

NON-MILITANT

The Common Cause,

The Organ of the National Union of

Women's Suffrage

Societies.

Vol. IV. No. 161.

Registered as
a Newspaper.

MAY 9, 1912.

ONE PENNY.



By kind permission of the
Manchester Federation.

From a drawing by
Miss Janet Robertson.

Notes and Comments.

The Reform Bill.

There seems no doubt that the Government intends to introduce a Reform Bill this session. Mr. Asquith's reply to Mr. Snowden on May 6th, and the letter addressed by the Master of Elibank to the Midland Liberal Federation confirms this. We have not ourselves doubted it; our dissatisfaction is with the proposed form of the Bill and our utmost endeavours must be turned to securing that it does not leave the House of Commons without the women in it.

A Liberal Challenge to Labour.

We commend to the very careful consideration of delegates to the National Union Council meeting next week all the meanings and implications of the following paragraphs from the Chief Whip's letter:—

In the immediate future we shall enter also upon a struggle for the equally old Liberal principle of electoral reform, when, among other things, we shall propose a drastic measure of registration reform which shall make it as easy for the poor man as for the rich to find his way on to the register and so to the polling booth, and we shall deal with the plural voter in such a way that that ubiquitous political buccaneer shall thenceforth cease from troubling.

Among the questions of reform to be dealt with is the important one of third candidatures. I confess I am rather tired of the present conditions under which we have to carry on our political warfare, as in the last by-election at Oldham, where there was a Home Rule majority of over five thousand, and yet we have at this moment a Tory member voting in the House of Commons against Home Rule.

Liberalism must continue to be a living engine of democracy. Proud of our great tradition, faithful to our principles, confident in our leaders, we rely solely on the efforts of Liberals throughout the country, and in pursuit of our objects must perfect our organisations in great industrial areas such as yours, and so be independent of capricious support from some who would use us for their own ends and, these accomplished, would seek to destroy us.

We take this as being in some ways a direct challenge to the Labour party.

The Labour Party in Parliament.

Mr. A. Henderson, M.P., speaking at a Labour meeting in Wolverhampton on May 1st, declared that the Labour party would not be always content to be only 42 strong, and the existence of a strong Labour party was a "sheer necessity." In many respects the Labour party were not in agreement with the Liberal party. The former, for instance, stood for full citizen rights for both men and women, while the Liberals went for one man one vote. When they came to the economic aspects of the case, not only did the comparison between the Liberal party and the Labour party break down, but it would be found that there was a nearer comparison between the Liberal and Conservative parties than between Liberals and Labour.

It is stated that Mr. W. C. Anderson, Chairman of the I.L.P., will stand at the next election for the Dudley Division. Mrs. Anderson's splendid work for the Cradley Heath chain-makers should help him.

Mr. Churchill's Two Minds.

Mr. Churchill, in his speech on the Second Reading of the Home Rule Bill last Thursday, revealed again the capacity he has for keeping his mind in water-tight compartments. Nearly every word of that speech is far more true of the relations between men and women than of the relations between English and Irish. Mr. Churchill has the sex squint very badly, and while his "modern eye" is blind to women he keeps his oriental eye on them, advancing, it is true, the self-contradictory arguments that any particular measure is at once "too moderate" and "too extreme," but in his moments of unregenerate frankness admitting he would like to keep women, "like children, like aborigines, in a state of tutelage." He allows the sentiment of individuality and liberty to Irish men, but greets women's demand for representation with the bland assertion that women have no unredressed grievances. The soul of a woman, it seems, may be appeased with a butter tax, and women must be content to sing that men "never will be slaves." Identity of interests is, according to Mr. Churchill, an argument for England giving to Ireland self-government and for men denying to women self-government.

Some time ago, in a burst of autobiographical frankness, Mr. Churchill explained that in his early political days he had been obliged to mug up the party brief very hastily, and had not had time to think. We imagine that he has never yet had time to think how his more lately acquired Liberalism can be reconciled with his reactionary conception of one-half of his fellow-citizens.

Sir Edward Grey's speech, on the other hand, revealed a mind at harmony with itself.

Legal Cruelty.

In a case reported in the *Times* on May 2nd, Mr. Justice Bargaave Deane laid it down that the Divorce Court had "never been driven from the rule that there must be actual physical violence or danger to life and limb, or reasonable apprehension of the same in order to sustain a charge of legal cruelty," and without such cruelty of course (or desertion) the wife could not claim a divorce for her husband's adultery. In this case there has been in the press some misrepresentation of the judgment. The Judge made it clear that, if it had been proven that the husband had committed adultery with the co-respondent while she was in the house with his wife, the case would have been altered; he did not consider that this was proven and he did not consider that the wife's illness could be traced to the husband's misconduct. The Judge may have been mistaken and some people may hold that these were proved facts, but it is not true to say the Judge ruled that if a man insisted on keeping his mistress in the same house with his wife she could not get a divorce; on the contrary, he said that if under such circumstances the wife left the house in protest, the husband would be guilty of desertion and she could get her divorce. He did not say what her remedy was if she was too ill to leave the house. The case has, however, brought into relief again the disgusting nature of our divorce laws and the urgent need for their reform.

Educated Women and the Suffrage.

Poor Mr. Harold Norris! He gives vent to the most agonised cry of terror in a communication to the *Standard* of May 6th. He asks if parents really wish to see their daughters "enter the world embittered against all that therein is, including even those that brought them into the world." He thinks the worst thing that could happen to a girl would be to "fall into the clutches of any of the Suffrage societies," and he shrieks to parents to "protect their daughters from the wicked harm carefully and cunningly instilled into them by Suffrage teachers in our better-class schools." One feels he wants soothing. "There, there, little man; you're dreaming. Wake up out of your nightmare! See! it's only mother! You've allowed yourself to be frightened by a bogey."

Perhaps Mr. Norris does not know that many of the mothers of this generation were reared in schools staffed and headed by women whose wide outlook gave their pupils a conception of a nobler patriotism, and who certainly helped to make Suffragists by their great and inspiring example. Many of the mothers of girls now at school were themselves college chums of the women who are teaching their daughters, and the closest sympathy still exists between the old college chums, married and single, and the warmest agreement in their outlook on life.

What is called the "feminist doctrine" is, in truth, rather humanist than feminist, and rather a point of view than a doctrine. It is not a special subject in which teaching may or may not be given; it permeates every thought and feeling, and could no more be kept out of the atmosphere of a school presided over by a humanist woman than oxygen could be kept out if the window were opened. Mr. Norris will indeed have a hard task to perform if he tries to find good schools for girls where the humanist point of view does not prevail. Highly-educated women don't in the main tend to anti-suffragism.

Appointing the Second Best.

At the monthly meeting of the Manchester City Council, on May 1st, the Sanitary Committee's recommendation of Dr. Barbara M. Cunningham to the position of assistant to the Medical Officer of Health, at a salary of £250 per annum, with board and lodgings at Clayton Hospital, was considered. After the fullest inquiry, Dr. Cunningham was admittedly the best candidate, and Dr. Niven, the Medical Officer of Health, ratified her choice as a wise one; but the Council maintained (by 55 votes to 38) that because, in the absence of Dr. Niven, the assistant would be in command of a large staff of men, it was inadvisable to appoint a woman. Truly, if this is really necessary, man is the last of the animals to be civilised by woman.

Men and Women's Work.

In the *Standard* of May 3rd, Lady Seeley, a professed anti-suffragist, writes:—"Of course, the instruction of women servants is a much more difficult matter since the rule of the school board, under which girls are prepared for examinations not for life. A true woman will do far more good work for her country in her own home than by going to meetings trying to do men's work." We draw attention to the words we have italicised, and wonder how on earth Lady Seeley can reconcile them the one with the other. Surely if men's work (the establishment of State education) has spoilt women's work (the training of girls in the home), it is womanly work to try and undo the mischief men have done.

The A.B.C. of Women's Suffrage.

IS THIS "ACCIDENTAL" TOO?

Last week we examined Mrs. Humphry Ward's description of "the connection of the early stages of the Higher Education movement with a group of Suffragist women" as accidental.

This week we have to consider whether "the almost exclusive" use of the opportunities vouchsafed to women in local government "by women holding Suffragist opinions" is equally "accidental."

If you confined your reading to the *Anti-Suffrage Review* and the speeches of anti-Suffragists, you would be led to think that all the work done by

WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

was done by anti-Suffragists.

"Anti-Suffragists," they tell us, "accept the openings that already exist," and, in contrast, "we hear cries from every part of England for women to come and serve on those committees [in connection with local councils,] and the very women who are most clamorous for the vote to-day are the very women who

DO NOT COME OUT AND SERVE."

This shows strange ignorance, for so far as we know not a single woman on the committee of the National League for

OPPOSING WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

is a member of any municipal body, whereas when we turn to the Committee of the National Union of

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES

we find Miss Margaret Ashton, who has this year been returned for the second time on to the

MANCHESTER CITY COUNCIL.

Indeed, so manifestly valuable has her work been, that this year she was returned unopposed.

We look a little further and we find, on the same Committee, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, a member of the

LIVERPOOL CITY COUNCIL.

We find Miss Isabella O. Ford a member of the

ADEL PARISH COUNCIL.

We find Mrs. Rackham a

POOR-LAW GUARDIAN

of Cambridge.

All these women are actually on the Executive Committee of the largest and most representative Women's Suffrage Society in the kingdom. But they do not exhaust the list of prominent Suffragists who have

"COME OUT" AND "SERVED."

The

OLDHAM

Branch of the N.U.W.S.S. owes much of its inspiration and strength to Mrs. Lees, a member of the City Council, and last year

MAYOR OF THE CITY;

and no one will surely need to be reminded of the work for the cause of Women's Suffrage done by Mrs. Garrett Anderson,

THE FIRST WOMAN MAYOR

in Great Britain.

These women are undoubtedly "clamorous for the vote to-day," if to be "clamorous" is to advocate it publicly night after night and to sacrifice money, leisure and health in its pursuit.

How are we to reconcile these

FACTS

with the statement of the anti-Suffragists that such women

"DO NOT COME OUT AND SERVE?"

Are we not rather led to the conclusion that it is not these women who neglect the opportunities they already have, but that those who are taking the fullest advantage of them are also asking to-day for the

FURTHER OPPORTUNITY

of service which the Parliamentary vote will afford? It is obvious, then, that just as on Mrs. Humphry Ward's own showing,

HIGHER EDUCATION

inevitably opens a woman's eyes to her need of full citizenship and the State's need of her, so

WORK IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

inevitably enforces the same lesson.

Those who administer the laws are naturally the most irked by their flaws and limitations and as they have the experience and opportunity of judging, so they would be best qualified to shape and amend.

THEREFORE THEY ASK FOR VOTES.

The anti-Suffragists want anti-Suffragist teachers for their girls, and are pained to find that the education which has fitted women to teach, has made them Suffragists. In the same way may they not find that, if they can persuade anti-Suffragists to "come out and serve" in local government (and we wish them all success in their efforts!) they will succeed

BEYOND THEIR HOPES

in their work of emancipation and make Suffragists where they intended only to make Councillors and Guardians?

Meanwhile we call upon the anti-Suffragists to produce a list of

LEADERS OF THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE

movement engaged in municipal work which shall challenge comparison with the list of

SUFFRAGE LEADERS

so engaged which we have given.

Until then let them admit that, in the department of local government, as in every other department of public life and social service, the most active workers and the

PIONEERS ARE SUFFRAGISTS.

MOTTO:

"By their works ye shall know them."

ALL BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS should be addressed to The Manager, THE COMMON CAUSE, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
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POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

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

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

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

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Mr. Brailsford on a Practical Policy.

In the May number of the *Englishwoman* the first article is from the pen of Mr. Brailsford, and it deals with the prospects of Women's Suffrage as part of the Reform Bill, and with the tactics which he thinks Suffragists should adopt to strengthen their position in Parliament. The policy and work of the National Union is laid down in broad lines at its Council meetings, and the Special Council to be held in London on May 14th will have to consider the whole position of the movement as affected by the defeat of the Conciliation Bill, and to meet the new situation created. It will be well that every delegate should read carefully Mr. Brailsford's bold and clear statement of the situation as he sees it. We do not wish to prejudge the decisions of the Council, but we give the following analysis of Mr. Brailsford's article because the fullest information is desirable, so that the National Union may make its decisions with open eyes. "Let us," he says, "honour the tenacity and courage of the Suffragist movement sufficiently to think clearly and speak plainly."

He begins by saying that the defeat of the Conciliation Bill and the causes which led to that defeat have for the moment destroyed the chances on a Reform Bill: "If we had to face the ordeal of the Reform Bill to-morrow, a democratic amendment would be overwhelmingly defeated." The reason he gives for this is that the same cause which defeated the Conciliation Bill will act with greater force in the case of the Reform Bill. Time, in fact, and the pressure of various forces, have broken up the chances of conciliation. The conciliation movement, which reached its climax in 1911—when the feeling in the country had been proved reasonable and favourable by the imposing array of resolutions from town and other councils, when all the Suffrage Societies were united in one policy, and when the truce had removed a plausible excuse for Anti-Suffragism—this movement received last November "a series of shocks" from which it could not rally; Women's Suffrage became a "dangerous" question, dangerous to party solidarity, and it was swept out of the way. Mr. Brailsford does not deny the existence of some small dangers in dealing with the question, but he regards them as having been distorted and exaggerated, and in any case as not being so great as those incurred in neglecting the question. "Some disturbance within the party there possibly would have been—a few defections in the ranks, and perhaps a resignation or two in the Cabinet before the Reform Bill was finally carried. That is the extent of the danger which has for the moment undone us. Dressed out with headlines by Mr. Garvin in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and echoed under Mr. Churchill's inspiration in the *Daily Chronicle*, it was made to appear unduly formidable. It was in reality a negligible trifle,

which would have been, at the worst, a momentary episode in the life of the Liberal Party. It might have lost it the weary support of the Lord Chancellor and the dilettante backing of Mr. Harcourt. There are better men to replace them; such injuries are not mortal. The panic-mongers may be invited to remember that Mr. Balfour's Ministry survived the resignations of Mr. Chamberlain, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, and Lord George Hamilton. This was the risk, distant, problematic and very trivial, which caused Mr. Redmond to think it a fatal danger that Ministers should argue with one another in public over the merits of Women's Suffrage." It is manifest that if this—the fear of disintegrating the Government—operated to defeat the small measure, it will operate still more strongly to defeat the women on the Reform Bill, unless we can make it plain that the dangers of this course will be greater than the advantages. There is nothing cynical in facing the plain truth. The members of Parliament who broke their pledges and rattled on March 28th showed then that, even if they desired the enfranchisement of women, they rated party advantage above this desire and even above the keeping of what was only a debt of honour, since it was owed to those who have not the voters' power of enforcing payment. "The belief which confronts us," says Mr. Brailsford, "is that it may be dangerous to Liberalism to carry Women's Suffrage. It lies with us to arrange that it shall be much more dangerous to delay it."

Mr. Brailsford briefly summarises the two electioneering policies of the National Union on the one hand and of the W.S.P.U. on the other. The first he holds had the advantage that it did "encourage a friendly attitude among members," but it could not withstand the pressure of party considerations; the second, logical and redoubtable if successful, showed "no middle term between success and failure," and was "far above the comprehension of the average voter." "The problem for Suffragists is to find a policy which will rally the votes of some large section of the electors, without demanding from them the heroic sacrifice of most of their opinions. It must at the same time alarm the party in power. We must show them that it is dangerous to delay Women's Suffrage, but the danger must be one which they will recognise." (Here, we would like to interpolate the remark that this is made more difficult by the congestion of business, the accumulation of pledges, and the hurry and scurry of modern politics, which seems to make a hand-to-mouth existence almost a necessity, and prevents politicians from seeing a danger till it is on the point of knocking them down.)

Mr. Brailsford finds the policy he is seeking in the immediate inauguration of a "Women's Auxiliary Fund for the support of Labour candidates," and he suggests that only those should be supported who are opposing a Liberal Anti-Suffragist or a Liberal deserter. This policy would have the double effect of helping to eliminate reactionary Liberals, and of strengthening the only Parliamentary party which has, as a party, made Women's Suffrage an integral part of its policy. The article, which we published last week, by the hand of Mrs. Fawcett, showed how good the record of the Labour Party has been in the past; Mr. Brailsford says: "We cannot forget the debt which we owe to men like Sir Edward Grey and Lord Robert Cecil, but only a party acting in concert, and in complete independence of the two Front Benches, can adequately serve women's interests at this moment. . . . It should now be, if I can form an opinion, the chief concern of Suffragists to strengthen the Labour Party by every means in their power." Mr. Brailsford maintains that if the solution of the Women's Suffrage question be postponed, this policy is one which has the greatest promise, and he believes that its energetic adoption would "alter the position in the House before the Reform Bill is reached." He holds, of course, that constituencies must be carefully chosen, and "the ground prepared betimes," and here members of the National Union will agree with him, for they know better than any that a policy, to be successful, requires careful and detailed preparation and local knowledge.

The conclusion is: "Our first duty is to face our danger with open eyes, but without hesitation or dejection. If we fail to find an expedient, the autumn will certainly repeat the disaster of the spring. The next step is to adopt the one practical policy which is open to us, and to snatch the advantage which rapid action may give us. We have six months in which to prove that the support we can give in return for the fine and spontaneous action of the Labour Party will be generous, effective, and—formidable." We must remember that the Labour Party stood by us to a man when there was no party advantage to be reaped from such staunchness, and that, in support of a Bill, which extremists of the Liberal Party vainly tried to persuade them was "undemocratic."

Safety in Numbers.

Many years ago, with a large party of cousins from England, I was spending a week in Paris in the height of the season. We had been to some evening entertainment at a distance from our hotel, and no cab of any sort could be found at the late hour when, tired and jaded, we were extremely anxious to get back to bed. At last, to our immense relief, a carriage was successfully hailed, and drove up to the corner of the street where we were standing. The driver hardly pulled up, he cast a supercilious glance upon the anxious group, and shouting out, "*Vous êtes trop nombreuses*," whipped up his horse, and drove relentlessly away.

Is not this the position in which we Suffragists find ourselves? Conservatives who have promised support explain anxiously that we must only expect them to back a very limited Bill; but when that Bill is actually before Parliament, they shake their heads and turn away, muttering, "*Vous êtes trop nombreuses*!"

Liberals, on the contrary, declare that they must have a "democratic measure"—none of your class limitations. If we would produce that sort of Bill all true Liberals would support it. "Really," we cry delighted, "so you will turn the Manhood Suffrage Bill of Mr. Asquith into an Adult Suffrage Bill, enfranchising women on the same terms as men?"

"That," they reply, "would be a truly liberal measure, of course; but we can't do it. *Vous êtes trop nombreuses*."

What is to be done? Should the Council meeting be urged to advocate the exposure of all female children within two days of their birth? or should widows be earnestly advised to look at the matter unselfishly and insist on being cremated with the remains of their husbands? These are historic remedies, but perhaps bear too hardly on certain classes only of the community. I feel that only in the last resort would our most stalwart forwards consent to consider them.

"Britannia has got more than a million too many daughters," say the politicians, and they do not add, "the more the merrier," or anything genial of that sort. On the contrary, members of the Government party and of the Opposition alike turn away from the contemplation of their sisters with a surly growl—

"Give them their broth without any bread,
Whip them all soundly, and put them to bed."

"What did you say? Put them to bed? Some of them have not got any beds."

"No beds! That's your fault. *Vous êtes trop nombreuses*." As a child I was once sent to a very deaf old woman to desire her to call for broth. My ineffectual bawlings failed to reach her consciousness, but the resourceful old person handed me her Bible, and intimated that a well-brought-up child might find an appropriate text to convey her meaning. This baffling suggestion sent me home at a sharp run to consult Cruden's Concordance. Yes, broth is mentioned in the Bible, but in a context I hesitated to employ. Who is it who talks of "broth of abominable things"?

If such broth is served out to millions of our sisters because women are too numerous for justice and too numerous for freedom, it behoves us to turn to those who do not fear to think in millions, and who desire to enfranchise the weak for their protection rather than to bolster up the strong.

It is no new thing to the labouring classes to be told that a section of the community may be too numerous to be considered. Read the debates in the two Houses of Parliament in 1831 and '32, in 1866 and '67, on the various Reform Bills. What are they all about? Simply one set of people saying, "*Vous êtes trop nombreux*," and another set of people arguing that this fact makes it desirable that these great numbers should be represented in the councils of the nation.

The Labour Party has decided that women as well as men constitute the nation, and have a right to representation. The fact that they face without fear the likelihood that all adult persons may be admitted to the franchise makes them valuable allies in the face of the cry that reaches us from right and left alike, "*Vous êtes trop nombreuses*."

We, for our part, may remember that our alliance with Labour, if we arrange such alliance, does not mean that the Labour Party will give us votes, nor does it mean that the franchise given need be such as the Labour Party would themselves bestow. It may however mean that the present Government shall be led to take its courage in both hands in face of an uncomfortable situation, and decide after all to bestow upon women a franchise that commends itself to Liberals, and that the Cabinet has so long coquetted with.

M. LOWNDES.

Penal Reform.

We have received two communications from Earl Grey with the request that we should give them publicity. We have the greatest pleasure in doing so. They are as follows:—

I.—JUVENILE COURTS OF PROBATION.

To The Secretary of State for the Home Department,
Home Office, Whitehall, S.W.

SIR,—The undersigned, being delegated for the purpose by a Conference on Juvenile Courts and Probation, presided over by Earl Grey and held in the house of Earl Brassey, 24, Park Lane, W., on Wednesday, February 15th, 1912, have the honour to bring to your notice certain facts and recommendations.

Manifest advantages have resulted from the Children Act, 1908, and the Probation of Offenders Act, 1907, by which the cases of children and young persons are heard apart from those of adults, and provision has been made for various methods of dealing with young offenders other than punishment. We would record appreciation of these advantages, but nevertheless we beg to urge that the following facts call for attention:—

1. Children's Courts, as at present organised, are not sufficiently separate and distinct from ordinary Police Courts and their criminal traditions, since they are held in the Police Court buildings and frequently in court rooms furnished with docks and partitions for the trial of adults. Such places are not fitted for the hearing of children's cases. Again, there are often no suitable waiting-rooms for children and their relatives.

2. Police magistrates are too much occupied with other business to permit of their devoting enough time and undivided attention to that of the Children's Court.

3. Constant concern with the cases of all sorts and conditions of criminals must necessarily have the effect of dulling those feelings which are so much wanted in dealing with the young, who should not be looked upon as criminals, but as inexperienced and ignorant offenders who have never been taught the right way.

4. In order that a Children's Court should perform its right functions as a vigorous socialising agency for the rescue of children and young persons who are neglected, demoralised or in danger of becoming demoralised—in order, in short, that the Children's Court may be a centre of constructive effort for regenerating homes and neighbourhoods—it is necessary that it should be presided over by a person of special qualifications, with social experience and knowledge and understanding of boys and girls of all ages—and this cannot be secured without special selection.

5. The methods of procedure which at present prevail in many Children's Courts throughout the country leave much to be desired. Apparently magistrates are unaware of the various provisions of Part V. of the Children's Act. Decisions are often made by them which show that they do not understand the psychological conditions and social circumstances of the children and young persons brought before them; or that they have not a staff competent to make that preliminary investigation of the case which is essential if justice is to be done to children, whose faults are those of immaturity or deficiency.

For instance, grave harm may be done by placing a child or young person on probation without careful enquiry having been made into all the circumstances of his home before his appearance in Court. Many homes are such that the only hope for the children lies in removing them. The placing of such children on probation while leaving them in their former surroundings is a mistaken form of leniency. On the other hand homes can sometimes be improved, and their children helped to better ways, by the services of a competent probation officer even though such cases, before investigation, would appear unsuitable for probation.

6. In many parts of the country the probation system has not yet been properly developed. The valuable register of probation officers published by your department in April, 1911, shows that very few Courts appear to have regular probation officers giving their individual attention to juveniles. In many cases children are put on probation to persons who are mainly occupied in looking after adult offenders—inebriates, ne'er-do-wells, etc.—and have not the kind of experience necessary to qualify them for befriending children. Neither have they the time to give to their young probationers the great care and attention that is required to make a real success of the system.

Many again are the paid agents of societies whose main objects have nothing to do with the supervision of children. Hence the young probationers are often expected to mend their

ways without their circumstances being altered or any effective guidance supplied.

7. Regular paid probation work not being efficiently organised, it follows naturally that efficient and adequate voluntary co-operation from unofficial societies and individuals is not secured to anything like the extent that it might be. A zealous juvenile court magistrate with competent probation officers would soon become a centre of vigorous social co-operation.

8. In some large centres of population—notably in the metropolitan area—the places where Children's Courts are held are too few and far apart. Owing to the long distances, to the loss of time and business, as well as in some instances to the fear of being treated with discourtesy by magistrates who do not appreciate the reasons of their action, complainants or prosecutors are often discouraged from bringing before the Court cases where it is most important that some notice should be taken of a petty theft or disorderly conduct. Children and young persons are thus allowed to drift from bad to worse for want of timely check.

9. Much trouble and expense are incurred, and much time is wasted, by the escort or conveyance of children and young persons to remand homes and between the remand home and the Court.

10. In many localities no place of detention other than the workhouse is provided. In others the staff of the remand home is inadequate or unsuitable. It is well known that comparatively innocent children learn evil in some of these places.

We desire, therefore, to submit to your sympathetic consideration the following recommendations:—

A. That in the Metropolitan area and other large centres of population special Juvenile Court Magistrates be appointed, selected for their knowledge of social conditions and understanding of boys and girls of all ages, as well as for their powers of personal influence and organisation.

B. That Juvenile Courts be held, not in or near Police or Criminal Court buildings, but in or quite close to the Remand Home. (For advantages of holding the Court in the Remand Home see note.)

C. That such Juvenile Courts, each with its Remand Home, should be sufficiently numerous and conveniently situated to be easy of access for those who wish to prosecute, prefer complaints or do other business with the Court or its officers, and for those whose duty it may be to bring children or young persons to the Court or to the Remand Home.

D. That each Juvenile Court in a populous centre be required to have at least one woman and one man probation officer, drawing adequate salaries from public funds, and as many more such officers as will secure that none of them has more than about 50 probationers at one time, all being in the district adjacent to the Court; such probation officers to devote their whole working time to the care of the juvenile probationers.

E. That whenever a child or young person is arrested or complained of, the home should be visited and full enquiries be made, if possible before the case comes before the magistrate, by the probation officer, who, while acting as an officer of the Court, should approach the home as a friend of the child and try from the first to secure the co-operation of the parents. The magistrate's decision as to the disposal of the case should not be made without this probation officer's report.

F. That Courts be recommended to make it their duty, where locally possible and convenient, to secure the services of volunteer (unsalaried) probation officers to assist the regular probation officers by looking after one or two probationers each; and also to enter into co-operative relations with all religious and charitable societies, persons and authorities likely to help in their regenerative work.

G. In cases where the children or young persons are convicted of stealing or doing damage, whether wilful or careless, we consider it extremely desirable that they should, if over school age, be required, where possible, to do something in the way of reparation by their own effort, or by payment of small weekly instalments from their earnings. Some means whereby probationers, particularly girls, could be temporarily placed under care and training would often be very helpful to probation officers, and could be obtained if there were a fund to draw upon for this purpose. Such measures might save many a young person from a longer sojourn in an institution.

H. That regular reports be required by magistrates from all probation officers, paid and volunteer, on forms issued by the Home Office or some central authority.

I. That where a child is homeless, or where it seems desirable to remove him, temporarily or otherwise, from his present surroundings, the Juvenile Court magistrate be recommended to take more advantage of the provisions contained in the Children Act, Section 107 (d), for committing children and young persons

“to the care of a relative or other fit person.” In certain cases the services of a probation officer or volunteer probation officer will be available for this purpose.

J. That Juvenile Court magistrates be advised, when committing young children to Industrial Schools, to recommend the boarding-out of suitable cases under Clause 53 (Part IV.) of the Children Act.

K. That each Remand Home should be in charge of a resident probation officer or some other specially qualified person, preferably a gentlewoman with the right kind of experience, and should have an adequate and competent staff, including specially qualified educators, so that the children and young persons detained may be suitably occupied in an educative way during their waking hours. The services of volunteers should be enlisted to help the staff to this end.

We have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servants,

(Signed),
Grey, Henrietta O. Barnett Charles E. B. Russell
Edmund Talbot. Isabella M. Baker. J. H. Whitehouse.
Henry Bentinck. N. Adler. W. F. Cobb.
John E. Gorst. Constance Smith. Arthur St. John.
George Toulmin. W. H. Dickinson.

Note to Recommendation B.—The advantages of holding the Juvenile Court at the Remand Home may be set forth as follows:—

1. The connection with the Police Courts and their traditions would be broken.

2. Co-operation between the Court, the Probation Officers, and the Remand Home staff would be facilitated by their being grouped together. The valuable knowledge of the Superintendent and Matron of the Remand Home, resulting from observation of the child, would be more readily available, because on the spot.

3. The existence of a proper Remand Home staff and plant—its clinic and place of observation, its baths, fumigating arrangements, etc.—in conjunction with the Court would emphasise its child-saving character.

4. Much travelling of both escort and children between the Court and the Remand Home, much waiting, and waste of time and money, would be dispensed with.

II.—CASES OF ASSAULT.

The same signatures are appended to the following:—
SIR,—The undersigned have the honour, on behalf of a Conference presided over by Earl Grey, and held in the house of Earl Brassey, 23, Park Lane, W., on Thursday, February 15th, 1912, to call attention to the fact that, in cases of alleged assault on children or young persons, the child or young person in question is often at a great disadvantage in giving evidence in an open Court and under cross-examination, being frequently the only witness on his or her own side.

We are, therefore, instructed to recommend that the law be so altered as to provide that cases of assault on children or young persons should be brought before Juvenile Courts, that the mother or other woman relative or friend of the child in question should be present in Court with the child, and that, in any case, a woman probation officer should be present.

One of the Real Causes of Degeneration.*

It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of the facts set out in Mrs. Pember Reeves' little pamphlet. She gives us a series of family budgets, representing the detailed expenditure of families living on incomes of from 15s. to 24s. a week. Any one with any knowledge of the present rate of wages will know that this class includes a very large part of our industrial population. The particulars of the expenditure given bring us to the inevitable conclusion that where a family is of the average size, with the outlay necessary for rent, light and heat in London or any large provincial town, it is impossible to provide out of the remainder of the income a sufficient supply of wholesome and nourishing food. It is true, of course, that there is a considerable difference of opinion among scientists as to what constitutes a sufficient supply of nourishment, but the sums available for this purpose in these budgets—varying from 2s. 4d. to 11½d. a head per week—cannot cover even the lowest estimate of what is essential. Very similar conclusions were arrived at by Mr. Charles Booth for London and Mr. Rowntree for York, who each found that something near 30 per cent. of the populations they investigated were below the poverty

*“Family Life on a Pound a Week,” by Mrs. Pember Reeves.

line, i.e., were not in a position to provide themselves with a reasonable sufficiency of the necessities of life. The appalling fact which is laid bare in this pamphlet is that it is not only the failures of our industrial system, nor the abnormally unfortunate who are in this condition of perennial poverty, but the families of men in regular full work, earning the usual wages for their class of employment. It is not suggested that members of these families are chronically hungry; the housewives, with astounding ingenuity, usually manage to provide something “to fill the stomachs” of their families, even if it does not provide nourishment for their bodies, but if they are decently housed, they cannot be sufficiently fed, and bad housing reacts upon health quite as surely as insufficient food. It would, doubtless, be possible to provide cheaper and more nourishing articles of food than figure in these budgets: but foods like porridges or cheap soups and puddings require not only a considerable expenditure of time but more fuel and more cooking utensils for their preparation than can be afforded in these homes. Further, it is an acknowledged fact that, for town dwellers, a more or less stimulating diet seems to be necessary, and the housewife who provides pickles or a bloater to eat with dry bread is trying to supply a felt want, and is probably providing the only form of stimulating food within her means, for food both stimulating and nourishing is always expensive.

The facts which can be learnt from these pitiful little budgets throw light on many of the problems which are exercising the minds of social reformers and politicians. We find an answer to the question why 75 per cent. of our children are infected with tubercle by 15 years of age. Insanitary dwelling-houses and ill-feeding are the acknowledged causes of the terrible mortality of infancy and early childhood, but they cannot be avoided on these incomes. The appalling amount of malnutrition which exists among the scholars in our elementary schools is due to the same causes.

How is the problem to be met? It is urgent, and demands an immediate and adequate remedy. The provision of sanatoria and tuberculosis dispensaries for the victims of insanitary housing and insufficient feeding, or the removal of the healthy members of tuberculed families into homes with sanitary surroundings and good food, is simply shutting the stable door after the horse is stolen.

The provision of teaching on household management and cooking for the women, of Schools for Mothers, or legislation to prevent married women going out to work, in so far as it looked upon as a remedy for the ill-health and mortality of infants and children, is merely an attempt to fasten the blame upon the shoulders of women who, as a whole, are making a most valiant attempt to solve an insoluble problem.

Those who desire by teaching every lad a trade to give him the power to command the higher wages of the skilled artisan fail to recognise the fact that the work of the unskilled labourer must be done, and that only to a very small extent can his place ever be taken by machinery. As Mrs. Reeves points out, there are only two remedies—either the wages of the whole class must be very substantially increased, or the State must take upon itself to provide for whole classes of the community many of the necessities of life which, so far, private citizens have provided for their own families.

Which method would provide the more effectual remedy is open to discussion, but this is certain, that for the sake of the future of the race the problem must be speedily faced and met in an effective and adequate fashion. **ETHEL WILLIAMS.**

Browning's Reason.

The “Manchester Guardian” printed on Monday, May 6th, a sonnet by Robert Browning which we heartily commend to Liberal Anti-Suffragists. Here it is:—

WHY I AM A LIBERAL.

Why? Because all I haply can and do,
All that I am now—all I hope to be—
Whence comes it save from fortune setting free
Body and soul, the purpose to pursue
God traced for both? If fetters not a few
Of prejudice, convention fall from me,
These shall I bid men—each in his degree
Also God-guided—bear, and gaily too?
But little do or can the best of us:
That little is achieved thro' Liberty.
Who, then, dare hold—emancipated thus—
His fellow shall continue bound? Not I
Who live, love, labour freely, nor discuss
A brother's right to Freedom. That is “Why.”

In Parliament.

THE REFORM BILL.

On Monday, May 6th, Mr. Snowden (Blackburn, Lab.) asked the Prime Minister whether it was still the intention of the Government to make itself responsible for passing a Reform Bill through all its stages in the House of Commons during the present Session.

Mr. Asquith.—There has been no change in the intentions of the Government in this matter.

A SQUIB.

In a very bitter little speech Mr. Harold Smith, on Tuesday, 30th, asked leave, under the ten-minutes' rule, to bring in a Bill to repeal the preamble to the Parliament Act. Mr. Bottomley, in a derisive speech, “on behalf of the Government of this country,” opposed the measure, and the House divided—Ayes, 147; Noes, 233.

THE HOME RULE BILL.

The Second Reading debate began on Tuesday, 30th, when Mr. Churchill was the chief speaker. He appealed to members to look at the Irish problem with “the modern eye”; excused “excited language and violent demands”; protested that it was not permissible to object to the Bill at once because it was “so moderate” and because it was “so extreme”; declared that it did not represent finality; pleaded that “sentiment” as well as “material advantages” must be allowed weight; there was “identity of interests” between England and Ireland; and that “hostility and distrust” hampered good government. He admitted that the opposition of Ulster was a serious factor, and he appealed to Ulster to sink its opposition. He spoke of the great qualities for which we praise the Irish people, and continued:—“They are to sing ‘Rule Britannia’ and rejoice that, whatever may happen to Irishmen, Britons, at any rate, never will be slaves. Young English members of Parliament will rise in their places and let off little speeches proving that the Irish are naturally, intellectually, and temperamentally incompetent and incapable of managing their own affairs; that they are a very agreeable people when taken the right way, but that there is something about their nature which makes it necessary for them to be treated like children, like aborigines, and kept in a state of tutelage and subjection”; and he suggested the scorn and derision which must be in the minds of Irish members, “in the very first rank of Parliamentary debaters of the day, who are sitting silently and critically behind them.” A phrase of his which has been much quoted since was “What shall a nation have in exchange for its soul? A tax on imported butter.”

The debate was continued on Wednesday and on Thursday, when Sir Edward Grey's speech, like Mr. Churchill's, contained many parallels between the arguments advanced for Home Rule and those for Women's Suffrage.

THE INSURANCE ACT AND THE DOCTORS.

On Wednesday, May 1st, Mr. Grant moved a resolution that “immediate steps should be taken by the Government to ensure the co-operation of the medical profession in the administration of the Insurance Act, and that, until such co-operation is ensured, the Act will fail efficiently to provide medical benefits.” The debate took the form of severe criticism by Mr. Grant, Mr. Peel, and Sir Robert Finlay, but the resolution was accepted by Mr. Lloyd George, who said the Government was taking the steps recommended, and it was passed without a division.

FOUR BICESTER “GENTLEMEN.”

On Thursday, May 2nd, Mr. Wedgwood asked the Home Secretary whether his attention had been called to an occurrence at a Bicester hotel on April 11th, when four “gentlemen” broke into the bedrooms of Miss Sheepshanks, the daughter of the Bishop of Norwich, and Miss Philippa Fawcett, at 10.45 at night, and proceeded to rag their rooms and clothes, on the ground apparently that they were Suffragettes; whether he was aware that no proceedings could be taken because, being wealthy “gentlemen,” there could be no presumption of a desire to steal connected with the breaking in; and whether he proposed to take any steps to prevent such incidents in future.

Mr. McKenna said he had no information, but he was making an inquiry. He did not know whether two of these “gentle-

men" held His Majesty's commission. Lord Robert Cecil wanted to know "if there were no means of dealing under the existing criminal law with disgusting offences of this kind," and Mr. King protested that as the police on the spot already had

this matter before them, what was wanted was "independent investigation," but Mr. McKenna seemed to think the police inquiry was "independent." Lord Robert Cecil wanted the names of the "gentlemen" published.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

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

Hon. Secretaries: Miss K. D. COURTNEY. **President:** Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.
 Miss EDITH PALLISER (Parliamentary). **Hon. Secretary to the Press Committee:** Miss EMILY M. LEAF.
Telegrams: "Voiceless, London." **Hon. Sec. to Literature Committee:** Miss I. B. O'MALLEY. **Telephone:** 1960 Victoria.
Offices: Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

From Headquarters.

SPECIAL GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING.

The Executive Committee has called a special general Council Meeting of the National Union, to consider the position of the Union in view of the present situation. This meeting will have the powers of the annual meeting with regard to any alteration of the rules or policy, should the resolutions passed make this necessary. The meeting will be held in the Essex Hall, Strand, W.C., on Tuesday, May 14th, and will be continued on Wednesday, May 15th, if necessary.

NATIONAL UNION ORGANISERS.

We print below a list of the Federations, showing where the N.U. organisers and assistant organisers are now employed. It will easily be understood that such a list is in no sense permanent, as the organisers necessarily move from place to place when the occasion arises.

It will be seen that the Union at present employs 16 full organisers and 13 assistants. To these must be added Miss Elizabeth Coyle, who will begin work in the middle of June, and Miss Dora Mason, who will begin in July, both as full organisers. Miss St. John, late Laundry Mistress, H.M. Borstal Institution, has also just been appointed for training. In this estimate account is not taken of those organisers employed by Federations, who probably number about six at any given moment. The N.U. also employs Mrs. Cooper, of Nelson, at all By-elections.

The N.U. is arranging shortly to lend Miss Helga Gill to the Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation for six weeks, when her work in Oxford, Berks, and Bucks will be carried on by Miss Meikle. The Irish Federation is also proposing to send over some of its members during the summer for short periods of training with N.U. organisers.

It is hoped also to send an organiser to work in the North of Scotland during the summer.

| FEDERATION. | ORGANISER. | ASSISTANT ORGANISER OR ORGANISER IN TRAINING. |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| Scottish. | Their own organisers. | Miss Sheard. |
| N. Western. | Miss Watson. | Miss Bissett. |
| | Miss Norma Smith. | Miss Evans. |
| N. Eastern. | Mrs. Aldersly (special work). | |
| | Miss Gordon. | Miss Beaver. |
| Manchester and Dist. | (Sick leave.) | |
| | Employ their own organisers. | |
| West. Lancs., West Ches., N. Wales. | Ditto. | |
| | Miss Hilston. | |
| Yorks., W. Riding | (Special work.) | |
| Yorks., N. & E. Riding | Miss Clarkson. | Miss Edwardes. |
| | Miss Hilston. | |
| East Midlands | (Special work.) | |
| West Midlands. | Mrs. Renton. | Miss Meikle. |
| | Mrs. Cowmeadow. | Miss Ballantyne. |
| Oxford, Berks & Bucks. | Miss Morrison. | Mrs. Irene Meyer. |
| | Miss Walford. | |
| Eastern Counties. | (Special work during May.) | |
| | Miss Helga Gill. | Miss Hvistendahl. |
| West of England | Miss Kathleen Coyle. | Miss Farnell. |
| | Miss Kate Roberson. | Miss Chambers. |
| South Western | (Sick leave.) | |
| | Miss Fielden (temp.) | Miss Elphick. |
| Surrey, Sussex & Hants | then Miss Walford. | |
| | Employ their own organiser. | |
| Kentish | Miss Dutton. | Mrs. Streeter. |
| | Miss Waring. | |
| South Wales | | |

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

The usual **PUBLIC RECEPTION** will be held on **TUESDAY, MAY, 14,**
 at the **EMPRESS ROOMS, Kensington High Street, from 3.30 to 6 p.m.**

Owing to the N.U.W.S.S. Council Meeting on that day, certain alterations in the programme for the Reception have been found necessary, but among the speakers will be **LADY FRANCES BALFOUR** and **MISS JANET THOMSON, B.A.** All members of Local Committees who are not going to the Council are earnestly requested to be present and assist in promoting the success of the afternoon.

NEW SOCIETIES.

Yorks., N. & E. Ridings .. Saltburn-on-Sea.
 West Midlands Malvern.

K. D. COURTNEY.

Press Department.

The following report reaches us from the East Midland Federation:—

"The principal newspapers published within the area of this Federation are generally willing to publish Suffrage news, especially of a local character, and other brief communications from the local Societies. The comments on such matter are as a rule reasonable and fair, even in newspapers which are not favourable to the Suffrage Cause. The tactful and able influence of the Press Secretary, in ensuring the courteous treatment of the subject in papers whose views are unfavourable has been most valuable. Among newspapers which are consistently favourable in tone are the Nottingham *Daily Guardian*, and *Evening Post* (Conservative), the *Burton Evening Gazette*, *Chronicle*, and *Guardian* (Liberal), and the *Leicester Pioneer* (Labour). Special mention may be made of an excellent leading article on the rejection of the Conciliation Bill which appeared in the Nottingham *Guardian*. The *Mansfield Advertiser*, a Liberal paper, which usually takes a neutral tone, has recently published a series of articles on the Women's Movement contributed by members of the Mansfield Women's Suffrage Society."

From Worcester we hear that the *Worcester Herald* and *Worcester Daily Echo*, *Berrow's Journal* and *Evening Times*, and the *Advertiser* always give excellent reports of Suffrage meetings, and are ready to publish any news sent them by the local society.

The *Journal of Education* for May contains an interesting paragraph on the "N.U.T. and the Political Liberty of Women," while Sir Almoth Wright's letter calls forth an excellent answer entitled "Hysteria Passio Medicorum."

On April 6th, *The Gentlewoman* published extracts from the now famous letter by Sir Almoth Wright in such a way as to encourage the belief that his views gave expression to the *Gentlewoman's* opinion of the status and capacity of women. On May 4th, however, in an article on "Women and Public Work," Sir Almoth Wright's "somewhat savage insistence on the mental inferiority of women" is refuted, and a much saner view of women's work in the world is presented and ore more in accordance with reality.

We hope to see a large number of Press Secretaries at the N.U. offices at 8 p.m. on Monday, May 13th. The meeting will be held in the Committee room, and there will be tea and coffee in one of the smaller rooms.

M. MACKENZIE.

Literature Department.

NEW PAMPHLET BY MISS A. M. ROYDEN.

Miss Royden's new pamphlet, "Physical Force and Democracy," will be ready in time for the Council meeting. It is an answer to Mr. A. MacCullum Scott, M.P. and others who live in "the fairland of absolute maxims," far from "the dusty realms of mere historical fact."



**"RIVERSIDE"
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"HOMO SUM."

The National Union has published a new edition of "Homo Sum: a Letter to an Anti-Suffragist from an Anthropologist," by Miss Jane Harrison, LL.D. Miss Harrison is a striking example of "that curious accident" (alluded to in recent Anti-Suffragist letters) by which it happens that women distinguished in the world of education are also in favour of Women's Suffrage. "Homo Sum" is as delightful in its way as the world-famed works on archaeology and anthropology by which she is best known. It is quite unlike any other Suffrage pamphlet and is as interesting to those who are not Suffragists as to those who are.

HOME AND STATE.

Selma Lagerlöf is another writer of European fame, and all Suffragists will be glad that her address to the International Conference at Stockholm in June, 1911, has been translated into English. The translator is Miss M. C. Gittens, and the title of the pamphlet, "Home and State." It can be had from the National Union, price 1d.

I. B. O'MALLEY.

A Counterblast to the Antis.

What Anti-Suffrage Men really think about Women, Sir Almoth Wright and his critics, a commentary by Eleanor F. Rathbone. Price, postage paid, 1d., 8d. per dozen., 4s. per 100. To be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, Liverpool Society for Women's Suffrage, Greenbank, Liverpool, E. We agree with Miss Rathbone that to show up by this extreme case the mixture of moonshine and brutality implicit in the Anti-Suffrage position will serve to discredit their more timid propaganda.

**WE
THINK**

that the fact that we are a Trade Union House and are entrusted with the business of so many National Societies (Suffrage and others) is an important point in favour of our claim for your business.

Templar Printing Works, Birmingham.

R. CROMBLEHOLME, Trade Manager.

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YOU THINK?**

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(Miss GOLDING.)
 Secretaries, Housekeepers, Matrons, Governesses, Nurses and Companions introduced free of charge. Flats, families receiving Paying Guests, Schools, Nursing Homes and Couriers recommended. There is also a Branch for Domestic Servants.
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 5 quires (120 sheets) 2/- 1/2 roan (240 sheets) 2/- 1 roan (480 sheets) 4/6
 Samples on application. Above prices less 1/- if own die supplied. Postage extra.



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Treasurer's Notes.

This week when we are all engaged in thinking out an energetic and comprehensive programme for immediate execution, I should like to make a special appeal to every reader who is already a member of our Union but is not yet a regular subscriber to the Central Funds.

The records of our local Societies bear ample testimony to the enormous sums of money which their members are contributing year by year to build up and develop the work of their respective areas. And when it is a question of donations we ourselves have received proof, as recently as last February at the Albert Hall meeting, that suffragists are ready to give with greater enthusiasm and greater generosity and self-sacrifice than ever before. But I must remind our readers that such donations cannot be regarded as part of our regular income; many are given for special pieces of work or to be used in special districts and only a small proportion is usually available for maintaining and perfecting the central administration.

Undoubtedly the chief strength of the National Union lies in the independence and self-reliance of its constituent Societies and so long as all parts of the body are well and active it may be assumed that the heart is sound; but experienced and devoted suffragists have also recognised for some time past their obligation to strengthen the heart of the Union by subscribing annually to our Central Funds and, thanks to them, we can count upon a certain assured income to meet at least a portion of our current expenditure. But, owing to the constant and rapid growth of the Union, such income is becoming

more and more inadequate to our increasing needs, and I therefore make this pressing appeal to every member to promise us something for the future which we can rely on annually as a

Contributions to the General Fund.

Table with columns for names and amounts. Includes sub-sections for Subscriptions, Donations, and Affiliation Fees.

We regret that owing to a clerical error Mrs. Percy Thompson's donation of £100 in memory of Sidney Gilchrist Thomas was incorrectly entered in last week's list as "in memory of Mrs. Percy Thompson."

Federation Notes.

West of England. WORK IN THE FOREST OF DEAN. I have just spent ten days in the Forest of Dean constituency, where Mr. Harry Webb was returned to Parliament unopposed.

subscription to our funds. Now is the time when such assurance would be of the greatest use.

HELENA AUERBACH.

Before we left the caretaker appeared on the scene, and this is the kind of colloquy that took place. "Why weren't you here at the beginning of the meeting?" "I was working in my garden."

NEW BRANCH IN BRIDGWATER.—The foundation of a good Branch has been laid in Bridgewater, and plans are already on foot for meetings to be held during the summer.

EASTERN COUNTIES. ORGANISATION AT DOVERCOURT AND HARWICH. New ground has been broken in the Dovercourt and Harwich district.

WORK IN THE FOREST OF DEAN. I have just spent ten days in the Forest of Dean constituency, where Mr. Harry Webb was returned to Parliament unopposed.

WEST MIDLAND. PROTEST CAMPAIGN IN MR. PHILIP FOSTER'S CONSTITUENCY. A series of meetings have been held in South West Warwickshire which have been held by the Federation to protest against the action of Mr. Foster, who on March 28th paired against the Conciliation Bill after having given repeated private and public pledges that he would support it.

ORGANISATION IN LICHFIELD. The Federation has also been working in Lichfield, and it is hoped that before long a society will be formed there. On April 29th a meeting was held at the Swan Hotel, Lichfield, by kind invitation of Mrs. Hardy, the speakers being H.H. the Rance of Sarawak and Miss Muriel Matters, and the chair taken by Miss Noel Wright.

RENEWED ENERGY AND SPREADING INFLUENCE HAVE BEEN REPORTED FROM SEVERAL SOCIETIES AS THE RESULT OF A FORTNIGHT'S TOUR TAKEN BY DR. ELSIE INGLIS, IN WHICH SHELLAND, ORKNEY, WICK, JOHN O'GRADY, TAIN AND DINGWALL WERE VISITED.

THE OXNEY SOCIETY ON THE 16TH ASSEMBLED A MOST APPRECIATIVE AUDIENCE IN THE TOWN HALL, PROVOST SLATER PRESIDING. DR. INGLIS' SPEECH, COVERING PREVIOUS WORK AND FUTURE ENDEAVOUR WAS HEAVILY APPLAUDED.

THE DROGHDA SOCIETY WELCOMED DR. INGLIS AT A PUBLIC MEETING ON THE 20TH, MR. ALEXANDER IN THE CHAIR. THE ADDRESS WAS MOST SYMPATHETICALLY RECEIVED AND PRODUCED GOOD RESULTS.

THE EDINBURGH SOCIETY HAD A MEETING AT BONES ON THE 17TH, ADDRESSING MISS ALICE LOW, MISS ANDREW IN THE CHAIR, RESULTING IN ADDITIONS TO THIS NEW SOCIETY, ALREADY SHOWING SIGNS OF MOST HOPEFUL ENERGY, WITH GREAT PLANS FOR THE FUTURE.

THE DUNDEE SOCIETY HAD A MEETING AT BONES ON THE 17TH, ADDRESSING MISS ALICE LOW, MISS ANDREW IN THE CHAIR, RESULTING IN ADDITIONS TO THIS NEW SOCIETY, ALREADY SHOWING SIGNS OF MOST HOPEFUL ENERGY, WITH GREAT PLANS FOR THE FUTURE.

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Put in all the news we send them, and the Free Press has published a very long correspondence between an aggressive militant and me, to which Miss Leaf and the local W.S.P.U. organiser also each contributed a letter, and which has been a valuable opportunity for bringing the work and the policy of the N.U. before a town which shows little knowledge of either.

THE STRIKING SOCIETY DURING MARCH DID CAPITAL ORGANISING WORK, SUPERINTENDED BY MISS SHEARD, INCLUDING OUTDOOR MEETINGS, AND AN "AT HOME" GIVEN BY THE COMMITTEE AT WHICH SEVERAL NEW MEMBERS WERE GAINED FROM AMONGST THE SIXTY-FOUR GUESTS.

THE FAULKIR SOCIETY HELD ON APRIL 1ST A "MAGNIFICENT FAULKIR DEMONSTRATION," AS THE FAULKIR HERALD JUSTLY DESCRIBED THE WELCOME GIVEN TO MRS. SNOWDEN BY AN AUDIENCE OF 2,000 GATHERED IN THE TOWN HALL.

RENEWED ENERGY AND SPREADING INFLUENCE HAVE BEEN REPORTED FROM SEVERAL SOCIETIES AS THE RESULT OF A FORTNIGHT'S TOUR TAKEN BY DR. ELSIE INGLIS, IN WHICH SHELLAND, ORKNEY, WICK, JOHN O'GRADY, TAIN AND DINGWALL WERE VISITED.

THE OXNEY SOCIETY ON THE 16TH ASSEMBLED A MOST APPRECIATIVE AUDIENCE IN THE TOWN HALL, PROVOST SLATER PRESIDING. DR. INGLIS' SPEECH, COVERING PREVIOUS WORK AND FUTURE ENDEAVOUR WAS HEAVILY APPLAUDED.

THE DROGHDA SOCIETY WELCOMED DR. INGLIS AT A PUBLIC MEETING ON THE 20TH, MR. ALEXANDER IN THE CHAIR. THE ADDRESS WAS MOST SYMPATHETICALLY RECEIVED AND PRODUCED GOOD RESULTS.

THE EDINBURGH SOCIETY HAD A MEETING AT BONES ON THE 17TH, ADDRESSING MISS ALICE LOW, MISS ANDREW IN THE CHAIR, RESULTING IN ADDITIONS TO THIS NEW SOCIETY, ALREADY SHOWING SIGNS OF MOST HOPEFUL ENERGY, WITH GREAT PLANS FOR THE FUTURE.

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arranged for the barricades, and Messrs. C. Scott Moncrieff and Holmes gave assistance in admitting buyers and keeping order. A general meeting of the society has been involved in making the report of the society for the year, and which has been a valuable opportunity for bringing the work and the policy of the N.U. before a town which shows little knowledge of either.

SOUTH WALES AND MONMOUTHSHIRE. FORMATION OF A SOCIETY AT CHESTERSTOW. On May 4th there was a small meeting of sympathisers at the People's Institute, Mrs. Hartland was in the chair.

NEWPORT.—LADY KATHERINE MORGAN HAS KINDLY consented to become president. The first annual meeting was held on May 3rd, when Miss Janet Price gave an address on the various ways in which individual members can help.

WORKINGTON HAD A PUBLIC MEETING ON APRIL 25, WHEN MISS MARGARET ROBERTSON AND MR. FRANK MARSHALL SPOKE. THE RESOLUTION WAS PASSED UNANIMOUSLY AND MANY NEW MEMBERS JOINED.

SURREY, SUSSEX AND HANTS. ON MARCH 28TH, THE OPENING OF THE CROXPON SUFFRAGE OFFICE WAS CELEBRATED BY AN "AT HOME," WHEN LOCAL LADIES RECITED AND APPEALED FOR FUNDS.

THE FIRST OF A SERIES OF "AT HOMES" WAS GIVEN AT THE Y.M.C.A. BRIGHTON, BY THE BRIGHTON AND HOVE COMMITTEE, MRS. CORBETT ASHBY SPEAKING HOPEFULLY FOR THE WOMEN'S FORWARD MOVEMENT.

THE 17TH OF THE WORTHING SOCIETY GAVE AN "AT HOME," THE HOSTESS BEING MRS. TUFFEY, THE SPEAKER MRS. GRIMSDALE ON THE WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE GUILD; ON THE 24TH ANOTHER WAS GIVEN, WITH THE MISSES THORP AS HOSTESSES.

ON THE 18TH MRS. DEMPSTER SPOKE ON REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT AT THE WINCHESTER SOCIETY'S "AT HOME" IN THE ODDIFORD HALL. THE HALL WAS CROWDED WITH THE BANNER, THE COLOURS AND PICTORIAL POSTERS.

NEW MILTON HAS ORGANISED WEEKLY SOCIAL MEETINGS TO ATTRACT NEW MEMBERS AND INSTRUCT OLD ONES, AND BOURNE-MOUTH HAS SENT SPEAKERS, MISS BATESON PRESIDING ON THE 18TH, WHEN MISS MARGARET ROBERTSON'S SPEECH WAS MUCH APPRECIATED.

IN HIS POWER TO FORWARD THE MOVEMENT, AND TO SUPPORT AN AMENDMENT TO THE GOVERNMENT MANHOOD SUFFRAGE BILL, WHICH WOULD SECURE THE ADMISSION OF WOMEN ON AS WIDE A BASIS AS POSSIBLE.

Mrs. Russell Cooke presided at SHANKLIN on the 26th, when Miss Nora O'Shea proposed a resolution deploring the defeat of the Conciliation Bill, and calling for their member's support.

The Woman Suffrage Party.

Having spoken of the rise of the Woman Suffrage Party as the most important development of the movement in America during the last few years, I am glad to have an opportunity of explaining my reasons for so describing it. I should premise that the word "Party" is not used here in our English sense.

Mrs. Chapman Catt, who is one of the greatest statesmen the movement has produced in America or out of it, conceived the project which has taken shape as the "Woman Suffrage Party," in order to elicit and organise this public opinion in favour of the great reform.

What does membership of the "Party" imply, and how is it organised? The members of the Party pay no subscription and have no rights. They are not asked to do anything as members, though, of course, many of them do join subscription-paying societies already in existence, and all are invited to attend public meetings.

Each city is divided into wards under a ward-leader or captain; each ward further divided into "blocks" of houses. A suffrage visitor is put in charge of each group of houses. It is her business to canvass every house, and invite men and women to become members of the Party.

It will be observed that this organisation is a permanent one. It has nothing in common with (for example) our own "Voters' Petition," organised in 1910. That petition merely registered public opinion. The Woman Suffrage Party registers, organises, and educates it.

Its strength lies largely in the fact that its creator has seized on that wherein the woman's movement is strong—voluntary service, not necessarily or primarily political. She has demanded least of that in which it is poor—money.

In conclusion, I would add that New York has always been regarded as the most armed and fortified of States against the suffrage attack. It is too rich and too corrupt politically, too much in the hands of the saloon-keeper and the political "boss" to be easily moved by the appeal to justice and high ideals.

A. MAUDE ROYDEN.

Foreign News.

Germany.

At a meeting of the Oldenburg Diet, on February 8th, the following progressive resolution was passed by 22 votes to 19. "The right of electing representatives to the parish council shall be permitted to those women members of the parish who are over 24 years of age, who have belonged to the parish for three years, and who are either married or, by paying taxes, have contributed as independent individuals towards the expense of the State." Needless to say that it was only after a lengthy discussion, in which all the usual objections were forcibly urged that the friends of our cause carried this point. Suffragists in Oldenburg are hopefully triumphant, and trust that theirs may be the first State to grant women's suffrage.

From the Communal Year Book for 1911-1912 we learn that the number of women school doctors and dentists has been increased; the former were recently appointed in Munich and Nürnberg, the latter in Colmar and Höchst.

According to the recently published report of the factory inspectors in Prussia there are 12 women assistant inspectors for 1912, of whom eight are in Greater Berlin.

China.

SUFFRAGIST VICTORY IN THE "UNCHANGING EAST."

A news despatch from Hongkong, published in the weekly "Japan Chronicle," of April 11th, states that the Provisional Assembly of Kwangtung has adopted a provincial Constitution consisting of 49 Articles, providing for a Provincial Assembly (President Yuan Shih-Kai having telegraphed to Provincial Governors to organise such Assemblies without delay) composed of representatives chosen by the people as a legislative body. Female representatives being included. The Governor of the Province is to be elected by this Assembly (to serve for a one-year term), no Commission being required from the Central Government. This Assembly will also elect and appoint the President of the High Court of Justice. Local self-government may be granted by the Assembly to prefectures and sub-districts of the Province.

Although this provisional Constitution will be abolished when the Constitution of the new Republic has been finally adopted and its government placed on a stable basis, it is a tremendous victory for the Chinese women suffragists to have secured actual representation upon such an important legislative body, and it is hardly likely that they will allow this concession to be taken away from them when the final provincial Constitution is established. The contrast with women's political position in Japan is startling.

Kwantung, it may be mentioned, is one of the southernmost of China's eighteen provinces (it is almost as big as Scotland) and in it lies the city of Canton, the home of the most advanced and intellectual Chinese. Geographically it contains Hongkong, Macao and Swatow, the latter an open port with 40,000 inhabitants, and Macao an important Portuguese settlement. Canton, the capital, has a population of 1,800,000, and it is here that the Assembly, with its women legislators, will sit.

The Ladies' National Association and the Criminal Law Amendment (White Slave Traffic) Bill.

Following on the successful Private Conference of April 26th, on "Girls over Sixteen in Moral Danger: Punishment or Re-education," of which a full report will be on sale shortly, the Ladies' National Association for the Prevention of State Regulation of Vice and for the Promotion of Social Purity are endeavouring to organise a great campaign with the object of urging the Government to adopt the Criminal Law Amendment (White Slave Traffic) Bill, and pass it into law this session as a memorial to the late W. T. Sead (lost in the "Titanic"), the man to whom the Criminal Law Act of 1885 was mainly due. The L.N.A. Committee are appealing widely to societies and individuals to join in bringing pressure to bear on the Government to adopt this Bill.

The annual meeting of the Ladies' National Association, under the chairmanship of Mr. Walter MacLaren, M.P., to be held at Caxton Hall on May 21st (see advertisement), will be devoted to this subject. Miss Abadam will speak on the Bill, and Head Deaconess Katherine Beynon will explain the effort now under consideration to rescue victims of the traffic in

India by means of a much-needed rescue home at Lahore and others.

It is not perhaps realised that some two months ago a most sympathetic reception was given by the present Home Secretary, Mr. McKenna, to the very influential deputation that waited upon him to urge the claims of this Bill. He then stated that if 40 members would ballot for the Bill it would secure a second reading, and then the Government would give facilities for the later stages. Members of Parliament were circularised in this sense by the joint committee promoting the Bill. Why did they not respond and secure the second reading? Because they had no mandate from their constituents—and why? Because the majority of the constituents are ignorant of the urgent need for this legislation. Put the case before the electors, and not 40, but 670 members of Parliament will be bombarded with urgent instructions to vote for this Bill, including the members—only two—whose objection blocked the Bill in April. But further, the same electors and others, not yet electors, who want this measure to become law, will make their will known direct to the Government by resolutions adopted at meetings and sent to the Home Secretary and Prime Minister. A Government cannot ignore such universal pressure as is proposed. The L.N.A. invite all interested in this matter to attend their meeting on the 21st, and in the meantime the energetic Hon. Secretary, who specially has this matter in hand, will welcome inquiry as to the means proposed for carrying out this project in the most effective manner, for in this, as in other matters, union is strength. Leaflets on the subject may be had on application to the L.N.A., 19, Totihill Street, Westminster.

The Pioneer Players.

On Sunday evening, May 5th, the Pioneer Players presented "Nellie Lambert," a new three-act play by Dr. J. Sackville Martin. "Nellie Lambert" is the story of a woman who has suffered through the well-meant interference of the Social Purity Party—through the work of those "good people" who would drive barmaids from the bar and women from the pit-brow, and often give them only the alternatives of starvation or degradation. "I earned my living honestly before you drove me out of work," Nellie tells the sentimental parson on his coming to visit her in her poverty. "Now I'll do it dishonestly sooner than accept your charity." And again, "Why do all the good people do so much harm?"

The play is clear Suffrage propaganda, showing Nellie driven by economic necessity into submission to a young blackguard, and ending with Nellie's joining the suffragist forces. The two leading parts of Nellie Lambert and Tom Potter were ably played by Miss Mona Harrison and Mr. Clayton Greene. The minor characters were also efficiently rendered, but the actors did not get very much help here from the author, as he has been content to develop his principal characters, and to surround them by merely conventional and, in some cases, rather grotesque types.

The play was preceded by Christopher St. John's "Macrena," which was given by special request and was received with much enthusiasm.

Reviews.

THE ENGLISHWOMAN.

The May number of this delightful magazine is better than ever. We deal at length elsewhere with the first article by Mr. Brailford, of special interest to members of the National Union. Mr. Cholmeley, in "Man Overboard," deals wittily and genially with the egregious author of "Woman Adrift," and has a philosophical footnote on the ethics of conduct in the Titanic disaster, in which he shows up Mr. Owen's mental and moral shoddy. "Not understanding the essential condition of chivalry," he says, "he degrades it into a species of male patronage; not understanding Suffragism, he travesties it as mere female ingratitude." An article on "Servants and Registry Offices" shows there is much yet to be done in getting girls well-trained and well-placed even in this occupation, so cried up as the haven of refuge for all true women; incidentally, a little light is thrown on the drawbacks of institution life. Miss Lowndes has a very poignant little sketch of how the defeat of the Conciliation Bill, and what it meant to the "silent women" is brought home to two men. There is an enthusiastic article on

annuities for women, and another on industrial training for girls; the author of the latter (Elizabeth de Bruin) maintains that the L.C.C. schools not only give a valuable training at a moderate cost, but endeavour so to regulate the teaching as to provide it in the trades where demand for labour is a certainty and also encourage a proper standard of what wages should be asked. One can imagine few more fruitful reforms than a really practical education of this kind, which shall create skill and direct its application and its reward. The story of "A Working Woman's Life" is so told as to make one long for more, and we are promised more. We have not been able to mention one-half of the contents of this excellent number.

The Women's Industrial News for April contains one of the best arranged and completest statements we have yet seen of the provisions of the Insurance Act as affecting women. The Act is complicated enough as regards men, but the "options" which have to be presented to a woman upon marriage are such as indeed will require patience and a gift of exposition if the women are to understand them. Educated women ought to make it a point of honour to have by them, at least for reference, some pamphlet of this nature, wherewith to answer the questions of their less educated sisters.

From the National Union of Women Workers we have also received several most useful leaflets. (1) One giving a list of societies which have intimated their intention of becoming "approved" and of accepting women members. This was published in March, and will, of course, need constant revising. (2) A four-page leaflet explaining the provisions. (3) A special leaflet dealing with domestic servants. (4) One giving reasons against becoming a deposit contributor. All these can be obtained from Miss Norah Green, Parliament Mansions, Westminster.

FEMINISM, by May Sinclair (Women Writers' Suffrage League, 55, Berners Street, W., price 3d.), is an amplification of an excellent letter which Miss Sinclair contributed to the Times in reply to Sir Almoth Wright. Miss Sinclair manages to reconcile the poetic with the scientific, and she writes with a passion and a directness that makes this little book a very vital and stirring thing.

MODERN DEMOCRACY: A Study in Tendencies. By Brougham Villiers. (F. J. Shaw.) [Fisher Unwin, pp. 293, 7s. 6d. net.]

In this absorbingly interesting and suggestive study Mr. Shaw traces the dawning democratisation of politics through the extension of the franchise to working men. He shows political theory, whether it be that of the Liberal Individualist or of the Utopian Socialist, transformed at the touch of the working man into something of his own likeness. The working man is inevitably a "guarantist." That is to say, his most living desire must always be "to guarantee all the members of society against the worst evils of poverty." He is so near the border line of destitution, so closely involved in the struggle for the means to keep body and soul and family together, that he cannot afford to reject any "palliative." The reforms he demands may fit in with some political theory or build up gradually a revolutionised state, but he is concerned less with theory or ultimate consequences than with his present need. And the failure of the Liberal Party, reflecting the theoretic democracy of the middle classes, to get into touch with the new electors, together with the spread of Socialist teaching, led to the formation of the Labour Party.

Here, in his analysis of the relations, past, present and to come, of Liberalism and Labour, Mr. Shaw is illuminating. We see how the presence or potentiality of Labour candidates led the Liberals to shift their ground of appeal till their sympathy with the workers vied with that of their opponents. In industrial constituencies they substituted for men of the old school young advanced thinkers, sometimes more socialistic than their Labour opponents. Then, as the Socialist inevitably made his appeal practical, his aims concrete and immediate, the programmes of the two candidates became at times almost indistinguishable, and the "coalition" of Liberalism and Labour was applauded or condemned as the case might be.

And yet, having shown the growing tendency of Liberalism and Labour to meet in "guarantism," Mr. Shaw makes equally clear the fundamental divisions which will make it impossible for the parties to unite so long as they maintain their present organisation. In the first place, whilst the Liberal Party has a programme the Labour Party has only prin-

ciples and a sessional policy; it is free and ever responsive to working class opinion. Moreover, and here is the kernel of the difference, the Liberal Party is for the most part financed by a wealthy few—men of the capitalist class; the Labour Party is broad-based upon the people's purse. And, as the power of the purse is the supreme power, each party will, in crises, tend to respond to the class upon which it financially depends. It is, therefore, a sine qua non of the great "people's party" of the future, to which Mr. Shaw looks, that it should be financed by the people.

But by "the people" Mr. Shaw does not mean "the men." An essentially preliminary of the full enfranchisement of women. The modern social reform movement is the outcome not of theory, but of the working man's personal sense of his own needs; and just as its acceptance is an acknowledgment that of his own needs he is the best judge, so it is a denial that he can speak for others any more than others can speak for him. The present-day candidate finds an election a liberal education in the needs and desires of male industrialism; he has no such education in the needs and desires of the working woman; this social reform is accordingly lop-sided, being aimed always at the suffrages of a masculine electorate. It is the average man and woman who have made the home who must make the State, and Mr. Shaw laughs at the idea that if they evolve a Socialistic State the home will be sacrificed. It is the one thing which they themselves have made—are they likely to destroy it?—the home, which has come into existence "not as the product of any particular order of human society, but simply because men and women like it."

And as Mr. Shaw regards the absolute equality of women as essential to guarantism, so he recognises the strong element of guarantism in women's suffrage propaganda. He notes the emphasis laid on social reform, the demand reiterated by women of every class and party for improved economic conditions and a living wage for women workers, and he pays tribute to the Conservative Women Suffragists who, recognising in these respects a community of aim, have refrained from decrying the Labour movement. Looking to the speedy victory of the fight for women's enfranchisement, Mr. Shaw puts in a strong plea for the maintenance intact of the great women's suffrage organisations. For in the organisation of the "people" and their consequent control of the State according to the "inevitable expression of their inner spirit," he sees the necessary material force for that great social revolution which must be essentially spiritual and the outcome of "a new reverence for the life of man upon earth."

MARGARET ROBERTSON.

Letters to the Editor.

Correspondents are requested to send their names and addresses, not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of good faith. The Editor is not responsible for any statement made in the correspondence column.

Correspondents are requested to write ON ONE SIDE OF THE PAPER ONLY.

RESIGNATIONS.

Amongst the women members of Educational Societies there must be many who are ardent suffragists. I cannot speak of the English societies, but I know that the two largest in Scotland—the Educational Institute and the Class Teachers' Association—are markedly anti-suffrage, and I think suffragists ought to consider seriously resigning their membership of these societies—at least for the present. I would not like to give any ground for the accusation of prejudice or embitteredness, but indeed it is only too evident that the men in these associations consciously or unconsciously exploit the women for their own ends. For instance the numbers which can be quoted when women are included are a powerful argument for securing what the men want of those in authority. True the women come in to some extent for the benefits secured by the men, but they come in a very long way off. No man of weight in these societies has ever, to my knowledge, raised his voice on behalf of an equal commencing salary for men and women, and of all economic injustices as between men and women, this unequal minimum is possibly the greatest. Women have not much money to spare for subscriptions, and I think they should devote what they have to the upkeep of associations which aim at the improvement of social conditions and the uplifting (in every sense) of their fellow women. If they can find an educational society that embodies these aims, by all means let them join it, but it will be neither of the two I have named.

"DISILLUSSIONED."

SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES IN IRELAND. May 1 point out to "Irish Suffragist," who has a notice in your issue of May 2nd, that the Irish Women's Suffrage Federation is a non-party and non-militant

organisation. The suffrage societies joined to the Federation comprise women of different political opinions. The societies joined are to be found in the North and South of Ireland and in Dublin, Belfast, Cork and Waterford.

Might I add a correction? The older Suffrage Society in Belfast is the Irish Women's Suffrage Society, not League.

E. S. MONTGOMERY.

WOMEN LIBERALS AND THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

As misunderstandings have arisen with regard to the meeting of Liberal women held in Newcastle on April 18th, and commented on in your issue of April 25th, I shall be obliged if you will allow me to make certain statements with regard to it.

The meeting was convened by the Elswick W. L. A. to consider the situation created by the rejection of the Conciliation Bill. Notices of the meeting were sent to all the secretaries of the local W.L. Associations, and they were asked to make the meeting known amongst their members. It was not the Elswick Association's annual meeting, nor in any way confined to the Elswick Association. The meeting was an open one, and repeated requests were made from the chair for amendments to the motions and for further motions.

Notice of this meeting has been sent to all W.L. Associations in the country, and already a great deal of sympathy is being shown with the motions which were passed.

ETHEL M. N. WILLIAMS (Chairman of the meeting). 3, Osborne Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne. May 4th, 1912.

WOMEN AND THE DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH IN WALES.

In your issue of May 2nd you point out that in the Bill for Welsh Disestablishment, matters which directly concern women are being decided without their help. With regard to the actual text of the Bill, may I be allowed to draw your attention to the fact that although Church in Wales shall be free to hold synods, elect representatives and frame constitutions and regulations there is no definition of the term "laity" in the Bill, so that it is not clear that women are to be included. No doubt this point has already been noticed by many other suffragists.

JANE C. HUBBACK.

TOLERATED VIOLENCE.

With reference to the violence at Nottingham and Leicester, referred to in your number of April 25th. In Ireland we look upon England (whatever other faults she has) as a lover of justice, and upholder of fair play in her own country.

We feel that England, as a nation, looks with horror on the extravagances and Party outrages that strong feeling, combined with ignorance, sometimes makes us display over here.

But surely nothing could be more outrageous than the way hooliganism is allowed, not to say encouraged, towards those, and especially towards women, who ought in free England at least to be allowed to express their opinions, as free from molestation, as if they were on the stronger side.

M. L. I. STACK.

43, Windsor Road, Dublin. May 5th, 1912.

Other Societies.

WEST ESSEX WOMEN'S FRANCHISE SOCIETY. A very successful meeting of the above society was held on the evening of Tuesday, April 30th, at the Buckhurst Hill Hall, which was crowded, many being turned away. After some impressive remarks from the Reverend Dr. Cobb, of St. Ethelberg's, Bishopsgate, who occupied the chair, an excellent address sympathetically presented was given by Miss Abadam. After referring to the advance of the Suffrage movement in other countries, she enumerated various political measures now in progress and pointed out that they affected women at least equally with men, while it was impossible for one sex, with the best intentions adequately to represent the point of view of the other. She referred to the position of women in the labour market, and instanced the Minimum Wage Bill in refutation of the theory that there was no connection between votes and wages. In allusion to Sir Almoth Wright, she observed that he had mistaken a worldwide revolution for a reverberation—a fatal mistake for a doctor. After several questions had been asked and answered, a resolution in favour of Women's Suffrage was passed with a few dissentients only.

THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE. Madame Larkoom welcomed a good number at the Actresses' Franchise League "At Home," held at the Criterion last Friday. Mrs. Ben Webster, who presided, in a graceful and charming speech, which provoked the laughter of her audience, pointed out the analogy between the Irish demanding Home Rule and women demanding the Franchise. Two portions of the population of the British Isles claiming the right of Self-Government. Dr. Ethel Smyth, who met with a very warm reception, spoke of the harsh and unequal treatment meted out to some of the women in prison, notably to Mrs. Pankhurst, and expressed the determination that these things should end. Miss Abadam contrasted the leading spirits in the Anti-Suffrage and in the Suffrage movement, and illustrating her speech with examples of great heroism in the past, showed how the same spirit animated those who had been accused of hysteresis at the present day. The spirit of self-sacrifice for a great ideal, Madame Bertha Moore made a touching reference to the widows and orphans of the "Titanic" disaster, and appealed for contributions towards the A.F.L. "Titanic" Fund. Mr. Charles Laszby, speaking of woman in the new cycle, indicated the manner in which, all over the world the status of women was rising. The men and women of the

"Thinking Women Read The Standard"

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

"WOMAN'S PLATFORM"

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

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

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future will be the products of the ideals of the men and women of the present.
Mr. Ramsay MacDonald M.P. has consented to receive a deputation on Friday morning, May 10th, of the Actress' Franchise League and other professional and self-supporting women. In order that they may put before him their views with regard to the Woman's Suffrage question at the present time.

WOMEN'S TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE.
LAST WEEK'S SALES.
On Monday, 29th, furniture was sold at Hammersmith, the property of Miss Carson. Open-air meeting, Speakers, Mrs. Armstrong, Mrs. Mervale Mayer, Mrs. Kineton Parkes.

On Tuesday, 30th, at Kilburn, a bookcase was sold, the property of Miss Green. Procession and open-air meeting, Speakers, Dr. Hanson, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Mrs. Jison Kerr, Mrs. Kineton Parkes.

On Wednesday, 1st, at Mile End, a gold watch was sold, the property of Dr. Elizabeth Wilks. Procession from Aldgate Station to open-air meeting, Speakers, Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Mrs. Kineton Parkes.

On Thursday, 2nd, at Brighton, goods of two tax-resisters were sold, the property of Mrs. Gerlach and Miss Hare. Open-air meeting and public meeting in Lecture Hall at night. Speakers, Mrs. Louis Fagan, Miss Gertrude Eaton, Miss Hare, Miss Nina Boyle and the Rev. J. Kirilan.

At Bournemouth, old silver was sold, the property of Miss Symons. Open-air meeting, Speakers, Miss Howes, Miss Friddon, Mrs. Kineton Parkes.

At Henley-on-Thames the "Suffragist Cow" was sold, the property of Miss Lelaheur. Open-air meeting, Speakers, Mr. and Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Mrs. Jison Kerr and Mr. Curling.

At Highbury, sale of Dr. Winifred Patches' goods. Open-air meeting, Speakers, Mrs. Mervale Mayer, Miss Alison Neilan, Mrs. Clarendon Hyde.

On Friday, 4th, at Putney, the goods of Mrs. and Miss Richards were sold. Protest meeting.
At Battersea, goods belonging to Mrs. Archdale were sold. Open-air meeting. Speaker, Mrs. Kineton Parkes

Forthcoming Meetings.

ARRANGED BY THE NATIONAL UNION.

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

| | | |
|---------|--|------|
| MAY 9. | Staple Hill—Council School Hall—Miss Helen Fraser | 8.0 |
| | Chorley—Workers' Educational Association College | 7.30 |
| | —Miss Dora Mason, M.A. | |
| | Uckfield—Town Hall—Miss Frances Sterling, Sir J. Cookburn, K.C.M.G., The Countess Brassey (chair) | 8.15 |
| | Dumstable—Picture Palace—Miss Margaret Ashton, M.A. | 3.0 |
| | Luton—Town Hall—Miss Margaret Ashton, M.A., Mr. Milner Gray (chair) | 8.0 |
| | Rochdale—Provident Hall—Annual meeting—Business meeting 7 o'clock—Social, speaker, Mrs. Muter Wilson | 7.45 |
| | Weston-super-Mare—Miss Dolby's drawing-room meeting—Miss Lloyd (Clevedon) | 3.0 |
| | Shrewsbury—Labour Church—Miss Morrison, M.A., Mrs. Harley (chair) | 8.0 |
| | Birmingham—Y.W.C.A. Rooms, Corporation Street—Meeting for midwives—Miss Muriel Matters, Dr. Olive Elgood (chair) | 4.0 |
| | Olton—Miss Jackson's drawing-room meeting—"Mothers and the State"—Miss E. M. Nash | 3.30 |
| | Saltburn—Towers Gymnasium—Miss Abadam | 8.0 |
| MAY 10. | Newcastle-on-Tyne—27, Ridley Place—White Elephant Sale | 4.30 |
| | Clifton—Victoria Rooms—Miss Helen Fraser, Miss M. O. Staveley, M.A. (chair) | 8.0 |
| | Birmingham—10, Easy Row—Franchise Club | 5.30 |
| | Darlington—Temperance Institute—Annual meeting | 7.30 |
| | Gateshead—Bewick Hall—"Alice in Wonderland"—Address by Miss M. A. Temperley, M.A., Miss Foley (chair) | 7.30 |
| | Birkenhead—Mrs. B. Stanley Clarke's drawing-room meeting—Miss Margaret Ashton, Mrs. Stanger (chair) | 3.0 |
| | Middlesbrough—Mrs. Trevelyan-Thomson's drawing-room meeting—Miss Abadam | 3.0 |
| | Newport—Corn Exchange—Miss Matters, Miss Morrison, M.A. | 8.0 |
| | Criccieth—Miss Pugh Jones' drawing-room meeting—Miss A. Maude Royden | 3.0 |
| | Brighton—Miss Dagg's drawing-room meeting—"Women in Sweated Industries"—Miss M. E. Verrall | 8.15 |
| MAY 11. | Gateshead—P.M. Schoolroom, Ely Street—Jumble Sale | 2.30 |
| | Birmingham—Harborne Tenants' Estate—Open-air meeting—Miss Muriel Matters | 7.0 |

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Romley—Walk and open-air meetings—Meet Romley Station 3 o'clock—Open-air meeting Broadbottom, 5 o'clock—Tea, Mottram, 8 o'clock—Open-air meeting, Crown Pole, Mottram

MAY 13. Birmingham—Whitford, Bromsgrove—Miss Green's meeting for members—Miss Noel Wright

Nottingham—Office, 54, Long Row—"At Home"—"A Woman's Work"—Miss Hartie

Eastbourne—15, Furness Road—Drawing-room meeting—Mrs. Lyall Dempster, Dr. Ethel Iredell (chair)

East Bristol—Open-air meeting—Miss Helen Fraser

MAY 14. Newcastle-on-Tyne—27, Ridley Place—Suffrage choir practice, conducted by Mrs. Bellas Simpson

East Bristol—outside boot factory—open-air meeting—dinner hour

MAY 15. Hove—Town Hall—"At Home"—"Women's Work in Poor Law Administration"—Mrs. Backham

Bristol—Mrs. Senington's drawing-room meeting—Miss Helen Fraser

Bristol—Bethel Schoolroom—Miss Helen Fraser, Rev. Canon Talbot, D.D. (chair)

New Milton—Pagoda tea rooms—"Some Economic Aspects of Women's Emancipation"—Mrs. Hotland

Ramsgate—Congregational Hall—Miss E. F. Rathbone

MAY 16. Sudbury (Suffolk)—Corn Exchange—The Lady Frances Belfour, Miss Courtauld, Miss Eva Ward, E. Oliver, Esq., C.C. (chair)

Bristol—Kingsley Hall—Miss Helen Fraser, Professor Skemp (chair)

MAY 17. Bristol—Durdham Downs—Open-air meeting—Miss Helen Fraser

May 18. Cheltenham—Mrs. Grist's drawing-room meeting—Mrs. Grist, Mrs. Swiney

MAY 20. Nottingham—Office, 54, Long Row—"At Home"—"The White Slave Traffic"—Mrs. Dowson

Stocksfield—The Institute—Miss A. Maude Royden, T. W. Graham Thompson, Esq., (chair)

MAY 21. Birmingham—Y.M.C.A. Rooms, Corporation Street—Annual meeting—H. Baillic-Weaver, Esq., K.C., Miss Wright, Mrs. Osler (chair)

Weston-super-Mare—Mrs. Gale-Scott's drawing-room meeting—Mrs. Clarke (Street)

Cambridge—20, Green Street—"At Home"—"Women and the Reform Bill"—Mrs. F. D. Acland

MAY 22. Shildon—Dean Street Schools—Miss A. Maude Royden

Filey—Crompton Café—Miss Helen Fraser

Solihull—Sutton Lodge (by kind permission of Mrs. Herbert Wright)—Annual meeting—H.H. the Rance of Sarawak, Rev. W. A. Newman Hall (chair)

New Milton—Pagoda Tea Rooms—Mrs. Gohlke

MAY 9. LONDON. Walworth—Mrs. Osborne's drawing-room meeting—Miss J. Thomson, B.A.

Poplar—Town Hall—Mrs. Fawcett, Miss C. Corbett, M.A., Councillor Yeo, Miss Helen Ward (chair)

MAY 10. New Cross—Corner of Perry Road, New Cross Gate—Open-air meeting—Mrs. Rogers, Miss D. Brown

Baling—W.L.A.—Miss Helen Ward
Walworth—Corner of Surrey Square and Old Kent Road—Open-air meeting—Miss W. G. Rinder, Miss Bisset Smith, Miss Jameson

Hackney C. and S.—All Saints' Hall, Blurton Road, N.E.—"At Home" 8.0

MAY 21. Kensington—Empress Rooms, Royal Palace Hotel—London Society's Reception—Mrs. F. T. Swanwick, R. F. Cholmeley, Esq., Mrs. Theodore Williams (chair)

South Kensington—38, Eardley Crescent, S.W.—Lecture, "China in Transformation"—Mrs. Archibald Little—tickets 2s.

East St. Pancras—89, Camden Road—W.L.A.—Miss Helen Ward

MAY 22. Hampstead—Mrs. Flinders Petrie's drawing-room meeting—Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Miss C. Black (chair) and others

West Newington—Corner of Falmouth Road and New Kent Road—Open-air meeting—Mrs. Rogers, Miss Bisset Smith, Miss W. G. Jameson

East St. Pancras—Tolmer's Square Institute—Public meeting

SCOTLAND. MAY 9. Dalkeith—Glencairn—Mrs. Somerville's drawing-room meeting—Miss Alice Low

MAY 10. Edinburgh—40, Shandwick Place—Public meeting—Mrs. Gargill Knott and others

Alloa—Public Hall—Dr. Elsie Inglis

IRELAND. Dublin—33, Moleworth Street—Irish W.S. and Local Government Association—Committee meeting

MEETINGS ADDRESSED BY MEMBERS OF THE UNION. MAY 13. East Bristol—Moorfields—Teachers' Guild—Miss Helen Fraser

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The ANNUAL MEETING will be held on TUESDAY, MAY 21, in
the COUNCIL CHAMBER, CAXTON HALL, WESTMINSTER.

TEA, 4.30 p.m. MEETING, 5 p.m.

Chairman: WALTER MacLAREN, Esq., M.P.
Speakers: Miss ABADAM, Head Deaconess KATHERINE
BEYNON (Lahore, N. India), and Others.

Subject: "THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC."
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I herewith enclose cheque postal order for £ . s. d., the amount of my annual subscription.

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Printed by ODHAMS LIMITED, 93-4, Long Acre, London, W.C., for the Proprietors, The Common Cause Publishing Co., Ltd., and Published at 2, Robert Street,
Adelphi, W.C. London; George Vickers, Manchester; John Heywood; Abel Heywood and Son; W. H. Smith and Son, Newcastle-on-Tyne; W. H. Smith and Son
Edinburgh and Glasgow; J. Mensies and Co. Dublin and Belfast; Eason and Son