

The Common Cause,

The Organ of the National Union of

Women's Suffrage

Societies.

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ONE PENNY.



Don Quixote and Sancho as Shepherds.

"Heaven defend me!" quoth Don Quixote, "what a life shall we lead!"

The News of the Week.

Results of the Election.

It seems as if the general trend of the election would leave us in much the same position in the new House as we were in the old. We have lost some friends, but we have also lost some opponents. Our opponents in high places mostly take the precaution of standing for safe seats. As far as our own special efforts were concerned we have to accept two complete failures. Camlachie, with thirteen more votes than East St. Pancras, was practically as bad, and we are sorry that so loyal a friend and plucky a fighter as Mr. Mirrlees should not have had a better chance.

We must bear our defeats with fortitude and seek and avoid the causes in future. Our opponents will grin and triumph. We may frankly admit that the situation has its comic side. Why not? The ridiculous knows no party and may spring up in close connection with serious and even tragic situations. If we recognize this, we shall have got a good way above the irritable exasperation which puts one at the mercy of the ignorant triumpher. A good way too, we hope, from the "frantic boast and foolish word" that is the Nemesis of partisanship.

The Favoured Sex.

We hope our readers will have studied carefully Mr. Churchill's exhibition of ignorance and confusion of thought in the interview we published last week. It is no wonder he does not care to answer questions at meetings. He would indeed come off ill in an encounter with a well-instructed woman. He raised, as points of law which favour women, two relics of the doctrine of coverture which are of practically no advantage to women, and he seemed unable to cope with the instances where the law did oppress women—in marriage, inheritance, parentage, and industry. The deputation appears to have neglected one opportunity, that of running Mr. Churchill to earth on the matter of the representation of women's labour. Men's trade unions, whose object is "to eliminate women's labour," can scarcely be held to be suitable representatives of the interests they desire to kill.

A Secret Supporter.

Mr. Churchill on this occasion threw to the winds all pretence of a belief in representation, and said he would not vote for any Bill which would "upset the balance of parties." He also repeated his previous statement about

the referendum, a statement we urge our readers to compare with his views on the referendum as applied to any of the causes he has at heart. He said he had "always been a supporter of this movement." This is interesting. Since the North-West Manchester election we have never heard or read one word of Mr. Churchill's that was directed to helping the movement he so mysteriously supports, and we have given innumerable instances of his spite against it. Heaven defend us from such supporters! We infinitely prefer open opponents. His prattle about the militants is transparent humbug. What did he do for us between January and November, 1910, while the truce lasted?

Democratic Lines Again.

Mr. George's answer at Bangor last week was fairly plain, but it was not plainly fair. We are to understand that he now says he will not vote for the third reading of a Bill unless it satisfies his theory of "democratic lines," even should the House have rejected amendments widening its scope. That is to say, if the feeling of the House should be against Mr. George, he—who maintains we have not educated the country to our moderate demand—would stand out for an immoderate demand which he has done practically nothing to press upon the country!

He made derisive references to our two unsuccessful candidatures. This is what we may expect "supporters" of his quality to do. Yet in his heart he knows very well that, if our failures in East St. Pancras and Camlachie show anything, they certainly do not show that the country is not "ripe" for Women's Suffrage, but that male electors are preoccupied with party matters. Because electors will not put Women's Suffrage first it does not in the least follow that they disapprove of a moderate measure.

A Serious Task.

Mrs. Frederic Harrison shares her distinguished husband's lack of humour, or she surely could never have written (as she does in this month's "Anti-Suffrage Review") that "the Anti-Suffrage women have a most serious task before them . . . to build up a theory of woman's political activity and determine her normal functions in life." Does she really think the hundreds of medical women, the thousands of University women and working women who want the vote are going to wait meekly until the Anti-Suffragists have "determined their normal functions," and then obediently restrict themselves to these? Really it almost seems as if Suffragists might make as many mistakes as can be made and leave their cause to be fought by the Anti-Suffragists, whom inextinguishable laughter will drown.

The Power of the Vote.

In a letter to Mr. Asquith, signed by the Anti-Suffragist leaders, the following notable admission is made: "The Councils which have allowed these resolutions to go through (alluding to the resolutions passed by City Councils in support of the Conciliation Bill) are, in no small degree, dependent for votes upon the very women whom the Bill proposes to enfranchise, and it is most natural that councillors should shrink from the risk of offending them." But then, what becomes of the argument that votes do nothing for the voter? That "influence" is far more potent? And that it is destroyed by the vote? These City Councillors are said to have been influenced by the belief that their women electors wanted the Parliamentary vote, and this is precisely the way we say the representation of women will act.

What is Truth?

A further point is worth drawing attention to. It appears that these City Fathers are not "properly aware of what we, as a League, are daily coming to know through systematic canvassing by postcard or personal visitation—that the large majority of the women who possess municipal votes are opposed to Woman Suffrage." Now Manchester was one of the Councils which passed the resolution with a large majority, and Manchester was one of the few places where Suffragists followed on

the track of Anti-Suffragists in a canvass of women municipal voters. The result was published in our issue of June 30th last. There was nothing equivocal about our declaration. It ran, "I, a woman municipal voter, believe that I ought also to have the right to vote for Members of Parliament." Only two wards were canvassed, and 402 women signed; this was done in four days. The Anti-Suffragists had previously canvassed these two wards and four others, and in all six they professed to have found only 192 Suffragists, "including half-sympathizers"! The only conclusion one can arrive at is that "we, as a League," do not manage to arrive at the truth.

Hustled History.

Suffragists must have had a good laugh at the hash "The Times" made of the South Salford election in last week's Woman's Supplement. Of course, Mr. Russell's agent was not Miss Strachey, nor any other woman. Further, although Mr. Russell's undertakings were so satisfactory that it was unnecessary to oppose him, Mr. Barlow, the successful candidate, also undertook to support the Conciliation Bill, so that the Suffragists took no strong line, and the implication ingeniously made in the concluding lines of this wonderful paragraph, that the defeat of the Liberal was due to the support of the Suffragists, is as fanciful as the rest.

The Referendum and "The Ladies."

It will not be long before Mr. F. E. Smith becomes a Suffragist, if only to contradict his dear friend. In a speech last Saturday he is reported thus: "The Home Secretary said that he thought a Referendum would be very useful in dealing with the issue of female Suffrage. Why a foreign import should be turned on to the ladies when it is not good enough for the men I don't know." (Loud laughter.)

The Page Bill.

It is good to read of the strenuous efforts that some American women are making to oppose the carrying-out of the new regulation of prostitution in New York City. It is a distinct advantage that women can become lawyers in America, and Miss Bertha Rembaugh, who is the lawyer in charge of the opposition, has scored her first success in stopping the enforcement of the law (which provides for the compulsory medical examination and detention of prostitutes, while leaving men prostitutes to contaminate the family and to continue the demand which creates the supply). The decision was made by a judge in the Supreme Court, not on the principle, but on a technical point. Meanwhile Dr. Prince Morrow, one of the greatest living medical authorities, is fighting a large body of his own colleagues on this question. We hope public opinion is sufficiently awake in America to overcome political corruption, even without the vote. But think of the cruel handicap! How long? How long?

Frenchwomen as Electors and Councillors.

Frenchwomen are likely very soon to obtain both the vote and eligibility for Municipal and Departmental Councils. A Bill has been introduced, and as such a measure was recommended by a Special Commission, and has the support of 200 Deputies, it is likely to become law soon. All adult women would be enfranchised, and marriage would be no disqualification. A peculiarly interesting point is that these Councillors elect the Senate. When women are admitted to vote for the Upper House, they will surely soon be voting for Deputies.

Facts and Fancies.

In East Fife, on the 7th, Mr. Asquith was asked: "Is it not a fact that 80 per cent. of the women enfranchised by the Conciliation Bill would be working-women?" He replied: "I don't think it is." But it isn't what Mr. Asquith thinks, it is what is fact, and he really should be made to give some reason for disbelieving figures so carefully collated as these. Mr. Charles Booth is not the man to draw upon his imagination like an excited politician.

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

Now that the whole country is being torn by Party strife, and deluged with Party bitterness, we rejoice more than ever in our

COMMON CAUSE,

which knows no party, no class, no sect—no sex even, for all men and women who love justice unite in their efforts to further it.

Our demand is that SEX SHOULD NOT, like the prison or the lunatic asylum,

DISQUALIFY

a person from voting in Parliamentary elections, and we ask what arguments have ever been used for

GIVING VOTES TO MEN

which cannot with equal force be used for giving votes to women?

In 1861 JOHN STUART MILL pleaded for the enfranchisement of the working men (who did not get their votes till 1867), and he said that the men in the House of Commons wished to do their best for the working men, but they could not see

THROUGH WORKING MEN'S EYES.

You have only to put WOMEN FOR WORKING-MEN, and our case is stated. He instanced the fact that whenever there was a strike every man in the House of Commons took for granted that the men were entirely in the wrong and the employers in the right. For, he said, the M.P.s represented

ONLY THE EMPLOYERS.

That was in 1861. Compare it with to-day, when the Home Secretary sends messages of sympathy to the strikers, and the House of Commons is in a ferment through the zeal of many of their defenders.

Who will deny that this is because the working-men now have votes?

But women do not suffer through their lack of representation, we are told. They are, indeed, the

"SPOILT DARLINGS OF THE LAW."

For instance—

"A WOMAN CAN RECOVER DAMAGES FOR SLANDER OF A KIND FOR WHICH A MAN WOULD HAVE NO RIGHT OF ACTION."—*Anti-Suffrage Leaflet No. 13.*

We know to what kind of slander they refer. But we see a different bearing in this apparent privilege. What is it but another instance of the double standard of morality established in our laws, which undermines the moral life of the nation? The implication of the law obviously is that an imputation of immorality is no serious disadvantage to a man, whilst to a woman it is ruin. So it will be so long as the law of divorce condones in a man what it makes

punishable in a woman—and the law of solicitation singles out the woman only for condemnation.

Women are working towards the day when

AN EQUAL STANDARD

of morality will reform our law of divorce, and at the same time our law of libel.

Strange, indeed, must be the point of view of the man or woman who finds a

"MAN-MADE SHELTER"

for women here.

Another instance:—

"IF A WIFE COMMITS A CIVIL WRONG, SUCH AS A TRESPASS, LIBEL, OR ASSAULT, HER HUSBAND IS LIABLE IN DAMAGES TO THE PERSON SHE HAS INJURED." *Ibid.*

Where is the privilege of the woman there? For she is not exempt—SHE IS LIABLE TOO. It is not much satisfaction to involve another person, with yourself, in your disgrace.

Moreover, the wife has to endure the insult of being regarded as a chattel of her husband, for whose actions he is responsible, as he is responsible for his

DOG WHO BITES

or his horse who kicks.

No; this, like so many other of the "privileges" conceded by men to women, is a relic of the time when a woman was supposed to have no separate existence from her husband—

TO BE OWNED BY HIM, BODY AND SOUL.

Slowly and painfully she has been working her way to ordinary human rights, and those who try to bar the way point to the marks of the chains still left about her, and call them privileges.

Women want no masters, and they ask for

NO WHIPPING-BOYS.

Let us have no more of these unasked and insulting "privileges," but the full responsibilities, rights, and duties of other grown, sane human beings.

THE WEEK'S STORY.

From an Eton boy's diary, in the holidays: "August 5.—Came down to breakfast at half-past eight, and talked to mother about things she could understand."

THE WEEK'S MOTTO.

"Of equality—as if it harmed me giving others the same chances and rights as myself,

As if it were not essential to my own rights that others possess the same."

WALT WHITMAN.

ALL BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS should be addressed to The Manager, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester.

ADVERTISEMENTS should reach the office by first post on Tuesday. LONDON AGENT.—Communications referring to advertisements may now be addressed to our London agent, Mrs. H. A. Evans, 10, Adelphi Terrace, London, W.C. Friends in London desirous of helping to get advertisements will kindly communicate with her.

THE PAPER WILL BE POSTED to any address in Britain or abroad for the following prepaid payments:—

Table with 2 columns: Duration (3 MONTHS, 6 MONTHS, 12 MONTHS) and Price (1 9, 3 3, 6 6).

LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS should be addressed to the Editor, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester, accompanied by a stamped envelope addressed if it is desired that they should be returned. The Editor accepts no responsibility, however, for matter which is offered unsolicited.

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

NOTICE.—This paper should be obtainable at newsagents and bookstalls by mid-day on Thursday. If people have any difficulty in getting it locally they should write to the Manager, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester, giving the name and address of the newsagent or bookstall from which they wish to be supplied.

Contents.

Table listing contents with page numbers: Cartoon (585), News of the Week (585), The A. B. C. of Women's Suffrage (587), Illusion and Experience (588), A Protest Against Protests (589), Points to be Remembered (589), Mr. Lloyd George's Present Position (590), National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (591), Treasurer's Notes (591), London Society (591), Work in the Constituencies (592), New Members who Voted for the Conciliation Bill (594), Federation Notes (595), International Women's Franchise Club (596), Reviews (596), Verse: Liberal Women to Liberal Agents (597), On Chalking (597), Correspondence (598), Reports of Societies (601), Forthcoming Meetings (603).

Illusion and Experience.

Then, welcome each rebuff That turns earth's smoothness rough, Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand, but go! Be our joys three parts pain! Strive, and hold cheap the strain; Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the throe!

After a recent meeting, during which the speaker had been pointing out women's need of representation, a fluffy, bright-eyed young girl came up to her and said, "But don't you think Englishmen are ideally just?" It struck the older woman as a pathetic example of the fool's paradise in which many girls are still reared, and though of course this is an extreme instance, those who are searching the causes for recent unsuccessful candidatures will recognize that there is just a trace of this same pathetic illusion in such forlorn adventures. Women will never be just to men and men will never be just to women until they cease to idealize each other; and these candidatures were based on a faith in the average voter's altruism which can have had no justification in experience.

Voters are all men. Scarcely one man in a thousand will put women's interests first, even once in a lifetime. If men were prepared to do so, we should either have got the vote long ago, or (on the assumption that men combined perfect wisdom with perfect justice) we should not even need the vote, since men would know all and do all that was necessary for our good. This is the Anti-Suffragist's view of men, as something super-human in wisdom and

goodness. It is not fair to men, for it is apt to make us unfair to the mere man of flesh and blood when we meet him. The vast majority of men will not put women first. They put themselves first. How shall we meet their requirements?

The idea of our policy is to run candidates against Anti-Suffragists where we have a good chance of doing so effectively. What are the conditions necessary for such effective candidatures?

We must premise our investigation with this obvious (but, unhappily, not unnecessary) warning. A candidature is not propaganda. It is true that, by entering the electoral field, we enter a scene of far greater publicity, but we also challenge a quite different judgment. It is not by reason or justice or high-mindedness we shall be judged; it is by the measure of our failure or success in doing what we set out to do, and in an election we set out to get votes. To say, or think, at an election, that we may not get a hundred votes; to fight a battle, hopeless from the start, is a mistake. It may advertize, but it advertizes failure. No one will believe that we went into the contest anticipating defeat, and all we show is what looks like a ludicrous underestimate of forces. Some say, "It is a demonstration"? But a demonstration of what? As long as our demonstrations are those of reason and justice, they are good in proportion to their greatness and they are very great. When we come to a trying of the forces of interest, how can women without the vote dream that their interests will prevail?

Is the idea of running Suffragist candidates a wholly impracticable one then? We believe not. But we think that the conditions under which they can be run should be very carefully studied. It is not so much the waste of money and effort that we deplore, though this is considerable; Suffragists have learnt not to count the cost. It is that every failure does harm.

Our policy should be, in a constituency where A is opposed and B not opposed to us, to run a candidate who will take more votes from A than from B; therefore our candidate C must be nearer A in general politics than he is to B. But, if he is too near, the average voter won't see the difference between the two and he will prefer the party man. Remember, the party man starts with an enormous pull. Remember, too, that if those who have promised to vote for C begin to suspect he has no chance of getting in, they will prefer to vote for one of the other two men and will fail us at the last.

Under no conditions will the policy of running C for the mere object of "splitting A's vote" succeed, and the only chance is to find a man who will satisfy the needs of a large body of men who are, for their own reasons, dissatisfied with both A and B. If A is a Liberal and B a Conservative, and if there is a large Socialist or Labour vote, it may be possible to run a Socialist or Labour candidate to win. It is conceivable that special religious interests might be unrepresented by either candidate, though this is not likely; or that one of them might be personally very unpopular; or, lastly, that if both were carpet-baggers, a man of very strong local influence might prevail.

But, when all of these conditions have been considered and met, there is one which we are convinced is absolutely indispensable. At the Council meeting it was strongly urged, but it was not observed in either of the two candidatures. Now we think there is not a Suffragist who will not have learned the lesson, that without long and careful preparation the venture is hopeless.

And when we say "preparation," we do not mean "propaganda" only. All new work must at first be propaganda, and many Societies have done excellent propaganda. But all who have experience know that, from having good meetings, passing resolutions, and even getting signatures to a petition, it is a very big step to having a strong and efficient local organization in election order. A signature to a petition represents a friend; it does not represent a man ready to throw away a vote. You must have a large nucleus of people prepared to devote themselves with energy to the task of running a candidate, and these people must be people who live and are known in the constituency. The voter is very sensitive

about "foreigners," and no matter how keen the election committee is and how distinguished its members, the voter doesn't care about it if it comes from "outside." It will very probably have in its inception to be organized from "outside," but unless it can be made strong locally the result is a foregone conclusion. If we can't get a nucleus to work, we shall not get a mass to vote.

It is essential never to forget the hold that party has on the average voter. It is such a tremendous force to be overcome; it is such a strain to put on a man that he should really think for himself in this matter, that it is obvious the work can not be done in a hurry. Moreover, it is essential to resist the temptation to fight for fighting's sake; to do a thing merely because it is a "sporting" thing to do. No real sportsman blazes away the whole of his ammunition in the air; he aims carefully and—he keeps his powder dry!

We recommend, then, where an opponent exists, that the Suffrage Society should approach him first and see if his objections can be removed. If he is absolutely obdurate or refuses all treaty, his party association should be approached, and meanwhile every possible elector should be worked upon to move in the matter. If failure greets these efforts, the work of propaganda must be much increased, and organization set on foot. A local organization must be steadily worked up and, until this becomes strong and shows some enthusiasm, it is not the faintest use proceeding to any further measures. But if the work is well done, if party rancour is not irritated, if speakers are moderate and persuasive and enthusiastic, and if workers will take the trouble to get to know the people and be sympathetic to their troubles and problems, a steady attachment grows, and as the men press our question themselves and are rebuffed, they make our cause their own, and get into the state of mind that prepares them to fight for it. When there are enough of them to desire that, it is time to choose a candidate and bring the personal element in. Meanwhile, if the workers have steadily refrained from empty threats, the work has been good all the time and may at any point proceed no further.

And now, one more word as to the ground of opposition. We are trying to learn from experience, and surely experience should teach us that, where Members of Parliament and even Cabinet Ministers cannot see the difference between different Bills, it is an impossible task to make the average ignorant voter understand the difference between the Conciliation Bill and a Bill "on the same terms as men." A man's patience in investigating women's affairs is strictly limited. He mostly "doesn't want to be bothered," and is almost certain to reply to our most lucid explanation, "'E sez 'e's in favour! 'Wot more d'yer want! Wimmin ain't never satisfied!" You may tell him about the bird in the hand, but he won't listen. What he wants is an excuse to vote for the man he wants to vote for, and he will accept, on your behalf, a pledge which he would reject with scorn and contumely if it were offered to him about one of his own requirements. That is how he is made—at present. That is what we are going to change—when we have got the vote. But we have not got the vote yet, and it is unwise to act as if we had.

A Protest Against Protests.

To the Editor of "The Common Cause."

Madam,—I see in last week's "Common Cause" letters from my friends, Mrs. Marshall, of Keswick, and Miss Chadwick, of Kensington, courteously but strenuously demanding that the National Union should make protests. Mrs. Marshall feels that the N.U. should protest against the outburst of militantism in November, and Miss Chadwick asks us to protest against the conduct of the Home Secretary and police on the same occasion.

May I say a few words in reply to both these letters? In November, 1908, and again in October, 1909, the National Union did make the most serious and formal protest against the use of physical violence as a means of

political propaganda. Being against violence, we are naturally against specific manifestations of violence, and I cannot think it would have been a symptom of strength for the N.U. to have suspended its business at the special Council meeting held on November 26th to reiterate that it holds the same views in 1910 which it held in 1909 and 1908. It may be quite desirable to make this reiteration in some localities, and this the National Union can with perfect confidence leave to the discretion of its various societies which are now spread all over the country.

The National Union as a whole is now known to be non-militant and non-party. We have passed resolutions which definitely express our convictions on the subject. We stand for moral force and not for physical violence. Perpetual protesting is, in my opinion, not only unnecessary, but would be a sign of weakness rather than of strength.

Miss Chadwick, on the other hand, wishes the National Union to protest against the conduct of the Home Secretary and the police in dealing with the deputation in November. If the National Union protested every time the Home Secretary was "caught out" in electioneering dodges, it would have little time for its own work. But Miss Chadwick complains not merely of "dodges," but of definite acts of illegality. If such actions can be substantiated, I feel most strongly that legal proceedings should be instituted against those who were guilty of them. But a decision upon this must necessarily be left to the initiative of those who have ample personal knowledge of the facts—that is, with those who took part in the deputation and suffered from the illegal acts complained of, and not with members of the National Union.

May I add a word in reply to Mr. Mabon's letter? I have never "threatened the Government." I have stated both in public and in private my conviction that on the question of Women's Suffrage, as on other political questions, Governments which will not listen to reason will have to listen to something less agreeable, to something "rougher and harsher." This is not to threaten, but to state what is almost universally recognised as a fact—namely, that reform long delayed provokes revolution.

I came across an aphorism of Hegel's in a book I was reading the other day: "Every man is right in what he affirms and wrong in what he denies." There is a profound truth in it. Let us affirm our own principles, and put our best strength into making them prevail.—Yours, etc.,

MILlicENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

Points to be Remembered.

THE REFERENDUM.

"They mean to have a referendum. . . . How are you to instruct them (the voters)? Who is to undertake the task? Who is to bear the expense? How long is it going to take? How are you going to the poll? . . . It simply means that you would be crushing democracy with a weight of gold. . . . That is not a method of extending justice; it is A COSTLY METHOD OF DENYING JUSTICE, and that is why we cannot assent to it. . . . Sympathy is essential to legislation, and SYMPATHY WITHOUT KNOWLEDGE is impossible." (Mr. Lloyd George, Edinburgh, 26th Nov.)

"The Referendum would mean government by plebiscite INSTEAD OF GOVERNMENT BY REPRESENTATION. He did not think there had ever been a case of a founding of foreign extraction picked up on a doorstep that had been clasped with greater avidity to the bosom of anybody than the Referendum had been by Mr. Balfour and his friends." (Lord Crewe, Devonport, Nov. 30th.)

"It is a wholly pointless retort to ask those who, like ourselves, object altogether to the importation of the Referendum into our Constitutional procedure, who believe it to be AN INADEQUATE AND DELUSIVE SUBSTITUTE for Parliamentary government, to ask us whether we will enter into a bargain. . . . On the whole, the Referendum has proved in practice a most disappointing and unsatisfactory way of ascertaining

public opinion. . . . a very small percentage of the electors will take the trouble to record their votes. . . . Once engraft the Referendum on our Constitution as part and parcel of its normal working machinery and you impair, and in time you will destroy, the whole sense of responsibility both of Ministers and of Members of the House of Commons, which is the salt and the salvation of our political life." (Mr. Asquith, Wolverhampton, Dec. 1st.)

"The whole operation of the Referendum would be ABSOLUTELY ONE-SIDED." (Mr. Churchill, Dundee, 2nd Dec.)

DEMOCRACY AND REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS.

"We believe in democracy, we believe also in representative institutions, and we BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY ACTING THROUGH REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS."

"Lord Lansdowne has been complaining of me." . . . (A man. "The women complain of you, too, you scoundrel!") The man was thrown out by the stewards with such violence that he sustained a compound fracture of the leg.) (Mr. Churchill, Bradford, 26th Nov.)

"The British people have reached a point in their history when they must be considered FULLY ENTITLED TO GOVERN THEMSELVES. The only way in which self-government can be exercised is through representative institutions. These institutions are doubtless no more perfect than other human devices, but they embody a distinct and undoubted advance both in principle and practice upon any other method of national consultation. We have pinned our faith to them for hundreds of years. We have taught the world to trust them. We have cast our colonies in their mould." (Mr. Churchill, Election Address.)

PRESSURE.

"I have had some experience of public affairs, and I cannot ever remember any measure taken by any except under pressure; for this reason, that there are so many COMPETING SUBJECTS of legislation that you cannot choose the one that is most available to deal with unless it is signalled to you by pressure." (Lord Rosebery, Manchester, Nov. 30th.)

THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE.

"We refused, we deliberately refused, and I think we rightly refused, to go on with an operation which used to be known by the name of 'PLOUGHING THE SANDS.'" . . . "They are always telling us we are afraid of the people." . . . (A man. "You are AFRAID OF THE WOMEN!") Uproar during which the man was forcibly ejected.) (Mr. Asquith, Hull, 25th Nov.)

"I am confident that the people of Scotland will not be led away from the single and clear issue at this election, namely, whether OF THE PEOPLE through their representatives shall prevail." (Mr. Asquith, Letter to the Glasgow "Daily Record.")

"The principle at issue in the present election is whether the future of democratic government is to be a REALITY OR A SHAM." (Mr. Asquith, Letter to the "South Wales Daily News.")

NOT WILLING TO WAIT.

"We want, as our friend said just now, FAIR PLAY for Liberal legislation. We want it HERE AND NOW. We are not willing to wait for it until after an indefinite quantity of time and of effort has been spent." (Mr. Asquith, Wolverhampton, Dec. 1st.)

"I am struck by the wording on the placards which I see before me. I can give you no better watchword, 'To avoid disappointment, do it now.'" (Mr. Churchill, Dundee, 2nd Dec.)

GHASTLY INSECURITY.

"The bane of labour in this country is insecurity. It is not merely wages being too low, or hours too many. The real bane, applying both to the great industrial regions like this and the quieter regions where I live, is

THE GHASTLY INSECURITY OF THE HOME." (Lord Morley, Darwen, Dec. 1st.)

THE STATESMAN.

"The statesman should be a man who takes great care not to make one jot or tittle MORE OF DISTURBANCE THAN IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY in the great institutions of the country to meet the problem that circumstances force upon him." (Lord Morley, Darwen, Dec. 1st.)

FAIR PLAY.

"My business, my aim, is to defend the wronged, wherever they are. . . . There is one way of setting class against class, and that is by doing injustice to one class. What is the most effective way of irritating class feeling. The best cement for classes is FAIR PLAY ALL ROUND." (Mr. Lloyd George, Radnorshire, Nov 30th.)

"'Privilege,' says John Bright, 'everywhere tends to BIGOTED IGNORANCE AND ARROGANCE AND SELFISHNESS. In the House of Commons, coming from the people, there is always a growing sense that liberty and justice are necessary for a free people.'" (Mr. Asquith, Wolverhampton, 1st Dec.)

Mr. Lloyd George's Present Position.

In the Penrhyn Hall, Bangor, on the 9th, Mr. Lloyd George answered questions, and we quote the following report from the "Liverpool Daily Post":—

Since I arrived I have received a formidable bundle of questions, and I will answer them at random. The first is: "In view of the fact that the Conciliation Committee have undertaken to reintroduce their Bill in such a form as to admit of amendment, will you vote for such Bill, and do all in your power to secure its passage into law?" Well, that depends. (Laughter.) I will vote for no Bill that is not a democratic Bill. I will do exactly what I said I would on the second reading. I said then that if the Bill were introduced in a form that would enable one in Committee to move democratic amendments I would vote for the second reading, but whether I would vote for the third reading depends entirely on what the Bill is. I will not vote for a Bill for the extension of the Suffrage unless it is a Bill which extends it on thoroughly democratic lines. I have already made it clear in the lengthy interview which I was privileged to have with my lady friends in the Carnarvon Boroughs why in my judgment this Bill is not a democratic measure. I am still unconvinced, and I tell you that no amount of bullying will put me out—(cheers)—or make me change my mind one iota. If I knew there were 3,000 Suffragists in this constituency who would vote against me to-morrow I would still stick to my guns. (Cheers.) I will vote for the extension of the franchise to women provided the Bill is on democratic lines, but I will not vote for a Bill which simply gerrymanders and rigs the register in such a way as to give an undue proportion of votes to one section or another. In my judgment this Bill does that. I have looked at it again and again, have looked at it fifty times, and I am still of the same opinion. I need hardly tell you that the silly campaign which is conducted by persons who really are doing far more harm to the cause than good will certainly not alter my mind. May I say this to my friends of the Women Suffrage movement—I am not talking to the wild and foolhardy ones, who constitute a very small and despicable minority of those committed to the movement, but to the sane ones amongst them,—the first thing they have got to do is to educate the country. They have not done that. They really have not done it. I have seen a great deal of the country up and down, and these ladies are making a mistake which is common to all. Those who are extremely zealous in any great cause through living in their own little sphere come to the conclusion that because they have done some silly little deeds which they brag about amongst themselves, that as they are talking about themselves and their achievements all the world is talking about them, too. (Cheers.) There have been two Women's Suffrage

candidates in this campaign, and the highest got thirty-five votes and the second twenty-two votes. That shows that they are trying to force upon an unwilling electorate by doubtful means something which the country is not ripe for. Instead of bullying the Liberal leaders and alienating their sympathy, instead of hardening those at present opposed to them, and instead of insulting those who are doubtful and driving them into opposition, as I

know they have done, let them first of all educate the electorate, and then there may be a chance of carrying it. My own opinion is that they would have carried it in the last Parliament except for these foolish tactics. I stand by these opinions, and I will not budge. At any rate, I am not going to be bullied out of my opinions because a number of women are excessively offensive. (Loud cheers.)

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

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

Hon. Secretaries: MISS EDITH DIMOCK. MISS BERTHA MASON (Parliamentary). Telegrams: "Voceless, London."

President: MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Hon. Treasurer: MISS BERTHA MASON (Pro Tem.).

Secretary: MISS T. G. WHITEHEAD, M.A.

Telephone: 1960 Victoria.

Treasurer's Notes.

We have received from Miss Mason a further list of subscriptions to the Election Campaign Fund, bringing the amount up to £1,514. We are sorry that we are obliged to hold it over this week, but we hope to publish it shortly.

Amongst donations is a stamp-album, value £2, from Miss Blake, of Leatherhead. Miss Mason suggests that this would make a good Christmas present. It can be seen at the National Union Offices.

London Society.

EAST ST. PANCRAS.

In regard to East St. Pancras, the following facts will be of interest:—

(a) The choice of the Division.—It may reasonably be inquired whether a Division more favourable to our chances might have been selected. This matter has received careful and detailed consideration since the decision of the Council to run Suffrage candidates was first made. Happily the large majority of London seats were unsuitable owing to the satisfactory action of the sitting members in regard to the Conciliation Bill. Of those remaining in July, two were abandoned owing to very doubtful friends declaring themselves on the right side in the division on the Bill in that month. On the eve of the general election there remained three possible places to contest. In one we learnt that the sitting member possessed an exceptional share of personal popularity; the second (a Government seat) lay just outside our area, and the communications were so bad that it would have taken our workers about two hours to reach it. The third was East St. Pancras. This we knew from the first offered a poor chance of a large poll, but was in nearly all other ways, as the event proved, admirably suited to our purpose of getting opponents or doubtful friends pledged, and electors taught that the Woman Suffrage question demands a practical and immediate settlement.

(b) Will the work there be wasted?—Already several influential male supporters and one woman guardian in the district have been to Miss Strachey specially to express their opinion of the immense good done. It is also being arranged to continue and build upon the foundations laid.

(c) About candidate-running in general.—This is not the place for any discussion of N.U. policy. It is, however, interesting that one of our staunchest East St. Pancras supporters, a voter in the division, has offered to come and help us whenever we run the next! And the candidate himself has, I understand, declared his undaunted adherence to the principle!

(d) Are small polls of any use?—Let us look at Glasgow's majority of 26, Mile End 2, Exeter and Gloucester 4, West Bromwich 5, West St. Pancras 8, and several others well under 50.

(e) Should we have withdrawn?—To the workers on the spot there seemed only one answer to this. Local circumstances, which cannot here be stated, made the choice one between peace without honour or a fight.

A. H. WARD.

AN INDEPENDENT WITNESS.

We have seen a most interesting letter from a woman who worked strenuously for Mr. Jacobs in East St. Pancras. She disapproved of the policy in general, and of this particular application of it, but she did her utmost to prove her keeness for the Suffrage. She says the good-fellowship and the extraordinary variety of women brought together by the common cause were most remarkable, and so was "the way Miss Strachey turned everybody round her little finger." She says she has worked at every election for the last twenty

years, and had "never met with better organisation and less waste of time and energy."

Correction.—We regret that the following printer's errors occurred in the East St. Pancras report last week. The two ladies whose admirable work was referred to were not as stated, but Miss Rinder and Mrs. Rogers. Both Mr. and Mrs. Rogers were indefatigable throughout the election.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The annual meeting, which had been postponed owing to Suffrage week, was held on Dec. 8th at Caxton Hall, Lady Frances Balfour in the chair. After the formal business had been despatched, Mrs. Fawcett reviewed the political situation. She admitted the disappointment felt at our small poll in East St. Pancras, but dealt at length with the many encouraging features of the campaign there, laying special emphasis upon the fact that our presence has resulted in securing strong pledges in favour of Women's Suffrage from both the new member and the defeated candidate. Mrs. Fawcett further dwelt upon the general election at large, and expressed her opinion that the results had, on the whole, been most satisfactory from our point of view. She proceeded to propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Jacobs for his gallant fight, and to the Men's League, and the N.U. Societies outside London, who had so generously sent some of their best workers to his support. This was carried with acclamation. Miss Bompas then gave a detailed statement of all the work done in regard to Mr. Jacobs' candidature, showing that the extremely unsatisfactory attitude of the official Liberal candidate made it incumbent upon Mr. Jacobs to fight to a finish. She further showed how remarkably our presence in the contest had influenced the division, as not only both official candidates, but also the large majority of the ordinary electorate with whom we came in contact, vied with each other to profess strong Suffrage principles.

Lady Frances Balfour then made a speech, in which she spoke with great earnestness of the unity of purpose, the comradeship, and the undaunted courage of Suffragists, whether in defeat or victory. She caused some amusement by adding that the political parties would vie with each other to secure at any price the services of our agent.

Much regret was expressed that Miss McKee, who has so long acted as treasurer, was resigning her post, but great satisfaction is felt that she has consented to remain upon the committee, and that the Hon. Mrs. Spencer Graves is most kindly taking up the duties of the treasurership.

A collection was made for general expenses. The following were elected members of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year:—Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., Miss Emily Davies, LL.D., Miss Palliser, Miss Clementina Black, Miss Cicely Corbett, Miss Ethel A. Bompas, Miss H. D. Cockle, Mrs. Theodore Williams, Miss Helen Ward, Miss Dimock, Miss Lowndes, Miss Janet Thomson, Mrs. Stanton Coit, Miss E. C. McKee, Miss Emily Hill, Mrs. Spring Rice, Mrs. Broadley Reid, and Mrs. Frederick Maitland.

Camlachie Division of Glasgow.

The poll was taken on Thursday, December 8th, and resulted in the following figures:—

H. J. Mackinder (U.)	3,479
J. M. Hogge (L.)	3,453
J. O'C. Kessack (Lab.)	1,439
W. J. Mirrlees (W. Suff.)	35

Unionist majority 26
On all hands we hear good accounts of the fine fighting form of Mr. Mirrlees. He worked very hard, and always showed pluck and temper of the right sort. He is stated to have said he was satisfied with having drawn attention to the question without infringing the law, and said that his difficulty had been in getting electors to break party ties.

Work in the Constituencies.

Cardiff's New Member Favourable to Women's Suffrage.

Our activities have been manifold, although we did not take a very evident part in the election work. We sent questions to our candidates, to which Sir Clarendon Hyde (Lib.) answered by declaring himself opposed to Women's Suffrage, and Lord Ninian Stuart (Cons.) at first failed to answer. We therefore decided to exhibit all over the town large posters, in the colours, blazing forth the "Times" statement: "Woman Suffrage is an issue at this election." Later on, and too late for us to act upon it, came Lord Ninian Stuart's answer, to the effect that he favoured "the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men," and would oppose "any extension of the Parliamentary franchise to men which did not include women." Lord Ninian was returned on the 7th, and we shall look forward to his working for us in the House of Commons.

[Our readers will remember that it was in Cardiff that the Women's Liberal Association went on strike, and refused to work for Sir Clarendon Hyde. Out of the 800 members of the Association, only a very few, as individuals, gave any help.]

Plymouth.

The Three Towns and District branch held during the election campaign six meetings nightly in the six different districts of Plymouth. Questions were asked and answered, and much interest was shown. For the last two days before the poll we had the help of Miss M. P. Willcocks. She made a stirring appeal for Mr. Aneurin Williams, but very plainly showed our antagonism to Mr. Mallett because he will not consider Women's Suffrage.

We rejoice that Mr. Mallett will no longer be in the Government, but we sincerely regret the loss of our good friend, Mr. Aneurin Williams.

We do not claim to have affected the elections; but we know that Suffragists have gained ground perceptibly, and we are hoping for grand work after Christmas.

West Herts.

We began our campaign with a series of four drawing-room meetings in different parts of Bushey and Watford, and we got good audiences—from twenty to thirty—each time. On the 30th ult. we had a public meeting in Watford, which was well attended, and at which the election policy of the N.U.W.F.S.S. was explained. It was rather suddenly determined to support Mr. Micklem's candidature against Mr. Arnold Ward. It took some time to get Mr. Micklem's pledge worded in such a way that all members of the committee were satisfied; but it was all right in the end. Mr. Micklem is known as a Suffragist throughout the constituency, and we had 1,000 copies of the candidates' replies distributed. The agent gave us no opportunity for speaking at Mr. Micklem's meetings, and the weather was hopeless for out-door meetings. We had a stall in the market on Saturday and Tuesday, and distributed a great deal of literature.

On polling day we had a taxi-cab, beautifully decorated by members of the committee, and went through the constituency, distributing literature at all the polling booths. Our mottoes were very telling. On the back we had "Taxation without Representation is Tyranny. Give Justice to Women." Miss Kindon painted the mottoes on white linen. Miss Adams Clark made a laurel wreath to go round the top of the cab, and we had flags flying at both sides. We had much interesting talk in the country districts, and were well received everywhere. Unfortunately our candidate did not get in, though Mr. Ward's majority was much reduced.

Devonshire.

All Suffragists rejoiced that the candidate pledged to support our Bill was returned as the member for Exeter. Since the polling day in Exeter my time has been spent in interviewing candidates and endeavouring to win pledges from them. In the Ashburton Division both candidates are prepared to vote for a Women's Suffrage Bill. It is no easy task to get interviews with the candidates. The time is so short, they are called upon to receive so many deputations from voters (what a wonderful joy it will be when we have that claim on candidates), and the constituencies are so large and difficult to work, that they are often motoring half the night, so that it is difficult to catch them. But, on the whole, the candidates and their agents have been courteous and obliging, and I think we can say that Devonshire shows a very fair percentage of Suffrage candidates.

N. NORMA-SMITH.

East Cambs.

In preparation for the election in East Cambs., and to support the candidature of Sir Charles Rose, the Cambridge Society held a most successful public meeting at Ely on December 5th, when Mrs. Ramsey, of Cambridge, took the chair, and Mrs. Rackham and the Hon. Bertrand Russell also spoke.

The Cambridge Society also urged electors to support the following candidates:—Mr. Buckmaster (Borough), Hon. E. S. Montagu (West Cambs.), and Lord Robert Cecil (Wisbech).

Nottingham.

There are seven constituencies in Notts., and of those candidates who had any chance of success all had either voted for the Conciliation Bill or given satisfactory replies to our questions, except Mr. Starkey, Conservative member in the last two Parliaments for the Newark Division. He has shown himself an increasingly bitter opponent to the Women's Cause, whereas Mr. Burly Wallis, the Liberal candidate, not only mentioned Women's Suffrage in his address but has promised to support any Women's Suffrage Bill in all its stages. The Notts. Branch Committee, therefore, decided to concentrate all effort on this division, with the hope of at least reducing the previous majority of 870. Our members have done excellent work. Six villages were turned over to us with their canvass books, and open-air meetings were arranged in them all. Miss Dickson was sent to Newark with other helpers, including several Conservative members of our branch. The result, so far as propaganda work is concerned, has been beyond all possible hope. Three or four villages were almost clamouring for Suffrage meetings. In Newark, where we have had previously the greatest difficulty in arousing any Suffrage interest, they called for Miss Dickson when the poll was declared, and we feel confident that the hall we have taken for a Suffrage meeting will be packed. Miss Dickson and the Suffrage are talked about all over the constituency. Her work has been splendid, and we hear her praises everywhere. We had two Suffrage cars on polling day—one driven by Mrs. Manners, of Mansfield, and the other by Mrs. W. E. Dowson. In some villages the women crowded round after the meetings to beg us to come again. Our speakers have been Miss Dickson, Mrs. Manners, Miss Frettingham, Mrs. Douglas, Miss Pemberton, and Mrs. W. E. Dowson.

In Nottingham itself, on polling day, leaflets were given out and "Common Causes" sold at the polling stations. An advertisement cart went round for a week, explaining the Constitutional policy, and excited a good deal of comment.

Newcastle.

The Newcastle Society undertook an active campaign in Tynemouth in opposition to Mr. Herbert Craig (Lib.). He regained his seat, but his majority was considerably reduced.

Liverpool.

Liverpool Suffragists put in ten days' hard work before the election. Three committee-rooms were opened, and meetings were held during the dinner-hour and in the evening. At all of these we appealed to our audiences to ask questions at candidates' meetings, with the result that Women's Suffrage was kept well to the fore. A very unexpected incident occurred at an afternoon meeting in the Lord Street shop. At the close of a speech by Miss Eleanor Rathbone, a gentleman in the audience asked permission to say a few words in support of the resolution. He was, of course, allowed to do so, and at the end of the meeting revealed himself to us as the member for West Clare; he was passing through Liverpool on his way to Ireland and had strolled in casually, attracted by our posters and gay shop front.

On polling day we concentrated our efforts in the Exchange and Abercromby Divisions, where our friends, Mr. Muspratt and Mr. Bouring, were being opposed by strong Anti-Suffragists.

Rugby.

We have had a small shop during election week, and have given away leaflets in the streets and sold a certain number of "Common Causes" and other literature. We have also had two very good meetings in the Market Place, at which Miss Goldring (of Esher), Miss V. Cumming, B.Sc., and Mr. Henderson, M.A., were the principal speakers. Mrs. Green spoke in the Baptist Schoolroom, but the audience seemed to be already converted. In giving leaflets outside the candidates' meetings, and at the polling booths on Friday, we were very much struck with the change since last January. Hardly any papers were thrown down with contempt into the mud, while eleven months ago a large number were so treated. On polling day the tellers and others were evidently much impressed by the fact of our standing so many hours in the rain, and perceived that we were very much in earnest. To several of our workers much personal kindness was shown. Altogether the difference in tone between now and last January is immense.

Some weeks ago the Liberal candidate received a deputation from us most courteously and kindly, but would promise nothing, though he said he kept an open mind. This week Mr. Baird, the Conservative candidate (who is now our member), received us, and he has promised that he will not vote against us, as he did in July, though he cannot promise to vote for us. Lady Willoughby de Broke, president of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association (Warwickshire branch), had asked us to join in signing a petition to him. This joint petition was well signed, and was sent to him shortly before the election.

Wallasey and Wirral.

The Liberal candidate, Mr. Ashton, K.C., is in favour of the Conciliation Bill; he came to a meeting of our Society and clearly explained his position with regard to Women's Suffrage. The Conservative candidate, Mr. Gershom Stewart, voted against the Conciliation Bill, so we did all we could to help Mr. Ashton. We issued handbills urging the electors to vote against Mr. Stewart. We were able to give some help in canvassing for Mr. Ashton, and many of the Liberal women declared they would not have worked for him if he had not been in favour of the Conciliation Bill. Owing to the bad weather we only held two open-air meetings—one at Port Sunlight and one at Seacombe. Unfortunately, Mr. Stewart has again been returned.

Leeds.

For the five divisions of Leeds three Suffragist members have been returned, one who is lukewarm, and one noted opponent—i.e., Mr. Rowland Barran (Liberal, North Leeds),—but we note his majority has dropped from 1,600 to under 300. Mr. T. E. Harvey (Liberal, West Leeds) has supported our Bill, and we in return billed his constituency with posters, "Vote for Harvey and Women's Suffrage." Mr. O'Grady (Labour, East Leeds) is a firm friend and a member of the Conciliation Committee. His opponent, Alderman Clarke (Conservative) wrote us a most favourable answer, but, unfortunately, we received it so late in the week that our support of Mr. O'Grady had been settled. Mr. Middlebrook (Liberal, South Leeds) voted for the Bill, but signed the memorial to Mr. Asquith conditional upon the veto crisis permitting.

Hearing that a big Conservative meeting was being held in the Coliseum during the campaign, we wrote to Lord Selborne, who was taking the chair, and he brought Women's Suffrage into his speech, and alluded to it with marked emphasis as one of the important questions soon to be considered.

We were most fortunate in securing a splendid shop in one of the principal streets; the decorated window, with its red, white and green curtains, attracted a great deal of attention. There was a constant stream of passers-by, the majority of whom stopped to read our new posters on "Taxation" and "Justice." Two hundred of these were posted in the town, also a hundred "Who are the people?"—a response to the cry of "Peers v. People." Twenty thousand free leaflets were given away, and "Common Causes" to the number of 530 sold at candidates' meetings and in the streets. Our decorated waggonettes drove through the streets advertising the meetings, nearly all of which were held out of doors, and many resolutions were passed. Our members worked splendidly, and we also had the kind assistance of Mrs. Earp (Rotherham) and Mr. E. P. Holmes (York) in speaking at the meetings.

Darwen Division.

For the first time Darwen—which is the principal town in the division—has been troubled with the Suffragists, and as the people have not found out the difference between our methods and those of the militants they received us with suspicion. On the first night our meeting was both large and appreciative. We made it quite clear that we were supporting Mr. Hindle, the Liberal candidate, because he was a friend to the cause of Women's Suffrage in the last Parliament. The last night we visited the town was on the eve on the poll, when it was full of excitement.

At Bamber Bridge we were well received. Short speeches in favour of Mr. Hindle were delivered at the factories, and a crowded indoor meeting was held in the Liberal Club, where a schoolmaster declared that, although a Conservative in politics, he would vote for the Liberal candidate because of his attitude towards Women's Suffrage. Dinner-hour meetings were held and literature distributed in other parts of the division.

The most boisterous town we visited was Great Harwood. In spite of the fact that it had been announced that a meeting in the Town Square would be addressed by a member of the N.U., the large crowd who had assembled evidently thought we were militants (although we were supporting the Liberal candidate), and they refused to give us a hearing. The speaker had eventually to be escorted to the Liberal Club by two policemen.

Four dozen "Common Causes" were sold during our campaign. I was assisted in my work by Mr. Cooper.

SELINA COOPER.

Shrewsbury.

The questions as approved by the N.U. were sent to Sir Clement Hill—who had voted against the Conciliation Bill—on Tuesday, Nov. 29th, and as there appeared no prospect of a contest, we intended doing propaganda work only, although determining, by means of large posters, handbills, and meetings, to keep our question well to the fore. But on December 1st it was definitely announced that Mr. Pace—a well-known local builder—would contest the seat in the Liberal and Labour interest. A deputation immediately waited upon him, and before nightfall the questions were answered in the affirmative and Mr. Pace had given us assurances that he would speak on Women's Suffrage at his

meetings, and would also send out letters to the electors (his election address had been printed on the preceding day) explaining that he was a confirmed believer in our cause.

As no reply had come from Sir C. Hill, and as after three visits to his committee-room we failed to see him, we decided to support Mr. Pace. We had only Friday and Saturday in which to work, for our polling day was Monday, the 5th inst., and our band of workers was only a small one, since, as Shrewsbury is first and foremost a Conservative stronghold, many of our members did not wish to work for a Liberal. But we were in no wise dismayed. We had leaflets and cards printed in the familiar red, white, and green, urging the electors to vote for Mr. Pace because he stood for Women's Suffrage, and on Monday we manned all our eleven polling booths, where our devoted helpers stood all day in the pouring rain giving out handbills and cards.

Sir C. Hill's reply to the questions reached me late on Friday night. He "respectfully declined to give any pledge."

As a result of our standing loyally by our policy about ten members have resigned; but we have already secured five new ones, and it is confidently expected others will soon be enrolled.

Birmingham Society.

The Birmingham election being over, propaganda work was carried on in two districts in North Worcestershire—Selly Oak and Northfield. The open-air meetings to working-men were full of a pathetic interest, especially when the Suffrage question in its bearing on the great industrial problems was discussed. Life is hard for very many in Selly Oak.

At Northfield much interest was aroused by the "shop"; the members helped willingly, which left the workers free to do some house-to-house visiting, and a meeting is to be held in the Institute next week as a result.

Some help was sent to London, Rugby, and Coventry.

Bangor.

The letter sent by this Society to Mr. Lloyd George was neither answered nor acknowledged. At a public meeting in Bangor, however, he was questioned by a voter, and we print his answer on p. 590. Unsatisfactory as it is, it is well that Mr. George should not be allowed to pass over our question in complete silence in his own constituency.

Sheffield.

The Parliamentary candidates were canvassed with satisfactory results, nine out of ten giving favourable replies. The one Anti-Suffragist is, unfortunately, among the elected; his majority, however, was reduced by more than half. During the election the handbill, "Are Women Citizens?" issued by the N.U., has been enlarged to a handsome poster, printed in the colours, and exhibited in many places.

NEW MEMBERS FOR SHEFFIELD.

C. B. Stuart-Wortley (C.) (Hallam): Suffragist. Disapproves of militant tactics.

S. Roberts (C.) (Eccleall): Suffragist. Wife member of Executive C.U.W.F.A.

J. Tudor Walters (L.) (Brightside): Suffragist, active.

J. Pointer (Lab.) (Attercliffe): Universal Suffragist.

All four are pledged to vote for the Conciliation Bill or any other Bill on our lines. None definitely promise to ballot.

Fitzalan Hope (C.) (Central): Anti-Suffragist. Wife a vice-president of A.S.L.

Hull.

The Society actively opposed Sir Seymour King (Central Hull) by distributing bills with the Conciliation Bill printed on them and the words, "We appeal to the men of Hull to help the women by opposing Sir Seymour King, who voted against this Bill." Wheelbarrows, with the same words and Suffrage posters, paraded the town. During the Hull election campaign meetings were held daily during the dinner-hour and every morning. They were well attended, 600 being present at one meeting, and when Mrs. Mayer put the resolution for Women's Suffrage it was carried without a dissentient.

North of Scotland Federation.

The Inverness Burghs were in the unfortunate position that neither of the candidates was favourable. Mr. J. Annan Bryce's Anti-Liberal attitude to Women's Suffrage is well known. The Unionist candidate, Mr. Ford, promised, if returned to Parliament, neither to speak nor vote against a Women's Suffrage Bill, but pledged himself to support such a Bill only if brought forward by the Unionist Government—a promise which was of no practical use to us. Accordingly the Inverness Society got leaflets printed, and circulated at all Mr. Bryce's meetings, dealing with his Anti-Liberal and undemocratic attitude to our cause, and showing the absurdity and the very illogical nature of his arguments.

One of these leaflets was called "Mr. Bryce's Little Inconsistencies," and states, among other things:

"Mr. Bryce opposes the privileges of the Peers. He supports the privileges of his own sex.

Mr. Bryce opposes the claim of the Lords to interfere in finance. He supports taxation without representation in the case of women.

Mr. Bryce thinks women would vote more intelligently than men. He therefore thinks they should not vote.

Mr. Bryce calls himself a Temperance reformer. He refuses the aid of women, who are the most enthusiastic advocates of Temperance.

Mr. Bryce would like women to stay at home to keep alive the "flame of the ideal." He does not mind them coming out of their homes to canvass and work for himself.

It points out the majority of 110 for the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill, and ends, "The expressed will of the elected representatives of the people must prevail."

Another leaflet was distinctly witty, and adjured the Liberal electors not to lose their member, asking them:

"Do you realise that unless you educate Mr. Bryce to truer views, you are about to elect one who must shortly resign?"

Mr. Bryce has declared in the House of Commons that "no man who values his peace of mind will ever consent to sit in a House of Commons elected by female Suffrage."

The Prime Minister has promised facilities for a Woman's Suffrage Bill next Parliament. Such a measure will certainly be carried. Therefore Mr. Bryce must resign at an early date.

Mr. Bryce gives as his reasons—

1. Woman would be "a more intelligent voter than the average man."

2. "She is resolute to give effect to her determination in practice."

3. "Woman's moral mission is to keep burning the flame of the ideal in life."

Electors! Make Mr. Bryce realise the rights of women, and not let his modesty overcome his judgment."

The member for the Elgin Burghs, Mr. Sutherland, is our friend; and in Elgin a very successful and enthusiastic Suffrage meeting was held last week, at which Mrs. Hunter, president of the Inverness Society, gave a most interesting and impressive address on the present position of Women's Suffrage. The following resolution was unanimously passed: "That this meeting rejoices to know that Mr. Sutherland, member for the Elgin Burghs, supported the Conciliation Bill, and urges him to press the Government to grant facilities for the passing into law of a similar Bill next session."

Surrey, Sussex, and Hants. Federation.

The Redhill and Reigate Society circulated a most effective "Women's Address to the Electors," giving the reasons for their support of certain members, and reminding them that last January 3,315 electors of Reigate signed our petition. They appeal in the interest of social reform and the welfare of the nation, for home, country, and empire, for justice and fair-play.

North Hants.

Dr. Hillier (C.) declined to give any pledge. Mr. Greg (L.) wrote:—"I have stated in my election address that I am in favour of Women's Suffrage, which means that I would support a Bill for the Parliamentary enfranchisement of women, and I would press the Government to give opportunities for such a Bill to be passed into law. I would ballot for a Bill for Women's Suffrage on the lines of the Bill promoted by the Conciliation Committee, provided that it were so framed as to admit of amendment. Admirable as the Bill is in nearly all respects, it has, as it seems to me, one grave defect, it allows the creation of faggot votes in any quantity."

Penarth.

The Liberal candidate for South Glamorgan (Mr. Brace) has replied in the affirmative to questions two and three. Both candidates are therefore absolutely satisfactory, and the Society is doing propaganda work only. The Suffrage shop is a splendid advertisement for the Society. Miss Thompson, the literature secretary, has made the window most beautiful, and people seem to enjoy the afternoon teas provided.

Dundee.

Our brief election campaign, 25th November to 8th December inclusive, has been one of vigorous propaganda only. The difference of opinions among our five candidates, cutting across party, has made it impossible to work for or against any. Fourteen open-air meetings were held, at which the attention and enthusiasm of the audiences proved that the mass of Dundee men and women are on our side. At our big meeting in Gilfillan Hall on 5th December, Councillor Margaret Ashton and Miss Margaret Robertson aroused the crowd to an unwonted warmth of applause, and several new members were secured.

All the candidates and their agents were interviewed, the deputation from our Society to the Home Secretary being fully reported in "The Common Cause" of December 8th. During the campaign the local newspapers were carefully read, and letters written to the editors whenever comment from the Suffrage point of view seemed desirable. We suffer, in common with the whole National Union, from the slight attention paid to us by our press in comparison with that received by the more aggressive Societies.

An analysis of the municipal women voters roll, which we attempted, seems to prove once more how needless are the

fears of the Home Secretary as to the increase of the propertied vote under the Conciliation Bill. This analysis we hope soon to verify by an exhaustive personal canvass.

On polling day we staffed for some hours eight of the nine polling stations. The electors willingly took our literature, which was handed them on leaving the polling booths.

"Common Causes" sold fairly well during the campaign, one member disposing of eighty in one afternoon and evening. Much literature was distributed free, one new handbill being composed, two new ones compiled, and one reprinted (i.e., the open letter to the Home Secretary from "The Common Cause") specially for this election. At six meetings candidates were heckled either by women or by electors at question time. Altogether we feel confident that great progress has been made in the education of the electorate during the last fortnight.

Windsor.

As the Liberal candidate for Windsor, in opposition to J. F. Mason, Esq., a Conservative and Anti-Suffragist, had twice expressed himself in public as in favour of Women's Suffrage, the secretary interviewed him at his committee rooms. She found him quite willing to sign the third question in the form supplied by the London Society as a test to candidates. She laid the matter seriously before him, and told him that he would be expected to work for the Conciliation Bill or any Bill giving the vote to women on the same terms as men if he was successful. He signed at once.

At a committee meeting the next day it was decided that the Society should support him to the best of its power in the very short time available. 2,000 leaflets bearing upon the election policy of the Society were distributed, cars were decorated, and open house kept on the election day from eleven to six for the rest and refreshment of election workers. In addition, Mrs. Arnold Lupton worked vigorously all election day in calling on voters.

The Liberal candidate was defeated; he polled 1,170 votes and the Conservative 1,824.

As Mr. Fiennes was entirely unknown to the constituency a fortnight before the polling day, the Society hopes that its efforts, small though they necessarily were on this occasion, may have helped to render his defeat less crushing than it might have been.

Warwick and Leamington.

Members of the Warwick and Leamington Society were at the polling booths (eight in Leamington and two in Warwick) on election day to distribute literature and to sell "The Common Cause." Many of the workers who stood at the polling booths with the petition last election were recognised again and cordially greeted.

The Society before polling day sent deputations to both candidates, and the Conservative candidate—now the member—mentioned Women's Suffrage favourably at his largest public meeting.

Members of the New Parliament who voted for the Conciliation Bill

(Continued.)

Mr. C. Duncan (Lab.), *Barrow-in-Furness*.
Mr. J. Burns (L.), *Battersea*.
Mr. H. J. Glanville (L.), *Bermondsey*.
Mr. E. H. Pickersgill, *Bethnal Green, South West*.
Mr. S. J. G. Hoare (U.), *Chelsea*.
Mr. C. W. Bowerman (Lab.), *Deptford*.
Sir A. Spicer (L.), *Hackney, Central*. A member of the Conciliation Committee.
Mr. W. R. Greene (U.), *Hackney, North*.
Mr. H. Bottomley (L.), *Hackney, South*.
Mr. J. S. Fletcher (U.), *Hampstead*.
Mr. S. Collins (L.), *Kennington*.
Major Gastrell (U.), *Lambeth, North*.
Mr. J. Boyton (U.), *Marylebone, East*.
Mr. H. Carr-Gomm (L.), *Rotherhithe*.
Capt. Knight (U.), *Kidderminster*.
Mr. E. M. Pollock, K.C. (U.), *Warwick and Leamington*.
Mr. C. E. Price (L.), *Edinburgh, Central*.
Mr. J. A. Clyde, K.C. (U.), *Edinburgh, West*.
Mr. G. B. Esslemont (L.), *Aberdeen, South*.
Mr. N. Craig, K.C. (U.), *Ile of Thanet*.
Mr. J. S. Higham (L.), *Soverby*.
Mr. W. Redmond (N.), *Clare, East*.
Mr. Edward Shortt, K.C. (L.), *Newcastle-on-Tyne*.
Mr. Walter Hudson (Lab.), *Newcastle-on-Tyne*.
Mr. T. R. Ferens (L.), *Hull, East*.
Mr. J. Pointer (Lab.), *Sheffield, Attercliffe*.
Mr. J. T. Walters (L.), *Sheffield, Brightside*.
Mr. S. Roberts (U.), *Ecclesall*.
Mr. C. B. S. Wortley (U.), *Hallam*.
Mr. R. Yorburgh (U.), *Chester*.
Mr. E. Edwards (Lab.), *Hanley*.

Federation Notes.

Scottish.

On Wednesday, 23rd November, a large and enthusiastic audience, numbering thousands, assembled in the St. Andrew's Halls, Glasgow's largest hall, to hear Mrs. Fawcett, Miss Abadam, and Lord Lytton. This meeting was the culminating point of a campaign of some weeks' duration to forward the Conciliation Bill, and during the preceding week Miss Abadam had addressed a series of public and drawing-room meetings in the outlying districts of the town, and much interest had been aroused. The chair was taken by Sir Samuel Chisholm, one of Glasgow's most prominent citizens, and a former Lord Provost, and many representative Glasgow people were on the platform.

As this was the first meeting held in St. Andrew's Halls under the auspices of the Constitutional Societies we were naturally somewhat anxious as to the result, and very relieved we were on entering the hall to find the body packed and the sides of the gallery well filled.

Mrs. Fawcett, who as usual charmed her audience with her calm statesmanlike reasoning, moved the following resolution: "That this meeting protests against the action of the Government in refusing facilities for the Conciliation Committee's Bill, which passed its second reading in the House by a majority of 110 votes, and calls upon the Government to give a pledge that if returned to power they will give facilities for, and pass into law in the first session, a Women's Suffrage Bill."

This was seconded by Miss Abadam, who wound up a most racy and entertaining speech by an appeal for funds, resulting in a response of about £125.

Lord Lytton, who spoke to the resolution, gave a short, interesting account of the formation of the Conciliation Committee.

A vote of thanks, proposed by Colonel Denny, president of the Glasgow Association, brought a most successful meeting to a close.

About 600 "Common Causes" were sold, as well as post-cards and other literature.

Surrey, Sussex, and Hants.

GODALMING CANVASS.

Correction.—We hear from Godalming that there were two canvasses—one of working women from house to house, and one of municipal and County Council voters among all classes. The total number of women canvassed was 1,108. Two hundred and eleven signatures were obtained to the petition from women municipal and County Council voters to Parliament for early facilities for the Conciliation Bill. Of the number of women requested to sign the petition 79 per cent. signed.

Manchester and District.

All but four of our forty constituencies have now polled, and thirty of the new members are friendly to the Suffrage cause. We know of five determined Anti-Suffragists, one who is an adultist of the type of Mr. Lloyd-George, and is not likely to give the vote to any women till men have it; there are also five whose views are uncertain.

The South Salford Association had a delightful dance last Saturday evening. Councillor Margaret Ashton and Miss Chamberlain received the guests, and among those who were present were Alderman Linsley, J.P., Mr. C. P. Scott, Rev. A. L. Bradbury, and a large number of members of the Salford Suffrage Association. The rooms were gay with flowers, and dancing was kept up vigorously from 6.30 to 10.30. Miss Darlington, whose splendid work in South Salford made our success in negotiating with the parties possible, was presented with a bouquet in the colours of the Union.

Work in Devonshire.

I happened to arrive in Newton Abbot the day before the Christmas market, which, I was told, was the busiest day in the year. All the country people for miles round flock into the town. It seemed a splendid opportunity for sending our message to all the farms and hamlets in this scattered country district. By means of a waggone, which was put in the Market Square at 12 o'clock with a placard fastened on to it, I advertised a meeting for 3.30.

Miss Allen, of Teignmouth, very kindly came at short notice and supported me. When we arrived in the Market Square a large and expectant crowd was waiting. We went rather in fear and trembling, as the only open-air Suffrage meeting that has been held in Newton Abbot was when Mrs. Pankhurst was thrown down by the crowd, her waggone run into the river, and the windows of her lodgings broken, and she herself had to be rescued by the police.

Miss Allen opened the meeting. The crowd at first was not inclined to be very friendly; but when they realised, after much telling, that we were not militant or against the Government, they were prepared to listen. The interruptions were so frequent, however, that a speech became impossible, and the meeting took the form of answers to innumerable questions.

The crowd grew in numbers till there were between 500 and 600 people. The questions showed a genuine interest, and

Mr. C. S. Goldman (U.), *Penryn and Falmouth*.
Mr. H. Lawson (U.), *Mile End*.
Mr. S. Buxton (L.), *Poplar*.
Mr. A. Strauss (U.), *Paddington, North*.
Mr. A. Lyttelton (U.), *St. George's, Hanover Square*.
Sir G. Pollard (L.), *Eccles*.
Mr. G. P. Collins (L.), *Greenock*.
Mr. S. Gwynn (N.), *Galway City*.
Sir J. Brigg (L.), *Keighley*.
Mr. J. G. Swift MacNeill (N.), *Donegal, South*.
Mr. W. Mitchell Thompson (U.), *Down, North*.
Mr. P. White (N.), *Meath, North*.
Mr. J. McKean (Ind. N.), *Monaghan, South*.
Mr. T. Scanlan (N.), *Sligo, North*.
Mr. G. N. Barnes (Lab.), *Glasgow, Blackfriars*.
Mr. C. Scott Dickson, K.C. (U.), *Glasgow, Central*.
Mr. H. A. Watt (L.), *Glasgow, Colley*.
Mr. T. McKinnon Wood (L.), *Glasgow, St. Rollox*.
Mr. A. C. Corbett (L.), *Glasgow, Tradeston*.
Mr. L. Haslam (L.), *Monmouth Boroughs*.
Mr. C. A. McGurdy (L.), *Northampton*.
Mr. J. Samuel (L.), *Stockton-on-Tees*.
Mr. W. T. Wilson (Lab.), *Wasthoughton*.
Mr. C. P. Trevelyan (L.), *Elland*.
Mr. J. W. Taylor (Lab.), *Durham, Chester-le-Street*.
Mr. J. Wilson (L.), *Durham, Mid*.
Sir J. H. Roberts (L.), *Denbighshire, West*.
Mr. J. G. Weir (L.), *Ross and Cromarty*.
Mr. A. Lynch (N.), *Clare, West*. A member of the Conciliation Committee.
Mr. W. O'Malley (N.), *Galway, Connemara*.
Mr. R. Hazleton (N.), *Galway, North*.
Mr. W. L. C. Walrod (U.), *Devonshire, Tiverton*.
Mr. G. J. Bentham (L.), *Gainsborough*. A member of the Conciliation Committee.
Mr. Noel Buxton (L.), *Norfolk, North*. A member of the Conciliation Committee.
Sir J. E. Barlow (L.), *Frome*.
Mr. G. Terrell (U.), *Chippingham*.
Mr. M. Joyce (N.), *Limerick City*.
Sir F. Cawley (L.), *Prestwich*.
Mr. H. Nuttall (L.), *Stretford*.
Mr. J. R. P. Newman (U.), *Enfield*.
Mr. W. Ormsby-Gore (U.), *Denbigh Boroughs*.
Mr. W. W. Summers (L.), *Flint Boroughs*.
Mr. Edgar Jones (L.), *Merthyr Tydfil*.
Mr. Keir Hardie (Lab.), *Merthyr Tydfil*. A member of the Conciliation Committee.
Mr. N. W. Helme (L.), *Lancaster*.
Mr. G. Palmer (L.), *Ja-roo*.
Sir J. Rankin (U.), *Hertfordshire, North*.
Mr. W. L. Boyle (U.), *Norfolk, Mid*.
Sir E. Gray (L.), *Berwick*.
Mr. S. Robinson (L.), *Ereknockshire*.
Mr. J. Devlin (N.), *Belfast, West*.
Mr. R. Hazleton (N.), *Louth, North*.
Mr. S. Walsh (Lab.), *Ince*.
Mr. E. S. Montagu (L.), *Cambridgeshire, West*.
Mr. J. G. Hancock (Lab.), *Derbyshire, Mid*.
Col. E. H. Carlile (U.), *St. Albans (Hertfordshire)*.
Mr. F. M'Laren (L.), *Spalding*.
Sir G. White (L.), *Norfolk, North-West*. A member of the Conciliation Committee.
Capt. R. Peel (U.), *Woodbridge*.
Mr. L. Sanderson, K.C. (U.), *Appleby*.
Mr. J. Wilson (L.), *Worcestershire, North*.
Mr. A. Thomas, K.C. (L.), *Carmarthenshire, East*.
Mr. W. Roch (L.), *Pembrokeshire*. A member of the Conciliation Committee.
Mr. A. R. Rainy (L.), *Kilmarnock Burghs*.
Mr. A. Ure, K.C. (L.), *Livlithgowshire*.
Mr. H. A. Law (N.), *Donegal, West*. A member of the Conciliation Committee.
Mr. T. C. Taylor (L.), *Radcliffe-cum-Farnworth*.
Mr. F. Ogden (L.), *Pudsey*.
Sir T. Whittaker (L.), *Spenn Valley*.
Capt. J. Craig (U.), *Down, East*.
Mr. J. Hodges (Lab.), *Gorton*. A member of the Conciliation Committee.
Major D. White (U.), *Southport*.
Mr. P. Alden (L.), *Tottenham*. A member of the Conciliation Committee.
Mr. A. B. Markham (L.), *Mansfield*.
Mr. W. S. B. M'Laren (L.), *Crewe*. A member of the Conciliation Committee.
Mr. W. E. Harvey (Lab.), *Derbyshire, North-East*.
Sir J. Simon, K.C. (L.), *Walthamstow*.
Major Ratcliff (U.), *Burton*.
Mr. C. Leach (L.), *Colne Valley*.

The following members of the New Parliament are also known to be in favour of Women's Suffrage.—Mr. D. M. Mason (L., Coventry); Lord Wolmer (U., Newton); and Mr. J. C. R. Lardner (N., Monaghan, North), a member of the Conciliation Committee.

(This list only gives the names of those who polled on December 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 12.)

a real desire to understand. The audience grew more and more friendly, until finally they asked for another meeting at night—which I promised to give, but, unfortunately, the torrents of rain which came cleared the streets. We parted in a friendly spirit, and I look forward to having more meetings in Newton Abbot a little later.

M. NORMA-SMITH.

Testimonial to Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy.

The Testimonial Fund to Mrs. Elmy, of which Mrs. Martindale, Horsted Keynes, Sussex, has been hon. treasurer, amounted to a total of £506. The presentation was made on December 1st. Mrs. Elmy takes this opportunity of tendering her warmest thanks to the many subscribers, whose number renders individual personal acknowledgment impossible.

International Women's Franchise Club.

The International Women's Franchise Club was founded at the end of 1909 to provide a meeting place where Suffragists of all shades of opinion, without distinction of sex, nationality, party, or religion, could meet in social intercourse.

The Club has met with a cordial reception from Suffragists of all countries, and although it has existed barely a year, its membership exceeds 800, and contains representatives of seven nationalities.

The Club, which has entirely outgrown its original premises, has acquired a new clubhouse at No. 9, Grafton Street, London, W., which is now being altered, and will, it is hoped, when completed, be found in every way suitable for its purpose.

The new house will be open for the use of members before Christmas, but the formal opening will not take place until January, 1911.

It is intended to hold frequent lectures and receptions, at which there will be opportunities of hearing the leaders of the Suffrage movement in other countries, and of welcoming workers in the cause from other lands. Literature of all kinds bearing upon the Suffrage movement will be obtainable at the Club, and it is intended shortly to form a Suffrage Library and Information Bureau.

The subscription has been fixed at one guinea per annum, with an entrance fee of one guinea on and after January 1st, 1911. A reduced subscription of 10s. 6d. may be paid by



NEW FÊTE BLOUSE (as sketch), an entirely new idea, in best quality nixon, with wide ribbon of contrasting colour underneath, round the figure and over the shoulders, finished with black ribbon velvet, and lace vest and collar. In black, white, and all shades.

21/9

Debenham & Freebody.

Wigmore Street (Cavendish Square), London, W.

members resident abroad. Foreign or Colonial members may pay a subscription of 5s. for a period not exceeding two months.

The Club has been formed as a Company, limited by guarantee, and the condition of membership is that no member incurs any liability beyond the subscription and entrance fee and a sum not exceeding £1 in the event of the winding-up of the Club during the time that he or she is a member, or within one year afterwards.

All information may be had of the secretary, Miss Gray Hill, 75, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

Devonport Town Council.

On Thursday, December 8th, the Devonport Town Council passed a resolution in favour of Women's Suffrage. The resolution ran as follows:—

"Resolved that this Council request whichever Government may be returned to power to grant facilities for bringing in a Bill for the enfranchisement of women on the same qualifications as men, and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Prime Minister."

Devonport is the first Council in the West to pass a resolution in favour of Women's Suffrage.

Hull City Council.

Mrs. Merivale Mayer, on behalf of the Hull Society, has submitted a resolution in favour of Women's Suffrage to the City Council. The Mayor has promised that it shall come up for discussion at the next meeting of the Council.

Reviews.

THE ENGLISHWOMAN.

The December number is very interesting. It reprints Lord Lytton's admirable letter to Mr. Asquith. An article by Mrs. Steel on the "Cromer-Curzon Combine" is full of witty presentations of cogent argument. Mr. Coote writes on the International Congress for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic; and there is an article on Women's Lodgings and the Woman Worker. Mr. Cholmeley writes truly of the need of "bringing the father into the home." There must be many men with the same experience as he of the curious fact that the legal parent is the one who most frequently washes his hands of parental responsibility. More literary articles are on "Olympe de Gouges," "George Sand and Music," and reviews of books and the theatre.

A Suffrage Calendar.—The London Society has issued an attractive Suffrage Calendar for 1911. The size of it is 10in. by 6in., and it consists of an outside cover in pale green, with the figure of a woman holding a lamp, under whom are the words, "More Light, More Power." The inside consists of four sheets, with quotations for each month. The quotations are very varied, as will be seen by quoting some of the names—Shelley, Abraham Lincoln, G. B. Shaw, Plato, J. S. Mill. The Calendar may be had on application to the London Society, 58, Victoria Street, S.W.

THE EMANCIPATION OF ENGLISH WOMEN, by W. Lyon Blease. (Constable. 6s. net.)

It has been said that the appearance of the lawyer on the scene of a revolution marks the point at which the work of pulling down is ending, the work of building up beginning. For the lawyer is not the man to storm inaccessible heights; he is the man to see how they may be used when captured. For this reason we welcome Mr. Lyon Blease's book as a sign that our movement is approaching the constructive stage.

"The Emancipation of English Women" pleads the case of woman's freedom from the bar of reason. It is this fact which gives the book its special value, for if our cause is not based on justice, on equity, on righteousness, it is valueless and doomed to failure. Hence the most helpful statement of it is inspired by logic, not by emotion. For this reason John Stuart Mill's "Subjection of Women" still remains the basis of our structure of thought. For a great cause needs martyrs, organizers, prophets, thinkers, and fanatics, but the greatest of these is the thinker: his work stands four-square to the winds of heaven when all the passions have died down into peace.

"The Emancipation of English Women" falls into three divisions. The first gives a vivid picture of the dreariness of women's lives at the end of the seventeenth century. They were creatures, the only *raison d'être* of whose existence was sex. They were kept ignorant, cowardly, and petty, lest they should strive to escape from the prison of their existence. And the education of the eighteenth century deliberately aimed at making them nothing but agreeable toys, dependent on a man's whims for their very existence. It was an abyss of helpless, pitiful ignorance, out of which we have been struggling for the last two hundred years.

The second part of the book sketches the revolt against male tyranny that was heralded by Mary Wollstonecraft's "Rights of Women," with its fiery insight into the human heart, its cry of "Make the heart clean and give the head employment." From that time women have never looked back. Mr. Lyon Blease gives a finely sympathetic picture of the heights stormed by them, one after another: the fight against the C.D. Acts, the struggle for medical education, the fight for the municipal vote. And at every point precisely the same phenomena occur: a stirring up of the basest passions in men of low type, a rousing of the finest qualities in noble men, a revelation of the unutterable meanness of the egotistic man. At every crisis the woman's movement has been the touchstone to test the quality of the soul. And every struggle has ended in the woman's victory. Could there be any fatter presage for the future than that? If we are ever disheartened, let us turn back to the page of history, for our greatest comfort lies in the contrast between *what we were* and *what we are*.

But it is in the third part that Mr. Lyon Blease strikes his most telling blow for us. There he expresses the entirely logical side of the woman's claim to citizenship as against Professor Dicey. He shows up the fallacy of the latter's distinction between public and private rights; he shows how, at bottom, the question of a vote is a question of character. Sex disability means arrogance, contempt, and jealousy on the men's side; meanness, want of courage, and all the little-nesses of dependence on the women's. To remove sex disability is to give the death-blow to these vices. The last pages of the book contain a masterly indictment of the last Liberal administration, an indictment all the more damning because written by a Liberal. Their failure was the greatest, the most hopeless mistake that any Government could commit—failure to realise the temper of the people whom they were governing, failure to grasp the fact that they were facing something very serious; something, in fact, which indicates nothing less than a new element of national life; one, indeed, that contains a prophecy of a new type of civilisation. The folly, the incapacity, the ridiculous levity exhibited by Mr. Asquith's ministry has never been surpassed in the history of this nation, not even "by the most profligate assembly that ever sat at Westminster," to quote Mr. Lyon Blease.

The nineteenth century discovered the solidarity of labour; it remains for the twentieth to discover the solidarity of woman. The tyranny of military feudalism is nearly gone; the tyranny of sex feudalism, in many respects deeper, subtler, more degrading, must go too. We have a long pilgrimage before us, we have many conflicts yet with Pope and Pagan, the Apathy and Prejudice that are born of Ignorance. We want for our journey both knowledge and comfort, and we shall find them in this book, in which it is written: "Contemplated by itself, Woman Suffrage may seem no great thing. Studied in connection with all that has gone before, and with all that accompanies its achievement, it is as vast a transformation as the coming of Christianity upon the earth."

Inspired by a woman, written by a man, full of literary, legal, and historic knowledge, guided by logic, and instinct with the love of right, "The Emancipation of English Women" is a fine foretaste of that future for which all our battles are fought; a future which shall see the co-operation of man and woman for the good of a finer race than the world has ever known, a race that can never be without the work of free women.

M. P. WILLCOCKS.

Liberal Women to Liberal Agents.

We have fed our souls on promises
For years, and years, and years;
Your fair words fall like echoes,
On slightly deafened ears.
We dress ourselves in useful,
Sad, homely, hodden-grey;
And love's rose-reds and hopeful green
We sadly put away.
Loud sound the women's heart throbs
Who face the ills of life,
With no sure hold on statesmanship
To shield them in the strife;
Despised, maligned, derided,
Exploited, sweated, weak,
They shall yet confound the mighty
Who withhold that which they seek.

MARY FOX.

On Chalking.

Raw recruits rush in where ladies of experience fear to tread. Being the new member I dared suggest it, but the committee drew the line at chalk. They thought it almost militant. I urged that it was cheap. "We should have to stoop," they said with meaning. "It would be to conquer." They turned the conversation.

This was sad, because what I meant was that others should go chalking. My zeal for the cause is inexhaustible, but it takes the form of inciting others to revolt. I could think of many reasons—quite weighty reasons—why I should not

go, and I fell asleep still debating the question, with a sneaking hope that I might sleep late.

No such luck. I woke in excellent time, with the decision still to make. Who talks about "two o'clock in the morning courage"? A meaningless phrase. Four o'clock is the trying time—at two it would be dark. The debate I held was like that on the Second Reading, according to the London Press. All the logic, all the eloquence, all the feeling, was on the Anti side, but the Pros carried the day. "You're afraid" is not argument, and "some go to prison" had nothing to do with the case; but these irrelevancies dragged me, reluctant, from my bed.

It seemed like a dream afterwards, a nightmare at the time, haunted with all the usual dream troubles.

First, I could find no chalk. Here is a futile specimen of a Suffragist, who leaves boxes and boxes of chalk at school and brings not a single piece home. Such an one deserves to be specially, by name, excluded from the Conciliation Bill. All my search produced but half a stick.

Next, the latch-key hid itself beneath rattling chains and carpenters' tools, each one of which must be gently lifted aside, lest the household should hear and guess my intentions. What would my Anti sisters say? And, with the silly consequence of dreams I must needs add, "And my aunt's sisters? and my ancestors?"

At last I was out in the sweet, pale morning, and making for the town. The first corner in the main road was my first stopping-place. "Votes for Women." I heard a step. "To-night at 8." Coming nearer—it must be a policeman. "Oddfellows' Hall." Done! I walked hastily away from that corner and turned down several byways. It is strange that stooping to write should produce a buzzing in your ears and make your heart beat unpleasantly in its proper place besides jumping up into your mouth.

All that perturbation was on account of a workman going to his work. But what if it had been a policeman? Am I not a respectable, law-abiding citizen, or, at least, ratepayer? Well, I may be, but I don't feel it. I feel like a thief in the night. The bit of chalk in my hand has changed my attitude towards society. My hand is raised against every man, though only to write upon the path, and I believe that every man's hand will be against me.

I walked a long way before I emerged again on the main road and chose another spot. The sad thing was that that first writing, so hastily done, was on rough tar paving, which wasted the chalk, and half my little piece was gone. This time I chose a smooth stone and produced a neat little notice, just large enough to catch the eye. Nobody was in sight. But my own handwriting on the path was strangely disconcerting. Surely, any one of my pupils would recognise it, and so many of them came to school this way. I began to be certain that I should lose all my connection.

I went a long way into the town without writing at all. For this I had excellent reasons. The chalk was now very small, and if I could only do a few notices it was important that they should be well placed. But if my chalk was small my courage was less, and, as I neared the centre of the town, where passers could no longer be avoided, it seemed to me impossible that I could write another notice.

Then it was that I heard strange sounds—men's voices singing, broken with much laughter, not drunken, but echoing weirdly in an empty street. I turned the corner. In a tailor's shop was a large mirror, and before that mirror stood two policemen.

Gentle reader, have you ever heard a policeman laugh, with real laughter, holding both his sides? Have you heard him sing? Have you seen him pose and pirouette before a looking-glass? All this I heard and saw—for a few brief seconds. Then they heard or saw me, and oh! the woodenness of their wooden attitudes as I came near.

A few seconds too late. I had seen it all. Policemen, it appears, are human, and sometimes in the tedium of the morning watch they come alive and cut capers like schoolboys. As schoolboys caught red-handed I regarded them. The situation was changed. In full view, just opposite them, I stopped, and there I executed my best notice deliberately. I did not hasten away from that notice, but walked as if I were out shopping. At the corner I looked back. They had crossed the road and were gazing solemnly at my writing.

I soon finished my chalk and walked sedately home, enjoying the early sunshine and able to look all men in the face—and so to bed again, to sleep the sleep of a Suffragist.

It was just a waking between slumber and so very like a dream. It seemed impossible at our decorous breakfast that I had so lately skulked along the streets of my native town and seen those grotesque policemen; yet at midday some faint white scratches on the footway did remain.

So many fears and so little done! Was it quite worth while? True, we had a splendid meeting; but I must own its success had nothing to do with the chalk. If it be good to know yourself, then it was well I should lose my long-cherished delusion that, for a woman, I was rather courageous than otherwise; and this much of practical wisdom I have learned—next time I will persuade another frightened female to accompany me and take a whole box of chalks—coloured

RED, WHITE, AND GREEN.

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 one side of the paper only.

RUNNING CANDIDATES.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—In writing of East St. Pancras, you say "it is to be hoped the practical lessons will be taken to heart." I feel sure that is echoed in the heart of everyone, and may I suggest that the first lesson to be learnt is that the factor most essential to success is sound preparation in carefully selected constituencies.

If this idea of running Suffrage candidates is to be carried out, I hope a Parliamentary Committee will be formed without delay, to select suitable constituencies and to start educational work on Suffrage among the electorate, and a strong working organization in readiness for any emergency which may arise. To run a candidate in a constituency where groundwork has not been done is courting failure, and helps Suffrage no better than militancy.

The general election is giving us narrow majorities; let us set to work at once and see if by wisdom learnt and experience we cannot retrieve mistakes and blunders. I agree with you when you say our spirit will not be daunted; but that is not enough. Three years ago Mr. Sanders, speaking in Portsmouth at our first great Town Hall meeting, said, as he looked at a banner on which was the motto, "Right is Might." "Yes, but remember, right is not might unless you make it so. If you want to win you must organize everywhere."

East St. Pancras and Glasgow preach the same lesson today. There is no royal road to success, but the one so often traversed before in which alone we can trust—"preparation beforehand."—Yours,

Cosham, Hants. N. O'SHEA.

CHARGES AGAINST LIBERAL AGENTS.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—I notice in your last issue a letter from Mrs. Sanger referring to my statement that "Such Hooliganism as exists (in East St. Pancras) is the direct result of incitement from officials who should be above such methods." Mrs. Sanger says that these statements contain extremely serious charges, and asks for details. It is not desirable to give details in the public Press, but I shall be glad to give them to Mrs. Sanger in private if she wishes for them, and I have no doubt whatever that after hearing them she will admit that my statement quoted above is one of extreme moderation.—Yours,

A. HELEN WARD.

53, Victoria Street, Westminster, December 9, 1910.

TAX RESISTANCE.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—I see with great regret that the National Union is flirting with the question of tax resistance. May I give my reasons against the adoption of such a course?

In the first place, I believe the distinction usually drawn between active and passive resistance to be entirely false, and I question whether the refusal to pay legally imposed taxes can be described as a strictly constitutional policy—but perhaps counsel's opinion has already been taken on this point.

Secondly, we must remember that the aphorism, "Taxation without representation is tyranny," though it has done our lords and masters signal service in times past, has of late been somewhat severely handled, since taxation is an incident of all government, not only of our particular system of government by representation, and since if really true, the maxim would lead straight to Adult Suffrage. For this line of argument I must refer your readers to Mr. F. E. Smith's speech on the Conciliation Bill last July. He came to this conclusion, with which I think many of us will be content to agree:—

"The real truth is that the payment of taxes is only one of several general presumptions in favour of conceding the Suffrage."

I find it difficult to avoid the inference that if we refuse to pay our taxes we shall simply be doing away with one very useful presumption in our favour!—Yours,

URSULA THOMPSON.

Park Road, Penarth, near Cardiff, Dec. 9th, 1910.

THE NATIONAL UNION AND TAX RESISTANCE.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—Since the insertion of Mrs. Kineton Parkes' letters I have watched closely for some pronouncement on the subject from the National Union leaders. It was extremely tantalising to learn last week—not officially, but from your correspondent I. B. O'Malley's letter—that the matter did come up at the special Council meeting, and Mrs. Fawcett said something upon it, but not to be told what she actually did say.

It seems to me, Madam, that this policy is pre-eminently one to be either let alone or boldly urged and organised. The elections in Glasgow and East St. Pancras must surely have taught us all a severe lesson on the damaging futility of taking hurriedly to a most difficult piece of practical work without time for thorough-going preparation. If a few scattered women tax-payers forthwith refuse payment of their taxes they will do it with the maximum of strain to themselves and the minimum of effect on the public and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; on the other hand, if skilfully and deliberately used, it is hardly too much to say in the light of English history that this is of all weapons perhaps the most powerful, to be taken up only under the uttermost sense of responsibility.

For its application a dozen practical questions at once spring up. Are we to refuse both rates and taxes, or only taxes? (We have the local vote for the control of rates, but no voice in the legal regulations governing them.) All taxes, or only a selection? Are we to sacrifice our distrained goods, or to have them brought in by friends and returned to us (which seems rather like reducing the affair to a farce)? After how many distraints is the resister liable to imprisonment? Which of us could say off-hand within what limits the tax-collector may act in compulsory collection, and where he may be apt to exceed his powers and lay himself open in turn to legal retort?

Again, the taxes fall due in January, before Parliament meets, and before we have any opportunity of knowing whether the facilities we demand for a Suffrage Bill will be given next session or not.

The Tax-resistance League is in its veriest infancy, and to judge by its recommendations in answer to inquiries, is not yet fully equipped with practical judgment and legal knowledge. Our Union has its network of established Societies all over the land, and its tested machinery for working through them. If it is intended that tax-resistance should be seriously taken in hand by us, I would suggest that all our members who are already willing to undertake tax-resistance should be advised to write at once to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, saying that unless facilities for the Conciliation Bill or some other Bill on similar lines are given during next session the writer will, on the first subsequent opportunity, refuse voluntary payment of taxes. Copies of such a letter might with advantage be sent at the same time to the M.P. of the writer's constituency, the local assessor of taxes, and the tax-collector. I would further suggest that the National Union should use the coming year to obtain a thorough mastery of the legal and other conditions under which an effective practical protest could be carried out, and be prepared with expert, well-considered advice for all fresh inquirers disposed to join the ranks of resisters. Perhaps one or more special tax-resistance organisers might be appointed for this work.

My own belief is that the time has arrived for making ready this weapon. That the justice of our claim is so widely admitted, yet without effect so far on the statute book, seems to show that all has been said, but much more remains to be done. Mr. Balfour is absolutely right in his diagnosis of the "passionate discontent" which is ours under our continued government without consent; it is for us to make our discontent evident in action as well as words. But I do earnestly desire that before we take this two-edged weapon of tax-resistance into our hands we should learn how to wield it effectually, not in such a way as merely to hurt ourselves and bring laughter on our cause.—Yours,

A. SHARP.

[We agree most heartily with our correspondent and, since the policy of tax-resistance has not yet been accepted at a Council meeting, we have refrained from advocating it in our editorial columns. Mrs. Fawcett is known to be personally favourable to it, but it was not in order to discuss it at the last Council meeting, which was summoned to consider only the General Election. It will be competent for any delegate to raise it at the annual meeting in January, and this will probably be done.—Ed. "C. C."]

LOSSES AND GAINS.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—Your issue of December 1st contains an interesting article called "Losses and Gains." May I, however, enter a strong protest against the position taken up by the writer in her last paragraph? It is true that "there is some soul of goodness in things evil would men observingly distil it out," and the appalling evil of this long delay in our enfranchisement may be a little more patiently endured in the hope that women are realising the value of freedom more and more in the fight. But that this fact makes the evil good, and "the discipline better than the attainment," is an assumption that staggers the enthusiastic Suffragist. If we believe what we say on a thousand platforms—that votes for women will improve the position of the sweated worker and protect women from the pressure which creates vice—how can we think "there is no need for depression" at the thought that our enfranchisement may be again delayed. Now—at this hour—women are being sweated in Government employ; girls are being entrapped into a life of vice; wives and mothers are suffering under our iniquitous sex-laws.

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At West Heath School the boys and girls share each other's pursuits, whether in work, games, or leisure. They have, in fact, in this respect the freedom of a large family, in conjunction with the help due to the supervision of a staff of experienced educationists. At the same time, the even proportion in the staff of men and women gives ample opportunity for the association of boys with men and of girls with women which must be an inherent characteristic of any true system of co-Education. Where boys and girls are thus brought up, false ideas as to predominance find no acceptance, and a standard, honest in being alike for all, is upheld.

Particulars from the Principal.

Reference allowed to:—

The Rev. Canon Scott-Holland, D.D., St. Paul's, E.C.; and Dr. Jane Walker, 122, Harley Street, W.

Every day sees fresh victims; every night adds to the tale of shame. And the victims are not growing "stronger, better-balanced, and more independent," as a result. Is it a great consolation to think that perhaps we are?

I may seem, Madam, to be taking captious exception to Miss Ransom's words, but I have met not a few Suffragists who seriously seem to think that we need not be in such a hurry, and I am at a loss to imagine how they reconcile this view with the belief that political enfranchisement will be a real help to poor and down-trodden women.—Yours,

A. MAUDE ROYDEN.

THE OUTBREAK OF MILITANCY.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—You are bombarded with letters urging you on the one hand to denounce the militants and on the other hand to express gratitude to them, and no pronouncement that you can make will satisfy both extremes. Every local committee is in the same difficulty. The fact is that the readers of the "Common Cause" and the members of the N.U.W.S.S. are largely recruited from

- Those who join partly as a protest against militancy;
- Those who are aroused to thought and action by sympathy with the militants.

To cope with this thorny situation, we in our branch decided to give our members a bald, brief statement of those facts concerning the recent outbreak which did not appear in the local Press—e.g., we read Mr. Mansell Moullin's letter and extracts of accounts from eye-witnesses. This gave us a very simple line of policy. We neither condemned nor defended militancy; we only defended the militants against mis-statements. The effect was entirely good. The resolution condemning militancy which had been suggested, and which would have divided us and given rise to a very hot discussion, was heard no more of. We had emphasised those things which unite us, and minimised those things which divide us.

In our election campaign we carried out the same policy, and again the effect was entirely good. At our first meeting, when the feeling against "Suffragettes" was very apparent, we did not venture to put a resolution, thinking it would go against us. At our last meeting, held in the same hall, but with a much larger audience, the usual Suffrage resolution was carried without a dissentient.

You, madam, writing from Manchester, where you have the best daily paper (from our point of view) in the kingdom, perhaps do not know how completely some parts of the country are being kept in the dark. I believe that a concise

account of militant action in your columns, correcting the ordinary Press accounts, would be a help to every committee.

This question of militancy ought not to divide us, because for a non-militant society it is not a practical one; and yet, as a fact, it does tend to divide us; but our local experience goes to show that the real dividing force is not so much the academic question as to whether militancy is ever justifiable, as the strong feeling aroused by newspaper reports which are quite unfair, and sometimes untruthful.—Yours,

MAUD SLATER.

Clarence Chambers, Plymouth, Dec. 11th, 1910.

[We agree heartily with the admirable tone and temper of our correspondent. But we believe the best remedy for these recurrent troubles is to leave the negative position as far as possible, and prosecute our own particular work.—Ed. "C. C."]

ELECTION POLICY.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—May I ask you to insert these few words of suggestion and criticism regarding the National Union Parliamentary policy, as explained in the "Common Cause" of December 1st? (I shall quote *verbatim*.) The policy is (p. 549) "that of helping friends and opposing enemies, to whichever party they may belong," and I read in Mrs. Fawcett's manifesto (p. 552, col. 2) a phrase which I take to be her definition of "friends" (in Parliament)—viz., "Members who are pledged to ballot for a day for the Conciliation Bill, or some similar non-party Bill, and to vote straight for it in all its stages." This is where my suggestion comes in. "To vote straight" is a vague expression, not understood by ordinary readers, even when members of societies. Plain instruction on this point should be added. To be a staunch Woman Suffragist in Parliament you must do three things besides balloting:—(1) Vote for the second reading of a Bill approved by the societies; (2) vote for the stage of Grand Committee (which is the ordinary preliminary to becoming law); (3) vote for the third reading (which passes the Bill through the Commons). Any member who voted for the second reading of the Conciliation Bill and then *against* Grand Committee, thereby referred the Bill to a "Committee of the whole House." Government Bills are safe when referred to a Committee of the whole House. Bills to which the Government is opposed are wrecked by this procedure. Every member knows this, or he "is unfit for his post." To prove that my test is correct and fair I have only to remind you, Madam, that all the members of the Conciliation Committee, except one, voted for second reading and Grand

Committee. That one exception—Sir William Bull—instantly resigned, and his place was filled up by another member. Our test, then, is accepted by our Parliamentary workers, and nothing less will do for us.

A test is an awkward thing, for it leaves out people we want to have in! I will instance two names, often spoken of in the "Common Cause" as "supporters." Mr. Balfour, being Scotch, always admits a logical conclusion when it is driven home; but he is just as well able to keep logical conclusions out of his conduct as any other of my compatriots. He voted against Grand Committee, and therefore does not pass the test. If a further proof is wanted, refer to his speech at Sheffield last week. An inhabitant of Mars would not have known, from that speech, that there was a woman on our planet. I know this omission may be due to the reporters—I shall be glad to hear that it is so.

My second instance (taken at random) is Sir John Simon, Walthamstow. He voted against Grand Committee, and told me in conversation that he did not like the Conciliation Bill. And yet a National Union speaker at Walthamstow asked the electors to vote for him (as a Suffragist!). I have said enough to lead up to the point of my argument, which is this:—If the National Union is going to support the Government in power by adding to their majority "friends" of the Suffrage, care should be taken to ensure (by this simple test) that M.P.s seeking re-election really are friends, and prepared to disobey their party whips.—Yours,

KATHERINE ANN RALEIGH.

[We have not space to take up Miss Raleigh's long letter in detail. If she had followed the resolutions passed by the Council, which will be found on pp. 555 and 574, she would have understood what was the policy to which Mrs. Pawcett alluded, and which gave instructions as plain as the Council desired. To approach candidates for Parliament in a pedantic spirit is absolutely useless. Very few candidates would pledge themselves to vote blindfold for a Bill "approved by the societies." It is not reasonable to expect it. Again, seeing that Mr. Asquith has pledged himself to give full facilities for a Bill, it is superfluous to press members to vote for it to be sent to Grand Committee; the only reason in pressing for Grand Committee was that the Government would not give time for the other; now facilities are promised, and Suffragists should make it quite clear that it is not they who wish to burke discussion, as they would seem to do did they insist on opposing Committee of the whole House. We accept Miss Raleigh's objection to tests as "awkward things." In our opinion it is unwise to make our test so drastic that no one can pass it. After all, we shall have to get the vote from politicians, not super-men; and if Miss Raleigh thinks there is more than the merest handful of politicians who will subordinate party to women's interests, she has more faith left than we have. We must work with the material we have, and, recognising that it is weak material, not put a breaking strain on it.—Ed. "C. C."]

EAST ST. PANCRAS.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—I believe that it was only because the St. Pancras men were so absorbed in what they considered the immediate question of the election that so few votes were recorded for the Women's Suffrage candidate. I knew they were friendly. In April, five years ago, Mr. Walter Maclaren was to give a lecture on Women's Suffrage to the North St. Pancras "Liberal and Radical Association." He could not get back to town in time to do so, and I was summoned to take his place. The room was crowded, the audience most enthusiastic, and many stayed long after discussion-time asking private questions. Some men from East St. Pancras were present, and the following winter they asked me to go over and speak to them. They were a most sympathetic audience also, there being only one dissident to the resolution, who gave as his reason that "his wife had no time to think of these things, for she had three children."—Yours,

CHARLOTTE C. STOPES.

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WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND THE REFERENDUM.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—It is not my intention to pronounce any opinion upon the merits or demerits of the Referendum, but it may be of interest to your readers to compare some of the objections advanced by Anti-Suffragists against granting the franchise to women, and those advanced against the Referendum, because many of the leading Anti-Suffragists and Anti-Suffrage papers are just now pressing for the adoption of the Referendum. I have placed the arguments in parallel columns.

Against Women's Suffrage. (1) Because it introduces a new element into our Constitution.

(2) It has never been adopted by any Sovereign State.

(3) The Colonies which have adopted Women's Suffrage have no great Imperial interests to safeguard.

(4) The United States have only accepted Women's Suffrage in a very limited area.

(5) If women were enfranchised they would rarely use the vote.

(6) To give women the vote would be to give power to those who have least time for acquiring political knowledge.

(7) Wherever the Referendum has been adopted it has never been abolished; the tendency is to extend the sphere of its application.

There can be no doubt that Anti-Suffragists are advocating a change in the Constitution which is far greater than any involved by granting the Suffrage to women, and their confidence in its success is nothing short of marvellous.—Yours,

December 11, 1910.

EDITH PALLISER.

RESIDENT MEDICAL WOMEN.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—I fear it is impossible to mention a hospital in England or Scotland where "men students are lectured to by a woman-resident," for the simple reason that it is a matter of common knowledge that in hospitals to which medical schools are attached the lecturing staff is composed of the visiting physicians and surgeons, men and women of considerable standing in the profession, not of the resident house-physicians and house-surgeons, who take these positions on qualifying in order to increase their own experience.

The benefit derived from such experience is very great, and it is a distinct hardship in hospitals, such as the Manchester Royal Infirmary, where the authorities charge women the same fees and purport to offer them the same advantages as their male competitors, that the women should be denied the privilege accorded to the latter of becoming house-physicians and house-surgeons in the wards where they were trained as students.

When I spoke with gratitude of what I had learned from women who, if called on to do so, instructed students of either sex, I had in mind the out-patient department of the Skin Hospital, Leicester Square (Dr. Agnes Saville); that of the Sick Children's Hospital, Glasgow (Dr. Agnes Maclaren); the Royal Infirmary, Glasgow, Pathology, Bacteriology, Electricity (Drs. Mary Hannay, Eliz. Fraser, and Katherine Chapman).

What about Ireland? Until she resigned on marriage, Dr. Winifred Dixon was assistant master of the Coombe Lying-in Hospital, an institution drawing students from all parts of the world.

Surely "Only a Nurse" would not suggest that though Scots and Irishmen can be trusted to behave like gentlemen she fears for their English colleagues? My own experience and that of M.B. would hardly bear this out.

As to any "error" in reference to my remark regarding "the dual office of doctor and medical superintendent," I fail to see it. The point in question *pace* "Only a Nurse" was the singular lack of manners shown by the medical man quoted. My suggestion was that he would not have been so wanting in the rudiments of politeness had he been dealing with a man holding a dual office such as that of doctor and medical superintendent—a position often involving the duties of a "glorified" steward,—instead of with a woman uniting those of doctor and matron.

I cannot admit that there is anything more *infra. dig.* in the supervision of nurses than in that of bakehouses and farmyards, a task included in the manifold demand made on the superintendents of certain asylums, at any rate.—Yours,

December 1st, 1910. M. D.

Miss Emily Cooke, of Sutton, writes to protest against J. Smith's letter in last week's issue, and says that the many openings of careers to women in the last fifty years, and their greater freedom, were all due to the peaceful, steady work of old-time Suffragists.

Miss Marie Sadler, of Letchworth, protests against criticism of militant methods, and says that "if it be true that the National Union suffers through the actions of the militants it is also true that it gains very considerably."

Mr. Howard Hely, of Dublin, suggests that the edge of the physical force argument might be turned by giving women a vote which should only count as equal to half a man's vote. Women would vote on different days or in different buildings from men.

Mrs. Marshall, of Keswick, writes to say that *twenty-two* newspapers were written to in her area, not *two*, as printed last week. (We regret the error.)

Mr. C. F. Petrie, of Stroud Green, protests against the phrase "crass ingratitude," as used last week by Mr. Mabon, and he points out that to say peaceful agitation has done little for the advancement of Women's Suffrage is to express a very superficial point of view. While giving due credit to the militants, he points out that their outbreaks do much harm.

Miss Cortrude Lees, of Usbridge, and Dr. Marion Mackenzie, of Scarborough, write protesting against the statement in "The Common Cause" of December 1st that Mr. Birrell's injury was due to a "personal assault" on him. (We gladly recognise that Mr. Birrell himself is reported to have said that his injury was due to his accidentally twisting his leg in the endeavour to escape from the Suffragists. We did not intend to suggest that we believed the preposterously exaggerated accounts of physical violence—it seems that the offence was even smaller than we had supposed—but if Mr. Birrell was trying to escape, it must have been because someone was trying to prevent him.)

Reports of Societies within the National Union.

Secretaries would simplify the work by sending in notices of FORTHCOMING MEETINGS, endorsed with those words, with time, place, and speakers legibly written, on one side of the paper only, and on a sheet of paper separate from other matter. (The following were unavoidably held over last week.)

RUGBY.

We are rather proud of the two meetings we organized a few weeks ago. At the evening meeting, the first we had held in New Bilton, a working-class suburb of Rugby, about forty people, under the presidency of F. Meutens, Esq., listened attentively to Miss Palliser's able address. Our Chairman, a prominent townsman and a strong sympathiser with our cause, told us that he had presided at a Suffrage meeting twenty-two years ago.

At an afternoon meeting in Rugby on the following day, sixty to seventy persons listened most attentively to an address from Miss Palliser. Mrs. Crossley, our President, was in the chair, and we all admired Miss Palliser's quiet, able, and well-balanced address on "Woman's Sphere." She briefly touched upon the career of a few famous women, spoke of Mrs. Somerville, who had so many difficulties to conquer before she could give to the world her valuable contributions to astronomical science; of Elizabeth Fry, who was called "unwomanly" for her work amongst the prisoners, and against whose schools for the children of prisoners even Hood, the tender-hearted, wrote a poem; of Sarah Martin, Florence Nightingale, Josephine Butler, etc., who all did such great work in their several ways. The speaker lucidly dealt with questions sent up, and what we consider a very successful meeting closed with votes of thanks to the speaker, promoters, and secretary.

WARRINGTON.

There was a meeting at the Cairo Street Rooms on Thursday, November 24th. Miss Royden spoke first in support of a resolution in favour of the Conciliation Bill. Mrs. Ransome seconded. The Rev. Harvey Cook was in the chair. As there were about six other political meetings on in town, the attendance was not good, but those present were very enthusiastic, and carried the resolution with

unanimity. Miss Royden made an eloquent appeal to the audience to sign pledges not to work for an Anti-Suffrage candidate. The response, even on the part of the men present, was most gratifying.

WESTON-SUPER-MARE.

A most successful and enthusiastic meeting was held at Weston-super-Mare on Friday afternoon, November 4th. Mrs. Strickland (vice-president Hastings and St. Leonards Branch) was the speaker, and Mrs. Cross (Bristol) presided. Nearly 100 members and friends were present, and at the close about ten fresh members joined the Branch. Mrs. Strickland congratulated the Weston members upon the good start their branch had made, in spite of Weston being generally Anti-Suffrage in opinion. She then discussed not only the political but also the social and religious aspects of the question, and referred to sweating as an evil to be remedied when women could bring pressure on the Government to alter the conditions of labour.

In the evening Mrs. Strickland addressed an attentive and appreciative audience. She traced the demand of women for the vote during a period of nearly fifty years, from the first Bill brought in by J. S. Mill down to the present Conciliation Bill. At the close a resolution was passed by a large majority calling upon the Government to give facilities for passing the Conciliation Bill.

WILTS. N.

A very successful meeting was held in the Swindon Town Hall on Tuesday, November 15th, to celebrate the second anniversary of the North Wilts Branch of the National Union.

The Rev. J. Ivory Cripps took the chair, and introduced Mrs. Rackham, of Cambridge, who was the chief speaker of the evening. Mrs. Rackham gave a very clear and comprehensive address on the Conciliation Bill, in which she pointed out and answered the chief objections made against it.

There were several questions afterwards, all raised by Adult Suffragists, but a resolution, moved by Rev. T. L. Mackery, and seconded by Mr. Walters, asking the Government to give facilities for passing the Conciliation Bill into law at the earliest possible moment, was carried by a large majority, only three hands being held up against it. A hearty vote of thanks to Mrs. Rackham brought the meeting to a close.

BIRKENHEAD.

A delightful performance was generously given at the Cloughton Music Hall on November 26th by the Actresses' Franchise League, which was on a short tour in the North of England. Miss Bensusan had charge of the arrangements, and was indefatigable in her efforts. Three plays were acted—"An Englishwoman's Home," by H. Arncliffe Sennett; "The Apple," by Inez Bensusan; and "How the Vote was Won," by Cicely Hamilton and Christopher St. John—each artiste doing his or her level best to make the scenes go with a swing. The acting was of the highest order, and a most favourable impression was created amongst the large audience. Music between the acts was kindly given by three local professionals, Miss McCreery, Miss

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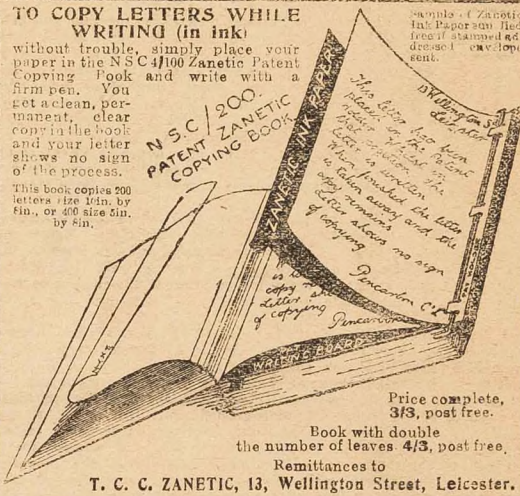
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