a Government alone, can give to a Government measure. In fact, ladies and gentlemen, the measure—if and when that happens—the measure, I say, thus amended, becomes the Government measure. (Applause.) Private enterprise has failed to carry this reform into law for twenty-five years. What a Government measure can do, thus amended, by the deliberate judgment of the House of Commons, is quite another matter. Such a measure, as you have pointed out, sir, goes forward to the House of Lords with all the authority of the Government Bill. If it meets in the House of Lords with that fate which, in the past, has not infrequently overtaken the Bills of Liberal Governments—if it does, well then it is secure in enjoying, along with the Home Rule Bill and other measures of the Government, the full advantage of the Parliament Act. (Applause.) Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is what the Prime Minister has promised.

It will further be remembered that when Mr. Asquith gave the undertakings referred to, he ended his remarks by saying, "We are prepared both in the letter and the spirit to carry out the whole of the pledges we have given you," and it is clear that two of these pledges—that the Reform Bill would go through all its stages in the Session of 1912, and that the Government would regard an amendment enfranchising women if carried as an integral part of the Bill, and defend it in all its stages, certainly implied the protection of the Parliament Act.

Conservatives and the Dickinson Amendment.

The new number of the *Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Review* contains an article by Lady Selborne upon "The Political Outlook," which should carry weight with all thinking men of her party. After a dignified introduction and a terse explanation of the position, the article proceeds:

"I cannot see myself on what grounds the Lyttelton amendment is held to be more favourable to the Conservative Party than the Dickinson amendment. The class of women enfranchised will be precisely the same. The great mass of women ratepayers are widows who were wives of householders, till their husbands died. They are older than the wives and poorer. They are supposed to favour the Conservative candidates in municipal elections, but I think it is very doubtful if they are actuated by Conservative principles, or simply by a dread of higher rates. The Progressive Party in municipal politics is associated with high rates in most people's minds, and to these poor people even the smallest rise of rates is a very serious affair. But it does not follow that they will therefore be Conservative in a Parliamentary election. I am inclined to believe that, as a party, the Conservatives would reap most benefit from the enfranchisement of the wives. As a rule these would vote with their husbands, thus giving the married men greater power at the polls than the single men. And surely the family is the foundation of Conservatism. The care of children, the responsibility for their welfare, the desire that tranquillity may continue, the recognition of the importance of industrial stability, are the very roots of that sober and measured Conservatism, which finds its most direct expression in the Conservative Party, but we are glad to think, permeates all parties and all classes—at least among English people.

"The truest friends of suffrage for women will pledge themselves to vote for both these amendments in succession. Thus, and thus only, shall we be able to defeat the forces against us."

The "Lyttelton" amendment would enfranchise women ratepayers; the "Dickinson" amendment women householders and the wives of householders.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society.

At the first Annual Meeting of the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society there was a very crowded attendance. Miss Jeffrey, the Secretary, read the report, showing that the membership was steadily increasing with vigorous branches, that the Society has now attained a definite recognised status, and was called upon by other Suffrage Societies to answer Catholic attacks from the Catholic standpoint, which in itself was a proof of the need of the Society. Miss Whately read the financial report, which, though showing a favourable balance, she declared was quite inadequate to the needs of the Society, such as the urgent need for larger office premises and the means for providing new branches, literature, meetings, etc., and she called upon all members and associates to make generous donations to the funds. Mrs. Meynell, Miss Christopher St. John, and Mrs. Walter Roch were elected as members of the committee in addition to the previous members of the committee, who were all re-elected.

The Women's Suffrage Congress.

Active Preparations.

Frau Rosika Schwimmer, writing on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Women's Suffrage Congress, which is to be held at Buda-Pesth, June 15th-20th, 1913, sends us the following communication as to the arrangements which are being made in preparation for this event:

"On the proposal of Baroness George Banffy, it was decided to ask guests at private five-o'clock teas and parties which occur until the Congress, to pay a small sum for such social entertainment. This plan alone has brought the Treasury many hundred crowns.

"In many families the children have saving-boxes for the Congress funds, the three Meller girls, the little Countess Haller Jancsi Kozma, who is a student of the High School, and an ardent Suffragist since she was four years of age, heading the list of these young collectors. Another girl student gives all her fees, received for coaching her fellow-students, to the Congress funds.

The proceeds of many cinematograph performances in town and country are also being devoted to the Cause.

"Sports have also paid their tribute, on November 1st two well-known football clubs playing matches for the benefit of our funds.

"We are indebted to the Committee of Artists, presided over by the Countess Pejacevich and the painter, Ritta Boemm, for a good sum. Our most prominent painters and sculptors, men and women, have made us presents of about 60 art products, which were sold at an auction, the popular writer and director of an artists' cabaret, M. Endre Nagy, acting as auctioneer.

"Financial and propagandist success have also been achieved by garden parties, bazaars, and lectures held in fashionable bathing-places, principally in Trencsén-Teplé, Tátrafüred, and Tátralomnic. To different Municipalities and Districts we are indebted for contributions to the funds, and many episodes show us how deep is the sympathy with our cause in all grades of the population.

"The Society of Peasant Women (agricultural working-women) of the village of Balmazújváros f.i., sent us 63 crowns, which these exceedingly poor women have collected amongst themselves. This gift we value more than many larger sums, as it means really a great sacrifice for our cause.

"A member of our Executive Committee was invited to dinner in a country town at a friend's house. When leaving, she gave a 'tip' of three crowns to the cook. But the cook asked the lady to give the sum to the Congress fund. 'I cannot save anything,' she remarked, 'as I want to keep my son decently, and this takes the whole of my wages, but I know that it is my duty to show that I am thankful to the movement which will improve the position of all women, and I beg you to give the tip to the Congress fund.' At the beginning of December we arranged a Christmas bazaar, with lectures by the Countess Teleki, the well-known writer Terka Lux, and the English Suffragist, Miss Cicely Corbett, which also brought us a good profit.

"Propaganda has been carried out most ardently in all parts of the world. Everywhere placards and propaganda stamps are announcing 'the great event of the year 1913,' as an English paper called our coming Congress.

"With regard to the arrangements for the Congress sessions, these are also proceeding with vigour. The Committee of Interpreters, under the organisation of Mme. de Szirmay, has been holding for more than a year courses in 'conversation' in French, German, and English, so that the members of the Congress may find a band of competent helpers ready to hand. The Committee of Guides, presided over by Mme. Eugénie Miskolezy Meller, is preparing to look after the members of the Congress who are bent on sight-seeing. The Committee of Reception, of which Madame Olga Ungar is President, is arranging for suitable accommodation for the guests, and is also systematising proffered hospitality.

"The Committee of Young People, under the care of Flora Békásy, is extremely active. The 'Young People' will serve as Pages during the Congress; they must, therefore, be efficient in foreign languages, and must know the outline of the history of the women's movement in different countries before the time when their services are needed.

"The importance of the Congress is enhanced by the meeting of the Second Congress of the International Men's League for Woman Suffrage, which will be held in Buda-Pesth at the same

time. This will be presided over by the Hon. Sir John Cockburn.

"Oriental women will take part for the first time in a Suffrage Congress. Ma Hla Oung, the leader of the Buddhistic women of Burmah, who is herself a Town Councillor, and her daughter, Mah Nee Nee; Chinese members of Parliament, and men and women of other Oriental countries are among the expected Congress guests. The Chinese women are bringing a purple silk banner on which this sentence is embroidered in Chinese letters: 'Let us hold together, we are working for the same ideals.' This banner they bring as a present to the International Alliance for Woman Suffrage.

Gems from "The Anti-Suffrage Review."

The *Anti-Suffrage Review* continues to promote the gaiety of suffragist readers. From the January number we cull a few pearls. Lady Jersey, speaking at Banbury, is reported as saying:—

"The making of laws was a very small matter. It was the carrying out of the law that was really of importance."

We should dearly like to know how Lady Jersey would carry out a law if the law had not been made; and whether she thinks that an oppressive law is rendered less oppressive by being efficiently administered; whether, in short, it was more important in the days of slavery to ensure good treatment for slaves or to make a law enfranchising them.

On page 324, appears a paragraph headed *Suffragist Aims*, in the course of which Miss Margaret Ashton is quoted as saying in Manchester on November 24th that "Women never had been represented in the nation; they would bring an entirely fresh point of view." The writer of the paragraph proceeds to the amazing statement that

"if these words mean anything it is that men are incapable of representing women in Parliament, and that in consequence Suffragists are determined to have women members of Parliament."

Can the writer be honestly so unintelligent as all that? Voters are represented in Parliament although they do not sit there. Non-voters are not represented. Where the non-voters form a whole sex, it is more than probable that there will be a collective point of view which at present goes unrepresented, and of which the effect will be perceptible whether the representative elected belongs to that sex or not. There is no indication whatever in the words quoted above from Miss Ashton's speech of a desire for women members of Parliament.

Miss Pott, speaking at Portsmouth on December 12th, is reported as making the following statement:—

"Women, as a body, were so busily engaged in their daily life with small details of the house that they did not develop the sense of relative values, and would therefore not make good voters."

But, surely, people who do not develop a sense of relative values must make very trying wives and very injudicious mothers. Miss Pott's argument that domestic duties as now carried on conduce to narrow-mindedness will be adopted with enthusiasm by the extreme sect of feminists. How unfortunate it is for the anti-suffragists that they cannot prove their case without proving so much more.

Mr. Wenyon Samuel made some extremely perplexing remarks at Streatham on November 27th. He is reported as saying that

"the question as to whether women were in favour of the vote had been decided in the Bow and Bromley district by the Suffrage candidate being defeated by 800 votes."

Is it possible that Mr. Samuel thinks the electors of Bow and Bromley are women? If not, how can the votes of men show what women think?

The Rumour of a General Election.

The rumour that a "snap" general election would be precipitated in March has died as rapidly as it arose. We are informed on good authority that it never had a basis in fact. The motives of those who spread it were amiably transparent. They hoped to scare the divided Unionist Party into making up its differences without delay.

Miss I. O. Ford's Letter.

We regret to hear that the letter of Miss Ford's which we reprinted last week from *The Daily Citizen* was but an incomplete version of that which she originally wrote. The complete letter may now be found in *The Labour Leader* of Friday, January 3rd.

Some New Books.

THE EVOLUTION OF SUFFRAGE. By Frank J. Scott. (Longmans.) This tract, by an American author, is interesting to English women rather on account of its pronouncement upon Women's Suffrage than on that of its scheme for providing a graduated voting power for different individuals, although there might be much to say for granting extra votes in return for services rendered to the community. As to the enfranchisement of women he is emphatic:

"During forty years that the writer has been an attentive reader of discussion on the subject of Woman Suffrage he has failed to read or hear one valid reason or apology for the political disfranchisement of women.

"... If it is on the whole for the best that [the ballot] should remain in the hands of every man, whatever his faults, how can we think that it would be unwise to place it in the hands of every woman, when every year of our lives shows us that the average influence of women in every grade of society is somewhat more refined, elevated, and purifying than that of the average of men?"

"The writer knows of no example where women have been made associates of men in the performance of any private or public duty where their influence has failed to be efficient and useful."

* * *
A HOME HELP IN CANADA. By Ella C. Sykes. (Smith Elder, 6s. net.)

During the present phase of our development as an Empire when the emigration of women from the old country to the Dominions oversea is becoming more widely recognised as an outlet for the energies of the "superfluous" woman at home, nothing could be more valuable to those who are studying the question of colonisation, or who are contemplating emigration for themselves than this "plain unvarnished record" of the author's six months' tour in Western Canada in 1911.

Being impressed by the fact that the labour of educated women is at present a drug in the market in England, Miss Sykes conceived the idea of making a personal investigation of the possible openings for educated women in Western Canada, but feeling that her impressions, if given from the point of view of an onlooker might be misleading, or at all events, too optimistic, she determined courageously to obtain "inside" information of home life in the Dominion by offering her services during part of the tour as a "Home help," the Canadian equivalent to the "Mother's help" of our own domestic circle.

The volume gives what is evidently the sincerest of records of the adventure, and the minute descriptions of the home life which she shared in her five positions as domestic helper, not only contain most valuable information for women who desire to try life in the Dominion, but are extremely diverting reading from the general reader's point of view. The glimpses thus afforded of domestic happenings on a dairy farm, on a chicken ranch, on prairie farms, and in a town house all reveal the activity, the efficiency and the general kindness of the average Canadian, but no whitewashing of unpleasant characteristics, and no concealment of disadvantages encountered is evidenced; the author even going the length of telling the complete truth of how she frequently found the badly-trained children and ill-behaved babies on the farms a great trial to both nerves and patience.

Incidentally, travelling arrangements and the housing accommodation for women immigrants is described, the various occupations and professions open to women in Canada are noted, and the author spares no trouble to make clear the type of Englishwoman who is likely to make a successful colonist. "Canada is the land of Youth and Hope," she remarks. "Everyone seems to have a sense of the great opening and possibilities there are in the country, and this helps the new-comers to tide over many a rough bit; but the life is not an easy one in many ways, and the hardships would be intolerable to a middle-aged woman wedded to English comforts."

And in this short extract the pith of the author's advice seems to be contained.

* * *
MARGARET ETHEL MACDONALD. By J. Ramsay MacDonald. (Hodder and Stoughton. 3s. 6d. net.)

The life story of this strenuous worker for the common weal is not only a fitting tribute to the individual, but is valuable as

a record of many social movements during the latter end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the present century, so closely did Margaret MacDonald identify herself with the social progress of her times. Fortunately, her biographer—although her husband—has been able to detach himself from the personal point-of-view, and the picture he has succeeded in giving gains thereby in breadth and usefulness. We are thus enabled to watch from the inside the work of many of the movements for social reform which, from small beginnings, have already become powerful weapons for the protection of women and children, and we hear with amazement of the wide activities of such groups as the Women's Industrial Council and the Women's Labour League, of which Margaret MacDonald was one of the ablest of the pioneers. Her biographer permits us also to gain some insight into her wonderful method of work, by which it was possible for her to continue service to the public in the midst of her active duties as wife and as mother. But, above all, we obtain a glimpse of the motive power, of the strong, serene soul that made the strenuous life not only possible, but joyous. It would indeed be difficult to read through these pages without feeling the inspiration which comes from contact with a noble spirit that has "battled for the right" during the whole period of its sojourn on earth, and the book is certain of a sympathetic reception from all those who are following the course of the women's movement in our land.

* * *
HOUSECRAFT. By Marguerite Fedden. (Gill and Sons, 10d. net.)

Into this small volume is compressed an incredible amount of useful information, nearly all of which should be stored in the head of a woman who is keeping house; the proper manner of patching, the order of proceeding in "turning out" a room, recipes for cleaning materials, the way to re-make a mattress, washing a pillow, upholstering a wicker chair, etc. The instructions are brief and clear, and the indented headings in larger print facilitate reference.

* * *
THE ENGLISHWOMAN.

The first subject dealt with in the January number of *The Englishwoman* is naturally the Franchise Bill, whose fate will probably be settled before the appearance of the February one. Mrs. Fawcett enumerates the many falsehoods that have been propagated with the object of defeating the amendments intended to enfranchise women; touches, not without scorn, upon the use made by professed supporters of "militancy" as an excuse for broken promises, and finishes with a sentence that should carry weight in political circles. Speaking of "party wire-pullers and party leaders," she says:—

"Merely from the party view, they may be well advised to consider how far they are acting with judgment and discretion in alienating the sympathy and support of what before long will be a powerful element in the electorate."

Of the letter from Mr. Acland, which comes next, it is not necessary to speak, because it was reprinted from the pages of the *Englishwoman* in last week's *COMMON CAUSE*. The articles upon "The Working Day," "Women in the Civil Service," "The Foreign Variety Stage," and "A Promising Defeat," are worthy of particular attention.

Books Received.

THE WHITE SLAVES OF LONDON. By W. N. Willis. (Stanley Paul, 1s. net.)

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

THE ENGLISHWOMAN'S YEAR BOOK AND DIRECTORY, 1913. (A. and C. Black, 2s. 6d.)

THE SCRIPTURAL EVE. By Mrs. Bushnell. (Published by the author, 10a, Drayton Park, Highbury, N.)

THE DIAL: A MAGAZINE FOR CHURCHWOMEN AND OTHERS. (Simpkin Marshall, 3d. monthly.)

THE VINEYARD (JANUARY). (A. and C. Fifield, 6d. net.)

In Parliament.

RECKLESS MOTORING.—On New Year's Eve Mr. Snowden enquired about the case of a man who had by reckless driving of a motor car killed a woman at Blackpool, and who on conviction (his sixth conviction for reckless driving) was fined £10 and deprived of a licence for two years. Mr. Ellis Griffith, in replying, gave details of the case. At an hour when audiences were just leaving places of amusement and the roadway was crowded with people, this man drove along the Blackpool promenade at a speed of from 16 to 20 miles an hour. The Home Office, when the facts came to its knowledge, consulted with the Director of Public Prosecutions about taking proceedings for the manslaughter of the woman; but considering that the offence took place as long ago as October, and had twice been investigated in a court of law, it was "somewhat reluctantly" concluded that further proceedings would scarcely be justified. Nor did an increase in the legal penalty appear necessary since a person convicted for the second time of dangerous driving can be sentenced to three months' imprisonment without the option of a fine. A circular has recently been issued to justices in which their attention has been called to the importance of imposing an adequate punishment for serious offences, such as dangerous driving.

It would have been interesting to learn the social status of this Blackpool gentleman, and that of his victim; but these particulars did not appear in either question or answer.

* * *
AN ARTILLERYMAN AND HIS UNIFORM.—On January 1st, Mr. Rowlands asked whether attention had been called to a case mentioned on December 26th at Woolwich Police Court, in which an artilleryman had rescued a woman from drowning, and in so doing had damaged his uniform, and whether there were any means whereby a soldier might, in such circumstances, be relieved from any claim of the regimental authorities in respect to such damage. Colonel Seely did not enter into any details, but said that if the facts were found to be as stated, Mr. Rowlands might rest assured that the artilleryman would not suffer financially in any way.

* * *
THE PURE MILK BILL.—We greatly regret that there is no definite prospect of the Milk Bill's second reading. Mr. Stanier enquired on the 1st of January when it would be taken, and was told by the Prime Minister that he was not in a position to make any statement at present. To a second question whether it would be taken this session or not, Mr. Asquith showed himself equally impenetrable. It looks as though the Milk Bill would have to wait for the advent of women voters.

* * *
DEATH SENTENCES.—Sir William Byles made enquiries on December 31st as to the number of death sentences pronounced upon women which have not been carried out as compared with similar sentences not carried out in the case of youths under twenty. He was informed that in the course of the last seven years, 21 women were sentenced to death and one executed. The number of youths condemned was nine, of whom four were executed.

Returning to the subject on January 2nd, Sir William asked Mr. McKenna whether he could see his way to extending the clemency usually shown in the case of women to lads "who have not yet reached the age of manhood, nor assumed the duties and responsibilities of citizenship?" Mr. McKenna replied in the negative, on the ground that the great bulk of the cases in which clemency had been extended to women, the crime had been the murder of an infant child. It thus appears that, even including such cases, only an average of three women per annum, out of the vast population of these islands, are found guilty of killing a fellow creature.

* * *
CHILDREN IN A WORKHOUSE.—From the answer to a question asked by Lord Ninian Crichton-Stuart, it appeared that there were no less than 59 children from two to thirteen in the workhouse at Kilmallock, in Ireland, and that of all these only about five were "orphan or deserted children" within the meaning of the Pauper Children (Ireland) Act, and that, therefore, more than 50 were ineligible for boarding out. The Guardians are reported by Mr. Birrell to be considering the matter. Meanwhile more than fifty children remain where everybody knows and admits that children should not be allowed to remain—in the workhouse.

Women's Suffrage in Denmark.

[The following article, communicated to the "Common Cause" in Danish, from a correspondent in Holback, Denmark, was translated by her son, himself a good suffragist.]

In the fight which is at present in progress between the Government and the Opposition in the Danish *Rigsdag*, it is encouraging for an active sympathiser with the cause of Woman Suffrage to find that the proposal for the enfranchisement of women is an integral part of the Government's Bill for amending the Constitution of 1849. Such a Bill requires to be passed through both Houses of Parliament and then submitted to the country through the medium of a General Election. If the Government is returned to power, and succeeds in getting the Reform Bill passed through both Houses, it then becomes the law of the land.

At present the age-limit for political franchise is 30, and it is now proposed to reduce this to 25 years for both women and men. The present position is this—that the Bill has passed the Lower House by 95 votes to 12, only six members abstaining from voting.

This is a bare outline of the matter as it stands to-day, and while the Opposition, a couple of days before Christmas, published a manifesto containing counter proposals as a basis for negotiations and compromise, the actual question of Woman Suffrage was left intact. It is indeed satisfactory to know that there is practical unanimity in the whole of the present (male) electorate on this point, and when it is borne in mind that the women of Denmark are on the threshold of obtaining not only the right to vote, but also of becoming eligible to represent constituencies in their Parliament, it will be realised by all what an immense step forward is about to be taken. There can be little doubt that the efficiency with which women have taken up their duties in municipal affairs, in the administration of the Poor Law and schools, as well as in the professional and business life of the nation, has helped to ripen opinion and to pave the way for placing upon the shoulders of the women of Denmark equal responsibility with the men of that country for the good or bad government of their common heritage.

It will be seen that quite a large amount of work, as outlined above, still requires to be done, but the first and most important step has been taken, and it is now merely a matter of time and patience; but then the patience of women has been on trial since the world began, and will, without a doubt, last another year or two. All credit must be given to the splendid work done by the men who have remained true to their word and have thereby served their own interests best. The fact that the movement for the enfranchisement of women in Denmark has met with such an immediate response is probably due to one thing more than any other—unity!

It is the sincere wish of the writer that the movement in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland will meet from the members of their House of Commons a measure of encouragement that will lead to the inclusion in the proposed Franchise Bill of a clause giving to women the political vote upon the same terms as to men. That the New Year will see this accomplished is the earnest hope of an old worker for the Common Cause. (Mrs.) K. SOPHUS.

Progress in Belgium.

A National Federation for Women's Suffrage has been formed in Belgium. At last Belgian women of all Parties are awakening to the need for enfranchisement, and Belgium will be duly represented at the Buda-Pesth Congress. Of the three Parties in the country, the Roman Catholic professes to favour Women's Suffrage, so does the Socialist in theory, while the Liberals, a small Party, are opposed. Though there are many steps and devious roads between theory and practice, it is possible that some unexpected political combination may suddenly make the question of Women's Enfranchisement an immediate issue, and to that end, women of all Parties, while retaining perfect independence for their several Societies, have formed the Federation for Women's Suffrage.

News from Ontario.

A woman, Miss E. L. Reynolds, has been appointed to the post of county treasurer at Wellington, Ontario. The salary is £250 a year; there were three other candidates, and the voting in the municipal council occupied the whole night.

TEMPLAR PRINTING WORKS, Birmingham.

R. CROMBIEHOLME, General Manager.

Notes from Headquarters.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

President: MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Hon. Secretaries: MISS K. D. COURTNEY, MISS EDITH PALLISER, MISS CATHERINE MARSHALL, MISS EMILY M. LRAF (Press).
Hon. Treasurer: MRS. AUERBACH.
Secretary: MISS GERALDINE COOKE.
Miss I. B. O'MALLEY (Literature).
Hon. Treasurer: MRS. AUERBACH.
Secretary: MISS GERALDINE COOKE.

Offices: Parliament Chambers, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Annual General Meeting.

The Annual General Meeting is fixed for Thursday, February 27th, and will be continued the following day if necessary. We are still seeking the ideal hall, and this year we have engaged the Holborn Town Hall, and greatly hope it may prove comfortable and convenient. It is in the Gray's Inn Road, and many trams and omnibuses pass the door. Full particulars will be sent out with the formal notice of the meeting.

Literature Department.

Now that all the Societies are engaged in work in support of the amendments to the Reform Bill it may be appropriate to call attention once more to the literature which is specially suitable for this campaign. I should like to make an earnest appeal to all members to distribute our two pamphlets to all the electors they know or can approach. "The True End of Government," by Miss Maude Royden, and "Working Men and Women's Suffrage," by Miss Margaret Robertson. The latter is specially suitable for working men, the former does equally well for all men. The pamphlets only cost a penny each, and if every member of a National Union Society, who is willing to spend even sixpence in this way, will distribute half-a-dozen of them, much will be accomplished.

The leaflets which are recommended for giving away at this time are:

- B.90. MINISTERS' PLEDGES" (new this week) (1s. 4d. per 100).
- B.86. WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AMENDMENTS TO THE REFORM BILL (1s. per 100).
- B.88. HOW ARE WE TO GET WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE INCLUDED IN THE FRANCHISE BILL? (6d. per 100).
- B.89. THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE REFORM BILL (for Labour Constituencies) (6d. per 100).
- B.82. THE QUESTION OF THE MOMENT.

National Union Literature is now sent post free. Will not every member lay in a small supply (or a large one!) either from her own Society, or from the National Union Office, 14, Great Smith Street, London, S.W., and do a little special distribution during the next fortnight?

I. B. O'MALLEY.

Press Department.

Women's Suffrage will, of course, be the dominant issue in the more progressive sections of the Press during the coming fortnight, though in some reactionary quarters there are still signs of a desire to shelve discussion.

The *Labour Leader* is doing us the most excellent service. Last week's issue contained Mrs. Swanwick's article on "Nationalists and Suffrage: What the Labour Party Can Do."

"One conceives that Labour men might use their influence with the Nationalists to make them see that the broader and deeper view of the situation will in the long run also prove the wiser for the Nationalist Cause. For be it remembered, the 'run' will last at shortest two more years. During that period the Nationalists will have to maintain a majority for Home Rule, and it is surely an axiom of political sagacity that, whereas the fury of your opponents may be a sign of your strength, the dissatisfaction, the anger, and the alienation of your own side is the cause of defeat. The preponderance of the Suffragist sympathy is on the Government side of the House; do the Nationalists think they will improve their position by offending their own majority? . . .

"They cannot afford to be too cynical. At their peril will they forget that their claim rests upon abstract principles of self-government and democracy. If they in effect deny the application of these principles to women, they either weaken the hold or they convince women that Nationalists have, as a matter of fact, no such principles and only pretend to them."

This week a Suffrage supplement to the *Labour Leader* appears containing a series of most interesting articles from J. Keir Hardie, M.P., Philip Snowden, M.P., Arthur Henderson, M.P., Miss Margaret Robertson, Miss M. Llewellyn Davies and many others. This could not have been issued at a more opportune moment, for before the end of January, the decision of the House of Commons on the amendments will have been pronounced, and the Labour Party will also have held its Con-

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550	Navy	320	Tabac
180	Black	510	Saxe
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255	Emerald	370	Ressida
305	Dark Green	260	Amethyst

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ference and have had the opportunity of proving its determination to stand by no settlement which excludes women. Every member of the National Union should see this number, and take steps to promote its circulation, especially amongst the Labour men and women.

The leading article in the *Daily Citizen* on Monday, January 6th, also set forth forcibly and emphatically the grounds which should induce the Irish Party even on the ground of their own interests alone to support the Women's Suffrage amendments.

"We say without hesitation that the exclusion of women from the rights and obligations of citizenship, is the deepest of all remaining political wrongs, that the enfranchisement of women is the most urgent and pressing of all political reforms. On this question the Government is pledged to accept and loyally abide by the unfettered judgment of the House of Commons, and any member of the Government going back on this pledge would make himself ridiculous and dishonourable. It is our deliberate and considered opinion that the Irish Nationalist members whose votes will mainly determine this question, could strike no greater blow against the Home Rule Movement, now happily on the very verge of victory, than to attempt the defeat of women's enfranchisement."

We may confidently regard this admirable article as a prelude to the strong support which will be afforded by the *Daily Citizen* to the representatives of its Party who are so strenuously fighting our battle in the House of Commons.

The *Daily Herald* is devoting two special columns daily to the discussion of Women's Suffrage, and two articles by Miss Maude Royden and Miss Mary Lowndes appeared this week on January 4th and January 7th.

Parliamentary.

Our Federations and Societies have responded splendidly, as we knew they would, to the request from our friends in Parliament for statistics of support for Women's Suffrage from all parts of the country, though the request came just at Christmas time when no one had much leisure. The reports show much keen activity, and some excellent work which has been done in the Federations. They also show what a strong body of support there is in the country for granting the suffrage to women. A summary will be given in next week's COMMON CAUSE. Specially good records have been sent in by the East Midlands, Manchester and District, North Eastern, Oxford, Berks and Bucks, Bedfordshire, Surrey, Sussex and Hants, North and East Ridings, West Riding, West Lancashire, W. Cheshire, N. Wales, and the Scottish Federations.

The situation in Parliament changes from day to day, and it may be necessary to make yet further demands on our Societies. They may rest assured, however, that there is a definite and important purpose behind everything we may ask them to do; and that by responding, as they have responded this time, they are helping very materially to bring victory nearer.

C. E. MARSHALL.
(Hon. Parl. Sec. pro tem.)

Election News.

Two vacancies have occurred in the House of Commons necessitating by-elections—one in Flint Boroughs, N. Wales, occasioned by the death of Mr. J. Summers, and the other in Londonderry City, Ireland, by the death of the Duke of Abercorn and the succession of the Marquis of Hamilton to the title.

FLINT BOROUGH.—At the time of going to press the Liberal candidate has not been chosen, so that we are not yet in a position to state what line of action the National Union will pursue. It is improbable that it will be a case for the Election Fighting Fund.

LONDONDERRY.—The Londonderry election is at present complicated by the threatened candidature of an Independent Unionist. The National Union will, of course, take no part in this election.

Treasurer's Notes.

At the beginning of the New Year we look back with pride on the income of last year; not only do we congratulate every member of the Union on the splendid spirit shown in raising so large a sum, but on the immediate and striking growth of the N.U.W.S.S., both in size and prestige—and, therefore, in power to serve the cause. Nevertheless, after one such backward glance, we must hurry forward again, and our immediate task must be to consider whether the finances at Headquarters are in a condition to support its general activity at this critical time, or, if not, what still has to be done.

Briefly, we estimate, that we need another £1,000 to enable us to go "full steam ahead" for the next six months. We want additional subscriptions (which are always dear to the heart of a Treasurer) or donations at once, so that this sum may be made up. Who will send a New Year's gift?

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

Contributions to the General Fund.

Already acknowledged since November 1st, 1912 ... £ s. d. 343 8 3
Received December 23rd, 1912, to January 4th, 1913:—

Subscriptions.		£	s.	d.
Miss A. K. Williams	...	0	1	0
Mrs. Pennington	...	1	1	0
Mrs. Badley	...	4	0	0
Miss Sloane	...	0	5	0
Miss E. M. L. Atkinson	...	0	5	0
Mrs. F. Gray	...	0	1	0
Miss Dalby	...	2	2	0
Miss J. S. Chambers	...	0	10	6
Miss Hartle	...	1	0	0
Dr. E. Cargill	...	1	1	0
Mrs. I. Hecht	...	0	5	0

Donations.

Miss A. Helen Ward (Bow and Bromley By-election)	...	1	1	0
Miss E. D. Gibb	...	2	2	0
Miss E. C. Wilson	...	0	10	0
J. D. D. (sale of Christmas cards)	...	1	0	0

Affiliation Fees.

Waterloo and Seaford W.S.S.	...	1	5	0
Dollar, W.S.S.	...	0	9	9
York W.S.S. (additional for 1912)	...	0	9	9
Norwood W.S.S. (additional for 1912)	...	0	13	9
Farnham W.S.S.	...	1	0	0
Stoke-on-Trent and Newcastle W.S.S.	...	0	10	0
N. Berks W.S.S.	...	1	17	6
Kincardineshire W.S.S.	...	0	5	3
King's Sutton W.S.S.	...	0	7	6

Associate Society.

Younger Suffragists, 1912 and 1913	...	0	10	0
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£366 1 3

Albert Hall, November 5th, 1912.

Already received	...	£	s.	d.
Miss Milton	...	4	87	11 9
	...	0	10	0

£4,588 1 9

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News from the Societies and Federations.

The Federations.

North-Western.

CARLISLE.—On Dec. 3rd Miss E. C. Matravars addressed, by invitation, the local branch of the Social Democratic Party. The attendance was small and the audience refused to support any further amendment for the enfranchisement of women than adult suffrage, but much interest was shown and a hearty invitation given to "come again." On Dec. 13th Miss Teasdale invited her friends to a small meeting at her house at Houghton. Owing to bad weather only about a dozen were present. Miss Evans gave an interesting account of the more elementary reasons why women need the vote. Mrs. Reay made a short speech and then asked all who were in favour of the Women's Suffrage to put up their hands; there was only one dissentient. On Dec. 16th Miss Evans addressed a meeting of the Women's Co-operative Guild. She explained the present position of Women's Suffrage, and referred to its progress in other lands. A Resolution in favour of the inclusion of women in the Reform Bill was carried unanimously. Some discussion followed on the apathy of many working women towards Women's Suffrage, and Parliamentary. Miss Evans suggested that members of the Guild should try to get up weekly cottage meetings to study the subject.

CONIXTON.—The Junior Corps has met three times and numbers now twenty-four. They listen to a short address on State and Patriotic Affairs and then have games. Each meeting elects a Chairman, minutes are read and signed, and the meeting conducted like a grown-up one. The Post Card Campaign is being carried on, and Resolutions have been asked to be passed by the Conservative Men's Association, the Unionist Women's Association, the Men's Liberal Association, the Women's Liberal Association, "The Oddfellows," the "Domestic Comfort Lodge." The Society was started at the end of June, and numbers 30 members. It is affiliated to the Central, and will be affiliated to the N.W. Federation shortly.

FORTON AND COCKERMOUTH.—On Nov. 20th Miss Norma Smith addressed the members of the Clink 'Em Club at the Yew Tree Hall, Forton. A mixed company of old and young was gathered to the number of 50 or 60, and listened intently to Miss Norma-Smith's interesting and lively speech. At the close a great many questions were asked, and it was felt that a good beginning had been made in that village. On Nov. 22nd a large meeting of men and women was held in the Christ Church Parish Room. Mr. Wilfred Irwin took the Chair. The Chairman showed himself to be a thorough-going supporter of the claims of women to political enfranchisement. Miss Norma-Smith gave an address that was listened to with attention and a friendly audience. Before the close of the meeting 32 persons gave in their names as willing to join a local Society. On Dec. 16th a Society was formed for Cockermonth and the neighbourhood, and it was decided to affiliate with the N.W. Federation and the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

South-Western.

PLYMOUTH.—On November 27th the Co-operative Lecture Hall was crowded to hear Miss Abadam's powerful address to women. There was a good collection and a ready sale for pamphlets. Many went to hear Miss Abadam again on the following Saturday, when she spoke for the Roman Catholic League for Women Suffrage, who are forming a society here. On Dec. 4th a successful Bazaar was held at Kilton Hall. Concerts were given during the afternoon and evening, and these, with 6d. teas and suppers and the proceeds of the work stall, brought in a total of over £13, which leaves the Society clear of debt and a small balance in hand.

TEIGNMOUTH.—A large and influential attended meeting to protest against the White Slave Traffic was held in the Town Hall, Nov. 30th. The Chair was taken by the Rev. W. Teignmouth (Vicar of W. Teignmouth), supported by clergy of all denominations. An address on the White Slave Traffic was given by Miss Abadam, who said that she was convinced that no Act on the subject under discussion would be worth the paper it was printed on unless women had the political power to see its provisions carried out. The Rev. J. C. A. Bohn proposed and the Rev. J. Aldington seconded, a resolution calling on the Government to deal adequately with the White Slave Traffic.

WADSWORTH.—On Nov. 26th Miss Abadam gave an address to women at the Town Hall, on the White Slave Traffic, and there was a very fair attendance. Miss Walford, the Federation Organiser, occupied the Chair. Miss Abadam was listened to with deep attention, and a few new members joined.

Surrey, Sussex and Hants.

The Working Discussion Circle discussed "Syndicalism," Assistance for Working Mothers and Industrial Co-partnership during November. The Guildford Garden-produce Sale on Nov. 9th, realised £20 6s. 2d. for Federation. Woking, Woking, Camberley, Esher, New Forest and Reigate all helped. Lady Roberts presided, in Sir Owen's absence, at a good Meeting at Normandy, on Nov. 22nd, when Mrs. Basset spoke, 5 members joining. The Lady Frances Balfour, Mr. Rolleston Stables spoke at Ripley on Nov. 23rd, Miss Baker in the Chair. The large audience included many men.

On Nov. 9th Lady Scott Moncrieff organised a varied entertainment, with speeches, at Ebbesford, Godalming. Godalming made £10 16s. 2d. by a Rummage Sale at Hascombe on Nov. 13th; Miss Corbett addressed large audiences, including many men, in the afternoon and evening. The Meetings and sale were excellently organised by the Misses Beddington. Mrs. Bonwick, Dr. Stancomb and Mrs. Foley addressed meetings at Eastleigh, Milton, Ringwood, Lynton and Brookenhurst in November. Lady Selborne presiding at Brookenhurst. Mrs. Bonwick's arduous services here are excellent fruit; she was sometimes sole speaker. The

New Forest Society deeply regrets the death of Miss Rose Helsby, the energetic Lynton Secretary and Police Guard. Mrs. Basset lectured at Mrs. Hilton's, Camberley, on Nov. 28th, on the County Council scheme for school clinics; entrance-money was charged, and non-controversial discussion followed. Camberley has gained many "Friends."

BRIGHTON AND HOVE.—During December Miss Pickworth successfully addressed a Mothers' Meeting on the White Slave Traffic. Mrs. Timpany addressed the Women's Co-operative Guild on the same subject, all non-members present becoming "Friends." Mrs. Peters addressed business girls at Miss Geughet's, Miss Pickworth presiding. Nine prominent men explained why they advocated Women's Suffrage in York Place Hall on the 10th. Mr. Goodfree in the Chair. The Resolution was carried unanimously. Dr. Drysdale and Mrs. Timpany debated versus Mrs. Norris and the Rev. A. Storror at the Y.M.C.A., the Suffragists winning by 4 votes. Miss Sharp and Mr. Rothwell addressed cottage women at East Bocking on Dec. 6th, their first meeting, encouraging existing "Friends" and gaining others.

The Editor of the Sandown Chronicle and Miss Marsh debated versus Mr. New and the Rev. W. T. Starke for the Christchurch Church of England Men's Society, winning their Resolution in favour of women municipal voters, despite a strong "anti" audience.

The Ryde Society has held its first Members' and Public Meetings with the Rev. M. S. Domester and the Shanklin Secretary. Miss Sylvia Clarke spoke at the Aldershot "Social" on Sweating and the White Slave Traffic. Miss Milton presiding. Miss Aston and Miss Page-Henderson acted a dialogue cleverly, and Miss King danced charmingly. Mrs. Whitby spoke at Purley. Mr. Gibson, the host, presiding, and gained some members and Friends. Miss Milton addressed cottage-women at Mrs. Haynes's, Tongham, with success.

REDFHILL AND REIGATE.—This division sent their M.P. a Memorial, soliciting his support to the Reform Bill Amendments, signed by 369 representative persons and political Committee-members; 305 approved the Dickenson Amendment. The M.P. received a large deputation.

West Midland.

WORK IN DECEMBER.—Our Federation workers and organisers have been chiefly occupied this month with the getting up of Deputations, and the formation of new Societies in the Potteries—a very important area—while, up to now, has been practically unbroken ground. Miss Chambers and Mrs. Cooper have done excellent work there. A good Society of 50 members has been started at Stoke, which promises well. A deputation to Mr. Outwater took place, the result of which was a satisfactory. Mrs. Cooper organised an excellent Deputation to Sir A. G. Boscawen at Dudley on Dec. 21st. The Deputation was introduced by Alderman Cook and included voters representing Dudley, Eriery Hill, Netherton, Tippton, and Wedley Heath. Sir A. G. Boscawen, in reply said that he would vote for the deletion of the word "male"; that he would also vote for the Conciliation Amendment, as well as the wider Municipal Franchise, and further, that he was much inclined to support the Dickinson No. 2 Amendment. In reference to the third reading, he refused to commit himself.

Miss Sugden has done good work in the Kingswinford and Droitwich Constituencies, where she was sent by the National Union to arrange Deputations to Mr. Lyttelton and Mr. Staveley Hill. As these were found impossible to place, the result of which was a letter to Mr. W. Lyttelton were circulated in their respective constituencies, and most influential signatures were secured, as well as promises to take part in Deputations in person, if it found necessary. Good progress has also been made in the Leominster, which resulted in a public meeting being held on Dec. 5th, at which Mr. Theodore Neill presided. The speakers were Lord Lytton and Mrs. Corbett Ashby, and the interest aroused there, it is hoped, will be shortly followed up by the formation of a Leominster Society.

Mrs. Ellis Talbot was the hostess at the Drawing-Room Meeting in the afternoon, and in the evening a public one was held in the Town Hall, Stourport, Canon Buckle presiding, at which there was a large and interested audience, consisting to a great extent of men.

BIRMINGHAM reports several meetings held during the month, and a number of small ones in the evening for the "Friends of Women's Suffrage." The Central Executive Committee of this Society is trying to arrange Sub-Committees in the distant suburbs to organise local work; one such Committee has already been formed for Erdington, and a capital meeting held on the 9th, when Miss Muriel Matters was Speaker and the Chair taken by the Rev. W. C. Roberts, of Rugby. Letters to Members of Parliament have been sent out in large numbers, in accordance with Mrs. Fawcett's request. A Memorial to Mr. Steel Maitland has been worked in his Constituency.

KIDDERMINSTER reports that on Dec. 12th two excellent meetings were held in the neighbourhood of their Society, and organised by them. Miss Muriel Matters being the Speaker on both occasions.

NUNEATON.—A meeting was held on Dec. 9th at St. Joseph's School, when Mrs. McTrusty (Treasurer) read a very interesting paper on "Women's Suffrage: At Home and Abroad."

ROSS reports an excellent Public Meeting held in the Corn Exchange on Dec. 13th—the first organised by this young Society—and it was a great success. The Countess of Selborne presided, and the Speakers were Miss Muriel Matters and Mr. Baillie Weaver, who respectively proposed and seconded a Resolution urging the Member for South Herefordshire to vote for the inclusion of women in the Franchise Bill. This Resolution was carried with only two dissentients, and the result of the meeting was the enrolment of five more members and thirty-three Friends of Women's Suffrage.

SHROPSHIRE reports a very successful entertainment which was organised for the furtherance of the Friends of Women's Suffrage Scheme. The first part of the proceedings was musical, suffrage songs being sung

at intervals by the whole audience. Mrs. Harley then gave a short suffrage address, after which the duologue "Mrs. Chicky" was acted by Miss Hills and Miss Harley. Tickets for the entertainment were sold at popular prices to ensure the presence of working-people, and the room was crowded with a most enthusiastic audience. A good number of new "Friends" were gained. So successful has been this new venture that the Society has decided to hold such entertainments quarterly. Mr. Thomson has been able during this month to make £5 for the Federation through the sale of Torcheon lace.

SOLIHULL.—A meeting was held on Dec. 13th at Tudor Grange, by permission of Dr. Bird, the subject being the White Slave Traffic, the Rev. B. Harvey took the Chair, and the Rev. Herbert Davies spoke. Suffrage literature was sold, and two new members joined the Society.

STOURBRIDGE reports a meeting held in the Labour Hall on Dec. 8th, at which Mrs. Cooper spoke on the political aspect of the Women's Suffrage, Miss Sugden in the Chair. The audience consisted chiefly of men, whose questions after the address were answered by the lecturer to their satisfaction. Miss Sugden appealed to the meeting to ask their Member to support the Women's Suffrage Amendments. Through an oversight, a meeting held last month on Nov. 8th, and organized by Miss Alexandra Chambers, and ported. It took place at Mrs. Alexander's, and the speakers were Her Highness the Ranees of Sarawak, Miss Cicely Corbett, B.A., and Mr. Baillie Weaver, who also presided. The meeting proved a great success, and the speakers were much appreciated. Fourteen new members were enrolled.

SUTTON COLDFIELD reports a Drawing-Room Meeting at the house of Miss Earl, for the purpose of starting the Friends of Women's Suffrage Scheme. Miss King presided, and Mrs. Whitby spoke. A small Sale gave an interesting and successful address. A small Sale took place afterwards, realizing about £2.

WOLVERHAMPTON.—This Society reports a very successful meeting on Dec. 11th, arranged by Liberal women at the Liberal Club, by kind permission of the members. Mrs. Thorne (wife of the M.P. for East Wolverhampton) presided, and Miss Chrysal Macmillan was the Speaker. The following Resolution was carried unanimously: "That this meeting, believing that the enfranchisement of women is a reform long overdue, and that the best interests of Liberalism will be served by the inclusion of women in the Government Reform Bill, and calls upon the Member for East Wolverhampton to do all in his power to secure the passage of the Women's Suffrage Amendment." Mrs. Geoffrey Le Mander proposed and Mr. Cheddle seconded a warm vote of thanks to Miss Macmillan. On Dec. 2nd a meeting was held at Moseley Village, when Mrs. Taylor spoke, and Mrs. Thorn presided.

K. M. HARLEY.

Scottish.

AUCHTERADER.—The Women's Liberal Association, Auchterader, was addressed by Miss Stuart Paterson (Glasgow) on the 29th November, Miss Haldane in the Chair. A Resolution was passed in favour of the amendment giving the vote to women ratepayers, and was forwarded to the Member for West Perthshire. Miss Paterson's address was successful in gaining a number of "Friends to Women's Suffrage," who have offered to join the body in Crieff.

EDINBURGH.—The work of this Society, at the close of November and beginning of December, was largely taken up in helping to make the Glasgow Meeting on Dec. 9th, the unequalled success it became. The special train from Edinburgh carried over 150 suffragists to the meeting, mostly women, whose work only finished in time for the train, and whose departure from Glasgow after the meeting occasioned a demonstration by Glasgow members. Miss Gordon and Miss Low acted as Captains of Stewards for the meeting. On Dec. 6th Miss Oatfield addressed a branch of the Co-operative Guild, and the 8th Miss I. Bonletie addressed members of the I.L.P., western branch, Edinburgh. On the 10th, The Lady Frances Balfour opened a Supplementary Sale at 40, Shandwick Place, with the aid of Mrs. Young, Mrs. Nisbett, Miss Brothie and Miss Parker, to all of whom the Society tenders thanks, as also to the ladies who organised the Sale and helped at the stalls, and to the Bo'ness Society for the goods and money they contributed. On the 11th at North Berwick, Mrs. Schaefer gave a Drawing-Room Meeting for The Lady Frances Balfour, which was a splendid success, a number of members joining, giving promise of a capital Society in N. Berwick. The same evening Miss Low gained a success for Suffrage in a Debate at the Liberal Association's Meeting, Crieff, where Mr. Byron, of the Anti-Suffrage League, proved a most pleasant and good-tempered opponent. On the 19th, two very successful meetings were held—a Drawing-Room Meeting, addressed by The Lady Frances Balfour—hostess Mrs. F. Barbour (4, Charlotte Square), when new members were gained; and a Public Meeting at Linlithgow, with Provost Jamieson in the Chair; speakers, Miss Low and Mrs. Guyer. A very misleading account of the latter meeting appeared in an Edinburgh evening paper, the meeting being really good one, doing great credit to its organisers. On the 22nd, a meeting of the I.L.P. at Bo'ness was held, where Miss Low addressed a large body of electors, who passed a strong Resolution in favour of Women's Suffrage Amendments to the Franchise Bill. The Society provided stewards for the third meeting for working women organised by Mrs. Shaw MacLaren in the Odd-fellows' Hall, and enrolled a number of Friends.

Under the auspices of the Westbourne Men's Debating Society, a Suffrage and Anti-Suffrage Debate will be held in St. Peter's Hall Bournemouth, on Jan. 29th, at 8 p.m. Mrs. Swankin and Mrs. Harold Norris will be the debaters. A full house is expected.

Bournemouth.

List of Societies and Federations in the N.U.W.S.S.

Since printing the list of Societies and Federations a notice has been received from Cambs East. The Secretary is now Miss Colson, 3, Grange Terrace, Grange Road, Cambridge.

We are asked to note that the address of the Hon. Secretary of the Newwood Societies is 66, Crowther Road, South Norwood, and not the address given in the "List of Societies and Federations."

Under the heading Suffrage (Central Branches) read for "Cuckould"—"Cuckfield."

Morecambe Society.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Morecambe Society, held on January 3rd at the house of the President, Mrs. Edwards, resolutions were forwarded to Sir N. Helme and Mr. George Lansbury were read. Mr. Lansbury's reply was:—

DEAR FRIENDS,—Very many thanks indeed for resolution and good wishes, and especially for the white heather, which we both appreciate more than we can say. It was good to fight, and good to know one has loyal friends and comrades all over the world always. G. LANSBURY.

Electoral Reform Bill, and eloquently proved to her audience the necessity for this. Miss Williamson's Resolution, which was adopted by the meeting. Proceedings were sympathetically reported in the local paper.

INNERLITHVEN.—A very enjoyable "Social" was given in the Parish Church Hall by the President on Dec. 16th to 270 members and friends of the N.U.W.S.S. A capital variety entertainment, given by the Edinburgh Artists, was followed by an address from Mr. C. M. Robertson, of Redroofs, his spirited advocacy of the Women's Suffrage movement being much enjoyed by the audience. A Duologue from Mrs. W. E. Thorburn (Peables) and Miss Hope (Sunwick, Berwick), with songs and recitations from other friends, were also much appreciated. Twenty new members have since been added to the Society.

KIRKCALDY.—This Society did capital work on the occasion of Mr. Lloyd George's visit, when a great gathering crowded the King's Theatre, Kirkcaldy, on Nov. 29th. A deputation from the Society was allotted seats on the platform, and was given a cordial reception by the vast audience on presenting a short address to the Chancellor, requesting his support. His pleasure in meeting such a deputation was warmly expressed by Mr. Lloyd George amid applause.

LARGS.—At the meeting in the Artillery Hall, Largs, held by this Society on Dec. 6th, Provost Boyd introduced the speaker, Miss Royden, in a thoroughly sympathetic suffrage address, which—with "what proved a most convincing, logical, and telling address" from Miss Royden—was fully reported in the local paper, ex-Proprietor Paton proposing a vote of thanks in a delightfully encouraging speech.

LENZIE.—This Society held a Public Meeting in the Public Hall on the 6th. Mr. McKendrick introduced the speaker, Miss Royden, who gave a splendid address, and whose answers to several questions sent up were received with applause. The Resolution put to the meeting was carried unanimously, and several new members joined.

LEVEN.—The President of this Society—Mrs. Malcolm Macleod—addressed an open meeting for women on Dec. 10th, which was very well attended. The speech on "The White Slave Traffic Bill" was most convincing, the Society enrolling several new members and friends from the audience.

PAISLEY.—The meeting held by this Society on the 3rd Dec. to welcome Miss Royden was, in spite of bad weather, well attended. The fine speech on "Why do Women want the Vote?" addressed by Miss Royden—was fully reported in the local paper, where the notes of applause prove the interest with which it was received. Councillor A. F. Lochhead presided.

ST. ANDREWS.—This Society co-operated with that of Dundee in the very successful Sale of Work held in the Foresters' Hall, Dundee, on Dec. 8th and 9th, supplying the attractive "Nursery Stall." The Vice-President, Mrs. Houston, opened the Sale on the first day with Mrs. Finlay, Hon. Secretary in the Chair. The satisfactory sum of £58 was realised, partly at the Sale and partly before and after the Sale in St. Andrews. On the 14th the Annual Meeting took place, at which Miss Younger (Organising Officer for women's work in Scotland under the Labour Exchange) addressed a gathering of members and friends, who were much interested in the valuable information given. At the succeeding business meeting, Mrs. Anstruther was elected President; Mrs. Houston and Mrs. L. Rowland Treasurer. Mrs. Scott succeeding Mrs. Finlay as Hon. Secretary, and Mrs. Donald Milla, COMMON CAUSE Secretary.

TAYSIDE.—Owing to the unavoidable absence of Miss Lumsden, the meeting arranged by this Society for Dec. 4th, in the Small Birth Hall, Newport, was addressed by Miss Alice Low, from Edinburgh. A brilliant and able defence of the Suffrage movement was given, and, in answer to a question, Miss Low proved the good work done by non-militants, of which little was said by the daily papers, although they gave so much publicity to militant methods. The reports of the address in the local papers were very satisfactory.

Social Reform in India.

A correspondent in S. India, who encloses her card, but not for publication, sends us a report of a meeting of the Hindu Social Reform Association in Madras in connection with the new Bill introduced into the Imperial Legislative Council for the better protection of women and children in India. "The points raised," remarks our correspondent, "are so intimately connected with the religion of the people that the only reform possible must come from themselves, and it is a hopeful sign when such a meeting is held publicly to discuss the possibilities of the reforms and an Indian lady (Srimati Alamelumangamma) takes part in the proceedings. The Association represents of course, a very small minority and its efforts to change caste customs are simple in comparison with the great difficulties raised when a 'reform' has anything to do with the education and freedom of women."

The following is a summary of the report:—

At a meeting of the Hindu Social Reform Association in the Anderson Hall, Madras, in November, Mr. M. A. Tirumanyana Chariar, Advocate, gave an address on the Bill introduced in the Imperial Legislative for the protection of girls and children. The Hon. Mr. L. A. Govindaraghava was in the Chair. The lecturer said: It is a matter for congratulation that the Government of India, realising the seriousness of the evil and the duty cast upon the State in such matters, has departed from its usual policy of strict neutrality in social matters and announced its intention of itself initiating legislation on the subject, which meets the aims of the Bill more than half-way, should public opinion declare itself in favour of the measure.

The main subjects of the new legislation can be classed under three headings:—

(1) The Bill seeks to penalise the dedication of young girls to any temple, idol, sword, etc., the effect of which would be to prevent them from marrying afterwards, and the adoption of young girls by any dancing girl or prostitute.

(2) The defilement of young girls under sixteen.

(3) The custody of children of dancing girls and prostitutes.

The fundamental principle is that the State is the guardian of all children. The authority which parents are allowed to exercise over children is a delegated authority from the King, it being in the nature of an undertaking the trust in each case themselves, and the parents on account of their natural affection and intimate knowledge being the persons best fitted to be entrusted with the care. But it is a trust that they exercise as agents, and like all agents they are liable to be called to account by the person employing them. Hence the conception of the King as *pater patrie*, or the father of his country. The fact, therefore, that a woman is a prostitute or dancing-girl does not give her any right to bring her girl up to the same avocation. Each girl, whether a prostitute's child or not, has the inalienable right to be so brought up that when she attains years of discretion she shall be in a position to adopt a chaste life, if she wants to do so.

Now that I have explained the cardinal underlying principle, the application of it to each case as it arises is easy. Take the case of dancing-girls, called "Devadasis" in Southern India, and "Muralis" or "Nalins" in Western India. I do not say that prostitution can be stamped out altogether or that any Statesman can imagine it within the range of practical politics to have a society in which it does not exist. But that does not justify an institution by which girls are forced into prostitution without any option and branded, even before they are born for an infamous, humiliating, and loathsome life. If a girl is dedicated to a temple, she is prevented from marrying and has, perforce, to lead an impure life. If a girl is adopted by a dancing-girl here again the same result follows, whatever may be said plausibly to the contrary. These two practices then stand condemned by the test I have explained, and it becomes the imperative duty of the State to put them down with its strong hand.

DANCING GIRLS.—Turning to the provisions of the Bill, section 3 penalises the dedication of a girl under sixteen to a temple, idol, etc. Under section 372 of the Indian Penal Code, it has been uniformly held by all the High Courts that such an act is an offence under that section. The new section, therefore, no more than reiterates the existing law.

GIRLS UNDER SIXTEEN.—Intercourse with a girl under twelve constitutes rape. But unlawful intimacy with a girl over twelve is not now punishable. It is sought to penalise sexual intercourse with a girl under sixteen by any person not being her husband. As the relation of man and wife is exempted from the operation of the clause, it cannot meet with much opposition.

CUSTODY OF CHILDREN.—No penal measures can suffice to cope with the evil unless there is a provision for the removal of young children from the custody of prostitutes with whom they live, and their being brought up in more wholesome surroundings. The Government suggests a provision authorising Magistrates to remove a child from the custody of a prostitute and to order it to be handed over to a relative, a charitable organisation, or a State Asylum. It is difficult question whether a mother should be deprived of the custody of her own children. The very idea seems to be monstrous to Hindu notions. But it should be done if

it is for the welfare of the child. An order can also be made against the woman to contribute towards the cost of maintaining the minor thus taken away from her.

Srimati Alamelumangamma then addressed the meeting in Tamil, in support of Mr. Dadabhoi's Bill, and the chairman also gave an address calling upon the Hindu Social Reform Association to formulate its views carefully on the Bill, stating that in voicing its opinion on this matter it would have justified its existence.

Irish Notes.

The Irish Women's Suffrage Federation have entered upon a Suffrage campaign in County Galway. Miss Moser is spending this week in Galway organising meetings to take place in Galway, Athlone and Tuam on January 15th, 16th and 17th. These meetings will be addressed by Miss Day, P.L.G., and Miss Chenevix Assistant Hon. Sec. Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation. The Irishwomen's Reform League hope to organise a meeting in Tullamore, King's County, at an early date, and to start a new branch in that district.

This League has obtained the signatures of many interesting people for the Memorial in favour of the Women's Amendments to the Reform Bill, to be forwarded to the Irish members. Amongst these names are Professor Edward Dowden, Mr. Dermot O'Brien, Mr. George Russell (A.E.), James Stephens, Miss Edith Somerville, "Katherine Tynan," Lady Sybil Smith, Miss Mary Hayden, Professor Oldham, Canon Hannay, Sir William Barrett, Mr. John Garvey (Crown Solicitor for County Mayo), etc.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

THE "N.U." AND THE "W.S.P.U."

The foot-note to my letter puzzled me very much, as I thought nobody who desired votes for women desired more votes for men first. However, having asked friends, some of whom are in the thick of the N.U. work, and some in that of the W.S.P.U., I find the difficulty is that the N.U. regards the Franchise Bill as "the only avenue through which votes can be got for women"; hence its desire for the passing into law of the Franchise Bill. It seems to the N.U. mind to be a foregone conclusion that the Franchise Bill will have an amendment giving votes to women attached to it when it passes into law. So my N.U. friends tell me, and I trust I state their meaning clearly and correctly.

On the other hand, the W.S.P.U. cannot understand anyone who wishes for women to have votes desiring that the Franchise Bill should pass, because the W.S.P.U. mind keeps the Bill and the amendment quite separate, fearing the passing of the former, but regarding the addition of the latter as a hopeless case.

As I think this throws light on the difference of attitude between the two Unions regarding the Franchise Bill, I am troubling you with it. Otherwise I should not have done so. M. W. PERRY.

[Our correspondent's hope that she is stating the National Union position clearly and correctly is not wholly fulfilled. She states it clearly, but not correctly. Her errors are twofold. She is wrong in supposing that the N.U. regards the Franchise Bill as "the only avenue through which votes for women can be got." The opinion of the Union is that the Bill offers the only possibility of getting votes for women this session—a very different matter. She is further wrong in supposing the N.U. to regard the passing of a women's suffrage amendment as a foregone conclusion. The N.U. makes no pretensions to the power of prophecy, and does not believe in the pretensions of other persons to such power. The Union does not, therefore, affect to know whether a Women's Suffrage Amendment will or will not pass. The matter hanging thus in uncertainty, the Union considers that its own obvious duty is to leave undone nothing likely to promote the passing of such an amendment.]

The position of the W.S.P.U. as set forth in this letter seems to us to err in its endeavour to prevent the passing of the Bill instead of endeavouring to prevent only the passing of it without a women's suffrage amendment. This attitude seems to us to resemble what is vulgarly known as cutting off one's nose to spite one's face.—ED. C. C.]

A FEMINIST LENDING LIBRARY.

Owing to an increasing demand we are starting a Feminist Lending Library for men and women in connection with this shop, and should like to make an appeal for the gift of books on all subjects relating to women, whether it be social, political, industrial or educational. To those who are unable to help us in this way we make a special appeal for contributions to enable us to buy books, as we are anxious to cover as wide a field as possible. The value for propaganda purposes of a good collection of books dealing with all aspects of the Woman's Movement can hardly be over-rated, and we trust that all friends and sympathisers will do what they can to help us.

All communications should be addressed to the Librarian, The International Suffrage Shop, 15, Adam Street, Strand, W.C.

S. SERUYA.

Deputation to Mr. S. Walsh, M.P.

On December 23rd, at the office of Mr. James Wilson, solicitor, Wigan, Mr. Stephen Walsh, M.P., received a deputation which desired to press upon him the urgency of the women's demand to be included in the Franchise Bill. The deputation included Mrs. Ainscow, the secretary of the local branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, Councillor Edwin Yates, Mr. John Foster, of the Douglas Bank Branch of the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation, Mr. J. R. Jones, Mr. Alfred McLeod, Mrs. Fairhurst, Miss Julia Smith, Mrs. Annot E. Robinson and Miss Darlington, of the Manchester and District Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies.

After Mr. Walsh had welcomed the deputation Mrs. Annot Robinson stated the suffrage position from the National Union and Labour point of view.

Mr. Walsh said that every member of the Labour Party would vote for the exclusion of the word "male" from the Reform Bill. The greatest hindrance that could be offered to the enfranchisement of women was an outbreak of militancy which would set up such irritation as to turn votes in the House of Commons. He stated his position as an adult suffragist who believed in and was prepared to support the granting of votes to women on a broad and democratic basis. He declared that he was prepared to work hard for the Norwegian amendment which would, if passed, confer votes on all women householders and also on married women who are wives of householders. He had not much sympathy with the Conciliation Bill amendment because it was not sufficiently democratic and because it ignored the claims of married women, but if other women's suffrage amendments are lost he would give it further consideration. He assured the deputation of his sympathy with the woman's claim and of his appreciation of the help rendered by the National Union to Labour candidates. He reminded the members of the deputation that

he had given pledges to his constituents on other matters besides suffrage. He stated that the Labour group in the House of Commons had not yet decided how they would vote on the third reading of the Franchise Bill if women were not included, and that he individually was not prepared to make a statement on that at this time.

An interchange of views took place, in which Councillor Edwin Yates, Mr. Alfred McLeod, Mrs. Fairhurst, Mrs. Ainscow and Miss Darlington took part.

"At Home" at Carnforth.

An "At Home" was given by Mrs. Ford, of Yealand Conyers, on December 18th, to the members and friends of the Carnforth and District Society, when Miss Sibille Ford gave an address, after which several new members joined. Mrs. Ford's hospitality was much appreciated. In the evening a Meeting was held in Yealand Conyers Friends' School, also addressed by Miss Sibille Ford on Women's Suffrage.

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Forthcoming Meetings.

(ARRANGED BY THE NATIONAL UNION.)

JANUARY 10.
Bacup—Town Hall—Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P.—Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, M.A. 7.30
Birmingham—Sparkbrook, Mrs. Pooler's Meeting—Miss Matheson—Miss Kirby 1.0
Liverpool—Exchange Flags—Miss Muriel Matters 1.0
Birmingham—Queen's College, Paradise Street—Meeting—Chair: Miss Kirby—Speaker: Mrs. Mathews 8.0
Windermerre—Waverley Temperance Hotel—Miss Helen Fraser 3.0
Woodbridge—Council School—Meeting—Chair: Lady Mary Cayley—Mrs. Rackham 8.0
Wakefield—Guild Room, Unity Hall—Mrs. Renton 7.30
Manchester—Salford Suffrage Association 8.0
Manchester—"At Home," Parker's Restaurant, St. Ann's Square 4.0

JANUARY 14.
Ambleside—Assembly Rooms—Chair: Mr. Hubert Coates, J.P.—Miss Helen Fraser 8.0
Mickleham—Drawing-room Meeting at Mrs. Gordon Clark's—Mrs. Rackham & Miss Gladys Pott 3.0
JANUARY 15.
Kewick—Albion Hotel—Suffrage Entertainment opened by Mrs. Chance (President of the Carlisle Society)—"White Elephant Show"—Theatricals, Concert, Slide Shows—Tea 2.30
Gateshead—W. S. Shop, 115, High West Street—Social Meeting for Women (Wednesdays)
Tunbridge Wells—Monson Hall—Debate at League of Young Liberals—Opener: Miss Griffith Jones 8.0
Morcombe—Lupton Memorial Hall—Chair: Mrs. Bell—Speakers: Miss Helen Fraser, the Rev. J. Bell and Mr. Howson 7.30
Manchester—Hulme Suffrage Club—Social Evening—Speaker: Miss Ashton 7.30

JANUARY 16.
Carnforth—Co-operative Hall—Public Meeting—Miss Helen Fraser—Chair: Captain Stanley Musgrave
Manchester—American Tea, by permission of Mrs. Ransome, at Trafford Old Hall, Old Trafford 3-6
JANUARY 17.
Manchester—Albert Hall, Lecture Hall—Annual Meeting of Manchester Society—Miss Frances Sterling 7.30
Kendal—Public Meeting—Miss Helen Fraser 3.0
Tunbridge Wells—Christ Church Parish Room—Meeting—Miss Eva Macnaughten 3.0

JANUARY 18.
Hawthorn—Town Hall—Annual Meeting, followed by Public Meeting—Miss Helen Fraser—Chair: Mrs. Cunliffe—Supported by Mrs. W. L. Turner, Mrs. Fowkes, Miss Satterthwaite 8.0

LONDON.
JANUARY 12.—Clapham—Grafton Square Congregational Chapel—Men's Meeting—Speaker: Mrs. Stanbury 3.0
JANUARY 16.—Annual Meeting—56, Iverna Court—Hostesses: Miss Lake—Speaker: Miss Lowndes 8.30
Walworth—St. Stephen's Parish Hall, Villa Street—Chair: Mr. G. Joffon, L.C.C.—Speakers: Mrs. Richardson, Dr. A. E. Read—Supported by Councillor J. H. and Mrs. Bignell, Mr. Albert Bignell, Mr. Walter Williams (ex-Mayor), Mr. Harries, Mrs. Herbert Stead, Mr. and Mrs. Gibbs and others 8.0

SCOTLAND.
JANUARY 10.
Edinburgh—40, Shandwick Place—"At Home"—Chair: Mrs. Melville 4.30
JANUARY 13.
Edinburgh—Week of Meetings, January 13th to 18th
Leith—Smith Rooms—Miss Low 8.0
JANUARY 14.
Edinburgh—Associated Women's Friendly Society—Mrs. James Fraser 8.0
Leith—Labour League Hall—Miss Muriel Matters 9.0
JANUARY 15.
Edinburgh—South U. F. Church Women's Guild—Mrs. James Fraser—"The Need of the Vote" 8.0
Glasgow—Democratic Unionist Association Rooms, 297, Argyle Street—Debate: "Should the Parliamentary Franchise be Extended to Women?"—For, Dr. Jane Robertson—Against, Mr. D. B. Kyles 8.0
Edinburgh—Livingstone Hall—Chair: Baillie Leing, Miss Muriel Matters 8.0

JANUARY 16.
Edinburgh—Inverleith Hall—Chair: Parish Council—Easson, Miss Muriel Matters 8.0
JANUARY 17.
Edinburgh—40, Shandwick Place—"At Home"—Mr. Lawson 4.30
Edinburgh—40, Shandwick Place—Chair: Mr. John McMichael, J.P., Miss Muriel Matters 4.30
Edinburgh—Lauriston Hall—Dramatic Entertainment, "Just to Get Married"—Miss Carmouche and Miss Jean Pagan 8.15
JANUARY 19.
Edinburgh—Outdoor Demonstration—Miss Muriel Matters

MEETINGS ADDRESSED BY MEMBERS OF THE UNION.

JANUARY 10.
Gateshead—A.S.E.—Miss C. M. Gordon, M.A. 7.0
JANUARY 12.
Southampton—Waverley Hall—Mrs. Rackham (N.U.W.S.S.), Poor Law Guardian—Address to Labour Club—"Women's Suffrage" 7.0
JANUARY 13.
Gateshead—A.S.E.—Miss Sheard

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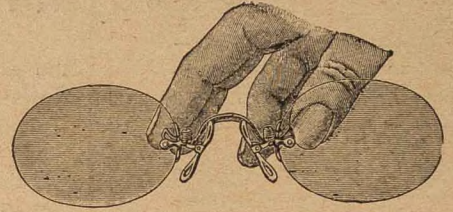
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