

# The Common Cause

The Organ of the National Union of

## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

Societies.

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### Notes and Comments.

#### Can Parliament Legislate?

The struggle which opens in Parliament to-day will be the most strenuous and the most critical which our movement has known in all its long history. A Reform Bill comes at rare intervals, and this, if it should pass smoothly into law, will be the last of the series which began in 1832. We await the result with hope and determination, yet with a certain detachment of mind. It is not so much our movement as the House of Commons which is on its trial. The vitality of our cause has proved itself in an agitation the most persevering and the most strenuous of our generation. It has improvised an organisation. It has won its place almost unaided by the Press; it has thriven without the party motive and the party backing which in British politics are commonly indispensable. What is in question is the ability of the House of Commons to give effect to a principle which it has repeatedly confessed. After half a century of rigid and ever-tightening party discipline, it is about to essay the inspiring experiment of a free vote on a living and practical issue. If it comes manfully out of the ordeal, something will have been won for the freedom of Parliament, as well as for women. If it collapses nerveless under the strain of attempting to translate its own opinions into law, we shall adjust our tactics to its frailties. We shall listen no more to suggestions from this Government of free votes that are not free, and unofficial Bills to be launched amid the democratic torpedoes.

#### Ireland Under the Bill.

The fate of our Amendments depends, as everyone knows, upon the Irish vote. If Ireland had a direct stake in the Bill, if the Irish members were about to vote upon the merits of Women's Suffrage, there would be nothing to complain of in that position. But they will admittedly vote on quite other grounds, and, to crown the absurdity, it now appears that the Bill itself will not, in all human probability, apply to Ireland. We assume, as the Government itself assumes, that the House of Lords will refuse to pass either the Home Rule Bill or the Franchise Bill until its veto has been overcome by the Parliament Act. Under that Act, a Bill, if all goes smoothly, may receive

the Royal Assent two years after the date of its original Second Reading. It follows that, in the normal course of things, the Home Rule Bill may finally become an Act in May, 1914, while the Franchise Bill must wait till July of the same year. In that interval between May and July, Ireland will have become a self-governing community which legislates for itself.

The Franchise Bill, in short, will become law three months too late to apply to Ireland. This consequence was very ably set forth by Mr. Felix Cassel in the Debate of January 13th, and Sir Rufus Isaacs, in replying to him, could only confess that he had stated the position "quite fairly." Everyone, it appears, was mistaken, when Mr. Snowden's Amendment was under discussion, in supposing that the Franchise Bill can be made a vehicle for conferring the vote on Irish women. The thing could be done only if the order of the two Bills was transposed and Home Rule delayed, or if the Imperial Parliament were to use its exceptional over-riding powers. The Franchise Bill, in short, will not apply to Ireland unless the Government goes out of its way to make it applicable. It would do this only if Mr. Redmond desired it.

#### Home Rule for England.

The position is now that the Irish Party, if it intervenes to oppose the Women's Amendments, will be meddling in a question which concerns Great Britain alone. It has claimed the right to decide questions of franchise for itself in its own Parliament at Dublin, and that claim has been allowed. It follows, in common fairness, that English and Scottish members must be left equally free to settle the status of their own countrywomen. We can imagine nothing more calculated to arouse a just resentment than such an intervention by a disciplined party in a matter which in no way concerns it. If the Irish Party should, after all, decide to cast a heavy vote against the Women's Amendment, the inference would be clear. They could not be acting on conviction, nor from any view of what franchise is the best for Ireland. Their vote next week will neither alter nor settle anything in Ireland. They would be voting solely as the henchmen of the Anti-Suffragists in the Cabinet. It is for them to decide how far they would be acting wisely in the Government's own interests, if they were to perpetrate an act of wanton interference, which was at the same time a breach of the spirit of the Government's pledge. We are far, however, from attributing to them any intention so tactless and suicidal. It is still open to them to adopt the honourable alternative of neutrality.

#### The Conciliation Raft.

The prospects of the Dickinson Amendment are good, and, if the Irish Party will but pay some deference to the wishes of its Liberal allies, it should be assured of success. But, in the event of the Irish vote being seriously hostile, it must be on the Conciliation Amendment that our hopes will depend. In spite of torpedoes, that raft is still afloat. It will not carry a heavy cargo, but it will save our principle. We appeal to our friends in both parties for the completion of that united action which has already progressed so hopefully and so far. In our difficult case, no Suffragist member is acting loyally who votes against any solution which he is unable actively to support. We count on



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NOTICE.—This paper is obtainable at newsagents and bookstalls by mid-day on Friday. If any difficulty is found in obtaining it locally, communication should be made to The Manager, THE COMMON CAUSE, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.

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

### Message from Mrs. Fawcett.

The Women's Suffrage movement is approaching the most important crisis in its history. The "Grey" amendment to omit the word "male" from the first line of the first clause of the Franchise Bill will almost certainly be moved on Friday, January 24th. The division will be taken on Monday, the 27th. The carrying of this amendment is a certainty, unless there should be a wholesale breaking of pledges, and, above all, unless party influences, which we were promised should be neutral, are used against us.

These promises were made to a joint deputation of all the Suffrage Societies, and also to the Women's Liberal Federation, by the Prime Minister on November 17th, 1911. They were contemptuously rejected as worthless by the Women's Social and Political Union, but were accepted as pledges which were honourably made and would be honourably fulfilled by the National Union, the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Society, the Women's Liberal Federation, the Women's Freedom League, etc. The divisions on the Franchise and Registration Bill will show which of us were right.

Some Liberal anti-Suffragists are calling upon Liberal Suffragist members of Parliament to break their pledges. It is hardly conceivable that more than a handful will be base enough to do so. And we call upon all genuine Suffragists in the House after they have carried the "Grey" Amendment to act in concert so that they may make certain of the passing of one or other of the subsequent amendments which will be moved on Monday and Tuesday. The present Bill, if it becomes an Act as it stands, greatly aggravates the present political disabilities of women. It would place upon the register male wretches so vile that the House has recently decided that they deserve flogging, if as the result of their infamy they can keep any sort of roof over their heads for six months; but would leave the whole mass of well-doing, good women wholly unrepresented. It would place upon the register crude and inexperienced lads directly they attained the age of 21, and leave unrepresented the mothers who bore them, and the whole of the mature and experienced womanhood of the country.

We entreat members of Parliament earnestly to take these facts into consideration, and to do what in them lies to allay social unrest, and not to act in a manner which will make it to the interest of a large section of the community to oppose the institutions under which they live.

Liberals, in particular, should their own preference fail, to follow Mr. Lloyd George in voting for the Conciliation Amendment. His view is well known, and was clearly stated so far back as November 19th, 1911, when he wrote to Lord Lytton:—

"If a united and determined effort is made by Suffragists of all sections to carry a wide measure of enfranchisement, and that effort fails, I shall support an amendment drawn on more limited lines."

That is the loyal attitude, and while every Suffrage Society would infinitely prefer the Dickinson Amendment, the test of sincerity lies in the acceptance of the less satisfactory formula, which does, with all its limitations, embody our principle.

### The Liberal Women's Appeal.

The Women's Liberal Federation has issued what would be a very moving appeal to the Irish Party, if the emotional equipment of politicians included the sentiment of gratitude. It blows away the shadowy excuse that the Cabinet and the Coalition are in danger. How comes it that neither the Welsh Party nor the Labour Party, nor half the Cabinet itself, perceives a danger in Women's Suffrage? What is there that is known to Mr. Redmond which is hidden from Sir Edward Grey? It is rather pathetic to read the reminder from Liberal women of all they have done for Home Rule. When one has to remind people of one's services, one has already criticised them. Strong as the claim of the Liberal women is, that of Irish women is even stronger. Women bore the brunt of the Land League's campaigns, as they have often borne the brunt of actual warfare. For the national cause they saw, too often, the cabin abandoned and the children starving on the hill-side, while men's politics evicted them from the home—which is "their place." The education of women must always follow this process of disillusionment. We are glad to see that Lady Carlisle predicts "grave results" in her own organisation if the Amendments are defeated.

### Anti-Woman Finance.

The speeches at the Anti-Woman Suffrage meeting on Monday, at the Queen's Hall, were a dull recitation of pre-historic prejudice. The speakers sought to give them significance by couching them in a language of exaggeration and panic, which is far from suggesting that balance and self-control which are supposed to distinguish the ruling sex. What is much more interesting is the neat exposure of the whole basis of this League, which Mrs. Fawcett has contributed to the Press. Whatever else it may be, it is neither a women's movement nor a popular movement. No one has forgotten Lord Cromer's appeal for subscriptions to business firms. (Were they appealed to, we wonder, on the ground that the vote cannot raise the wages of women employees?) It is now possible to analyse the list of donations which accompanied this circular. Only 25 per cent. of the subscribers were women. Of the 220 men who subscribed, no less than 85 had titles, and of the 75 women, 21 were titled. The millions of British women who possess no titles subscribed the magnificent sum of £322 14s. The women's democracy, in short, gave just a fraction over 5 per cent. of the funds which are being used to defeat the women's claim. The "anti" movement represents the sex prejudice of the privileged class.

### Popular Support.

We publish this week a further instalment of the evidences of popular support which our Federations have collected for Women's Suffrage. Nothing has been more striking than the readiness of men of the working class to sacrifice time and wages to come down to London at this crisis to speak for the claims of wage-earning women to a Member who opposes them. One such deputation came from Rotherham to interview Mr. Pease. Another travelled this week from Rossendale to state its case to Mr. Harold Baker. It was no mere collection of individual supporters. The men had been elected for this purpose by their Trade Unions, and represented no less than 10,000 organised workers in this big industrial constituency. Mr. Baker's vote, if it is cast, as usual, against the wishes of his constituents, will represent no opinion but his own. The loyalty of these Trade Unionists to their principles encourages us to look forward with confidence to the result of the Labour Party's Conference, which meets on the 29th of this month. If our expectations of victory are disappointed next Tuesday, we look to the Labour Party to insist on the withdrawal of the Manhood Suffrage Bill, or to bring about its defeat.



## The Women's Suffrage Amendments.

### The Need for Unity.

I. BY MR. W. H. DICKINSON, M.P.

On the day of issue of this number of THE COMMON CAUSE the House of Commons will be commencing a discussion upon a question of supreme importance not only to the women of this country, but to women all over the world.

If the British Parliament admits the right of British women to political power, other nations will rapidly follow its example, and there will gradually grow up a general recognition throughout all civilised countries of the political equality of men and women. The effect of such a change of opinion upon the progress of humanity generally will be immeasurable. It behoves, therefore, every supporter of women's rights to see that this opportunity of achieving so far-reaching a reform is not lost by reason of differences of opinion as to method. There is little doubt that a majority of members of Parliament have either pledged or expressed themselves in favour of Women's Suffrage. But there is also a large body of opponents, and these will work and vote on one issue, whilst the supporters are disunited on questions of detail. In order to secure victory all Suffragists will have to sink some of their predilections, and the question is whether we cannot find a central point to which all can rally without too great sacrifice of personal opinion.

The present position is that on the one side there are the Adultists, who hold that the right to the suffrage is universal, and that if one woman is to have the vote, all women should have it. On the other hand, there are those who think this is too sweeping a doctrine, and that in conferring the franchise upon women, Parliament should confer it only upon such women as it deems to be most suitable for it, and most ready to use it wisely.

These persons consider that the best method by which to define this limited class of women is to take the existing municipal voters, or, roughly speaking, the present rate-paying women. An objection to this is that, as it enfranchises only one woman out of every twelve, it does not provide an adequate representation of womanhood, more particularly as it leaves out all wives of male ratepayers, who in every other respect than the actual payment of rates fulfil the conditions required for enfranchisement.

The views of both of these groups can be met by defining the qualification for the franchise in such a way as to bring in all women who in fact occupy the position of the female head of a household, whether married or single. It is proposed to achieve this by the Amendment to enfranchise inhabitant occupiers and the wives of inhabitant occupiers—that is to say, householders and the wives of householders. Such a scheme should meet the view of the adult Suffragists, since it will enfranchise about one-half of the adult women in the country, and, inasmuch as the "dwelling house" qualification is not subject to any limit as to rental value, it will enfranchise women in all classes from the top to the bottom. A home of her own, be it never so humble, is all that a woman will need in order to exercise the franchise.

On the other hand, those who desire to select a limited class for enfranchisement will find that this scheme enfranchises all that is most stable and experienced amongst womankind. The single woman working on her own account, and renting her own abode, will have the vote. Also the mother of the family having, in her sons and daughters, perhaps as great a stake in the country as any man has, and possessing a personal experience in domestic, educational, and social problems which few men can lay claim to, will have a voice in the national settlement of these questions.

If the female electorate is to be limited by selection at all, no better or fairer method can be chosen than that provided by the well-known "household franchise," by which the great majority of male voters have hitherto attained their rights.

On this proposal all supporters of Women's Suffrage might unite. Unless they do so, it is hardly to be hoped that Women's Suffrage can be carried at all. Let us, therefore, do our utmost, one and all, to bring about a concentration of voting power on a ground common to the various sections of opinion.

II. BY LORD ROBERT CECIL.

Apart from technicalities, the great distinction between the "Dickinson" and the "Conciliation" Amendments is that the former recognises that a married woman has, as such, a special claim to the full rights of citizenship. Surely on this point all might be expected to agree.

Conservatives must feel that a woman who is the joint head of a household, and normally the mother of children, is not likely to support revolutionary changes. Democrats can scarcely contest that if you are to enfranchise a section of women, no fairer test can be devised than one which is applicable equally to all classes of the population, from the richest to the poorest. Anti-Suffragists themselves must admit that the one aspect of Woman's Suffrage which is least repellent to them is that it would make the special domestic experience of women as influential in the Parliamentary as it now is in the Municipal government of the State; and domestic experience necessarily belongs chiefly to married women. Finally, those who are convinced of the essential superiority of men to women, will agree that a woman who has been chosen to be the life partner of a man must thereby have acquired a certain measure of reflected glory!

The sole objection to the "Dickinson" Amendment is that it would enfranchise a very large number of new electors. This is true, and the reason why I should have, on the whole, preferred to proceed in the first instance by way of the "Conciliation" Amendment. But for the reasons given, the danger of enfranchising the wives of householders does not seem to me great. And in view of the history of the question, it seems to me of the greatest importance to the honour of Parliament that a House of Commons, of which a large majority is pledged to Suffrage, should not longer allow difficulties of detail to prevent them from giving effect to their pledges. All Suffragists, therefore, who are really in earnest, should, in my judgment, vote first for the "Dickinson" Amendment, and then for the "Conciliation" Amendment.

### Putting Principle into Practice.

The Women's Suffrage battle is at last removed from the country to the House of Commons. It has taken forty-five years of continuous agitation, during which the women have assiduously put the question before the country, to bring it to the point of a decisive vote. For though the House has seven times passed the Second Reading of Suffrage Bills, the vote which will be taken on Monday on the deletion of the word "male" will mean far more than any previous vote has ever meant; because it will not be merely a declaration of the principle, but a declaration that the House is of opinion that the principle should be put into practice in this very Bill, and if the House were to be so unbusinesslike as to fail in carrying out its own expressed intention, by failing to carry any of the subsequent amendments, there would be nothing for it but to withdraw so ridiculous a Bill, and set to work to remedy the House's lapse by bringing in a Bill which did put the principle into practice.

If politicians were all statesmen, we should have not the slightest doubt as to the issue of the division on the crucial amendment. We should know that they would recognise that this great world-wide liberation movement is not going to stop, but that, like all liberation movements, it may be guided by wise hands on to good lines, or driven by foolish hands on to worse lines. The W.S.P.U. are refraining from outrage for a fortnight, in order to give the thousands of active constitutional Suffragists a "chance." Had they co-operated with them for the past fourteen months (that is to say, since it was known that the Franchise Bill was to be introduced this session), instead of doing their utmost during the past year to destroy the "chance," it would by now have become practically a certainty. It is not a certainty, largely because in the pressure of affairs, many politicians have become excessively short-sighted: they read the sensational press; they pass on the movement the most superficial and frivolous judgments; they estimate its force by the totally improper measure of party interest, and they meet a great human need as if it were merely a move in a game.

As long ago as 1889, George Meredith wrote a letter to chaff Mrs. Leslie Stephen on her "irrational obstructiveness" to Women's Suffrage, and in this letter he declared "we have played fast and loose with them" (women), and the truth of

## Women's Suffrage and the Labour Conference.

BY A MEMBER OF THE I.L.P.

To thousands of women the last week of January will be a time of almost unbearable anxiety and hope. This will be common to women Suffragists of all parties, but to the common burden women of the Labour Party find added a hope and an anxiety which is peculiarly theirs. For the fateful week bears in its hands not only the success or failure of the Suffrage amendments, the triumph or temporary defeat of the women's cause; it bears also the honour and the future of the party which they love.

Of the united support of the women's amendments by the Labour Party there can be no question. They will strain every nerve to secure the establishment of the principle of sex equality, and should women, by their efforts and those of Suffragist members of all parties, be included in the Bill all will be well. But should the enfranchising amendments be defeated—a contingency which ought never to arise—then the Labour Party will be face to face with the problem—by what action can it best be true to its fundamental principles? That problem has already been solved by its finest spirits, and the National Conference at Birmingham last year endorsed their solution: "That no measure of franchise reform will be acceptable to the Labour and Socialist movement which does not include women."

The necessity of this attitude is plain. Manhood Suffrage would mean an indefinite postponement of Women's Suffrage, whereas the refusal to accept any Reform Bill without women would mean the early enfranchisement of women, since a Reform Bill there must be—with women, if not without. Moreover, the unamended Bill would, in Mr. George Barnes' words, "accentuate the injustice to women." Mr. Ramsay MacDonald put it even more strongly at the Opera House on December 4th, when he said unreservedly that for the House of Commons now to extend the franchise further to men and to leave women out altogether would be both disgraceful and unfair. He did not believe it would be done, but if it were done, they could depend upon it that the Labour Party's general principle was what he had already intimated—that Manhood Suffrage ought not to be given now, unless there was a large and substantial, a broad and democratic inclusion of women in the same Bill. And the *Labour Leader* of last week declares that to forsake the attitude laid down by the Birmingham Conference would "disgrace the Party," and that "to accept a Bill, whatever advantages it might bring to the Labour Movement, which intensifies women's political inferiority, would not only be an act of base ingratitude, but one that can only be described as contemptible and mean."

The Resolution which is down upon the Agenda for the Conference this month merely dots the i's and crosses the t's of last year's resolution. It calls upon the Parliamentary Labour Party "to oppose the further passage of the Bill should the Amendments intended to enfranchise women be defeated." The adoption of this resolution by the Conference, at this moment, would be an evidence of sincerity, courage, and truth to principle which would be to the eternal honour of the Party, and would give it that power over the minds of men which the older parties have lost by their insincerities and canting use of meaningless shibboleths. The enfranchisement of women is certain—"You cannot fight against the future; time is on our side." Whenever the equal citizenship of men and women is established, honour and power must be to the party which never compromised or wavered, but always recognised the greatness of the greatest movement of the age.

Hence many Labour women feel that, vital to the Suffrage movement as is the attitude and action of the Labour Party at this crisis, it is still more vital to the Labour movement itself. Should it fail, it would strike a blow at the Suffrage cause; but that wound would heal in time, and the vitality of the movement would be unimpaired. But the blow which it struck at itself would be deadly, spreading corruption through all its being. The opportunity of the women is the opportunity of the Labour Party: and women to whom both Causes are dear look with equal eagerness for victory for the Suffrage, and for the Labour movement an unsmirched shield.

H. M. S.

this accusation has been acknowledged by more than one member of the Cabinet. Speaking at the Horticultural Hall, on December 16th, 1911, Sir Edward Grey said:—

The House of Commons is the thing that matters, and this I do say. I understand the indignation which people feel at any idea of a Bill being passed which is going to widen the suffrage and increase it for men and do nothing for women. That I understand, and I would not have been a party to the introduction of any Bill which put woman suffrage in. And I will go further and say this:—It is to me inconceivable that the House of Commons, which has more than once by large majorities approved the principle of woman suffrage, that that House of Commons should calmly proceed to pass through all its stages a Bill widening the suffrage for men without doing something to remove the barrier against women having votes. If that happens the House of Commons will have stultified itself, will have placed itself in an entirely indefensible position. Until anything of that kind has happened, until the House of Commons has refused to put a woman suffrage amendment into the Government Bill, or to proceed with a Bill as so amended, I decline to believe it possible that that should happen. If it does happen, I admit the House of Commons will have placed itself, in my opinion, in an invidious and indefensible position. Until that happens, let us be united in taking the Government Bill as the greatest opportunity woman suffrage has yet had and in doing all we can to get the amendment placed in it.

Some months previously Mr. Birrell alluded contemptuously to the "shuffling and delay" of which politicians had been guilty in dealing with this question. To continue shuffling and delay would be the very worst thing that the House could do. It would prove to demonstration that the will of the private member had become atrophied through long disuse under the tyranny of the party system, and that the House was utterly helpless, unless driven into the lobbies by the party Whips.

We are not denying that it takes some resolution and steadfastness for men of different parties to concentrate upon the passage of some definite measure; it requires also a sense of proportion and a willingness to compromise. We should like to think that a majority of our rulers possessed these qualities of a statesman, and that they would not wreck the women's cause by proving themselves—so used to makeshift in all party matters—intransigent only where the voteless are concerned.

We would remind those who honestly desire the enfranchisement of women, but fear that it may jeopardise other causes which they have at heart, of two things: first, that it is twenty-nine years since the women were thrown out of the last Franchise Bill, in order to make it safe for the men, and that, if this Bill has to be withdrawn because it has failed to include the women, it will assuredly be speedily re-introduced; but that if it were to pass without the inclusion of the women, they would indeed feel themselves in a desperate plight for which there is no possible justification. And, secondly, we would remind these men that if they wish to get Women's Suffrage out of the way, they can only secure this by getting something done. The unsolved question will be a far greater destroyer of unity than the solved question.

During the past week the Nationalist Party in the House has talked much about the spirit of conciliation, the merits of self-government. If they think they can keep this spirit alive in the country, while entirely denying it in its application to women, they are less imaginative and less sympathetic than they are reputed to be. With the women in the Bill, all Suffragists will desire to see the Government in a position to enact it. With the women out of the Bill, the Suffragists will have no interest in any but the Suffrage Party of the Coalition. Can the Irish afford to have all Suffragists ardently desiring the break-up of the Government, and doing their utmost to secure that end?

The question for Conservatives is a much simpler one. They naturally do not like the Franchise Bill at all, and the point for them to consider is whether it will be a better Bill with the women in than as pure Manhood Suffrage. If all "men" over twenty-one are to be given the vote, this increases enormously the bachelor vote, the least stable, the least responsible, the one with least "stake in the country." May it not be a question of real patriotism whether some representation of the family and the race, of the permanent and, in the deeply human sense, conservative element, is not needed more than anything else at all? Both great parties have social reform in the forefront of their programmes. It is not our intention to discuss either variety. But social reform without due representation of women is a cruel and treacherous mockery. We do not wish to believe our politicians capable of it.



### Procedure on the W.S. Amendments to the Franchise Bill.

The time-table resolution on the Franchise Bill was printed in the Parliamentary papers of Saturday, January 18th. As far as the Women's Suffrage Amendments are concerned, the following are the important provisions:—

(1) It is laid down that "on the commencement of the Committee stage, the Chairman shall give precedence to the amendments mentioned in the appendix in the order therein shown."

(2) The appendix in question sets forth the four Suffrage Amendments upon which attention has been concentrated during the past six months—the Grey Amendment (to omit the word "male"), the Adult Amendment, the Dickinson Amendment, and the Conciliation Amendment.

(3) The allotted days for the Women's Suffrage Amendments are as follows:—

The Grey Amendment—Friday, January 24th—Till 5.30 p.m.  
The Grey Amendment—Monday, January 27th—Till 7.30 p.m., when the Division will be taken.

Adult Amendment—Monday, January 27th—7.30 p.m. to 10.30 p.m., when the Division will be taken.

"Dickinson" Amendment—Tuesday, January 28th—Till 7.30 p.m., when the Division will be taken.

"Conciliation" Amendment—Tuesday, January 28th—7.30 p.m. to 10.30 p.m., when the Division will be taken.

It will be seen that Monday and Tuesday, January 27th and 28th, are the crucial dates, as on these days the voting will take place, at 7.30 and 10.30 p.m.

Some misunderstanding has arisen owing to the fact that Saturday's papers announced the appearance on the Order Paper of the Dickinson Amendment in a form which excluded Ireland from its operation. This was taken to mean that the new form had been substituted for the original; but the Dickinson Amendment as it appears in the *appendix*, to which alone the time-table applies, is in its original form with the names of its original supporters.

The Amendment in its altered form (excluding the Irish constituencies) appears in the ordinary way on the Order Paper, with the names of Liberal supporters only, but as it is outside the guillotine time-table which refers in the case of the Women's Suffrage Amendments to those cited in the appendix, it is extremely doubtful if it will ever be reached. Its object, of course, was to meet the views of the Irish Members, who contend that Ireland should settle the matter of Women's Suffrage for herself.

It appears, however, that in any case, the formal exclusion of Irish Constituencies from the Women's Suffrage Amendments is unnecessary, as it is in the highest degree improbable that the Franchise Bill will apply to Ireland at all.

We quote the following from an article by a well-informed correspondent which appeared in the Press on Wednesday:—

"In all human probability, the Franchise Bill will never come into force in Ireland. It is a simple question of dates. One must allow normally two years from a Bill's second reading in order to ascertain the date of its coming into effect under the Parliament Act. The second reading of the Home Rule Bill was in May, and that of the Franchise Bill in July. It is as certain as anything can be in politics, that the Lords will reject them both, and that they will receive the Royal Assent, if all goes well with the Government's plans in May and July, 1914, respectively. In plain words, Ireland will be a self-governing community before the Franchise Bill becomes law.

It is rather singular that this plain fact has not been more generally recognised in the Press. The point was put very clearly in the debate on the Report stage of the Home Rule Bill. Mr. Cassel, speaking on January 13th, stated that "if the Franchise Bill passes into law later than the Home Rule Bill" (as normally it must), "it would not apply to Ireland," save, indeed, in the almost impossible case that the Imperial Parliament were to exercise its over-riding power. Sir Rufus Isaacs, who followed him in the debate, accepted this assumption, which Mr. Cassel had, he said, put "quite fairly." It is clear then, that save for the sake of making assurance doubly sure, or in order to comfort constituents who may find these technicalities puzzling, there is no real difference between the two forms of Mr. Dickinson's amendment. There is no practical use in excluding Ireland from the scope of the women's amendments, for the sufficient reason that the Bill itself does not apply to Ireland."

It has been arranged that Mr. Lyttelton is to move the first amendment to delete the word "male," in the place of Sir Edward Grey. Sir Edward Grey will speak later in the debate, probably on Monday just before the division.

### Mr. Lloyd George's Support.

There is still considerable doubt as to whether the Dickinson Amendment or the Conciliation Amendment has the better chance of success. The question still depends upon the vote of the Irish, who can turn the balance either way. It is understood that a number of Conservatives have pledged themselves to vote for the Dickinson Amendment, and, in the event of its failure, Suffragists should be able to reckon upon the whole-hearted support of Liberal Suffragists who would have preferred a wider measure. Mr. Lloyd George, who has always declared his preference for the enfranchisement of women upon a "broad and democratic basis," has promised to vote for the Conciliation Amendment should a wider measure not be carried, and democratic Suffragists will no doubt follow him into the lobby.

Writing to Lord Lytton on November 28th, 1911, Mr. Lloyd George said: "If a united and determined effort is made by Suffragists of all sections to carry a wider measure of reform, and that effort fails, I shall support an Amendment drawn on more limited lines." And, again, speaking at the Albert Hall on February 23rd, 1912, he said: "If I were convinced that owing to Parliamentary difficulties no other measure were possible, I should certainly support, much as I dislike it, the Conciliation Bill."

Realising the large following that Mr. Lloyd George has in the House, it is hardly too much to expect that his example in the case of Women's Suffrage Amendments will be followed by many other members.

### Memorial from Representative Women.

There appeared in the Press on Thursday, the following Memorial to Members of the House of Commons, signed by over 400 representative women from all parts of the Kingdom. It is impossible for us to reprint the entire list, but a few of the names are given below:—

Now that the House of Commons is approaching the Committee stage of the Franchise and Registration Bill, we venture to address you and to bring before you the following considerations.

We, in common with the immense majority of Women Suffragists throughout the country, have always strongly disapproved of and condemned what are called "militant tactics." We would point out to you that those tactics have only been adopted by a very small section of the Women's Suffrage Movement. The great organised bodies of women from whom the demand for enfranchisement has come have worked continuously by peaceful and constitutional methods only. These bodies represent all classes of opinion and include: National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (non-party), membership 36,000; National Union of Women Workers (non-party), British Women's Temperance Association (non-party), Women's Co-operative Guild, Women's Liberal Federation, Women's Labour League, Women's Trade and Labour Council, Women's Trade Union League. (This list does not include the support which has come from men's organisations as well.)

We, therefore, appeal to you not to deny to the great mass of your countrywomen their just claim to have some share in electing those by whom they are governed.

The further extension of the franchise to men without any recognition of the claims of women to citizenship would add a new bitterness to this struggle which women have carried on for the 45 years since the movement began in this country on strictly constitutional lines. To re-adjust the Parliamentary franchise on the basis of citizenship and to pretend to give a vote to "every citizen of full age and competent understanding" while still excluding every woman, would be a betrayal of every principle of representation, and, as has been well said, would be "an outrage, and we hope an impossibility."

Therefore, Sir, we earnestly beg you to support the deletion of the word "male" from the first line of the first clause of the Government Bill, and subsequently to do your utmost to ensure the passage of one of the amendments which have for their object the enfranchisement of women.

THE DUCHESS OF BEDFORD.	DR. MARGARET ALDEN, M.D., R.C.P.
THE DUCHESS OF SUTHERLAND.	DR. LOUISA ALDRICH-BLAKE, M.D.
FRANCES, COUNTESS OF WARWICK.	MISS ANDREWS.
WINIFRED, COUNTESS OF ARRAN.	DR. GARRETT ANDERSON.
THE COUNTESS OF DONOUGHMORE.	DR. ARMITAGE, M.D., L.R.C.P.
LADY DILLON.	COUNCILLOR MARGARET ASHTON.
LADY ABERCONWAY.	MISS A. BARBOUR (Pool Law Guardian).
LADY CLARE CASTLETOWN OF UPPER OSSORY.	MISS E. BAINES (Pool Law Guardian).
LADY COWDRAY.	MRS. BARNETT.
LADY MAUD PARRY.	MISS ESTHER BECKER.
LADY LAURA RIDEING.	MISS BLAIRMONT, M.A.
LADY WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE.	COUNCILLOR MARY BEETON, M.A., L.C.C.
LADY EMILY WYNDHAM QUIN.	DR. ETHEL BENTHAM, M.D., L.R.C.P., L.C.C.
THE HON. A. BARLOW.	MRS. PERCY BIGLAND (Penal Reform League).
THE HON. MAUDE BAMFORD SLACK.	MRS. BLEASE, P.L.G.
THE HON. MARY BUNTING.	MRS. BOOTH.
LADY STRACHEY.	
THE HON. MRS. FORDHAM.	
THE HON. MRS. FRANKLIN.	
MRS. ADAM, M.A.	
MISS ADLER, L.C.C.	

MISS LEIGH BROWN.  
MISS BRUCE.  
DR. SOPHIE BRYANT, D.S.C.  
COUNCILLOR MAUD BURNET.  
MISS BURROWS.  
MISS SARA A. BURSTALL, M.A.  
MRS. BUTLER.  
MRS. BYERS, LL.D.  
MRS. CADBURY.  
DR. ELIZABETH SLOAN CHESSEB.  
MISS CLEGHORN, L.L.A., M.A.  
MISS CLOUGH, B.A.  
MRS. CREIGHTON.  
MRS. CORBETT, R.D.C., P.L.G.  
MISS CRIPPS, P.L.G.  
MISS CROSFIELD, P.L.G.  
MISS ADA CROSLLEY.  
MISS CURTIS, P.L.G.  
MISS EMILY DAVIES, LL.D.  
MRS. DICKIE (Nat. Insurance Commission).  
MISS DOVE (Ex-Mayor of High Wycombe).  
MRS. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY.  
MISS E. EVERETT-GREEN.  
MISS FAWCETT, LL.D.  
MISS PHILIPPA FAWCETT.  
MISS IDA FREUND.  
MISS F. A. GADSDEN.  
MISS AGNES GARRETT, M.B., C.M.  
MISS HELEN GLADSTONE.  
MADAME SARAH GRAND.  
MISS HALDANE.  
MISS K. M. HARLEY, P.L.G.

MISS JANE HARRISON, LL.D.  
MRS. A. HASLAM.  
MISS BEATRICE HERON-MAXWELL.  
MRS. HICKS BEACH.  
MRS. RUTH HOMAN, P.L.G.  
MRS. ILLINGWORTH.  
MISS YEX-BLAKE.  
THE HON. LAWLESS, P.L.G., D.Litt.  
MRS. LEES (Ex-Mayor of Oldham).  
MISS M. LOWENDE.  
MISS MARGARET MACMILLAN.  
MISS MORGAN (Ex-Mayor of Brecon), T.C., P.L.G.  
MRS. NOTT-BOWER, P.L.G.  
MISS ANNE PATTERSON, Mus. Doc.  
MISS PENROSE.  
MRS. RACKHAM, P.L.G.  
MISS ELEANOR RATHBONE, C.C.  
MRS. ROMANES.  
MISS ROWNTREE.  
MRS. SCHARLIEB, M.D., M.S.  
MRS. SIDGWICK.  
MISS MAY SINCLAIR.  
MISS BENTINCK-SMITH, D.Litt.  
MRS. PHILIP SNOWDEN.  
MRS. FLORA ANNIE STEEL.  
MISS STEFNEY, L.S.A. Lond.  
MRS. SIDENHAM, P.L.G.  
DR. TURNBULL, M.D., B.S.  
MISS IRENE VANBRUGH.  
MISS JANE WALKER, M.D.  
MRS. SIDNEY WEBB.

From Mrs. Creighton:—

"To my mind all the arguments put forward to show the difference between men and women are, in reality, arguments in favour of Women's Suffrage. The State needs the contribution which women alone can give, and that contribution cannot be completely given unless women are granted the full rights of citizens. Again, the differences between men and women make it obvious that men cannot legislate for the needs of women, and the social legislation of the day continually interferes with the life and work of women without giving them any recognised and authorised way of expressing their opinion on it."

From Edward Carpenter:—

"Women are surely human beings, and if they desire the franchise, and fulfil the conditions under which men exercise it, how can we possibly refuse the same to them?"

From John Galsworthy:—

"The feeling of injustice is vehement. The question is an open sore. I can see no sound reason against granting the vote so long as women's accidental superiority in numbers is provided against. It is unwise and unworthy to refuse it."

From Professor Patrick Geddes:—

"The commonest popular objection to Women's Suffrage (leaving eminent and specially trained women apart), I take to be this:—That the ordinary home objection of most tends to leave them too ignorant of men's work and of public responsibilities to admit of their having a useful voice in these questions. Yet woman's large control of industry through expenditure, and her varied home-activities and human interests afford a really better and broader basis for her needed political education than do most men's occupations, too sub-divided and mechanical as these in modern life tend to be. Men correct these limitations through intercourse and politics; let women then correct theirs by obtaining similar facilities, and the public service will receive a corresponding uplift."

From Madame Sarah Grand:—

"To the numerous other well-known arguments, economical, social, and religious, upon which those in favour of the enfranchisement of women base their claims, I would add the plea so admirably vindicated by Miss Elizabeth Robins, in her recently published book: 'Where are you going to . . . ?' as the most poignant reason for which justice demands that women should have the power of the vote."

From Miss Haldane:—

"I am in favour of extending the Parliamentary franchise to women because it will enable the poor woman to have justice and the right to exercise her responsibilities."

From Henry Holiday:—

"Apart from the question of justice to women as citizens, their exclusion from direct influence in our legislation, as the only experts on the bearing and rearing of children and on domestic economy, could argue an unpardonable indifference to the highest interests of the community."

From Sir Robert Hunter, K.C.B.:—

"I have never been able to see the justice or expediency of denying the suffrage to women. In one form or another women share to the full the work of the nation; and they are as intimately affected as men by the laws enacted by Parliament and the policy which it controls. Women already play an independent part in Parliamentary elections; but, being without votes, they often lack the sense of responsibility which they would, I believe, experience, were they themselves electors."

From Miss Gertrude Kingston:—

"I have planned and caused to be built a type of theatre that is unique in form and acknowledged successfully so."

"The endless streams of activity that the running of a theatre sets in motion mean employment of labour on a considerable scale. The staff, who make a living out of the work of my brain, have a vote—I have none!"

"Was there ever a more logical or illogical position in a topsyturvy world?"

From the Rev. J. Scott Lidgett, D.D.:—

"In my judgment the extension of the Franchise to women is not merely an act of justice, but is essential, under modern conditions, to the sound progress of the nation. I hope that the Parliamentary majority which is pledged to this view will have the courage and wisdom to go straight forward."

From the Rev. and Hon. E. Lyttelton (Headmaster of Eton College):—

"My reasons for supporting the Women's Suffrage are:—

- (1) Taxation and Representation should go together.
- (2) I believe the influence of women on the character standard of Parliamentary candidates would do good."

From the Earl of Lytton:—

"In my opinion it would be an incalculable disaster if, after repeatedly affirming the principle of Woman Suffrage in previous sessions, the House of Commons were to neglect the opportunity afforded to them by the Government Franchise Bill, of carrying this principle into law. The feeling in the country in support of Woman Suffrage is incomparably greater and more intense than that behind any other political question of the day, whilst for a Reform Bill without the enfranchisement of women there is practically no demand at all. To pass the Bill, therefore, in its present form would be an outrage which would cause the most widespread indignation and disgust."

From Yoshio Markino:—

"The equal treatment of men and women is the concreted foundation of Humanity. . . . Therefore, the constitutional govern-

### In Support of the Suffrage.

Amongst the numerous letters of encouragement which have been received from distinguished persons at home, and which have been published in the *Daily News and Leader* and in *The Standard*, we offer the following selection:—

From Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D.:—

"I desire the suffrage because I am to all intents and purposes a citizen. I worked hard as a doctor for nearly 40 years. I occupy the principal house in the town of Aldeburgh. I employ several men. I have twice been chosen as mayor of the town. It is my constant study to find employment for the young men and women of Aldeburgh, and I consider it to be a disgraceful anomaly that I have no voice in the choice of a representative in the House of Commons."

From the Lady Betty Balfour:—

"I am strongly in favour of Woman Suffrage because I think a democratic Parliament should represent the nation, and not only half the nation. Because legislation affecting any section of the community should only be passed with the consent of that section as expressed through their representatives. Women are now constantly the subject of special legislation. Because I think all grievances should be heard, and if any section of the community are granted no constitutional voice, they can only be heard through un-constitutional agitation. Because I believe some measure of representation is earnestly desired by the majority of the most intelligent and the most useful women of the country."

From Mrs. Butler (Senior Wrangler):—

"I wish all success to the constitutional movement for the enfranchisement of women, believing it to be for the good of both sexes."

From the Ven. J. M. Wilson, D.D. (Canon of Worcester):—

"The enfranchisement of women will advance the civilisation of England. It is an injustice of the barbarous type to leave women, so profoundly affected by legislation, outside our representative system. They will certainly contribute insight and experience on some subjects which men do not equally possess."

From Mrs. George Cadbury:—

"Everything points to the growing volume and force of the women's movement. Victory cannot be long delayed. We look to the Liberal Party, which has stood for progress, justice and freedom, to hasten the day of victory."

From the Rev. J. Estlin Carpenter, D.D.:—

"I hold it to be of the utmost importance that the House of Commons, after repeatedly sanctioning the principle of Women's Suffrage should incorporate some measure of it in the Franchise Bill. No further opportunity of the same kind is likely to occur for many years, and this act of justice should on no account be withheld."

From Lady Robert Cecil:—

"The case for recognising by some measure of enfranchisement women's right to citizenship was already very strong. Now that it is proposed to give the vote to almost every man, however unqualified, the women's claim is overwhelming."

From Walter Crane:—

"As the race of man necessarily includes woman, and the interests and welfare of both are concerned in the laws of the country, and as it is contrary to the principle of democratic control in the making of those laws that any section of the community should be without a voice in the election of their representatives, it follows that the true solution of the question lies in Adult Suffrage. This would at once affirm the social and political equality of the sexes and establish women's just claim to citizenship."



ment should give votes to women. If not, it is no longer constitutional, but savage autocracy."

From William de Morgan:—

"I believe we are suffering from legislation which affects women's own lives and those of their posterity, and that women have a right to a voice in such legislation."

From Felix Moscheles (President, International Peace and Arbitration Association):—

"Lip homage is not enough. We talk of our better halves, and cling to the lion's share. For centuries we have held our mates in subjection; let us liberate them now, and help our poor handicapped legislators, hitherto working minus one arm, to open up, with the assistance of the other limb, new sources of inspiration, vital power and authority."

From Professor Gilbert Murray:—

"Women ought to have a vote:—  
(i) Because they are in many ways an oppressed class, and the vote is the recognised remedy for oppression.  
(ii) Because the State cannot afford to reject their co-operation.

If women were exactly the same as men their exclusion would not much matter; it is because women are slightly different from men—different in their point of view, in the things they notice and the things they think important—that the loss of their special experience and counsel is so signally unfortunate."

From Eden Phillpotts:—

"Abstract justice demands the principle of Women's Suffrage, and while perceiving that the principle under present circumstances presents immense difficulties, I support it without hesitation, because I believe that the pursuit of pure justice cannot lead us wrong in the sequel."

From the Countess of Selborne:—

"We must all hope that this year will see the satisfaction of women's desire to have some share in the choice of their rulers. It is difficult to see why this demand should be refused, unless men think women incapable of choosing rightly. But what evidence have they of such incapacity? Does not the experience of the whole world point in a contrary direction?"

From Mrs. Henry Sidgwick:—

"An important reason why women should have the Parliamentary Franchise is the large number earning their own living and the growing tendency of Parliament to interfere, directly or indirectly, with conditions of employment. Women's interests may often be different from those of men, and should be represented."

From J. G. Sneed-Cox (Editor of *The Tablet*):—

"The extension of the franchise to agricultural labourers was justified, and could be justified only on the principle that the man who wears the boot is the best judge as to where it pinches and how it should be mended. The same principle applies, *a priori*, to the case of women."

From Lady Henry Somerset:—

"I have for many years been firmly convinced of the justice and expediency of giving women the vote. I have seen the necessity of such power being placed in their hands, in all classes of women, and I fully realise that until women are enfranchised, conditions of unrest must prevail, which are seriously harmful to the best interests of the nation. It is obvious that woman's position has so completely changed, that she is now, in so many instances, not only self-supporting, but the bread-winner, that to give her a stake in the country is an act of common justice."

From Mrs. Flora Annie Steel:—

"For the sake of woman's character her enfranchisement is necessary; but, without her enfranchisement, man's character is doomed."

From Miss Ellen Terry:—

"Because we have a point of view of our own, it would be more statesmanlike to make use of it than to pretend it does not exist."

From Sidney Webb:—

"A vote seems very little, but it is the one thing that cannot permanently be refused. The whole theory and practice of government in England now rests on the 'consciousness of consent.' When many hundreds of thousands—perhaps millions—of sane, adult human beings have no such 'consciousness of consent,' but, on the contrary, a 'consciousness of exclusion,' the theory breaks down and the practice suffers."

## Messages from Abroad.

The following are amongst the numerous messages of interest and sympathy which have been received from abroad by the N.U.W.S.S.:—

The undersigned South African men and women desire to express sympathy with English Suffragists, and wish success to their efforts to obtain the inclusion of women in the Reform Bill:—

MRS. MURRAY, MRS. PURCELL (President and Secretary, Women's Enfranchisement League, Cape Province); MRS. LEVISEUR, MRS. THOMSON, MRS. HIRSCH, MRS. FITZSIMONS, PRESIDENT and OFFICERS, Women's Enfranchisement League of Bloemfontein, Uitenhage, and Port Elizabeth; MRS. MACINTOSH, IDA HYETT (President and Secretary, Women's Enfranchisement Association) and the SECRETARY and TREASURER of the WOMEN'S CITIZEN CLUBS, Johannesburg and Cape Town; MISS SOLOMON (President) and MRS. SPRIGG and MRS. HARTNOLL (Vice-Presidents of the Women's Christian Temperance

Union, South Africa), MRS. BROWN (Superintendent, Social Purity Union, South Africa), OLIVE SCHREINER, LADY MOLTONO (Secretary, National Union of Women Workers), LADY ROSE INNES, MRS. DEVILLIERS, EDITH AITKEN (Principal, High School, Pretoria), MISS LAWRENCE (Principal, Roedeand, Johannesburg), THE MISSES EARLE, JOHNSTONE SCOTT, SCHREINER, LADY DEWAAL (wife of Administrator, Cape), MRS. MALAN (wife of Minister of Agriculture).

MR. DEVILLIERS, ROBERT LEHFELDT (Professor, School of Mines), ADVOCATE GREER, DR. MURRAY (President, Medical Council), SIR JAMES ROSE INNES (Judge, Appeal Court), MR. F. GARDINER, Attorney General, MR. A. BLACKMAN (Chief Agent, National Bank), ARCHDEACON WIRGMAN; the following Senators: SIR BISSET BERRY, DR. VILJOEN, MR. TUCKER, MR. W. SCHREINER; the following nine Members of the Legislative Assembly: PROFESSOR FREMANTLE, ADVOCATE ALEXANDER, MR. ROCKEY, MR. BROWN, MR. BOYDELL, DR. HAGGAR, MR. ANDREWS, MR. MADELEY, MR. SAMPSON

From Madame V. Vincent on behalf of the French Union for Women Suffrage:—

"The Executive Committee of the French Union for Women's Suffrage (allied to the International Union) desires to express to the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies its warmest sympathy at this critical moment in England.

"The Committee wishes to emphasize the solidarity of Suffragists throughout the world, and the profound interest taken by the French in the struggle of their English sisters. The French Union expresses its cordial approbation of the constitutional and legal methods of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies to which it wishes complete success."

The following Societies and Groups desire to unite themselves with the above expressions:—

L'Egalité (Société féministe)—(Présidente, Mme. Vincent).  
Groupe Française d'Etudes Féministes et des Droits Civils des Femmes—(Présidente, Mme. Odde Deffou).  
L'Union Fraternelle des Femmes—(Présidente, Mme. Hammer).  
La Française—(Fondatrice, Mme. Misme).  
Congrès Permanent du Féminisme International—(Présidente, Mme. Orka).  
Société Féministe de Havre—(Déléguée, Mme. Rebour).

From Mr. J. de Breuil de St. Germain (General Secretary, League of Electors for Women's Suffrage in France):—

"The League of Electors for Women's Suffrage desires to associate itself with the wishes of the French Union for Women's Franchise, for the complete success of English Suffragists. They testify to their entire adherence to, and respectful sympathy with, the methods of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies."

From Frau Marie Stritt (President German Union of Women's Suffrage Societies):—

"The German Union of Women's Suffrage Societies has followed the hard and difficult struggle of the sister organisation in Great Britain during the last months with the most intense interest and heartfelt sympathy; and awaits the approaching desire for success.

"We are impelled at this moment to send this expression of our feelings to you and, through you, to all your brave helpers. Rest assured that in spirit we are with you, that your victory will be our victory, as your defeat would also be ours."

From Dr. Aletta H. Jacobs (President of the Union for Women's Suffrage in the Netherlands):—

"With the greatest interest the women of the Netherlands follow the movement for Women's Suffrage in Great Britain, and we fervently hope that it will soon come to a victorious end. We hope this not only because we are sure that Great Britain in enfranchising its women cannot confer a greater benefit on its own country, but also because the eyes of so many other Governments, where women suffrage forms now a part of practical politics, are closely watching the actions of the British Parliament. The enfranchisement of British women will very soon result in the enfranchisement of the women of the whole of Europe. The Dutch *Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht* sends the women of Great Britain its heartfelt wishes for success in the endeavours of the friends of the Cause to gain one form of the franchise for the British women this month in the British Parliament."

From Mr. Gunnar Kunsden (Ex-Prime Minister, Christiania):—

"Women have possessed voting powers in this country for the last two elections, and have taken part in the same in rapidly increasing numbers. The experience has been a very satisfactory one, and all political parties in Norway are now convinced of the justice of this reform, which at first encountered considerable opposition from the Conservatives."

From Mr. Chr. H. Kunsden (Parliamentary Leader of the Labour Party, Norway):—

"I am convinced that suffrage for women in Norway has already exercised a beneficial influence on the municipal and political development of the community, and I firmly believe that women's suffrage will contribute to a happy development of the social and legal conditions of existence. I beg, therefore, to offer my sympathies with your endeavours, and to express hopes of a speedy victory for Women's Suffrage in England."

From Mr. Hagerup Bull (Judge of the Supreme Court, Chairman of the Parliamentary Conservative Group, and Parliamentary Leader of the Conservative Party, Norway):—

"Franchise for women, which was introduced here with the support of all political parties, has not been established long enough for the direct effects to be demonstrated. . . . Its influence can, however,

already be observed in two directions: the franchise at once contributed towards widening women's horizon, and has had a beneficial influence upon the attitude of our National Assembly in several instances."

From Mr. K. Thinn (Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Christiania):—

"I consider the franchise for women which has been introduced into this country to be an act of justice to women, and of benefit and utility for the community on the whole."

From Mr. Frederick Stang (Minister of Justice, Norway):—

"Woman's Franchise has had good effects in Norway, and steadily obtains increased numbers of adherents. The cause was achieved by the co-operation of all political parties."

From Mr. J. Castberg (Ex-Minister of Justice, Parliamentary Leader of the Radical Group of the Liberal Party, Norway):—

"The franchise has proved beneficial and has added strength to the moral side of national politics. To an equally high degree it has been good for all political parties. It has in no way weakened the national and patriotic strength in the political life of our country. No section of the people desires the abolition of the right; on the contrary all political parties, Conservative, Liberal and Labour, demand on their programmes that the women's franchise shall be extended from the limited form we now possess to general franchise for women. This will be effected in the near future."

From Professor G. O. Sars (Professor at the University of Christiania):—

"I presume that at the present time there can be no question amongst unbiased men that the franchise for self-supporting women is both fully justifiable and of benefit to the community."

From A. Munch-Petersen (Danish delegate to the International Congress of Men's Suffrage Alliance, London, 1912):—

"Allow me to express the wish that the great British nation may soon fulfil the claims of justice in giving its women civic and political equality, and once more take the lead as the foremost fighter for human rights."

From Mr. Frederic Bajer (Recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize), and Mrs. Mathilde Bajer (Founder of the Danish Women's Society, 1871):—

"If a country is to be governed with justice, man and woman must sit together in the Legislative Assemblies and discuss the proposals for Bills. Just as a home is governed by husband and wife together it must be the same socially all over the country. This will be a benefit for all."

## Extracts from the Press.

"THE DAILY CITIZEN," January 17th, 1913:—

"Anti-Suffrage Liberals are continuing to adopt tactics which cannot be considered as other than a departure from the spirit of the pledge given by the Prime Minister that the question of Woman Suffrage should be left to the free discretion of the House. Cabinet Ministers and others are in the lobbies and smoke-rooms applying with considerable force the argument that, in the event of any amendment removing the sex bar being carried, the effect will be so to embarrass the Government that there will be some risk of the sessional programme not being carried to fruition.

"The Labour Party are determined, as the result of these tactics, to work the more determinedly in the interests of the women's cause."

"The Irish Nationalists will be the first to admit that the Labour Party in this country has stood firm by the cause of Irish freedom. Home Rule will be won because the most intelligent of British workers have backed the claims of Ireland. These same workers desire political freedom for British women. Surely it will not have to be said that the Irish members hoped to get freedom for themselves by denying it to others. In the fight against oppression, at home and abroad, few members have a more honourable record than the Irish. We cannot believe that they will be led by anti-suffragist tempters indelibly to stain that record."

"THE CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH," January 15th, 1913:—

"Nothing could be more disastrous for the Liberal Party than that this question of votes for women should remain unsettled. Should a Reform Bill pass once more without the enfranchisement of women, this agitation will assume such a form as to bring the Liberal Party to disaster.

"THE IRISH POSITION."

"The Irish Nationalists would do well to consider their votes from that point of view. One cannot blame them for considering this question, as it may affect Home Rule for Ireland. Home Rule depends upon two things—the maintenance of this Government in office for two years more and the continuance of the sympathy of the democracy of Great Britain with the Irish Nationalists and Home Rule. No action that I can conceive would be so disastrous to both these conditions as the defeat of the woman suffrage amendments to the Reform Bill by the action of the Irish Nationalists. On the contrary, nothing would make the success of Home Rule so certain as the success of Woman Suffrage. If the Woman Suffrage amendment is lost by the votes of Liberals and Nationalists who have in former years supported the cause, there will be such a revolt of Liberal women, and such an outbreak of resentment among the Labour Party and Liberal men suffragists against the Irish Party, that the present passive sympathy with Home Rule will be turned into active opposition."

(PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.)

"THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN," January 21st, 1913:—

"We can hardly believe it possible that the Irish Nationalist party would interpose, as it may yet be able to, to give a casting vote against Women's Suffrage. Many of its members are for women's enfranchisement, much to the honour of their liberality of mind in a country where the stress of a long struggle for any measure of national freedom at all has postponed longer than elsewhere the rise of a considerable movement among women to secure their own distinct share of that advantage. Between the request of women for their dues of political freedom and the request of the Irish nation, both sexes as one, for theirs there is an affinity which cannot be disregarded without affronting and wounding feelings which generosity and prudence would treat tenderly. There might be a little tactical gain for Home Rule in one corner of the political field from the defeat of Women's Suffrage now, or a little tactical loss in another corner from its enactment; but one of the differences between a statesman and a politician is that a statesman will nearly always knock 50 per cent. off a politician's estimates of gain from any piece of action purely tactical, and another 50 per cent. off his estimates of loss from any action that is boldly generous. To support Women's Suffrage now would apparently be thought by the Irish Nationalist party, as a party, a boldly generous, perhaps a riskily generous, thing to do. That is exactly what Gladstone's adoption of Home Rule was thought by his party. Being a statesman and not a politician only, Gladstone went straight on, and because he did so Home Rule stands where it does to-day. Mr. Redmond has now his chance of playing Gladstone's part and of showing that those of us have made no mistake who believe that his completion of Parnell's work is about to place him among the great statesmen of modern Europe."

"THE NATION," January 18th, 1913:—

"This I hold to be the true democratic view of political power, and, if it be so, it is impossible to conceive any plea that democracy can advance for shutting to women the door which it has continually opened more and more widely to men."

(W. H. DICKINSON, M.P.)

"THE DAILY NEWS AND LEADER."

"Parliament will have declared by passing the Grey amendment that women ought not to be excluded from the franchise. If none of the later amendments is carried it will have failed to decide that any shall be included. That ludicrous catastrophe would mark the failure of the Commons as a legislative machine. It would arm the suffrage movement with an irresistible argument for Governmental action. For all the embarrassments and agitation which would follow the Irish Party must accept responsibility."

"It is a risky thing for a party which is by its own boast a foreign element in British politics to set itself to oppose a movement certain of victory and deeply rooted in our national life. To abstain may in the end commend itself to Irishmen as the safe, if unheroic, course. So at least they would avoid the reproach that they had sullied their hour of victory by opposing a movement which springs from the same instinct of liberty as their own."

(H. N. BRAILSFORD.)

"THE STANDARD," January 16th, 1913:—

"Mr. Asquith can do nothing else than he has done. He has considered the subject carefully and has reached this conclusion. Now we are assured that he will be humiliated, will lose moral authority, if he does what he has publicly and deliberately promised to do, and, therefore, Liberal members are to do what he would be ashamed to do, and in order to avoid forcing him to keep his pledge they are to violate their own! Was ever such a degrading proposition laid before free men? If Mr. Asquith were the most absolute of tyrants, it would humiliate even his slaves to suggest that they should act thus.

"DISHONOUR."

"In the most open and responsible manner, after the question has been publicly discussed, as thoroughly and as widely, if not as long as any question now before Parliament, and with a full knowledge of the existence and meaning of the Albert Hall pledge, Liberal members have promised to support Woman Suffrage. Like Mr. Asquith himself, they have bound themselves freely of their own will. The circumstances have not changed. There is no national emergency which requires even a temporary abandonment of any political obligation. Every consideration of honour and good faith requires that these members shall fulfil their promises, and no embarrassment which their action might inflict upon any single man could compensate the dishonour which will otherwise recoil upon themselves."

(LYON BLEASE.)

"THE SHEFFIELD DAILY TELEGRAPH," January 16th, 1913:—

"There is one statement which can be confidently made. Whatever uncertainty may attend the fate of Woman Suffrage in this Bill, there is no uncertainty concerning its ultimate success. The coming vote will test the honesty of the existing House of Commons, from the Premier down to the newest M.P., but it will not alter the final decision of the question.

"The choice for Great Britain is not whether she will have it or no; it is the choice whether she will be in the forefront of a great movement, or whether she will be reluctantly alone, a belated straggler, in the rear."

"THE DAILY MAIL," January 20th, 1913:—

"We have always been in favour of giving the Parliamentary franchise to women who possess the municipal franchise, which they have used with a most salutary effect on social progress. It is right and proper and in accordance with English precedent and the lessons of historical stability that the unknown should be approached step by step, and such an approach was in this case easy. The Government has shirked giving any collective authority to a Franchise Bill for women of this nature."

"THE DAILY TELEGRAPH," January 20th, 1913:—

"Our view is that there never was a time when it was less expedient or more flagrantly reckless to add three million new male electors to the register, and it may be observed that the argument of inexperience will be immensely strengthened if the House of Commons should declare against extending the vote to women."



## The Truth About the "Antis."

Letter from Mrs. Fawcett.

The following letter from Mrs. Fawcett, on behalf of the National Union, has been published in the Press, and copies of it have been sent to all Members of Parliament. The National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage has constantly asserted its claim to express the opinion of the majority of women of this country. We have for a long time realised the inaccuracy of this claim, and have declared our belief in the weakness of the support by women for the anti-suffragists. The facts now set forth in this letter must surely convince even those who are most ready to believe the best of the enemy, that it is not the women of England who oppose the extension of the Franchise to their sex.

January 20th, 1913.

"In view of the importance to the cause of Women's Suffrage of the impending debate on the Franchise and Registration Bill, we desire to draw your attention to the facts hereinafter set forth:—

The National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage is the only organised body in the Kingdom which opposes the Women's Suffrage amendments to that Bill. Now this League represents itself in the eye of the public as a body of men and women expressing the opinions of the majority of the women of this country. It is important, therefore, that the following particulars should be made known, especially to Members of Parliament:—

The National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage is an organisation in the nature of a secret Political Society, deriving most of its financial support from men, chiefly rich men, Peers and City Merchants, and it is largely managed by men.

We earnestly beg that you will give your careful attention to the following facts on which this statement is based.

In the autumn of 1910, the following letter, made public by a recipient who felt himself in no way bound by the request for secrecy, and quoted in a letter to *The Times*, of December 31st, 1910, was sent to the heads of business firms, shortly before the formal amalgamation of the Men's Anti-Woman Suffrage League and the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League:—

36, Wimpole Street, W.

October 27th, 1910.

Dear Sir,—May I venture to hope that either the firm of Messrs. . . . of which you are a director, or the individual members of it, will, in answer to the enclosed appeal, afford some pecuniary assistance to the movement which is being organised to resist the proposal that the Parliamentary franchise should be conferred on women? Although the signatories to this appeal believe that the country in general is opposed to the proposal, it cannot be denied that owing to the ignorance that prevails on the subject, which is in a great measure due to the want of organisation amongst its opponents, there is a great risk that the measure will gain a considerable amount of support. I would, therefore, earnestly appeal to you for assistance. I may mention that it is not proposed to publish any nominal list of subscribers, and I would ask you to consider the enclosed list as confidential.

Very faithfully yours,

(Signed)

CROMER.

The list referred to in the last sentence of Lord Cromer's letter was one of "Subscriptions to the Anti-Woman Suffrage League," and was marked "strictly private and confidential." It contained the names of the donors of 293 subscriptions, probably sent in response to the public appeal for funds made by the Anti-Suffragists a few months earlier. These subscriptions amounted to a total of £21,138 18s. 5d. In the list were the names of 220 men or men's firms and only 75 women—i.e., 25 per cent. of the subscribers were women. Leaving out of consideration the £376 given anonymously and £6 given jointly by husbands and wives, the amount of the subscriptions standing in the names of men is £19,265 6s. 5d., whereas that given by women is not more than £1,491 12s., or 7.1 per cent. One financially important firm headed the list with £3,000, six other subscribers of £1,000 each followed, only one woman being among them. The first 100 subscribers on the list contributed over £20,000, among these were only ten women. Out of the 220 men subscribing, 85 had titles, and, of these, 51 were peers; of the 75 women, 21 were peeresses or titled women. Of the whole sum, only £322 14s. was subscribed by the women without titles—i.e., 21.8 per cent. of the women's subscriptions. The National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage publishes no balance sheet or list of subscribers, and refuses information on the subject to anyone not a member of the Central League.

The presumption that the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage is to a great extent organised as well as financed by men, is based on the following facts:—

One-half of the Executive Committee are men. The Cam-

paign Committee, consisting entirely of men (J. W. Hills, Esq., M.P., A. MacCallum Scott, Esq., M.P., Hon. Neil Primrose, M.P., Arnold Ward, Esq., M.P.), undertake organisation. The League employs a man as chief agent. Further, this National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, a body consisting of men and women, is unsupported by any organised body of women. On the other hand, all the important organisations of women that have pronounced on the subject have passed resolutions in favour of Woman Suffrage. Among the more important may be mentioned:—The National Union of Women Workers—three times. (This body is made up of 139 affiliated organisations of women, in addition to 47 local branches on which 1,408 women's societies are represented), the British Women's Temperance Association, the Women's Co-operative Guild, the Women's Liberal Federation.

We would draw your attention specially to the fact that, as far as we know, all the Women's Suffrage Organisations in the Kingdom, of which there are now over 30 separate ones, publish full balance sheets and list of subscribers, and that an examination of these lists reveals the fact that with the exception of the two bodies whose membership is confined to men, they are financed and organised almost entirely by women, and the great bulk of their work is unpaid. These societies, mainly financed by women, during the last year alone must have raised some £60,000 or £70,000 towards their object. Inspection of their reports will reveal the enormous number of small subscriptions which go to make up this total.

In conclusion, we venture to think that any one who is aware of these facts must recognise that the claim of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage to represent the opinion of the majority of the women of this country is without foundation.—I am, Sir, yours truly,

MILlicENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

### Flint Boroughs By-Election.

We have received the following account of election work in the Flint Boroughs, where, as our readers are by this time aware, the Liberal candidate, Mr. Parry, has been elected. It will be seen that he is prepared to go somewhat farther than his opponent in supporting Women's Suffrage, and that his vote may be counted on for all three constructive Amendments, if required.

MOLD COMMITTEE ROOMS,

It has not been possible to undertake during the week we have been here more than a very limited amount of work. Naturally at this crisis it has been almost impossible to find either workers or speakers with time to spare for a by-election. Mr. Hamlet Roberts, the Conservative candidate, has promised his support to the Conciliation Amendment; Mr. Parry, the Liberal, to all the Amendments, but, as he would not promise to oppose the third reading of the Reform Bill if women are not included, we have only been able to do propaganda work. Besides lack of helpers, the weather has been terribly against us. At open-air meetings people have been standing in inches of melting snow.

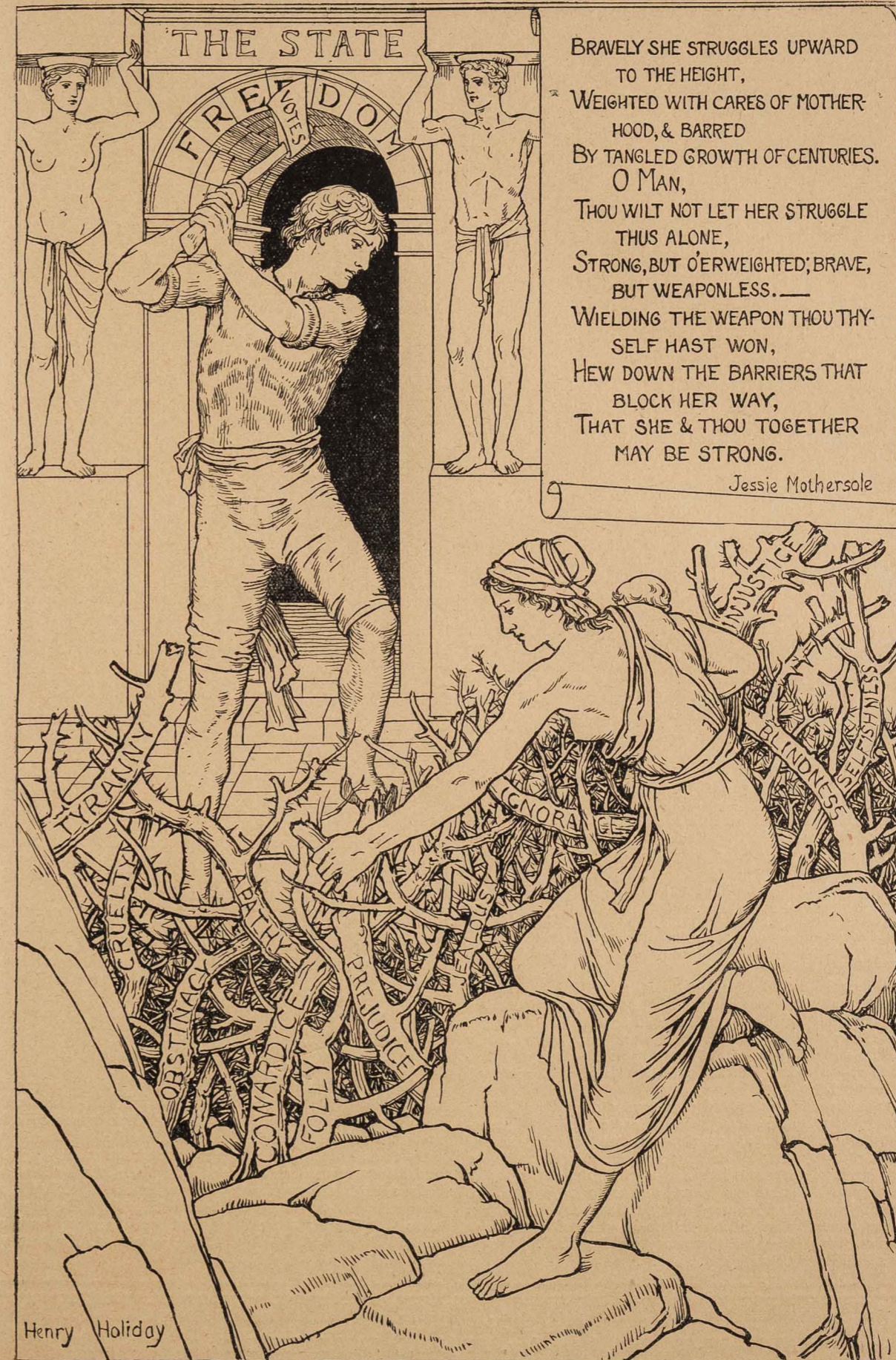
Excellent work has been done in this Committee Room, which has been in the sole charge of Miss Kearns. Every evening between 5 and 8 there has been a stream of visitors full of eager questions. Literature has sold fairly well, and many post-cards have been signed to be sent to the new member when elected. We were fortunate in obtaining leave to hold meetings in the Market Hall—an excellent substitute for the muddy street. We have had good audiences each evening.

Saturday was devoted to Flint, and, despite the forebodings of the police, we ventured to hold an open-air meeting in the afternoon and one in the Town Hall at night. Miss Ashton most kindly came from Manchester in the afternoon, and she made an excellent impression on the crowd. The meeting in the Town Hall, addressed by Miss Gill and Miss C. Leadley Brown, was unexpectedly earnest, and passed a unanimous resolution to be sent to the new member for Flint Boroughs.

Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Ellis Griffith have both responded to our request, and mentioned Women's Suffrage in their speeches here, and both candidates have been questioned by their supporters. The fact that the member for Flint Boroughs will have to vote on Women's Suffrage almost immediately after taking his seat in the House has helped to rouse people to an understanding of the urgency of the question.

I would like to thank most warmly Miss Ashton, Miss Deakin, Miss C. Leadley Brown, and Miss Colquitt, who have all made time to come and help us through what would have been, without them, an almost impossible task.

EDITH ESKRIGGE.



Henry Holiday

BRAVELY SHE STRUGGLES UPWARD  
TO THE HEIGHT,  
WEIGHTED WITH CARES OF MOTHER-  
HOOD, & BARRED  
BY TANGLED GROWTH OF CENTURIES.  
O MAN,  
THOU WILT NOT LET HER STRUGGLE  
THUS ALONE,  
STRONG, BUT O'ERWEIGHTED; BRAVE,  
BUT WEAPONLESS.—  
WIELDING THE WEAPON THOU THY-  
SELF HAST WON,  
HEW DOWN THE BARRIERS THAT  
BLOCK HER WAY,  
THAT SHE & THOU TOGETHER  
MAY BE STRONG.

Jessie Mothersole

TO MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

In the records of next week's Divisions will your name appear as part of the "Tangle,"  
or as one of the "Deliverers" ?



## In Parliament.

**ARREST OF A DOMESTIC SERVANT.**—Mr. Keir Hardie asked two questions on Thursday respecting the case of a servant whom the Sandford (Suffolk) Board of Guardians had caused to be arrested for alleged failure to maintain her imbecile child in the workhouse. According to the information supplied to Mr. Keir Hardie, it appears that no previous intimation or notification that she was chargeable with the child's maintenance had been sent her; that she had been maintaining the child for six and a half years, and that the address of her step-mother, from whom the child was received by the Guardians, was well known to the Clerk of the Board. Mr. Burns replied that he was causing inquiries to be made into the case. Mr. Keir Hardie's second question was addressed to Mr. McKenna, and referred to the authorisation and conduct of the Metropolitan police in the case of this girl, who was arrested—apparently at the house of her employer—on Saturday, January 4th, and kept in Acton Prison until Monday, bail which was offered for her appearance on Monday being refused. Mr. McKenna answered that the arrest was made by the Metropolitan police acting under a warrant issued in Ipswich. The London police authorities telegraphed to Ipswich for an escort to be sent, which arrived on Monday morning, and the young woman was then handed over, to be conveyed in charge of the police in Ipswich. The Metropolitan police had no authority to allow bail, she being in custody on a warrant. If the inquiry promised by Mr. Burns establishes the alleged facts, we hope that the Board of Guardians of Sandford will be made to pay a heavy compensation to the woman thus irretrievably and wantonly injured.

On Monday, January 20th, Mr. Burns, in reply to a further question, said that he had now received a letter from the Sandford Board of Guardians, which stated that the woman had made no payments for a considerable time, and that they had received information that she was about to leave the country. Mr. Burns added that he had also received a letter from the South Street Mission, Hammersmith, in which statements were made "inconsistent with those made to the Guardians." Further inquiries are being made. In the meanwhile, the Guardians have very successfully made it certain that the poor woman cannot now (or possibly ever again) earn money to pay for her child's maintenance.

### The Stansfeld Trust.

There are few societies which do so much useful work with so little expenditure as the Stansfeld Trust, the report of which we have just received for the year 1912. The object of the Trust is—

"to promote the equality of men and women before the law of the land; to diffuse a knowledge of the position of women as compared with men under that law, and as it might become under any suggested alterations of it; and in regard to the relation of the sexes to maintain their equal responsibility to one and the same moral law."

A scrutineer is employed to examine all Public Bills and Amendments, and to report upon all that specially affect women and also upon all affecting children and education. Sixteen reports dealing with 62 Public Bills were issued during the year. The percentage of Bills reported upon to those introduced was 20—a fact which suffragist speakers might do well to keep in mind.

This valuable society expended last year only £105 18s.; but the receipts fell below even this moderate total. Subscriptions and donations are, of course, welcome, but by far the most satisfactory method of making up the needed income for next year would be a great increase in the number of people who take reports. These can be had at the low rate of 6s. 6d. a year, paid in advance. Surely many suffragists, journalists, and women generally would be glad to have these reports for use in their work. The Hon. Secretary is Miss E. C. Harvey, 16, May's Hill Road, Shortlands, Kent.

## LONDON SOCIETY OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

58, Victoria Street, S.W.

**PUBLIC RECEPTION To-day, FRIDAY, JANUARY 24th, 3.30 to 6.15.**

WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

Chair: Miss HELEN WARD. Speakers: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D., Miss K. D. COURTNEY (Hon. Sec. N.U.W.S.S.), Miss BUCKTON (Author of "Eagerheart").

Next week (Jan. 31): Lady FRANCES BALFOUR, Mrs. SWANWICK, Sir LAURENCE GOMME, L.C.C.

## Foreign News.

### Germany.

The *Centralblatt* publishes the results of the elections in connection with the new Employees' Insurance Act. Of the total of 2,440 members of the boards and 4,880 substitutes, 62 women members and 132 substitutes were elected. Though it appears that when the January 1st number went to press a considerable number of returns had not come to hand, it is not considered probable that the names of many women would be among these.

In discussing these results the paper points out that there were only 100 districts in which any women were elected, and in these they represented 16-17 per cent. of the seats. On the whole this does not seem unsatisfactory for the first elections. When women have shown what they can do in such positions we may be sure that here, as elsewhere, they will be sought in even in larger numbers. The *Frau der Gegenwart* sums up the results of the women's movement in 1912. Three principal events are to be chronicled. First the Federal elections, in which (owing to the alteration of the law which formerly forbade them to take part in politics) women were for the first time able to play a part. As a result all parties tried to gain their help. Even the Conservative Party, which in Germany is specially opposed to the enfranchisement of women, actually discussed the desirability of seeking their co-operation, though the opponents of the plan carried the day. While this collaboration in politics is doing a good deal to promote the cause of women's advancement, the breaking up into political parties is having a somewhat deleterious effect on suffrage work, as it tends still further to split the divided forces of the movement in Germany. But there, as with us, it may be that the different societies attract a different public, and, even if inconvenient, it may, perhaps, tend to strengthen the cause in some respects.

The second event was the Women's Exhibition and Congress held in Berlin, which called the attention of fresh and larger circles of the public to the work of women. The third was the election, of which the results are given above. In any case, German women look back on a busy and eventful and by no means unfruitful year.

### France.

In France the movement proceeds with steady enthusiasm and very satisfactory results. The municipal councils continue to pass votes in favour of the enfranchisement of women. Among the latest accessions is Lyons. At the *Congrès de la Renaissance républicaine*, organised by the young Radical Socialists, and held at Paris on December 29th-30th, resolutions were passed approving the demands made by French women for real universal suffrage and asking that M. Buisson's Bill should be discussed at the earliest possible moment, and that the parties of the Left should place Women's Suffrage on their programme and admit women to membership. They also passed a resolution of sympathy with all French women workers, in particular the 4,200,000 industrial women, coupled with a strong vote of approval of the principle of "Equal pay for equal work." All these propositions were carried amid great applause.

The National Council of Frenchwomen is in mourning for its President, Mademoiselle Sarah Monod, who died on December 13, at the age of 78. Daughter of the celebrated Protestant pastor, Adolphe Monod, she was herself a devoted helper of the sick and needy. She worked as a nurse in the war of 1870, and afterwards as one of the Heads of the Neuilly deaconesses. This office was combined with work on behalf of women's advancement, especially on the moral side. She was elected to the Presidency of the National Council in 1901, and in 1911 became Officer of the Légion d'Honneur. Her loss will be deeply felt in wide circles.

## The Anti-Suffrage Meeting.

A meeting was held in the Queen's Hall, last Monday evening, by the League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, at which four men and one woman spoke—a characteristic proportion.

Lord Curzon (Chairman) made the most of the violent acts performed by a few advocates of Suffrage, and of the fact that different forms of enfranchisement are proposed by different groups of supporters, made the unfounded statement that

the franchise had never been given even in this country, except to a class which both demanded and deserved it, and expressed his desire for a referendum of women. He further declared that a Woman's Suffrage measure, if introduced at all, ought only to be introduced as the measure of a responsible Government,

an opinion the validity of which was immediately demolished by Mr. C. Hobhouse in the following words:

In that halcyon time, when a Suffrage Bill is to be introduced into the House of Commons with a united Government behind it, it will be necessary for Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law to form part of the same Government, and Mr. Harcourt and myself will extend a welcome to the chairman. If this Suffrage Bill is to wait until that happy moment, you and I will not be here to take part in that measure.

Mr. Hobhouse dwelt upon that favourite argument of Anti-Suffrage orators, of which the first member is: that to enfranchise any woman is implicitly to enfranchise all; and the second is: that to enfranchise women is to make men politically subordinate to them—or, in other words, that a certain group of citizens must be kept unenfranchised, because they form more than half the nation. He next took up a somewhat original line, and his words will doubtless find an eager echo among persons as really ignorant as Mr. Hobhouse would appear to be of the facts of commercial and industrial life. They must, he said,

turn from the political to the industrial and commercial side of life for an example of the danger of this predominance, and those who knew best the work that women were doing in the world—and some of it was extremely valuable (cheers)—were unanimous upon this point in respect of those heavier and larger occupations which produced the greatest commercial activities and by far the greatest wealth of this and other countries: that women were not ranged alongside of men, that there was no competition between men and women, and that the work which was attempted and carried out by the one was not attempted in any way by the other.

That is to say that, the laws of inheritance and the customs of underpayment (derived largely from the tradition of unpaid household labour) having prevented nearly all women from owning the necessary capital for commercial undertakings, and all the training of women, until within the last fifty years, having tended to disqualify them for commercial or industrial enterprises, Mr. Hobhouse now thinks it fair to reproach women with not having occupied positions from which they have been practically excluded. Where they have not been excluded—as in certain branches of clerical work—they have occupied the field, and, owing to their abstention from drinking and betting, their greater honesty, and their greater industry, have nearly driven their male competitors out. Until daughters inherit equally with sons, until they, like their brothers, are taken into their fathers' offices, no fair judgment is possible of whether the business capacity of women is inferior, equal, or superior to that of men.

Nor was the boast that the White Slave Traffic Bill had been passed without the help of women's votes more candid. Even Mr. Hobhouse's hearers must have been aware that the reason why that long-neglected measure was at last carried was that the agitation of women for enfranchisement had at last become a power to be reckoned with.

Proceeding with his endeavour to show that women's duties were entirely divorced from politics, Mr. Hobhouse gave away his whole case. There were many duties, he said, which appertain to women and women alone, and among these he enumerated "the education, the nurture, the care of the child; the succour of the sick and helpless; the teaching of morality and religion." Is there any one of these matters which Mr. Hobhouse declares—wrongly—to "appertain to women alone" with which national legislation does not interfere in every detail? Nay, it interferes so much as to give the predominant voice in

regulating these matters not to women, but to men. It is the father who can decide the religion and the manner of education of the child, and only a change in the law of the land—to be obtained by the use of votes—can give back to mothers the right of decision in points that Mr. Hobhouse thinks "appertain to women alone!"

Sir Edward Clarke objected to women voting, because he was all for democracy—an "educated democracy." He declared that women were much less educated than men, and, when a voice cried "Equal, every bit," assured the owner of the voice that "you must have a very limited experience." He proceeded to add that it was "not their fault"; it was because their natural occupation excluded them from the possibility of learning, studying, and reading the political affairs of the country. What natural occupation, in Heaven's name? Does Sir Edward Clarke maintain that the care of a household and of children does really so occupy, and ought to occupy, a woman's time and thought that she can never read, study, or think? Apparently he does, for he added, amid applause, as the ideal woman rose upon his mental vision:—

She would spoil her home and life if she did. She would be a poorer mother and less pleasant wife.

Surely even an Anti-Suffrage audience must have felt these utterances out of date, surely some husbands must have reflected that an ignorant wife is not so particularly agreeable a companion, or so singularly well equipped for maternal duties.

Mrs. Humphry Ward made her usual characteristic mistake—that of confounding administration with legislation—when she declared that

a woman member of the County Council rules the population of five New Zealands.

In fact, of course, no member of the London County Council, as such, rules anybody at all. The Council administers and carries out laws which it is not permitted to make.

Again, she spoke of "the tumult and chicanery of party politics" as something from which she hoped woman would always remain exempted. The wiser way of fulfilling such a hope would be to abolish all this unnecessary and discreditable "tumult and chicanery." These have become steadily less with the increased representation of the people; perhaps the enfranchisement of women may give them their death-blow. The idea that women can really stand aloof from any part of national life is one that is already a little ridiculous, and that in another generation will have grown inconceivable.

### The St. Cecilia Society.

Not many readers of THE COMMON CAUSE have perhaps witnessed a "St. Cecilia" singing competition between groups of working girls from various London clubs. That at which the writer of these lines was present was held in the hall of a well-known London Settlement, and the songs chosen were "All Through the Night" (better known to some of us by the name of "Poor Mary Anne") and "The Lass of Richmond Hill."

When all the competing groups—each representative of one club—had sung both songs, the judge arose and delivered one of the most interesting speeches that ever refreshed an habitual listener's ears. He analysed the performances in detail, with an acuteness of criticism and fulness of explanation that brought us all into agreement with him; and finally accorded the first prize to the club that had shown the greatest delicacy, refinement and finish in its performance.

Since that evening, now some years ago, the St. Cecilia Society has evidently grown and prospered. Last Saturday it gave its second song festival, which was held at the Queen's Hall, and in which twenty-two clubs were represented, the singers wearing white blouses and the colours of their respective clubs. Tea was provided for them at the Polytechnic, opposite the hall; songs were sung in unison, in two, three, and four parts; the hall was well filled, and the singing is described as having been remarkably good. Membership of the "St. Cecilia" is open to any club in which singing at sight is taught; and no one who has heard the singing of the clubs belonging to it will doubt the excellence of the teaching given, the enjoyment of the performers, or the refining effect upon their voices, speech, and accent.

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## Notes from Headquarters.

### The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

President: MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.  
 Hon. Secretaries: MISS K. D. COURTNEY, MISS EDITH PALLISER, MISS CATHERINE MARSHALL, MISS EMILY M. LEAF (Press).  
 Hon. Treasurer: MISS I. B. O'MALLEY (Literature).  
 Hon. Secretary: MRS. AUERBACH, MISS GERALDINE COOKE.  
 Offices: Parliament Chambers, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

### Our Arrangements.

The forthcoming debates and divisions on the Women's Suffrage Amendments to the Franchise Bill will be amongst the most momentous in the history of the Women's Suffrage Movement. At so critical a time Suffragists will wish to show their interest, as they have always done on similar occasions, by waiting in Parliament Square to hear the results of the Debates. The National Union expects large numbers of its members to be present on this historic occasion, and the offices will be kept open each night until after the Division has been taken.

The time-table is given elsewhere; it will be seen that the discussion of Sir Edward Grey's Amendment to omit the word "male," will begin on Friday, and will occupy a day and a half, the Divisions on all the Amendments being taken on Monday and Tuesday at the hours named.

The Executive Committee of the Union has been summoned to meet each day while the Amendments are in progress.

The Actresses' Franchise League is organising a "peaceful picket" of the House of Commons during the progress of the Debates on Friday, Monday, and Tuesday, January 24th, 27th, and 28th. No doubt many members of the National Union will wish to co-operate in this scheme. As the time is short, they are asked to communicate directly with the Secretary of the Actresses' Franchise League, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, Strand, London, W.C., stating the days and hours when they are available.

### New Societies.

Farmers, Brecon, Dollar, Kincardineshire, Stoke-on-Trent, Biggleswade, Bridgnorth.

### Literature Department.

I am glad to be able to report that the response to the Literature Committee's appeal to Societies to show our Reform Bill poster widely, has been so good that this poster is now quite sold out. The London Society is posting it in hundreds in the Tube stations near Westminster, and many other Societies have sent large orders. Judging from the orders, our special Reform Bill literature is also being distributed in large quantities in all parts of the Kingdom.

I. B. O'MALLEY.

### Press Department.

Women's Suffrage being a dominant issue in all the papers this week, we specially appreciate the very full information and up-to-date news which has been given in the *Woman's Platform* of the *Standard*, and in the *Daily Citizen*, and the excellent articles and letters which have appeared in these papers, in addition to those of the *Manchester Guardian*, *Daily News* and *Leader*, *Chronicle*, etc.

It is satisfactory to note that the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Daily Mail* have clearly declared their support of some measure of enfranchisement for women. It is to be regretted that it is impossible to find in the *Times* or the *Morning Post* the news and information regarding the situation, which is essential to suffragists at the moment, and the *Observer* on Sunday, in an inaccurate article, confused the amendment to omit the word "male" with the Adult Suffrage amendment, a mistake which has, unfortunately, occurred in several papers.

E. M. LEAF.

### Treasurer's Notes.

We have this week received several spontaneous gifts for "emergency expenses," which have been particularly welcome. Money has to be poured out like water at Headquarters in a crisis like the present, and yet there is always an "afterwards" to be prepared for. Without these gifts we might begin the next great campaign somewhat crippled.

We have just received the legacy left to us by Miss Duprè Wilson, but I have not included it in our general list of receipts

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### 1,000 GUINEAS GUARANTEE.

Further, in order to remove all possible doubt as to the success and efficiency of the course, a few opinions of those who have already taken it are here given, under Mr. Hartley's penalty offer of 1,000 guineas if they can be proved not genuine.

Mr. M. GOUGH writes:—"Your course has been very interesting and very beneficial to me."

Miss A. GRAHAM writes:—"I have found your lessons very interesting, and now look upon life from quite a new standpoint."

Mr. R. CURTIS writes:—"I have just finished my fifth lesson, and I must say that I realise the truth it contains. If one does carry out the instructions carefully it will lead him to success, and if all would persevere in this principle it would make our Nation a strong, self-reliant people."

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## Election Fighting Fund.

### Deputation to Mr. H. Baker, M.P.

because it must not be regarded as ordinary income; even this large sum would easily melt away upon the needs of the moment, but we are anxious to be able to point to some particular achievements which have been made possible by the generosity of our faithful friend, and are, therefore, planning to devote the money to certain special pieces of work.

History is in the making with a vengeance this week, but whatever the immediate issue, there will be more need than ever of work and money.

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

### Contributions to the General Fund.

Already acknowledged since November 1st, 1912 ... £ s. d.  
 Received January 11th to 18th:—

Subscriptions.	
Miss M. R. Earle	0 2 6
Mrs. Lucy Hall	0 2 6
Miss Henrietta Moro	0 2 6
Mrs. Carl Flugel	2 2 0
Miss B. E. Thomson	0 5 0
Miss Garrett	5 0 0
Mrs. Thomasson	10 0 0
Mrs. C. Dixon	10 10 0
Mrs. Napier Sturt	12 0 0
Miss F. M. Alliott	0 2 6
Mrs. Brownlow	0 5 0
Miss E. Blomfield	0 2 6
Mme. de Gersdorff	0 1 3
Mrs. W. A. Price	1 1 0
Mrs. D. Hay-Cooper	0 1 0
Mrs. Robin Roscoe	0 10 6
Mrs. A. Gibson	2 2 0
Miss Silcox	0 10 6

Donations.	
Miss M. R. Earle	0 2 6
Miss M. Crofton	0 15 0
Miss C. S. Bannister	1 1 0
Mrs. Carl Flugel	3 3 0
Miss F. M. Alliott	1 0 0
The Hon. Mrs. Wilkinson	5 0 0
West Riding Federation (towards organiser's salary)	15 0 0
Mrs. A. M. Danial	2 0 0

Affiliation Fees.	
Biggleswade W.S.S.	0 6 6
Portsmouth W.S.S.	3 2 0
Llangollen W.S.S.	0 12 6
Bridgnorth W.S.S.	0 5 9
Cirencester W.S.S.	0 10 6
London W.S.S.	45 12 3
Basingstoke W.S.S. (for 1912)	0 7 0
Brighton and Hove W.S.S.	5 4 3
Ambleside W.S.S.	1 19 0
Cromer W.S.S.	0 7 0
Sutherland W.S.S.	0 5 9

£515 12 0

### In Memoriam.

We regret to announce the death of Mrs. Winifred M. Whitwell, an ardent and generous Suffrage worker. Mrs. Whitwell was Hon. Treasurer of the Esher and East Molesey Branch of the London Society. Though she did no public speaking, she was at all times forward in undertaking arduous and responsible duties, and possessing, as she did, great intellectual ability, her help was exceptionally valuable. Mrs. Whitwell was beloved and respected by all who knew her, and her loss will be deeply felt by London Suffragists.

### Additional Evidences of Public Support.

On pages 702 and 703 of last week's COMMON CAUSE appeared a striking list, which included public authorities, political, and other organisations which had, in four Federation areas alone, passed resolutions, during the last two years, in favour of Women's Suffrage; and also enumerated the meetings held in these areas. Large as was the list, we learn that it was not exhaustive. The National Union of Suffrage Societies, which collected the information, sends word that Suffrage resolutions have been passed by 27 additional Branches of the Independent Labour Party; and that meetings have been held under the auspices of the Scottish Federation, not "at 111 places," as appeared, but "in 128 towns, the Orkney and Shetland Isles, and many districts of villages." Thus the published total of 246 places in which meetings were held fell considerably short of the true one. If it were possible—which it is not—to obtain a complete record of the non-militant Suffrage meetings held all over the country during the year 1912 alone, even experienced Suffragists would stand amazed at the extent of unostentatious support which the movement continually receives.

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A deputation of delegates from the various Labour organisations of the Accrington Division waited on their Member, Mr. H. Baker, M.P., at the House of Commons, on January 20th, to ask him to reconsider his views on the enfranchisement of women, and to inform him of the strong feeling in its favour in his constituency.

The deputation was from the following organisations, and represented over 10,000 persons:—The Accrington Trades and Labour Council, the Accrington B.S.P., the Accrington I.L.P., the Rishton Trades and Labour Council, the Rishton I.L.P., the Clayton-le-Moors I.L.P.

Councillor Wooler introduced the deputation to Mr. Baker, and in his speech made a strong appeal to him to reconsider his position, which is hostile to the Women's Cause. Each delegate in turn presented various strong reasons why he should support the various Amendments in favour of Women's Suffrage. Mr. Baker, in reply, regretted his inability to comply with their requests, as it was not in accordance with his convictions. He would not promise to abstain from voting on the amendments.

Mrs. Tozer presented a memorial of an influential and representative character, which the deputation regarded as an important proof of a growing feeling in favour of this Cause.

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# News from the Societies and Federations.

## London Society.

**BATTERSEA**—Councillor A. Winfield, President of the Battersea Trades and Labour Council, took the Chair at a well-attended meeting of this body on Sunday morning, Jan. 19, at the Headquarters, 455, Battersea Park Road. Miss Helen Ward gave an address, by invitation (through Mrs. Rawlings), on the subject of Women and the Reform Bill. After full discussion the following Resolutions, proposed and seconded by members of the Council, were carried by a large majority and *nem. con.*—

(1) "That this meeting of the Battersea Trades and Labour Council calls upon the Right Hon. John Burns to do all in his power to ensure the inclusion of women in the Government Reform Bill."

(2) "That this meeting of the Battersea Trades and Labour Council earnestly begs the members of the Irish Party to show the sincerity of their belief in human liberty by doing all in their power to ensure the inclusion of women in the Government Bill, thereby winning the abiding gratitude of the vast majority of organised women in this country."

It was further decided that a copy of the first Resolution should be sent to the Right Hon. John Burns, and of the second to Mr. John Redmond. A hearty vote of thanks to the Speaker was also passed unanimously.

**ENFIELD LOCK**—Meetings addressed by Miss Helen Ward and Miss M. Goddard were held at the Small Arms Factory on Jan. 15th, 16th and 17th on the subject of "Women and the Reform Bill." The men were glad of the opportunity to help Women's Suffrage—of which they seemed to approve strongly—and over a hundred undertook to write to their M.P. to urge him to get women included in the Bill.

**WALTHAMSTOW**—It has been arranged to hold the first meeting on Saturday, 1st February, at 3.30 p.m., at the Pioneer Temperance Café, Hoe Street, and Miss Helen Ward has promised to give the address. It is requested that sympathisers will make this meeting known to their friends, so that a good send-off may be obtained.

## The Federations.

### Eastern Counties.

**REPORT**—During the last month our three organisers, Miss Farnell, Miss Coyle and Miss Waring, have spent much time in the constituencies arranging memorials and deputations (details of this will appear elsewhere). The Bedfordshire Societies have been handed over to the Oxford, Bucks, and Berks. Federation. Though regretting the necessity for this step, the Committee felt it to be a wise one, considering the large and scattered nature of the Eastern Counties Federation area. It is hoped that the present arrangement will allow of more concentrated work. The Annual Meeting of the E.C.F. Committee is fixed for January 28th, one of the fateful days in this memorable period of the Suffrage History. The publication of the "Women's Suffrage Diary and Handbook" in December was an unqualified success at a most opportune season, the Hon. Secretary wishes to express her hearty thanks to those who responded all over the country, and for the many kind letters she has received on the subject. The E.C.F. has secured an office at 71, Pantons Street, Cambridge, where Miss Creak, the Organising Secretary, should be addressed.

**EAST AND WEST CAMBS.**—The last meeting of the campaign in these districts was held at Wicken on December 19th. Mrs. Raekham, Mrs. Bowes and others gave short speeches, the attendance was excellent, and many gave in their names as "Friends." On January 18th an "American Tea" and a dialogue were successfully arranged at 36, Regent Street, Cambridge. In the course of short speeches, resolutions demanding the enfranchisement of women were passed, and afterwards sent to Sir Charles Rose, Member for East Cambs., and to the Borough Member, Mr. Almerie Paget.

**FELIXSTOWE.**—A "Social" for shop assistants had been arranged before Christmas, but had to be postponed until the new year. There have been a number of postcards signed by men and women despatched to our Member during this month.

**WOODBIDGE.**—On January 13th a very interesting meeting at the Council School was arranged by the Federation. Lady Mary Cayley took the Chair and was supported by Mrs. Raekham, President of the E.C.F., and Mrs. S. E. Hayward, Secretary for Suffolk Eastern Counties Women's Liberal Federation. The meeting was very well attended, men being almost as numerous as women. Lady Mary Cayley, in her opening address, said that Capt. R. Peel, the Member for the Woodbridge Division, was in favour of the enfranchisement of women. It was proposed to start a Branch of the N.U.W.S.S. in Woodbridge; she found that there were thirty different organisations in Suffolk all working for the same object, though perhaps on slightly different lines. The National Union was non-party and non-militant; if all those in Woodbridge who believed in good propaganda work would band themselves together they would soon have a flourishing branch of the N.U.W.S.S. Mrs. Raekham said that some people laughed at the idea of Women's Suffrage because they did not understand what women wanted. Why should not men and women work together for the benefit of the country? Some denied women the vote on the ground that they were better employed at home; a woman could be more useful in the home if she had a better understanding of the outside world; if she had to prepare her children for the world it was equally her duty to prepare the world for her children. Every woman had a right to a personal and direct interest in politics; as politics closely affected her in her home, in housing, education, temperance, etc.; numbers of women employed in industries required the vote, nearly four million women were treated under the Insurance Act as wage earners. A Bill would shortly be introduced into the House of Commons by which every man of 21 would have the

vote, and such a Bill could not be satisfactory unless the franchise was extended to women as well. Mrs. Raekham moved a Resolution urging Captain Peel to support the inclusion of women in the Franchise Bill. Mrs. Hayward seconded the Resolution, which was carried. A vote of thanks to the speakers was moved by the Rev. Denman-Deane, Rector of Woodbridge, who declared himself in favour of Women's Suffrage, and who expressed the sincerest hope for the success of the Cause.

### North-Eastern.

**HEXHAM.**—A most successful drawing-room meeting was held on the 7th inst. at Rochwood, Elvaston Road (Mrs. E. Brown), when an address on the "White Slave Traffic" was given by Miss Hare, Brighton. The speaker dealt with the subject from a very wide standpoint, showing in a convincing way the various causes that contribute to this, the most terrible and revolting of all our social evils. Bad housing conditions, sweated labour and inadequate lodging-house accommodation for women in our cities all combine to aggravate this evil. The Rev. Ellis Pearson, who presided, in thanking Miss Hare for her courageous speech, expressed himself as in the closest sympathy with the women's movement, and also with the sentiments expressed by the speaker. The meeting was attended by about 60 people.

**MORPETH.**—The Morpeth Branch of the N.U.W.S.S. held a meeting on January 15th, at which future work was discussed. The Societies report nine new members for the month of December.

**NEWCASTLE.**—On December 18th the Newcastle Society held an extraordinary General Meeting at the Office, 27, Ridley Place, for the purpose of electing honorary officials and members of Committee. Dr. Ethel Williams was re-elected, as also was Miss M. Mein as Hon. Treasurer. Mrs. Laws and Mrs. Ormsby have undertaken the duties of Hon. Secretaries jointly. The work of the latter has been increased owing to the fact that the Office was re-opened after the Christmas holidays with a Secretary who is not an Organising Secretary.

### Yorks: West Ridings.

**BRADFORD.**—The Bradford Branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies held a meeting at the Mechanics' Institute, at which Mr. J. H. Fain, President of the Society, said that those who had rendered merely lip service to the cause in the past were expected now to give more than that or not be counted friends of the movement. Mrs. Parrish moved a Resolution protesting against a further extension of the franchise which does not include women, and calling upon the members for Bradford to do all in their power to ensure that the Government Reform Bill, if passed, shall not leave women unrepresented. With regard to the Bill she said that she had been informed in a seconding was not so great as that for Woman Suffrage. In seconding the Resolution Miss Margaret Robertson argued that as the word "man" in all Acts of Parliament meant "woman" also, and women had been jockeyed out of the vote by lawyers, and not by the law. The vote in the hands of women would, she said, be a weapon with which to fight for the improvement of female workers' conditions. Working men were just beginning to realise its use in this direction.

**GOOLE.**—Two meetings were held on December 4th at the Sailors' Institute. At the afternoon meeting, Mrs. Kempthorne, wife of the Bishop of Hull, gave an address on "The Spiritual Aspect of the Suffrage Movement," which was much appreciated by her hearers. Mrs. Matthews, Treasurer, carried a Resolution in support of the Goole Society, presided. At the evening meeting Mrs. Kempthorne presided, and the Speaker was Mrs. Parrish (Leeds), whose speech made a great impression. Miss Heptmonstall gave a recitation. The Resolution, proposed by Mrs. Parrish, was to the effect that no franchise reform would be acceptable which did not include some measure of representation to women. It was seconded by Mr. D. J. Owen, and carried unanimously. New members were gained at the meeting.

**HUDDERSFIELD.**—On Thursday, October 31st, the Heaton Branch of the N.U.W.S.S. held a very successful "At Home," about fifty people being present. Miss Gregson (President) was in the Chair, and Miss H. S. Cheetham gave an able address on Women's Suffrage, and pointed out how much things had changed during the last fifty years, owing to the higher education of women. Miss Hiltton announced the Bazaar, held at 5, Eldon Place, on December 3rd and 6th. The musical part of the programme was contributed by the Misses D. and E. Denby, Hindoe and Priestman. The COMMON CAUSE was sold, and other Suffrage literature.

### West Midland.

On January 13th at Stafford, Mr. Hanley, M.P. for N.W. Staffordshire, received a deputation which had been organised by Mrs. Cooper, Councillor Finney, of Burslem, introduced the deputation. Mr. Hanley, when asked the usual questions, replied in the affirmative to all of them, with the exception of those relating to the Adult and Third Reading, and to both of these he stated that he would be loyal to the decision of his party.

Mr. Pearce, M.P. for Leek, in a letter to Mrs. Cooper dated January 17th stated that he would vote for the deletion of the word "male," that he would support the Adult and Dickinson Amendment, but would not commit himself to a definite statement as to the Conciliation Amendment or the third reading.

Mrs. Cooper also interviewed Mr. Johnson, M.P. for Nantwich. He stated that although he was unable, through ill-health to attend the House of Commons, he had already paired in favour of the Suffrage amendments.

K. M. HARBURY.

At a meeting in Pencaitland, East Lothian, on January 10th, organised by Miss Howden Bogges, President of the Haddington Society, who also presided, Lady Betty Balfour was the speaker, and gave a very interesting address on women's suffrage, especially explaining the proposed amendments to the Franchise Bill.

## Deputation to Mr. Harvey, M.P.

On the 11th inst. a deputation, organised by the Rochdale Labour Party, consisting of two delegates each from the Labour Party, the I.L.P., the Trades Council, the Women's Labour League, the Women's Co-operative Guild, and the Rochdale Branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, met Mr. A. G. C. Harvey, M.P., with a view to ascertaining what his action regarding the women's suffrage amendments to the Reform Bill is likely to be. Mr. J. W. Moor, Secretary of the Labour Party, introduced the deputation.

Mrs. A. Nield Chew, on behalf of the Suffrage Society, said that Mr. Harvey had always been regarded by women as a good suffragist, because he had consistently voted for every Bill proposing to enfranchise women householders. They were grateful for his support in the past, and knew that they could rely on it for the Conciliation Amendment, which stands in his name; but she wished to point out that as the "Dickinson" Amendment was the most likely to pass, that the former measure of support was not now enough to ensure the enfranchisement of women by means of the Reform Bill. Women were not responsible for the situation having changed, and she hoped that his recognition of the altered situation would result in a change in his attitude, and that they could count on his support for the wider amendment, as well as for the "Conciliation" one.

Mr. Harvey, whilst claiming to have, as a relative of the late Miss Lydia Becker, and as a consistent supporter of household suffrage for women a claim to the title of good suffragist, could not, however, promise to vote for any except the Conciliation Amendment. He assured Mrs. Chew that he knew much more of the chances of the amendments than she could possibly do, and that the "Conciliation" one had the best chance.

Mr. Moor, reminding Mr. Harvey that the Labour Party wanted Adult Suffrage, asked that he would at least not vote against the wider amendment. Mr. Harvey promised to "consider carefully" that suggestion, and in answer to Mrs. Chew, who questioned his having a mandate to vote for manhood suffrage, said that his mandate from the electors was to vote for household suffrage for women and manhood suffrage for men at the age of 25.

The only point gained was the promise to "consider carefully" the advisability of not voting against the wider amendment.

## Deputation to Mr. Norman Craig, M.P.

Mr. Norman Craig, M.P., for Thanet, received a deputation from the Ramsgate Branch, N.U.W.S.S., on December 27th.

The deputation consisted of the following persons:—The Rev. Oak Rhind (chairman of the Thanet Conservative Association), Mr. Soans (late Town Councillor and a prominent townsman), Mr. Cook (a Town Councillor and a prominent Liberal), the Vice-President, the Hon. Secretary and the Hon. Treasurer of the Ramsgate Branch, and Miss Bertha Kennett, M.A. Head Mistress of the Perse Girls' School, Cambridge. Mr. Craig gave a courteous hearing to the representations made to him by the deputation, and promised to vote for the first amendment to delete the word "male," and for the Conciliation amendment to the Franchise Bill.

## Men's League Memorial.

A memorial has been sent by the Men's League for Women's Suffrage to Members of Parliament stating that—

In the belief that the extension of the parliamentary franchise to women is essential, as much for the general good of the community as for the safeguarding of women's interests, we desire to express the earnest hope that Parliament will avail itself of the opportunity which the Franchise Bill affords. The passage of a Reform Bill to-day without the inclusion of women would be, in our view, a misprint in the history of our civilisation.

We venture to urge upon Suffragists in the House of Commons the necessity of concerted action to secure, by way of amendment, some measure of enfranchisement for women, and call upon them, if their united efforts should fall short of success, to do their utmost to bring about the withdrawal of a Bill which must aggravate the present injustice should it fail to bring redress.

Among the signatories to the memorial are the Ear of Lytton, Earl Russell, the Bishop of Lincoln, Bishop Baynes, Sir Edward Busk, Sir William Chance, Sir Arthur Pinner, Sir John Rhys, Major-General Sir A. Turner, Mr. Walter Crane, Mr. J. Forbes-Robertson, Mr. John Galsworthy, Mr. Henry Holiday, Dr. C. V. Drysdale, Canon Scott Holland, the Rev. the Hon. E. Lytton, General Arthur Phelps, Mr. Eden Phillips, Dr. C. W. Saleeby, and Mr. Sidney Webb.

## Meeting in West Essex.

At the annual business meeting of the West Essex Women's Franchise Society that took place on Monday, 13th inst., the following resolution was unanimously passed:—"That this meeting call on the House of Commons to include the enfranchisement of women on broad and democratic lines in the Franchise and Registration Bill."

## A "Home Sale" in Dundee.

The "Home Sale" of Work which the Dundee Society held in conjunction with St. Andrews was a great success, the novel form which the Sale took attracting general public attention. The scheme of decoration represented a "House" and scenes suggesting the various "Rooms" were painted by Miss Macintyre, a member of the Dundee Society. In each "Room" suitable articles were sold. In the "Dining-room," where Mrs. Gibson and Mrs. Malcolm presided, were refreshments. An "At Home" took place in the "Drawing-room" where Mrs. Wilson, Miss Mary Stephen, with a host of willing helpers, offered for sale numberless dainty nicknacks and beautiful needlework. In the "Conservatory" Mrs. Quach Mackenzie and Misses Auldjo sold programmes, flowers and plants, while next door books, pictures and calendars were for sale in the "Library," where Miss Kynoch and Miss Lawson acted as librarians. In the "Playroom" which Miss Mary Campbell Smith and Miss Elizabeth Lindsay had a great demand. The "cooks" in the "kitchen," superintended by Mrs. Gardner and Miss Brechin, with many helpers, had a busy time disposing of their wares; while in the "Bedroom" Mrs. Valentine and Miss Scotland were "sold out" early. St. Andrews supplied the charming contents of the "Nursery," Mrs. Houston, of St. Andrews, opened the Sale on the first day, while Lady Frances Balfour performed the same ceremony on the second day. Mrs. Finlay, of St. Andrews, and Dr. Emily C. Thomson, taking the chair on the Friday and Saturday respectively. The proceeds amounted to over £200.

Among the public bodies in Dundee which have passed resolutions in favour of the inclusion of women in the Reform Bill are the Labour Representative Council; the Independent Labour Party; the Dundee and District Union of Jute and Flax Workers; the United Trades and Labour Council; the Mill and Factory Operatives Union; the Railwaymen, the National League for the Blind, and the Women's Liberal Association, besides resolutions passed at many public meetings, including those passed at the Joint Out-door Demonstration last summer and the big gathering of scientific members of the British Association. A memorial to Mr. Churchill has been signed by number of prominent men in Dundee, including members of the Men's Liberal Association Executive, Parish Councillors, School Board, Clergy and Doctors.

## Meeting at Hawkshead.

Miss Helen Fraser gave a most interesting and sympathetic address at a public meeting in the Town Hall on the 18th inst. The audience was small, owing partly to the dreadful state of the roads, but all present listened with attention. The following resolution was unanimously carried:—"That this meeting call upon the Member for North Lonsdale to vote for the deletion of the word 'male' in the first clause of the Reform Bill, and for some further amendment to the same Bill enfranchising women." Mr. Haddock, the Member for North Lonsdale, has lately signified his intention of voting for the Dickinson amendment. He has been helped to this decision by the large body of evidence that has reached him from the constituency in the form of letters, postcards and a memorial.

The annual business meeting of the Hawkshead Society was also held on the 18th. The Society now numbers 70 members. The report showed that a good amount of work had been done in the year.

## Women's Educational Union.

Recently the Women's Educational Union, which has members all over Scotland, passed almost unanimously—on a vote taken by plebiscite—the following resolution:—"That this Association of Women actively engaged in Educational and Social Work, and therefore sensible of the need for the protection and assistance afforded by the possession of the Parliamentary Franchise, strongly urge the inclusion of women in the Government Franchise Bill."

Copies of the resolution have been sent to the Prime Minister, the local Members of Parliament, and to all those most directly interested in the Bill.

## Two Representative Memorials.

On January 17th the Bolton Society completed the preparation of two memorials signed almost entirely by influential persons. They were addressed to Mr. Gill and Mr. Taylor, the M.P.'s for Bolton, and to Mr. Wilson, M.P. for Westhoughton, and contained the request that support should be given to the Women's Amendments to the Reform Bill.

A striking point was that out of 264 signatories, only 64 were in favour of enfranchising women householders only. Another feature was that an extremely small number of refusals to sign at all were met with. For instance, out of 38 headmasters, 33 signed; 18 out of 22 doctors; and 17 out of 19 of the leading tradesmen. Many officials of the Liberal, Conservative, Labour, and Independent Labour Parties, and of the Trades Council also gave their signatures.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

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.

### A DAY OF PRAYER.

It has been suggested that on February 1st, the selected day on which cathedrals, chapels and churches will be specially visited for quiet prayer and intercession by those interested in the Franchise question, the following sequence for the attaining of unanimous thought may be helpful:—

9 a.m. to 11 a.m.—Subject: "The Education and Protection of Maidenhood."

11 a.m. to 2 p.m.—Subject: "The Conditions of Home Life and the Position of the Child."

2 p.m. to 4 p.m.—Subject: "The Conditions and Preparations of the Woman as Public Servant."

### LETTERS FROM "PRIVATES."

A few months ago you were good enough to publish a letter of mine urging all "Liberal Women" who are "on strike" in order to obtain the vote, to write to the Chief Whip, giving him particulars of the work which in the past they were accustomed to do for their party, and informing him that they will not resume this work until women's suffrage is put on the Liberal programme. But I expect that many of those who read my letter thought my suggestion merely futile because of the doubt as to whether the Chief Whip would ever see letters from private individuals or even know that they had been written.

In view of the fact that the crisis of our fate is upon us, and that we are all bound to use every little unit of influence that we possess to help in putting pressure upon the Liberal party managers, will you allow me to assure "Liberal Women" that there is every reason to believe that letters from "privates" in the fighting ranks of Liberalism do produce some effect upon the Whips? Being a person totally unknown to Mr. Illingworth, I screwed up my courage to risk making myself look very foolish by writing him a letter, congratulating him on his promotion to the office of Chief Whip, and asking him to use his influence to secure fair play for the Amendments to the Franchise Bill; and, finally informing him that I have for the moment been obliged to give up working for the Liberal party because of the defeat of the Conciliation Bill and the intrigues of certain Liberal politicians; and that other Liberal women in my own neighbourhood will follow my example if the Franchise Bill passes into law without the inclusion of women. A few days later I received a very kind and cordial acknowledgement of my letter, signed not by his secretary, but by himself. It seemed to me that the mere fact of his having seen my letter at all was probably significant. I hope he will receive many such letters this week.

M. DOROTHEA JORDAN.

### Activity at Sidmouth.

On the 20th inst. a public meeting was held at the Manor Hall, Sidmouth, this being the culminating point of a period of great activity of the Women's Suffrage Society in this district. During the previous week meetings were held at the New Hall, Sidford, and at Woolcombe House, Sidmouth, and a good deal of propaganda work was done in connection with these meetings.

At the public meeting on Monday, at which many well-known men and women were present, Miss Dutton presided, and the speakers were Mrs. Corbett Ashby and Mrs. Richardson. On the platform were Lady Lockyer, joint hon. secretary of the Women's Suffrage Society, Miss Leigh Browne, Mrs. Thomas (treasurer), and most of the ladies of the Committee, also General O'Leary, Dr. Withers, Father Barney, Mr. Roberts, and others. The Hall was filled by an interested and sympathetic audience, any anti-suffragists who were present being content to be silent. A large number of beautiful banners, kindly lent by the N.U.W.S.S., decorated the walls and the platform, and excited great admiration.

The first speaker was Mrs. Corbett Ashby, who dealt with the question historically, and in relation to the woman movement generally, and showed how the demand for the vote was the logical outcome of the upward social trend. Mrs. Ashby then dealt with the Amendment to the Reform Bill, and concluded a very convincing speech by moving the following resolution:—"That this meeting protests against any further extension of the Franchise which does not include women, and calls upon the House of Commons to ensure that if the Government Reform Bill is passed it shall not leave women entirely unrepresented. Further, that copies of this Resolution be sent to the Prime Minister, Sir Edward Grey, and the Member of Parliament for this Division."

Mrs. Richardson seconded in a speech full of humour and telling incidents from the working women's point of view, and dwelt particularly on the good effects of the vote being given to women in Australia and some of the States of America. The Resolution was carried with three dissentients.

General O'Leary moved, and Mr. C. E. Roberts, J.P., seconded a vote of thanks to the speakers, and Dr. Withers, Miss Leigh Browne and Father Barney took part in a vote of thanks to the Chair. Miss Georgiana Hill made an effective appeal on behalf of the Sidmouth Suffrage Society, and new members were enrolled.

## An Interesting Programme.

On Wednesday, January 29th, at 7.30, the Actresses' Franchise League will give a performance in the Village Hall, Otford, of "An Englishman's Home," "The Maid and the Magistrate," (by Mr. Graham Moffatt, author of "Bunty Pulls the Strings") and "A Chat with Mrs. Chicky." We are sure that the attendance will be large, and that Otford will long talk of what was heard and seen on that evening.

## Mrs. Swanwick at Acton.

Mrs. Swanwick will be the principal speaker at a meeting to be held by the Ealing, Acton and Bedford Park Branch of the London Society, at 8 o'clock next Tuesday, January 28th, in the Iron Church, Creffield Road, Acton. The chair will be taken by the Rev. Mr. Holden, and Mr. Ben Johnson, Barrister-at-law, has also promised to speak. As the evening is likely to be one of the most eventful in the history of Women's Suffrage, the inhabitants of Acton and its neighbourhood are fortunate in the opportunity of hearing Mrs. Swanwick on such an occasion. Trams stop at Tywyford Avenue.

## Resolution from Weardale.

The Weardale and Tow Law District Trades and Labour Council has passed the following resolution:—"That this Council calls on the House of Commons to include the Enfranchisement of Women on broad and democratic lines in the Franchise and Registration Bill, and that copies be sent to Sir Edward Grey, A. Henderson, Esq., M.P., and the Press."

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## Forthcoming Meetings.

(ARRANGED BY THE NATIONAL UNION.)

JANUARY 24.  
Scarborough—Office—Miss Helen Fraser 3.30  
Scarborough—Roscoe Rooms—Miss Helen Fraser 7.30  
Waring, B.A.—Chair, Mrs. Butcher 8.15  
Southborough—Victoria Hall—Debate, Miss Gladys Pott, Mrs. Corbett Ashby 3.0  
Burnham—Town Hall—Public meeting—Mr. Baillie Weaver, Chair, Dr. Clifford Last 7.30  
Eccles—Congregational Schoolroom, Particroft—Mr. F. Hewick (Wilmslow), Mrs. Earp (Rotherham), Chair, Councillor Thomas Grindle, J.P., Councillor Miss Dutton 3.0  
Guisborough—Public meeting—Miss Helen Fraser, 3.0  
Wrexham—Public meeting—Central Hall, Hill Street—Miss Muriel Matters, Chair, Miss E. Rathbone 7.30  
Carlisle—Suffrage Shop, 88, English Street—Lantern Lecture (up till January 30) 7.30-8.0

JANUARY 25.  
Littlehampton—Drawing-room meeting—Pellem House, Norfolk Road—Miss Helen Wright, Chair, the Hon Mrs. Bertrand Russell 3.0  
Ripon—Drawing-room meeting—"Skelfield"—Miss Helen Fraser 3.0  
Easingwold—Town Hall—Chair, Mrs. K. E. T. Wilkinson—Miss Helen Fraser 8.0  
Eccles—Suffrage Shop, 41, Liverpool Road. Open January 18th-25th

JANUARY 27.  
Knockholt—Public meeting arranged by Mrs. Waldron Smithers, Miss Abadam, Chair, Mr. A. W. Smithers, J.P. 8.0  
Ulverston—Harrison's Rooms—Miss Norma Smith—Chair, Mr. W. Willan 8.0  
Banstead—The School—Chair, Captain de la Mare, Speaker, Mrs. Rackham 8.15  
Watford—Members meeting, Committee Room—Speaker, Miss Dora Mason, M.A. 8.0

JANUARY 28.  
Filey—Crompton Cafe—Annual meeting—Mrs. Corbett Ashby 3.0  
Huddersfield—Mayor's Reception Room Town Hall—Miss Helen Fraser, Chair, Miss Sidons 7.30  
Bristol—Victoria Rooms—Lecture by Canon Talbot 5.0  
Watford—Co-operative Hall—Speaker, Miss Dora Mason, M.A. 8.0  
Dewsbury—Trinity Hall—Drawing-room meeting—Miss Helen Fraser 3.30  
Dewsbury—Exchange Hall—Miss Helen Fraser 8.0

JANUARY 29.  
Chester—Holborn Restaurant, Foregate Street—Miss Freda Crossfield, Chair, Miss Tomkinson 3.0  
Torquay—Museum Hall—Public meeting—The Hon. Lady Acland, the Hon. Robert Palmer, Miss Walford, Chair, Mr. Luxmoore 5.15  
Cambridge—New Chesterton Institute—Mrs. Rackham, Mrs. Stevenson, Chair, Mr. Rowland Prothero, M.V.O.—Chair, Sir William Chance 8.0  
High Wycombe—Guildhall—Lantern Lecture: "Women's Work in the Empire."—Mrs. G. C. Scott 8.0

Dorking—Public Hall—Public meeting—Miss Frances Sterling, Mr. Rowland Prothero, M.V.O.—Chair, Sir William Chance 8.0  
Leeds—Philosophical Hall—Miss Maude Royden, "The Ideals of the W.S. movement"—Chair, Professor McGregor 3.0  
Hull—Church Institute, Albion Street—Public meeting—Miss Helen Fraser, Chair, Mrs. F. Richardson 8.0  
Gateshead—115, High West Street—Social meeting for women—Miss Sheard 2.30  
Gateshead—115, High West Street—Kinderspiel at Suffrage Shop 7.0  
York—Annual meeting—Mrs. Corbett Ashby 2.45  
York—88, Bootham—Teachers' meeting—Mrs. Corbett Ashby 8.0  
Bashy—Drawing-room meeting, Hostesses, Miss Archer and Miss Kinder. Speaker, Miss Dora Mason, M.A. 3.0

JANUARY 30.  
Scarborough—Sealy Temperance Hall—Mrs. Corbett Ashby, B.A.—Chair, Mr. Evans Jackson 8.0  
Cirencester—Apsley Hall—Business meeting for members only 2.30  
" " Public meeting—Mr. H. Baillie Weaver, K.C. 3.0  
Teignmouth—Annual meeting—Miss Walford 3.0  
Bradford—Chapter House, Church Institute, North Parade—"At home"—To meet Miss Maude Royden 7.30-10

JANUARY 31.  
Sevenoaks—Club Hall—"At home"—Mrs. Streatfield and Committee—Lady Betty Balfour, Chair, Canon Beauclairs 3.30  
Wakfield—Institute, Wood Street—Miss Royden, Chair, Canon Welch 8.0  
Newcastle-on-Tyne—27, Ridley Place—Debate, "The New Policy of the N.U. will hasten the granting of the Franchise to Women"—movers, Misses Paterson and Ericson—Opposers, Dr. Campbell, Miss Herz, Chair, Miss Newbigin 8.0  
Watford—Kingham Memorial Hall—Public meeting, Speakers, Mr. Malcolm Mitchell, Miss Dora Mason, M.A., Chair, Mr. Nathaniel Mickleth, K.C., J.P. 8.0

FEBRUARY 1.  
Carlisle—Richmond Hall—Mrs. Bardsley—"At Home." Speaker, Miss Helen Fraser

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## LONDON.

JANUARY 24.  
N. Hackney—56, Clapton Common, N.—Social evening—Suffrage duologue and recitations 7.30-10.0  
Wandsworth—Drawing-room meeting—Miss Thomson evening  
West London Reception—Westminster Palace Hotel—Chair: Miss Helen Ward—Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., Miss K. D. Courtney, Miss Buckton (author of "Eagerheart") 3.30-6.15

JANUARY 25.  
Walworth—Surrey Chapel, Blackfriars Road—Popular evening 8.0

JANUARY 27.  
Lewisham—St. James's Hall, Stanstead Road—Catholic Literary and Social Society—Debate—Miss Goddard 8.0

JANUARY 28.  
Acton—43, Avenue Road—Ealing and Acton Women's Adult School—Miss Marjorie Starkey 8.0  
Acton—Unitarian Iron Church, Creffield Road—Chair: Rev. C. Holden—Mr. Ben Johnson, Mrs. F. T. Swanwick, M.A. 8.15

Paddington—Town Hall—Public Meeting—Chair: Mrs. Fawcett, LL.D.—Miss Beaton (Paddington Borough Council), Sir William Chance, Mr. J. Malcolm Mitchell 8.30

JANUARY 30.  
Holborn—51, Gordon Square—Drawing-room meeting—Miss F. Sterling, Miss Anna Martin 4.0

JANUARY 31.  
West London Reception—Westminster Palace Hotel—Chair: The Lady Frances Balfour—Mrs. F. T. Swanwick, M.A., Miss J. H. Thomson, M.A., Sir Laurence Gomme, L.C.C. 3.30-6.15

FEBRUARY 1.  
Walthamstow—6, Church Hill—Meeting—Miss Helen Ward 3.30

## SCOTLAND.

JANUARY 24.  
Edinburgh—40, Shandwick Place—"At home"—Miss Alice Low on "The Political Situation." 4.30  
Glasgow—Office, 202, Hope Street—Chair, Miss M. C. Morrison, Miss Helen Waddell, "Women under the Law" 4.0

JANUARY 25.  
St. Andrew's—Market Square—Speakers, Miss Low, Miss Gordon and others

JANUARY 29.  
Glasgow—U.F. Church Hall, Albert Street Springtun—Miss Marion Kerr 3.0  
Bridgeton—L.P.P. Hall, 92, Canning Street—Women's Guild—Miss Marion Kerr 7.30  
Springburn—Albert Street U.F. Church Hall—Miss Marion Kerr 3.0

JANUARY 30.  
Edinburgh—Greenhill Park—Drawing-room meeting—The Misses Henderson, Speaker, Miss Alice Low 3.30  
Glasgow—202, Hope Street—"Working Girl's Clubs"—Miss M. B. Wells—Hostess, Mrs. Maitland Ramsay 4.0  
Meetings addressed by members of the Union.

## MEETINGS ADDRESSED BY MEMBERS OF THE UNION.

JANUARY 24.  
Chesterfield—Fabian Society—Mrs. Cowmeadow 7.30  
Manchester—Manchester '95 Club and Reform Clubs—Speaker, Mrs. Swanwick 7.0

JANUARY 25.  
New Whittington—Men's Adult School—Speaker, Mrs. Cowmeadow 9 a.m.

JANUARY 28.  
Gateshead—A.S.E.—Miss Sheard 3.0  
Tadworth—Infant Schoolroom—Mrs. Rackham 3.0

JANUARY 29.  
Dronfield—Woodhouse Council Schools—Mrs. Cowmeadow 7.30  
Leeds—Holbeck League of Young Liberals—Mrs. Rinton 8.0

JANUARY 31.  
Clay Cross—Co-operative Women's Guild—Speaker, Mrs. Cowmeadow 7.0

## Temperance and Women's Franchise.

The following resolution was recently passed at a meeting of the East Dulwich National British Women's Temperance Association, and copies were forwarded to the Prime Minister and the local Member of Parliament, Mr. F. Hall, L.C.C.:—"That this meeting of members of the East Dulwich Branch of the National British Women's Temperance Association, residents in your constituency, believing that the cause of temperance will be much helped forward by the enfranchisement of women, as has been demonstrated in the Countries and States that already have the Women's Suffrage, begs you to vote for such amendments in the forthcoming Government Reform Bill as shall secure the inclusion of women in the Bill.

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## SUFFRAGE ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE New Constitutional Society. Meeting, Caxton Hall, Monday, January 27th, at 8 p.m. Speakers, Mr. George Lansbury, Mrs. Merivale-Mayer, Chair, Mrs. Cecil Chapman.

GOD'S WORD TO WOMEN has never been a word of disapproval and suppression. The Bible encourages the development of woman and stands for her perfect equality with man, in spite of the teachings to the contrary. Do you wish to equip yourself for meeting the arguments of those who attempt, with sacrilegious hands, to throw the Bible in the way of woman's progress? Do you wish to know WHERE and HOW they mistranslate and misrepresent it? Send 7d. (15 cents in stamps from America for "101 Questions) Answered," a Woman's Catechism, prepared purposely to solve your perplexities.—Katharine Bushnell, 10a, Drayton Park, Highbury, London, N.

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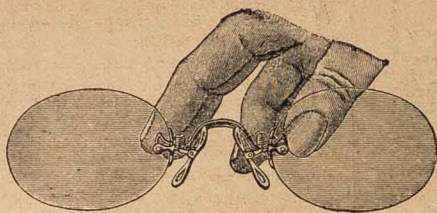
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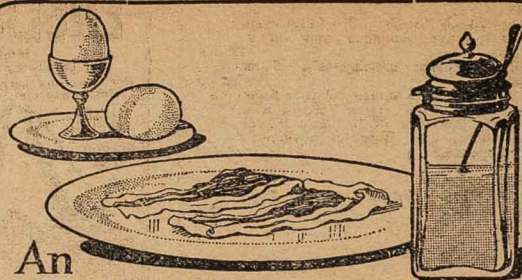
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