

# The Common Cause,

The Organ of the National Union of

# Women's Suffrage

Societies.

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ONE PENNY.

## Notes and Comments.

### Manly Stability.

The Conciliation Bill, which passed its second reading by 110 in 1910 and by 167 in 1911, was rejected on Thursday last by 14 votes. It would be absurd if we pretended this was not a vexatious defeat. But it is not a disaster, and we hope it may be retrieved in this Parliament. We always hoped the Reform Bill would get into Committee before the Conciliation Bill, because this would give the opportunity of seeing what amendment the House really preferred, but we hoped the Conciliation Bill would pass its Second Reading by a good majority as a preliminary, and we regard its defeat as a distinct piece of success for the W.S.P.U. They are in the position of having predicted the death of the Bill and then having ensured the success of their prediction by administering poison. We are quite aware that several other causes would have contributed to lessen our majority, but we believe that the panic of the Irish Members was largely due to the action of the W.S.P.U. in opposing Home Rulers everywhere regardless of whether they were suffragists or no and to their persecution of Mr. Churchill, especially on his recent visit to Belfast. If any of our readers doubt this let them read the account given by these women themselves in their own organ and then try to imagine what effect such treatment would have on a nature like that of Mr. Churchill.

### Home Rule and Women's Suffrage.

There is no opposition whatever between Home Rule and Women's Suffrage. We hope it may be possible in the intervening months to assure Nationalists that this is so. Their measure will, for good or ill (we take no sides in it), come before the House long before the Reform Bill; when it is out of the way we hope the Nationalists will remember their principles again, and that they will also realise that those suffragists who are also Nationalists will be more willing and more able to serve that cause when their own enfranchisement has been advanced a step. The fact is Nationalists are in mortal terror lest anything should interfere with the passage of their

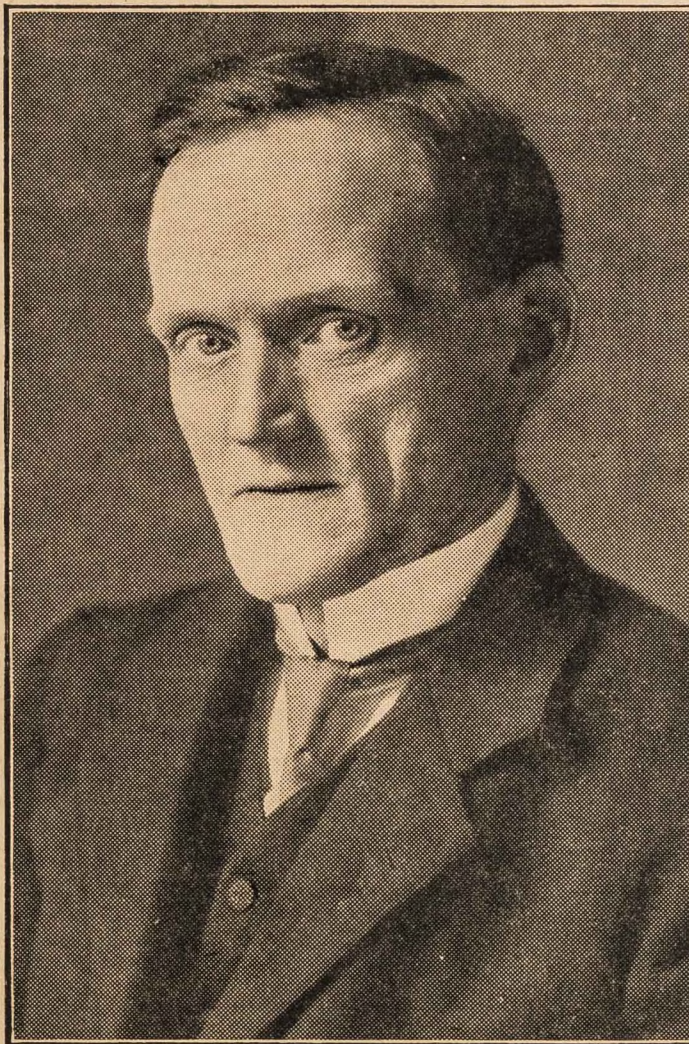
Bill this year. They should take longer views, and remember that they may need the help of women for two more years. They surely do not propose to fight the women for that length of time?

### The Significance of the Vote.

We think that Mr. Asquith's general fairness on this question has been marred by one statement, which he must have known was untrue. He suggested that the Division on the 28th would show whether or no the question was progressing in the country. No one could have known better than he that the change in the voting was not due to abstract principle but to the various causes which were mentioned in the manifesto of the National Union. We regret this special pleading and we think it ungenerous and unfair in the Prime Minister, who has done so much to confuse the issues and prevent any clear voting on the principle being taken. We hear that he was not in very good form on Thursday night, but surely it was not in accordance with the "generosity" for which he was so much praised that he should try to mislead those less well acquainted than he with the Parliamentary situation.

### Reconstruction.

In the extraordinary welter of motives that underlie the kaleidoscopic changes of the House of Commons on this suffrage question, there emerges a clear intention on the part of some, at any rate, to clear out of the way a Bill they always hated, because they want something larger and simpler. It is easy (we have found it so to our cost) to pick to pieces and destroy. A stone thrown by a child may shatter a masterpiece which took a genius to create; a dog may tear up a manuscript which may never be re-written. These men who destroyed the "little Bill" have now the task and deep responsibility of working their hardest, of doing their utmost to secure the larger measure. In the House and in the country, having destroyed a compromise, they must lead a new venture; having wrecked a structure, the result of toil and patience and forbearance, they must build the house of their desire and make it fair and strong. We are willing to help them. But they *must* work, or be known for what they are.



(Photo: Ernest H. Mills.)

PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.

**Making it Easy.**

We think that suffragists will make an immense mistake if they allow the perfectly natural but not always wise desire to retaliate upon those who have broken their pledges to cloud their judgment. We think M.P.'s who "took it out of" all women on account of their wish to retaliate on the few who had exasperated them did wrongly and foolishly. We do not believe matters would be improved if we tried to "take it out of" them in return. A wise estimate of forces should guide our action, and although to us the enfranchisement of women is immeasurably the greatest of all questions at issue at present we must remember that even among those who are generally favourable, some don't agree that it is important and others regard its importance as an argument for delay. People who are of this way of thinking (or *not* thinking) are very common, and are just the sort of weathercocks who veer round with the wind and who take any excuse that offers. It is a tactical mistake to give them excuses.

We have received a communication from the W.S.P.U. which begins with these words:—"The Women's Social and Political Union regard as entirely frivolous the statement that the rejection of the Conciliation Bill is due to the recent militant protest. The refutation of the statement is to be found in the fact that the infinitely greater devastation wrought by the Miners' Strike has not hindered but has actually secured the passage of the Minimum Wage Bill." We should have supposed that there was no one who did not know that the Government passed the Minimum Wage Bill because the winners had it in their power to wreck the whole prosperity and perhaps the existence of the nation and they were willing to use that power. The Women's Social and Political Union has not that power. The Members of Parliament who made the violence of the militants an excuse for breaking their pledges to the non-militants were some of them muddle-headed and some of them insincere, but none the less the excuse most decidedly made it easier for them to break their pledges. Our notion of diplomacy on the other hand would be to make it difficult for them.

**An Unworthy Game.**

The game of battledore and shuttlecock played by the House is not to its credit and if anybody of women played so wasteful and paltry a game we should never hear the end of it. Mr. Birrell, Irish Secretary, tells Irish women that he can't put them into the Home Rule Bill because they must first be enfranchised by the English Parliament, and then Irish Members in the supposed interests of Home Rule vote against the enfranchisement by the English Parliament. If we did to men as they do to us we should say "The men don't know their own minds!" And it would be true, too!

**Advancing under Shelter.**

One cannot help wondering what on earth Members mean when they say we are advancing "under the shelter of militantism." We object to militantism, and think it an intolerable nuisance, but we can't prevent it. If our membership increases, and the progress has gone on in the country during the past year in spite of it, should we regret this? Even if the vote should be given us, should we be expected to reject it because the W.S.P.U. would say they had got it for us? What do these gentlemen mean? The fact is that the desire for liberty is so deep and intense that nothing can check its growth.

**The Speeches.**

The debate was a long one, and there were some very good speeches as well as some very silly ones; but not one was offensive in the "good old way" of the days of the late Mr. Labouchere. Mr. McCurdy's speech was full of sturdy common-sense, Mr. Charles Roberts, Mr. T. Taylor and Mr. Philip Snowden were staunch as ever, and made some very shrewd hits; but the speeches of the evening were those of Sir Edward Grey and Lord Robert Cecil. The latter handled the question with a dialectical skill which easily covered an immense field, and the speech of the Foreign Secretary struck a note of deep and generous feeling, which of itself puts us in good heart for the future. Sir Edward Grey has stood by us in the hour of darkness; he will not fail us in future. We hope that these two really noble utterances may be speedily reprinted and read very widely.

One is struck by the fact that so many Members recognised that there would be deep and widespread disappointment among the women if the Bill was not passed, and we hope that when they come to their better minds they will be prepared to make amends. We note, also, a far more widespread admission of justice, and a decidedly apologetic note in the speeches of

opponents. Lord Helmsley was the most truculent, and obviously the most negligible also. Mr. Harold Baker was unconvinced and unconvincing.

**Working Women as they are.**

We could have wished Sir Almoth Wright could have heard those solid, sensible mothers of families who spoke at Essex Hall last Saturday, saying why they wanted the vote. "We want to be the parents of our own children," said one mother. We think that it would have done Lord Helmsley no end of good, and might have done something for his "instinctive feeling" of the desirability of man's domination if he could have heard her gentle but firm rebuke of "that class of gentleman" who was generally sent to Westminster, thinking he could settle properly the education of her girls. One does wish, too, that Mr. Wason, who was so much impressed by Miss Violet Markham (even though she is that dangerous creature—an unmarried woman!) that he turned Anti-Suffragist, could have had an opportunity of veering round again when he heard the representatives of a quarter of a million working women, themselves working women, declare they not only wanted the vote but knew why they wanted it. Miss Markham carried all the men off their heads at the Albert Hall by her generous declaration that she was fighting the battles of the working women; the women in Essex Hall might have had a little gentle sarcasm to spare for "that class of lady in Kensington" when they had finished with "that class of gentleman at Westminster."

**Left Cold.**

Miss Grace Neal, of the Domestic Workers' Union, made a reference to the inertia of men where women's interests are concerned, which recalls a paragraph in the *Daily News*. One of the enthusiastic gentlemen who had been lecturing to men on the Insurance Bill (as it then was) wrote describing the meetings and said how intensely interested the men were, and what masses of questions they asked about their benefits. "They did not seem much interested in the servant question. The grievances of the domestic servant left them cold!" These men had votes; the domestic servants were their sisters and daughters; the grievances of their sisters and daughters "left them cold!"

**The Fittest for the Test.**

We were given a remarkable instance recently of the disastrous effect on men's employment of the undercutting by women. In a large business concern a certain clerical department employed 20 men at £1 a week. An enterprising manager saw his opportunity for cutting down expenses and discharged all the men, taking on women instead at 15s. a week. The prognostication that they would do less work than the men was not borne out by results; the manager says he only appointed 15 women in place of the 20 men, and they did the same work and did it better than the men had done it. The fact is, of course, that owing to the beating down of women you get a far better type of woman than man for a certain wage; if we had equal wage for equal work, and employments thrown open, the better human being would in course of time get the better work.

**A Warning.**

We must draw the attention of our readers who may be going to debate with Anti-Suffragists to a little dodge for which it is wise to be prepared. At a recent debate, where the Anti-Suffragist (Mrs. Gladstone Solomon) had the last ten minutes, she remarked when she came to them that she was not going to deal with the "many points raised by the other speaker" because she had a fresh point of great importance to make, and she then told the audience that Suffragists had no constructive policy, and that all they did was to ask for the vote, whereas Anti-Suffragists had a positive policy as well as their negative one, and they worked in Local Government, leaving her audience to infer that there was some mysterious opposition between Local Government and the Parliamentary vote, and that only the Antis were interested in Local Government. As this ingenious suggestion was carefully held over till no reply could be made, it probably was a neat score.

**A Scottish Churches League.**

On March 11th, in Edinburgh, a meeting was presided over by Dr. R. J. Drummond and a Scottish Churches League for Women's Suffrage was formed, to be open to all denominations, and to work on religious, educational, and non-party lines. A provisional committee was appointed, with the Rev. Dr. Craig as convener, and Miss A. G. Ferrier as secretary.

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

### THE DEFEAT OF THE CONCILIATION BILL.

The Conciliation Bill for Women's Suffrage was defeated in the House of Commons on Thursday night by a majority of 14 votes. Was this a

### DEFEAT FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE? NO; IT WAS NOT,

for a large number of the men who opposed the Bill, or failed to vote for it, did so for reasons which had

### NOTHING TO DO WITH WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

The Labour Party had officially decided to support the Bill, but, at the last moment, thirteen of them, who are representatives of the miners, were called to their constituencies to assist with the miners' ballot.

Had those 13 Labour men been in the House,

### THE BILL WOULD HAVE BEEN CARRIED.

Last year 31 Nationalists voted for the Conciliation Bill and 9 against it. Those 31 men still believe in the justice of women's suffrage, but they every one of them either voted against the Bill, or abstained from voting, because they wanted all the time for Home Rule, and had the Bill been carried, Mr. Asquith would, according to his promise, have been bound to give a week of Government time for its further stages.

Had the Nationalists been true to their principles instead of sacrificing them to political expediency,

### THE BILL WOULD HAVE BEEN CARRIED.

Eight Unionists and seventeen Liberals who voted for the Bill last year voted against it this year to punish the militant suffragists. These men still believe in the justice of women's suffrage, but they were so dreadfully afraid that people would think that the smashing of tradesmen's windows had forced them to vote for the Bill, that they voted against it to show the women that they weren't

### THE SORT OF MEN TO BE BULLIED.

This is rather funny, seeing that the few hundred women who smashed the windows

### DIDN'T WANT THEM TO VOTE FOR THE BILL,

and the many thousands of women who wanted them to vote for the Bill hated the window-smashing as much as they did themselves. But the smashing had put them in a temper, and when a man is in a temper you can't make him listen to reason. But, had these 25 M.P.'s kept their tempers and their promises,

### THE BILL WOULD HAVE BEEN CARRIED.

Besides this, the Prime Minister's proposal to introduce this year a wide measure of franchise reform on a residential instead of a household basis had doubtless unsettled many of those suffragist M.P.'s who had, up till then, been content to advocate the household suffrage for women.

What, then, do we learn from this momentary check? We learn a new and old lesson—that it is easy

### TO LEAVE THE VOTELESS IN THE LURCH,

—that a promise to a woman without a vote is a different thing from a pledge to a man with one, and that the interests of those with political power will always be considered before the interests of those without.

And the long and short of it all is that, since women obviously cannot hope for fair play so long as they are voteless,

### VOTES THEY MUST HAVE.

And we, like the giant in the old story, who rose ten times stronger every time he fell and touched his Mother Earth, throw ourselves again into the struggle with

### TEN TIMES THE DETERMINATION,

the ardour and the faith we had before.

Even this year we have another chance, and a good one. All our energy and enthusiasm must now be directed to securing that the

### GOVERNMENT REFORM BILL,

shall not pass through the House of Commons without the inclusion of women.

### OUR MOTTO.

From a speech made by Mr. Gladstone in 1866, after the defeat of the Reform Bill:—

"You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side. The great social forces which move on in their might and majesty, and which the tumult of our debates does not for a moment impede or disturb—those great social forces are against you; they are marshalled on our side, and the banner which we now carry, though perhaps at this moment it may droop over our sinking heads, yet soon again will float in the eye of heaven, and it will be borne by the firm hands of the united people of the three kingdoms perhaps not to an easy but to a certain and a not distant victory."

"Not distant," indeed! The Reform Bill passed in 1867.

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LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS should be addressed to the Editor, THE COMMON CAUSE, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C., accompanied by a stamped envelope addressed if it is desired that they should be returned. The Editor accepts no responsibility, however, for matter which is offered unsolicited.

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

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

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**A Message from Mrs. Fawcett.**

**To My Friends and Fellow-Workers in the National Union.**

After the defeat of the Conciliation Bill on Thursday, it was my intention to send a message in the present issue of the COMMON CAUSE to all National Union Societies, bidding them to be of good courage and not to allow themselves to be unduly depressed by this temporary set-back; but on Friday, Saturday and Sunday I myself received so many messages from Societies, Federations and individual members breathing nothing but resolution, courage and determination to work harder than ever for our great cause, that I feel it would be a simple impertinence for me to recommend fortitude and unflagging enthusiasm to my friends and colleagues when they are spontaneously showing their determination to meet the present situation in the best possible way, and to wrest new pledges of future victory from temporary defeat. That is the way with brave men and women everywhere. They do not allow themselves to be crushed by external reverses. They convert these into new incentives to fresh sacrifice and effort for the great work to which they have dedicated themselves.

The manifesto of the Executive Committee of the National Union, which was sent out to all the Societies on Friday and published in the Press on Saturday, has made it clear why we do not regard the defeat of last Thursday as more than of a temporary and almost accidental character. It certainly does not indicate that the House of Commons is opposed to the principle of Women's Suffrage. As the manifesto is printed in full in this issue of the COMMON CAUSE, it is unnecessary to repeat here the reasons on which we base this opinion. Nor is it necessary to raise the cry of "Shame!" or to charge members of the Government with a betrayal of the pledges which they have given as individuals in favour of Women's Suffrage. The Press on Saturday published interesting analyses of the division, and showed, among other things, that twenty-two members of the Government had voted for the Bill, and only ten against it. A further analysis showed that 118 Liberals voted for the Bill and 74 against it; while 65 Conservatives voted for the Bill and 115 against it. These figures afford no encouragement for abandoning our non-party by-election policy, because they indicate that we should obtain much worse results from a predominantly Conservative than from a Liberal House of Commons. It must not be overlooked that although 13 or 14 Labour members were absent on account of the impending ballot on the continuance of the coal strike, every Labour member in the House gave us his support, and that this course had been sanctioned by an official resolution previously adopted by the party. It may well be a subject for careful thought and discussion at our next Council meeting whether, under these circumstances, we should not modify our existing

election policy and support Labour candidates wherever they are in the field at a contested election, unless the candidates selected by the other parties have given proof of their sincere advocacy of Women's Suffrage.

The *Times* whipped up anti-Suffrage members for the division on Thursday by saying that the occasion was far more serious than it had ever been before. "On other occasions it has been possible to deal with the question in an academic manner . . . without fear of practical consequences. Members of the House of Commons can no longer play with this question," etc. "The summer's flower is to the summer sweet, though to itself it only live and die," and the daily paper is for the day and is intended to expire when the day is done. But it is really an amusing study to look back and see how often the *Times* has said on recurring divisions on Women's Suffrage that "This time it is really serious, and members must not play with the question." On July 11th, 1910, it warned members of Parliament, in its first leading article, that "they must understand that this time is not play but business, and it behoves them to consider well the nature of the experiment they are invited to make and the responsibility which rests upon them." In November, 1910, the Parliamentary correspondent said that Women's Suffrage was a definite issue before the country at the election of the following month, and that a majority for Mr. Asquith meant a mandate from the country to pass a Women's Suffrage Bill. In December, 1911, the *Times* said the exact reverse. This sort of thing must be expected. Although the *Times* is so devoted to the expression, "This time is not play, but business," the only comment which we can make upon it is that it is part of the game. These tricks and dodges will multiply as our question approaches success. They have gathered thick round every successive Reform Bill, and a good many other Bills besides. The anti-Suffragists, we know, proclaim that Suffrage is dead, "the bubble has burst," and so forth, and then, almost in the same paragraph, that great and continuous effort will be needed to grapple successfully with it. In the late 'fifties and early 'sixties Lord Palmerston was where Mr. Asquith is now, Prime Minister of a Liberal Government, and an ardent opponent of Parliamentary reform. Asked at Tiverton why he did not bring in a Reform Bill, his answer was, "Because we are not geese." This is quite on a level with Mr. Asquith's speech last Thursday. He is against Women's Suffrage because he is. In 1863, the opponents of reform were quite sure that the question of the representation was dead. "Reform," said the *Quarterly Review*, "is no longer talked now. Mr. Bright has almost ceased to excite antipathy. Our statesmen," it continued, "have awakened to the fact that the imagined Reform agitation was nothing but an intrigue among themselves, and that the nation was far too sensible to desire any further approximation to the Government of the multitude." Within four years from that date Mr. Disraeli and a Conservative Government had passed, with the aid of a group of Radicals known as the tea-room party, a far more democratic Reform Bill than had ever been projected by a Liberal Government.

There is no cause even for temporary discouragement. We may say to our opponents as Gladstone said to him fifty years ago: "You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side. . . . The great social forces which mould the future are against you. They are marshalled on our side."

MILLCENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

**Our Little Brother.**

Extremists are often exceedingly useful unconscious critics of their own belief. They serve the purpose of caricature; they magnify the normal; they simplify and strip; they present the matter at an angle from which one had never perhaps seen it, and show it grotesque. For this reason extremists are a salutary discipline, and this is one of the reasons why it is exceedingly difficult to bear with the extremists of one's own side. Suffragists have for some years past experienced these difficulties to the full, and they ought to spare a little sympathy for the anti-Suffragists, who must—those of them who are retaining any common sense and sense of proportion—be wincing under the awful exhibitions of Sir Almroth Wright and Mr. Harold Owen. We class them together because, although the one is a scientific man with a reputation as a specialist in bacteriology, there is really not a pin to choose between them as exponents of the great and most difficult problem of the relations of the sexes in modern life. Neither of them has as much as begun to understand that the problem has two sides: the man's and the woman's. Their attitude is purely pontifical—"The world belongs to men. We are men. We will give you just so much of it as we choose."

We have always thought that the anti-Suffragists occupied an illogical and untenable position when they attempted to main-

tain that women are in their place in municipal but not in imperial politics. Even the physical force argument, which is the most plausible one in this connection, does not help them, because the municipalities dispose of the services of the police who are all men, and be it noted they dispose of their services within the country—one section of citizens coercing another section of citizens—a situation which should be far more difficult to meet than one in which the citizens, male and female, of one nation would dispose of the physical force of the army against another nation. The arguments of dissension in the home, unfitness, ignorance, indifference, lack of time, all apply with equal force to both franchises, and the only resting place for the Antis will be found by reversing the progress of centuries and turning women back to complete and absolute subjection to the physical force of men. This can only be done by refusing all education to women, for the educated woman of to-day would probably prefer death, and would certainly prefer life-long celibacy, to such subjection. This is the only consistent policy for the Antis, and this is where these two gentlemen actually land them.

Sir Almroth Wright's article, which appeared in the *Times* of March 28th and was endorsed by an enthusiastic leader, professed to be an attack on what he called "militant hysteria"; but it led very much further than that, as we shall show. Under cover of a criticism of excesses, many of which we admit and repudiate ("failures to appreciate values, the ranting literature, the astonishing incapacity to distinguish between truth and fiction"), the endeavour is made to saddle the whole Suffragist movement with responsibility for these excesses, and the writers exhibit in themselves the very faults which they attack.

Sir Almroth Wright begins by a statement that woman's physiology and psychology are mysteries to man and he has the candour to admit that they are not mysteries to woman, and yet he evades the reasonable conclusion, which is that women's judgment is likely to be wise and sound when it comes to dealing with women. He proceeds to suggest that women are at all times liable to become erotic maniacs, and that men know it and "do not feel at liberty to speak" about these little peculiarities. These matters are too large, too complex, and too technical to be dealt with here; we would only point out that "every woman knows" that erotic mania is by no means confined to women; that Sir Almroth's own admission that men will not tolerate "epicene institutions" (because they want to be free from "suggestion and restraint," while women are quite able to endure them) would seem to be an admission that men are more sex-obsessed than women; and that, far from its being the case that men do not "feel at liberty to speak" about women's sexual nature, they have scarcely ever talked about anything else, and have made the fundamental error, vilifying most of their observation of women, of taking their own subjective view alone, and not thinking of women objectively at all. There have in all times been men of a saner and juster outlook. Euripides and Plato, Defoe and Sydney Smith, John Stuart Mill and Meredith have had the larger vision, and we do not wish to retort upon Sir Almroth, in his own vein, an unreasonable and unjustifiable indictment of his entire sex. We only make our retort upon him and those like-minded with him, be they many or few. We regard this sex-obsession as a distortion of humanity, entirely curable because largely due to unnatural and bad human institutions: the segregation of the sexes in youth and the false conception that woman is made for man in any sense other than that in which it can be said man is made for woman.

Further, it seems likely that, in so far as Sir Almroth's views have been held more or less by most men in the past, and are enshrined in our laws and customs, they may be responsible for some of the want of balance in women, whose sexual nature has been outraged by the grossness of men's demands. It is neither natural nor right that women should be treated as creatures of sex alone, and no one yet knows how strong and fine their natures may yet become when freed from that monstrous tyranny; nor how deep and strong passion will be when it is at last cleared of the encumbrance of economic considerations. Physical force and economic necessity—these are the two tyrants that men must help women to lay, and many men are helping women now.

Sir Almroth asserts that medical men do not wish to work with medical women, and he attributes this reluctance to the "modesties and reticences upon which our civilisation has been built up." The "modesties" of our civilisation have led to our women being handled and examined by youths of the type common in medical students; the "reticences" of our civilisation have led to many men, and nearly all women, being ignorant of the very essentials that go to the building of a clean, healthy nation. Awakened and instructed women will have no more of the modesties and reticences upon which are founded racial decay and moral

degeneration, and they are being helped and strengthened by that growing mass of men learning to see that there is a women's point of view, and realising that it will strengthen them in their desire for the purification that is based on knowledge. It is, indeed, a fine tribute to our medical women when Sir Almroth admits they have so far transcended the supposed limits of sex as to put the "desire for knowledge" first. Had it been otherwise, we can well conceive the outcry—the justifiable outcry—that women had proved themselves unfit for really scientific work!

Space compels us to pass over many of Sir Almroth's admissions and contentions, and we will deal briefly with what he calls the essential point of inter-sexual ethics. This is that physical violence as between man and woman is an offence to civilisation. We are prepared to admit this, and we think it entirely proves the contention of the Suffragists that women should share with men the control of physical force. He asserts that it is an outrage for a man to strike a woman; one hopes that he would hold it an even greater outrage for a man to violate a woman, or—guilty of that which to women seems the deepest unforgivable sin—a girl child. And yet it is notorious to all that our laws, as administered by men, hold these outrages to be venial and scarcely punish them—and, what is far worse, afford little protection from them. Time after time we have published in these pages instances of how men have been liberated to repeat their offence and destroy the bodies and souls of little children. Yet he dares say that by the breakage of windows and the ineffective and merely foolish hustling of gigantic policemen women have done something far transcending in iniquity the wholesale destruction of women, of which men have been guilty!

Sir Almroth indicates that he is well aware that women could dispose of more physical force than is popularly attributed to them by the thoughtless, and he recognises that ethical considerations are the ultimate restraint on the use of such force; what he does not see is that men as individuals are still largely left free to use physical force against women. But it is when he comes to the control of physical force by the State that Sir Almroth logic utterly collapses. For he suggests that, since women are morally debarred from using physical force as individuals against men, they must be morally debarred from controlling the physical force which the State commands. But he began by saying that men are equally debarred from using physical force as individuals against women, and, if so, one finds it impossible to justify the controlling of the physical force of the State by men only, since this force is used impartially against women as against men. He argues that "the difference between voting and direct resort to force is simply the difference between exerting physical violence in person and exerting it through the intermediary of an agent of the State," and, since it is immoral for a man to use force against a woman as an individual, it is just as wrong for him to use it "through the intermediary of an agent of the State." We have always felt this. It is not good either for men or women that the Government, the power to enforce the laws—what should be the collective will of the State (men and women)—should reside in men alone or women alone; the sanction may be a sanction of physical force, but that force should be directed by the whole—not by the half.

Sir Almroth has, therefore, unconsciously made one of the most impassioned pleas imaginable for the enfranchisement of women, and the passage in which he speaks of how the vote was given in the Colonies without women having to pass through all this bitter struggle is another curious addition to the Suffragist case. We have always held that where bitterness exists, long maintained and intense, the wise man should seek the cause. This bitterness, Sir Almroth says, is "conspicuously absent" in those countries where women have been given the vote without much agitation. What is the rational conclusion?

"Peace will come again," he says; we believe it. "It will come when women cease to believe and to teach all manner of evil of man despitefully." Have they indeed done so? Can literature down all the ages really confirm this saying? Or, has it not been rather the other way about? Peace is to come "when she ceases to resent the fact that man cannot, and does not wish, to work side by side with her." Nay, little Brother Man, are we not of one flesh, and can we ever find peace by your persistent denial of our common humanity?

**Eugenics in Relation to Social Progress.**

On March 19th, at University College, London, Professor Karl Pearson, Director of the Galton Eugenics Laboratory, read a most interesting if somewhat controversial paper, entitled "Social Problems, their treatment, past, present and future." The hall was well filled, and the audience enthusiastic. The

lecturer introduced his paper by a personal declaration of faith: The political creed most in accordance with his views was Socialism. His religious feelings and emotions, as well as his moral and political doctrines, were focussed on the protection and furtherance of Society. He saw nothing inconsistent with enlightened Socialism in the Eugenists' belief that Nature is more influential than Nurture.

The purpose of evolution is beyond the scope of science, possibly of knowledge, but the bearing of the traditions of the past and of heredity, "That great boon or sad burden of man, according to the use he makes of it," on human life is within its province. Its aim should be so to prescribe for the future that man may develop socially with less friction than in the past.

The general tone of the paper, notwithstanding much severe criticism on popular, empirical "remedies," was optimistic. Man is limited and inefficient to-day, but he was infinitely more so in the past. It is not enough to compare the modern European with the ancient Greek or Egyptian; we must carry our minds back to primitive man, from the civilised nation to the savage herd. "We should think, not in thousands, but in hundred thousands."

One of the problems of the future is our relation to the negro races. Evolution, Professor Pearson contended, is incompatible with the theory of the natural equality of races or of human beings. The pure-blooded American-Indian and the African native are demonstrably in an earlier stage of racial development than the Asiatic or the European. Their civilisation was less advanced, even before the advent of the white man changed its character. That the negro belongs to the childhood of the race justifies us in treating him as a child, which is very different from treating him as a slave. A slave is repressed and exploited for his master's benefit, a child is trained with wisdom and sympathy for his own.

Our responsibility as an Empire with Colonial dependents is great in this matter, for the racial progress of other nations is as essential to our own as our degeneracy is harmful to them. The traditions and environment of the coloured man are being superseded, without any certainty that his upward growth is thus helped. The inter-tribal struggles, which were agents of natural selection, have been replaced by modern civilisation. We must see to it that the lines of Nature are followed, and that the survival of the physically and mentally abler is still assured.

The lecturer quoted Galton's aphorism that man has furthered evolution in the past half-unconsciously, but he has not yet recognised the religious duty to do so deliberately and systematically.

The development of man has been marked by a growth in social instinct, but there has been no proportionate increase in knowledge. Uninstructed sympathy, the audience were reminded, is an impediment to permanent improvement. In four cases out of five, good intentions may achieve good, but in the fifth instance the harm done is liable to outweigh all the benefits obtained.

Several examples were given: The prohibition of child-labour without compensation for loss of income was met by a voluntary restriction of the birth-rate; the precarious chances of the baby surviving (as shown by the high infant mortality) has a similar effect. The modest proposal of Mr. John Burns that married women should be forbidden to work for wages three months before and six months after childbirth, would, in the opinion of Professor Pearson, be still more disastrous to the birth rate, if unaccompanied by the endowment of motherhood. "It is not race suicide, but race murder," due to thoughtless legislation, which is the danger.

Striking examples were given of the lack of scientific method sometimes shown even by medical men and Government officials.

The vexed question of alcoholism was touched upon. As evidence of the ill-effects of drink, the oft quoted fact of the rise in the percentage of imbecile children conceived during the vintage season in Switzerland (the month of October) was mentioned (as if, said the lecturer, the gathering of rather sour grapes were a kind of Bacchanalian festival). Further inquiry has shown that this rise is merely commensurate with the average increase in normal conceptions during this month, and throws no light on the problem as to whether alcoholism is the cause or the result of insanity. The statistics in Dr. Leslie Murray's "Medical Inspection of School Children" also came in for trenchant criticism. Much has been made of tables giving the comparative heights and weights of children, aged between 5 and 14, living in one-, two- or three-roomed houses, and these statistics give results incredibly to the advantage of the last. On the supposition that the older children are members of larger families and therefore require more extensive accommodation, a further investigation in the same districts

was undertaken by members of the Eugenics Society. A calculation which considered the proportionate space allotted to each child showed that the better housed children were distinctly better developed, but the figures were about one-third of those given by Dr. Murray. Yet even this more careful inquiry gives no clue as to which of the many evils associated with overcrowding are chiefly responsible for the stunted condition of the children.

Efforts to alleviate suffering, to make life worth living for individuals of social value, are excellent, but it frequently happens that sensational conclusions are drawn from statistics that are entirely worthless. We cannot expect to find the knowledge needed for conscious racial evolution in the mass of men who dumbly bear ill, or cry out when the pain is past endurance; nor in the philanthropist whose mind is often concentrated on some one evil, until he is unable to take a wide view; nor in the politician, striving for votes, whose education has included anything but the study of living man, and who has never balanced Nature against Nurture, increased fertility against decreased infant mortality, nor considered the bearing of heredity and environment on human affairs. Leonardo da Vinci declared years ago the truth that has been restated by Lord Kelvin and Sir Francis Galton, that exact knowledge must be based on measurement and number. When people are reminded of a forgotten truth, there is friction, then heat, and then—light, but it is the same fire as that which Prometheus brought to humanity and, in bringing, suffered for it.

There should be less study of Comte and Herbert Spencer, and more of Darwin, Huxley, and Galton. The lecturer retailed the anecdote that when Spencer declared that he had once written a tragedy, Huxley replied, "I know what it is about. A beautiful induction, killed by a nasty little fact!" Sociology has been obscured by verbalism, but it will arise, as psychology has done, and become a true science.

Laboratories, thoroughly equipped statistically, biologically and medically, ought to be established in all Universities, as has been done in London, for training and research in National Eugenics, which has been defined as "the study of agencies under social control that may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations, either physically or mentally." Social problems would then be studied scientifically and without bias before any political solution were adopted as a party cry.

In conclusion, the lecturer said there was a great future for this kind of Sociology. We need an educated electorate, which will insure the survival only of the fittest candidate, and every man and woman should develop his or her critical powers and sist on more knowledge and less of charlatanism in our legislators.

It is pleasant to know that the Director of the Galton Laboratory is a convinced Suffragist, and does not share the strange view of some biologists, that because women are the bearers and guardians of the race, and, as Olive Schreiner has pointed out, have a more intimate knowledge of the meaning of life than is possible for men, therefore they should have no part in the legislation which is to control its development.

M. E. FRANKLIN.

### In Parliament.

#### Debate on the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill.

Mr. AGG GARDNER (U., Cheltenham), who moved the second reading, began by thanking the Prime Minister for his courtesy, and deprecating the "systematic interruption of meetings, personal insults to Cabinet Ministers, and wanton destruction of private property." He quoted the resolutions of 153 local councils to show that the business men of the country were not alarmed at the notion of women voting. He appealed to the principle that representation should accompany taxation.

Sir ALFRED MOND (L., Swansea), seconding, maintained that the arguments against giving women votes were the old familiar arguments that had been used against all progress for women. The needs of 5,000,000 women earning their own livelihood demanded representation; women had been very patient in waiting so long. There were two schools of thought: "One says women's sphere is the hearth and home, another says it is sewers and drains; but surely, looking after sewers and drains takes them away from their hearths and homes!" He regarded the exclusion of women as impoverishing the State, and he quoted the resolution of the Australian Commonwealth as showing the lesson of experience. He objected to penalising all women for the offences of a few: "Disorder is no argument, and coercion is no remedy." He deprecated any longer postponement.

Mr. HAROLD BAKER (L., Accrington) moved the rejection. He said he had the strongest sympathy with the women's demands

for the suffrage. He denied that the vote would do anything to improve the industrial condition of women; women had to make use of their opportunities in local government, and their independence of party gave them an added prestige in local government. He admitted that, like other members, he owed much to women's political associations, but "this is not a Bill to enfranchise members of political associations." He instanced the facts that women had been able twice in a generation to resist the attempt to drive them from the pit-brows and to modify the Insurance Act, as showing they could get all they wanted without the vote. The Parliamentary vote differed from the municipal in that it (1) dealt with a far larger subject matter; (2) required a different set of qualities; and (3) was founded on physical force. He declared that this particular Bill was a bad one for all the reasons with which we are familiar. He did not mind much about militancy, but he declared that there was no demand for the vote, and quoted the anti-suffrage canvasses as showing this.

Viscount HELMSLEY (U., Thirsk) seconded the rejection, and indicated much fear and apprehension of women in Parliament (they would "alter the whole tone"). He said the promoters of the Bill were advancing "under the shelter of militantism," and asked if anyone could doubt that, if the Bill passed its second reading, the success would be attributed by the militant section to militant tactics. He alluded to Sir Almoth Wright's letter as "extraordinarily able and interesting," and said he had "a feeling" which was stronger than logic or reason. This instinct, which was "common to the normal man and the normal woman, was that man alone should govern—man should be the dominant factor."

Mr. McCURDY (L., Northampton) strongly insisted that the House was competent to deal with the question, and derided the notion that, just because it was not a party question, it could not be settled. It was a cause which had been fought inside and outside the House for something like half a century, and he did not see that it need in any way jeopardise Home Rule. With regard to disturbances, the right thing to do was to put them down with a firm hand and at the same time redress grievances. He spoke warmly of the large body of women in the country who wanted the vote, no less than the few who had taken part in militancy. He regarded the letter in the *Times* as one which "everyone of us regards as an insult."

Mr. ASQUITH (Prime Minister, N.E. Fife) made a very short speech, in which he most scrupulously made it plain that he spoke "in no sense either as the head or as a member of the Government; still less do I claim to speak for the Liberal party outside in the country." He thought the lesson of "experience" was that the sex distinction should be maintained; he believed Parliament treated the special interests of women as well as those of men; he did not believe either the majority of women or the majority of men wanted it, and, as for the progress in the country, the division list that night would show whether it was real. It grieved him to differ from his "many old and devoted political friends," and also "to seem to be unsympathetic to the many public-spirited women outside who have done, and who are doing, so much in the cause of progress."

Lord ROBERT CECIL (U., Hitchin) said the suggestion that the division lists would, if unfavourable, show any diminution in the advance of Women's Suffrage generally throughout the country was "totally without foundation." Mr. Asquith had denied the demand. It was very difficult to show demand. This matter had been discussed for forty years; this very Bill had passed before, and in the interval two General Elections had taken place at which, by the Prime Minister's own statement, the question had been before the country. As against the anti-suffrage canvasses, he cited the local councils and all the resolutions of women's trade unions, organisations of teachers, and other bodies. He denied that there was any "experience" to prove the franchise bad for women. They were quite as industrious, public-spirited, and self-sacrificing as men. Whoever read Sir Almoth Wright's letter must feel that "that, at any rate, was not the right way to approach this question." All government rested on the sanction of physical force, municipal as well as imperial. Were they going to say that it was "perfectly feminine to administer laws and perfectly masculine to make them"? He thought there was more ground in the contention that there might be a distinction between subjects. But what were the subjects before Parliament this session? Minimum Wage, Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, Feebleminded, Milk, Temperance in Scotland, Education, and Housing. How could anyone say these did not concern women? Even on broad principles of defence and of the Empire (with which alone the voter could deal) women had just as good an opinion as men. Women needed the vote for their industrial betterment and in reply to the contention that the pit-brow women had saved themselves without the vote, he declared that there was no justification for the attempt to drive them out, and

if it had been men instead of women, such an attempt would never have been made—"the men have votes!" The inaction of the House with regard to white slave traffic showed that the Prime Minister's contention that women were well protected was unfounded. He himself was averse to women sitting in Parliament, because he thought the work too exhausting; but he did not feel the "curious effect" that some men seemed to feel of sitting on committees and mixed assemblies of men and women. He disapproved of militancy, but he denied that women had been spared the abuse of physical force. "We have not treated this question fairly. We have put it off again and again for some reason." He appealed to them to be true to their pledges.

Mr. EUGENE WASON (L., Clackmannan) regretted that he was going to give pain to some of his best friends in the Liberal Association, but he was so much impressed by Miss Violet Markham's speech in the Albert Hall, and by the fact that the militants could only break windows in reply, that he had become a convert.

Sir EDWARD GREY (Foreign Secretary, L., Berwick) paid a tribute to Mr. Asquith's fairness and said they were of course entitled to take full advantage of it. The passing of this Bill would not be derogatory to the Parliament Act, as Mr. Baker had contended, and it would advance the matter a step. "Whether people hold that this is a measure which ought to be passed in this particular form, or whether they hold that an election ought to take place before it finally becomes law—in both instances they have a perfectly good case for supporting this measure." He did not deny that the outbreaks of violence had done "real harm." But who was going to be penalised if members reversed their votes? Not the authors of the violence. "My impression is, what they want to produce by these outrages is an effect, and they are so reckless that they do not care what the effect is so long as it is an effect." In any case, he was unwilling to be driven out of his course by violence. What appealed to him most was "the position of the large majority of the women who support Women's Suffrage, who have not abandoned constitutional methods, and who have done their best to persuade the minority from departing from constitutional methods, and who will feel the sense of injustice of being deprived of the vote more strongly than any of the militants. These are the people who will be really penalised, and who most deserve our consideration and sympathy." He quoted the experience of our self-governing dominions, and answered the physical force argument by saying, of course the sanction of physical force was there, but public opinion decided how it should be used. He believed stability would be increased by the women's point of view being taken into account, and questions of industrial legislation and taxation all concerned women.

Mr. LANE FOX, Mr. MURRAY MACDONALD, and Sir CHARLES HENRY followed, the last-named pluming himself on having "some knowledge of the United States," although he actually stated that only four had equal suffrage.

Mr. CHARLES ROBERTS (U., Lincoln) made the interesting statement that in 1910 his opponent placarded the constituency with a poster asking electors to vote against him on account of his advocacy of Women's Suffrage, and yet he survived. Referring to Lord Helmsley's "instinct," he said, "I think we know that instinct, if we will be candid with ourselves. It is nothing less than the crude and unregenerate sense of masculine domination," which should be corrected by reason and argument. He had always thought the tactics of the militants detestable, and he thought the non-militants had not condemned them enough; but he did not believe in penalising the innocent for the guilty. He regretted Mr. Asquith's suggestion that the division that night would show the state of opinion on the Suffrage question.

Mr. GERSHAM STEWART (U., Wirral) advocated a National Council of Women, with "representation apportioned according to the different parties in this House," and sitting "not too near."

Mr. THEODORE TAYLOR (L., Radcliffe) denied that you could prevent sex antagonism by denying justice. He alluded to the petition from 29,000 Lancashire and Cheshire women, which he presented nine or ten years ago, and he deplored the sensational nature of the Press, which always reported sensational matter and overlooked quiet work. "For every woman who has broken a window there have been a hundred women engaged in advocating the cause at hundreds and thousands of meetings all over the country." He adjured members to try and put themselves in the women's place, and imagine how it felt to be a woman.

Mr. SNOWDEN (Lab., Blackburn) alluded to the petition signed by 7,300 electors in his own constituency, and showed the importance of the vote for industrial purposes. "We want deeds, not merely words."

Mr. ARNOLD WARD (U., Watford) endeavoured to show that "militantism and hysteria are inherent in, and inseparable from,

the Suffrage movement." He was anxious to preserve the "spotless modesty and self-restraint" of "our younger women." As a sign of the "inseparable connection" alluded to, he stated that at sundry times the W.S.P.U. had been supported by Sir Charles Rose, Mr. Cecil Chapman, the Gaekwer of Baroda, Lord Lytton, and Mr. Brailsford. He attributed the change in the feeling of the House, however, not to militancy, but to the announcement of the Government Reform Bill, and he seemed to be in agreement with the W.S.P.U. about the impossibility of passing a non-party measure.

Sir W. BYLES (L., N. Salford) created much laughter. Mr. DICKINSON supported the Bill, and Mr. MACCALLUM SCOTT used his familiar physical force argument.

Lord ROBERT CECIL moved the closure, and the vote was taken—208 for the Bill, 222 against; majority of 14 against the second reading.

**Division List.**

**For the Bill.**

- J. S. Ainsworth, P. Alden, L. C. M. S. Amery, and L. A. Atherley-Jones.
- J. A. Baker, A. J. Balfour, Sir Robert Balfour, Sir Godfrey Baring, Major G. Baring, Montague Barlow, G. N. Barnes, H. T. Barrie, W. Barton, Sir E. Beauchamp, A. Shirley Benn, W. Benn, F. Bennett-Goldney, G. J. Bentham, Lord H. C. Bentinck, Sir J. H. Bethell, A. Bird, A. Birrell, Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen, C. W. Boverman, S. O. Buckmaster, John Burns, Thomas Burt, Noel Buxton, and Sir W. P. Byles.
- Sir E. H. Carille, Sir Frederick Cawley, H. T. Cawley, Lord Hugh Cecil, Lord Robert Cecil, H. G. Chancellor, W. Clough, J. A. Clyde, S. Collins, C. C. Craig, and N. Craig.
- Sir James H. Dalziel, Sir W. H. Davies, M. Vaughan-Davies, Baron de Forest, R. D. Denman, E. R. Bartley Dennis, W. H. Dickinson, C. S. Dickson, Sir George Doughty, and C. Duncan.
- J. H. Edwards.
- B. G. Falle, Arthur Fell, Charles Fenwick, T. R. Ferens, and W. Hayes Fisher.
- E. Gardner, D. Lloyd George, J. Gilhooly, A. H. Gill, H. J. Glanville, C. S. Goldman, F. Goldstone, J. E. Gordon, E. A. Goulding, W. R. Greene, Colonel J. W. Greig, Sir Edward Grey, Ellis Griffith, and J. W. Gulland.
- M. Hall, J. Keir Hardie, A. G. C. Harvey, T. E. Harvey, E. Hayward, T. M. Healy, N. W. Helme, Arthur Henderson, J. S. Higham, J. Hinds, S. J. G. Hoare, John Hodge, D. T. Holmes, H. Hope, J. D. Hope, Geoffrey Howard, W. Hudson, W. E. Hume-Williams, and Sir Charles R. Hunter.
- Percy H. Illingworth and Sir Rufus Isaacs.
- E. T. John, Sir D. Brynmor Jones, Edgar R. Jones, Henry Haydn Jones, Leif Jones, William Jones, W. S. Glyn-Jones, and F. W. Jowett.
- J. King.
- G. Lansbury, A. Bonar Law, H. Lawson, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, C. Leach, J. H. Lewis, Viscount Lewisham, T. Lough, Claude Lowther, and A. Lyttelton.
- J. Ramsay MacDonald, J. Murray Macdonald, D. Maclean, Dr. T. J. Macnamara, J. M. McCallum, C. A. McCurdy, F. W. S. McLaren, H. D. McLaren, W. S. B. McLaren, Major G. McMicking, R. McNeill, Sir Arthur Markham, A. H. Marshall, D. M. Mason, J. D. Millar, E. S. Montagu, Philip Morrell, \*Captain E. Morrison-Bell, and L. Munro.
- F. Neilson, F. A. N. Newdegate, H. K. Newton, Sir Charles Nicholson, Sir Henry Norman, and Harry Nuttall.
- W. O'Brien, J. O'Grady, and W. Ormsby-Gore.
- G. M. Palmer, J. Parker, Westman Pearson, H. Pike Pease, J. Pointer, C. E. Price, and Colonel E. Pryce-Jones.
- G. H. Radford, P. W. Raffan, R. F. Ratcliff, J. F. Remnant, A. Rendall, T. Richardson, Charles H. Roberts, George H. Roberts, Sir J. H. Roberts, S. Roberts, Sir G. Scott Robertson, J. M. Robertson, W. F. Roch, Sir Thomas Roe, Sir John Rolleston, Sir Charles Rose, J. Rowlands, Arnold Rowntree, W. Runciman, and W. W. Rutherford.
- Sir A. Clavell Salter, J. Samuel, R. A. Sanders, Sir Charles Schwann, E. Shortt, Sir John A. Simon, Albert Smith, H. B. Lees Smith, Philip Snowden, Sir J. W. Spear, Sir A. Spicer, J. E. Sutton, and Rigby Swift.
- J. W. Taylor, T. C. Taylor, H. J. Tennant, G. Terrell, J. H. Thomas, W. Mitchell-Thomson, G. R. Thorne, G. A. Touche, Sir George Toulmin, and C. P. Trevelyan.
- Alexander Ure.
- Sir Harry Verney.
- Sir Joseph Walton, G. J. Wardle, Major G. D. White, J. D. White, Sir Luke White, J. H. Whitehouse, T. Wiles, A. Wilkie, Penry Williams, W. T. Wilson, Viscount Wolmer, John Wood, Samuel Hill Wood, T. M. Wood, L. Worthington-Evans, C. B. Stuart-Wortley, and George Wyndham.
- Sir J. H. Yoxall.
- Tellers: Mr. Agg-Gardiner and Sir Alfred Mond.

**Against the Bill.**

- Dr. C. Addison, T. C. R. Agar-Robartes, Sir George Agnew, C. P. Allen, Sir William Anson, Major M. Archer-Shee, R. Armitage, W. W. Ashley, and H. H. Asquith.
- Lieutenant-Colonel J. Bagot, Harold T. Baker, Sir R. Baker, Lord Balcarras, S. Baldwin, Sir F. G. Banbury, Harry Barnston, Sir J. N. Barran, R. H. Barran, B. Bathurst, C. Bathurst, M. H. Hicks Beach, A. C. Beck, L. H. Benn, A. Bigland, A. W. Black, F. H. Booth, P. J. Brady, H. L. C. Brassey, J. F. L. Brunner, J. Annan Bryce, W. Burdett-Coutts, E. Haviland-Burke, J. G. Butcher, and Sydney Buxton.
- J. Campbell, W. R. Campion, H. W. Carr-Gomm, J. Cator, Evelyn Cecil, Colonel R. G. W. Chaloner, Austen Chamberlain, H. Chaplin, Winston Churchill, J. J. Clancy, Major Sir E. F. Coates, G. P. Collins, Sir J. Compton-Rickett, R. A. Cooper, Sir E. A. Cornwall, H. J. Craig, Sir H. Craik, E. Crawshaw-Williams, H. P. Croft, P. Crumley, and J. Cullinan.
- Viscount Dalrymple, David Davies, T. Davies, J. A. Dawes, John Dillon, C. H. Dixon, Captain A. Donelan, W. Doris, A. P. Du Cros, W. J. Duffy, and J. H. Duncan.
- A. C. Edwards, R. W. Essex, and B. M. Eyres-Monsell.
- G. D. Faber, R. C. Munro-Ferguson, G. Fetherstonhaugh, E. E. Fiennes, Sir R. Finlay, E. A. FitzRoy, M. J. Flavin, V. Fleming, and G. A. France.
- G. A. Gibbs, W. G. C. Gladstone, Captain P. K. Glazebrook, F. Goldsmith, J. A. Grant, Hamar Greenwood, J. Grettton, Major C. H. Guest, R. Guinness, W. Guinness, and R. S. Gwynne.
- J. Hackett, Angus V. Hambro, Lord Claud Hamilton, Marquis of Hamilton, L. Harcourt, L. Hardy, H. P. Harris, H. B. Harrison-Broadley, Lewis Haslam, Sir H. Havelock-Allan, J. P. Hayden, Viscount Helmsley, Major H. Henderson, Sir C. S. Henry, A. N. Herbert, Colonel Sir Ivor Herbert, Colonel T. E. Hickman, Sir Clement L. Hill, J. W. Hills, C. E. H. Hobhouse, G. F. Hohler, J. Fitzalan Hope, and Rowland Hunt.
- Sir J. Jardine and Captain H. A. Jessel.
- M. Keating, Earl of Kerry, H. Keswick, and Sir H. Kimber.
- R. Lambert, G. R. Lane-Fox, Sir J. Larmor, A. H. Lee, O. Locker-Lampson, Lieutenant-Colonel A. R. Lockwood, Sir F. Low, Sir F. W. Lowe, T. London, C. H. Lyell, and J. C. Lyttelton.
- W. J. M. MacCaw, H. J. Mackinder, D. Macmaster, J. MacVeagh, R. McKenna, Sir Philip Magnus, A. D. Steel-Maitland, Ian Malcolm, H. Manfield, Sir G. C. Marks,

- J. Martin, J. F. Mason, C. F. G. Masterman, M. Meagher, F. E. Meehan, P. A. Meehan, Sir W. Menzies, F. B. Mildmay, C. T. Mills, M. Molloy, P. A. Molteno, \*Captain E. Morrison-Bell, A. C. Morton, and A. C. Murray.
- W. G. Nicholson and J. Nolan.
- P. O'Brien, J. O'Connor, J. O'Dowd, E. P. O'Kelly, J. O'Malley, W. O'Malley, A. E. B. O'Neill, Dr. C. O'Neill, and P. J. O'Shaughnessy.
- A. H. Paget, Sir G. Parker, R. Pearce, W. Pearce, J. A. Pearce, W. R. W. Peel, J. Phillips, D. V. Pirie, P. J. Power, E. G. Pretymann, Sir R. J. Price, Sir A. Priestley, Sir W. E. B. Priestley, and N. J. Primrose.
- Sir Guthbert Quiller.
- J. F. P. Rawlinson, M. Reddy, J. E. Redmond, M. A. Roche, Earl of Ronaldshay, L. de Rothschild, E. Royds, and T. W. Russell.
- Sir Harry Samuel, Herbert Samuel, S. M. Samuel, G. J. Sandys, A. MacCallum Scott, Leslie Scott, Sir S. Scott, Colonel Seely, F. E. Smith, Harold Smith, T. F. Smyth, A. W. Soames, Major G. Stanley, J. R. Starkey, Gershom Stewart, E. A. Strauss, and Mark Sykes.
- Lord E. Talbot, Lord A. Thynne, A. A. Tobin, Captain G. C. Tryon, and the Marquis of Tullibardine.
- Sir T. Courtenay Warner, E. Wason, Patrick White, Sir T. P. Whittaker, Colonel R. Williams, Sir A. Williamson, Major C. J. Willoughby, Earl Winterton, E. F. L. Wood, and H. FitzHerbert Wright.
- Colonel C. E. Yate, W. Young, and Sir G. Younger.
- Tellers: Sir Maurice Levy and Mr. Arnold Ward.
- \*The name of Captain E. Morrison-Bell (Ashburton) appears in the official list under both the "Ayes" and the "Noes." There is also in the House Major A. C. Morrison-Bell, Member for Honiton.

**How the Leaders Voted.**

- (15) *Ministers Voting for.*
  - Sir Edward Grey.
  - Mr. Birrell.
  - Mr. Lloyd George.
  - Mr. Ure.
  - Mr. Runciman.
  - Mr. John Burns.
  - Sir Rufus Isaacs.
  - Sir John Simon.
  - Mr. J. W. Gulland.
  - Mr. McKinnon Wood.
  - Mr. Geoffrey Howard.
  - Mr. E. E. Montagu.
  - Mr. Bonar Law.
  - Mr. Alfred Lyttelton.
  - Mr. George Wyndham.
  - Mr. C. S. Dickson.
  - Mr. C. P. Trevelyan.
- (11) *Ministers Voting Against.*
  - Mr. Asquith.
  - Mr. Sydney Buxton.
  - Mr. Winston Churchill.
  - Mr. Lewis Harcourt.
  - Mr. Herbert Samuel.
  - Mr. McKenna.
  - Mr. J. A. Pease.
  - Mr. T. W. Russell.
  - Mr. Mrsterman.
  - Colonel Seely.
  - (Of these, Mr. Buxton, Mr. Russell and Mr. Masterman profess to be in favour of Women's Suffrage.)

- (7) *Opp. Front Bench For.*
  - Mr. Balfour.
  - Mr. Bonar Law.
  - Mr. Alfred Lyttelton.
  - Mr. George Wyndham.
  - Mr. C. B. Stuart-Wortley.
  - Mr. C. S. Dickson.
  - Mr. Hayes Fisher.
- (5) *Opp. Front Bench Against.*
  - Mr. Austen Chamberlain.
  - Mr. Chaplin.
  - Mr. F. E. Smith.
  - Sir W. Anson.
  - Mr. C. B. Stuart-Wortley.
  - Mr. J. Campbell.

**List of Pairs For and Against.**

- For.*
  - Viscount Castlereagh.
  - Captain Craig.
  - A. Acland Allen.
  - W. Astor.
  - Sir F. Edward.
  - P. Kerr Smiley.
  - Captain Faber.
  - J. S. H. Banner.
  - Sir G. Pollard.
  - R. F. Peel.
  - G. Kyffin-Taylor.
  - J. R. Clynes.
  - Sir E. Sassoon.
  - J. Chambers.
  - A. A. W. H. Ponsonby.
  - J. Falconer.
  - W. R. Rea.
  - B. Peto.
  - G. White.
  - Sir W. Gelder.
  - D. F. Boles.
  - S. Roberts.
  - F. D. Acland.
  - F. E. Guest.
  - W. P. Beale.
  - Dr. Chauncy.
  - W. Middlebrook.
  - Sir J. T. Walters.
  - W. Brace.
  - Lord N. Crichton-Stuart.
  - Sir R. Adkins.
  - Sir J. E. Barlow.
  - H. Watt.
- Against.*
  - Jesse Collings.
  - Sir J. B. Lonsdale.
  - R. Winfrey.
  - J. T. Middlemore.
  - F. Kellaway.
  - G. Lloyd.
  - P. S. Foster.
  - A. Sykes.
  - H. Webb.
  - J. McMordie.
  - A. G. Weigall.
  - W. A. Mount.
  - J. Chamberlain.
  - J. Gordon.
  - J. Rutherford.
  - Sir J. Dewar.
  - Hon. G. Beckett.
  - Walter Long.
  - H. S. Wilson.
  - G. Lambert.
  - E. Jardine.
  - J. H. Duncan.
  - J. Gilmore.
  - Colonel Warde.
  - J. Cathcart Wason.
  - W. Hewins.
  - Capt. Spender-Clay.
  - Sir H. Raphael.
  - J. J. Mooney.
  - Hon. A. Stanley.
  - Hall Walker.
  - Stanley Hill.
  - W. M. R. Pringle.
  - Mr. Chiozza Money, Mr. Neilson, Sir John Bethell, and Mr. Walsh (all for the Bill) could not be provided with pairs.

**The Division Analysed.**

The following is an analysis of the voting on the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill, 1912:—

|                 | Voted for. | Paired for. | Voted agst. | Paired agst. | Abstained. |
|-----------------|------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|------------|
| Liberals ..     | 117        | 18          | 73          | 9            | 48         |
| Unionists ..    | 63         | 13          | 114         | 24           | 02         |
| Labour ..       | 25         | 3           | —           | —            | 15         |
| Nationalist ..  | —          | —           | 35          | 1            | 40         |
| O'Brienites ..  | 3          | —           | —           | —            | 5          |
| <b>Total</b> .. | <b>208</b> | <b>34</b>   | <b>222</b>  | <b>34</b>    | <b>170</b> |

For purposes of comparison we append the analysis of the voting on the same Bill in May, 1911:—

|                 | Voted for. | Paired for. | Voted agst. | Paired agst. | Abstained. |
|-----------------|------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|------------|
| Liberals ..     | 145        | 25          | 36          | 12           | 50         |
| Unionists ..    | 53         | 25          | 43          | 43           | 108        |
| Labour ..       | 26         | 5           | —           | —            | 11         |
| Nationalists .. | 31         | —           | 9           | —            | 28         |
| O'Brienites ..  | —          | —           | —           | —            | 8          |
| <b>Total</b> .. | <b>255</b> | <b>55</b>   | <b>88</b>   | <b>55</b>    | <b>205</b> |

A further analysis shows that the voting against the Bill is made up as follows:—

| <b>Liberals—(73 voted against.)</b>     | Anti-Suffragists ..              | 42         |
|---|----------------------------------|------------|
|   | Formerly favourable ..           | 17         |
|   | Neutrals ..                      | 5          |
|   | Adultists ..                     | 9          |
|   | <b>Total ..</b>                  | <b>73</b>  |
| <b>Unionists—(114 voted against.)</b>   | Anti-Suffragists ..              | 96         |
|   | Formerly favourable ..           | 8          |
|   | Neutrals ..                      | 10         |
|   | <b>Total ..</b>                  | <b>114</b> |
| <b>Nationalists—(35 voted against.)</b> | Voted against the Bill last year | 6          |
|   | for " " " "                      | 11         |
|   | Abstained ..                     | 18         |
|   | <b>Total ..</b>                  | <b>35</b>  |

An analysis of the abstentions is also important as showing how the Bill was defeated this year. It works out as follows:—

| <b>Liberals—(48 abstentions.)</b>     | Voted against last year ..               | 3         |
|---------------------------------------|--|-----------|
|                                       | for " " " "                              | 15        |
|                                       | Abstained ..                             | 27        |
|                                       | Tried to pair for last year ..           | 1         |
|                                       | Returned at by-elections since May, 1911 | 2         |
|                                       | <b>Total ..</b>                          | <b>48</b> |
| <b>Unionists—(63 abstentions.)</b>    | Voted against last year ..               | 2         |
|                                       | for " " " "                              | 22        |
|                                       | Abstained ..                             | 38        |
|                                       | Returned at by-election since May, 1911  | 1         |
|                                       | <b>Total ..</b>                          | <b>63</b> |
| <b>Labour Party—(15 abstentions.)</b> | Voted for last year ..                   | 6         |
|                                       | Abstained ..                             | 8         |
|                                       | Tried to pair for last year ..           | 1         |
|                                       | <b>Total ..</b>                          | <b>15</b> |

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

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

**Hon. Secretaries:** Miss K. D. COURTNEY. **President:** Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D.  
**Hon. Secretary to Press Committee:** Miss Edith Palliser (Parliamentary). **Hon. Sec. to Literature Committee:** Miss I. B. O'Malley. **Telephone:** 1960 Victoria.  
**Telegrams:** "Voiceless, London." **Hon. Sec. to Literature Committee:** Miss I. B. O'Malley. **Telephone:** 1960 Victoria.  
**Offices:** Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

**From Headquarters.**

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.**

**PROPOSED SPECIAL COUNCIL MEETING.**

The Executive Committee has had under consideration the summoning of a Special Council Meeting to consider the situation created by the defeat of the Conciliation Bill. The Committee decided however not at present to summon a Council meeting. The policy laid down by the Special Meeting held in December still holds good, and though it was felt that a Council Meeting would no doubt be useful for purposes of discussion, the Committee did not think it right to involve the Union in the expenditure of time and money which such a meeting would involve when it was not absolutely necessary. Much may happen in the course of the next few weeks which will throw light on the situation, and it is possible that events may develop in such a way that a general Council Meeting will be necessary later on. This being so, it would be premature to summon a meeting now, especially when work in the constituencies is of the first importance, and when the energies of the Union should be concentrated upon it.

The defeat of the Conciliation Bill makes fresh calls upon our courage and our constancy, and especially upon that kind of courage and constancy which recognises that there are no short cuts to success. Many rather wild and futile suggestions are made as to what suffragists should do next; the plain fact remains that what we have to do is to work in the constituencies; and it does not seem profitable to consider summoning a special Council Meeting until events have readjusted themselves and we are able to see exactly whether or not it will be necessary.

The Committee has on hand a scheme of work in all constituencies which was at once communicated to the Societies. There can only be one answer to the defeat of the Conciliation Bill last Thursday:—More work and more money for the Women's Suffrage cause.

K. D. COURTNEY.

*Nationalists—(45 abstentions)*

|                            |           |
|----------------------------|-----------|
| Voted against last year .. | 3         |
| for " " " "                | 23        |
| Abstained ..               | 19        |
| <b>Total ..</b>            | <b>45</b> |

It is easy to see that the turn-over of votes in the Nationalist Party is the main cause of the defeat of the Conciliation Bill last Thursday. Not one of the Nationalist Party voted for us this year; 36 voted and paired against and 45 abstained.

The following analysis shows that the Irish votes lost would have counted 63 on a division:—

|                 |           |   |    |                |
|-----------------|-----------|---|----|----------------|
| Pro to con ..   | 11        | = | 22 | on a division. |
| Pro—abstain ..  | 23        | = | 23 | " " "          |
| Abstain—con ..  | 18        | = | 18 | " " "          |
| <b>Total ..</b> | <b>63</b> |   |    |                |

The fact that this turnover was due, not to hostility to women's suffrage on principle, but to Mr. John Redmond's fear for the fate of Home Rule, does not make the result less unfortunate for the Conciliation Bill.

The unfortunate circumstance of the absence in their constituencies of 13 miners' representatives who would have voted for the Bill with the rest of the Labour Party, was another accident which contributed to our defeat, while the loss of Liberal and Unionist votes is due mainly to the deplorable effects of militancy. The following analysis shows that they count respectively 45 and 36 on a division, making a total of 81.

The Liberal Party is responsible for the loss of 45 votes.

Of the 17 who broke their pledges, 13 voted for the Bill last year; we thus have:—

|                      |           |   |    |                |
|----------------------|-----------|---|----|----------------|
| Pro—con ..           | 13        | = | 26 | on a division. |
| Pro—abstain ..       | 15        | = | 15 | " " "          |
| Paired for—voted con | 4         | = | 4  | " " "          |
| <b>Total ..</b>      | <b>45</b> |   |    |                |

The Unionists shew a loss of 36 votes, made up as follows:—

|                 |           |   |    |                |
|-----------------|-----------|---|----|----------------|
| Pro—con ..      | 4         | = | 8  | on a division. |
| Pro—abstain ..  | 22        | = | 22 | " " "          |
| Abstain—con ..  | 6         | = | 6  | " " "          |
| <b>Total ..</b> | <b>36</b> |   |    |                |

**MANIFESTO.**

On Friday, 29th, the Executive issued the following manifesto:—

The Executive Committee of the N.U.W.S.S. do not regard the defeat of the Conciliation Bill by the narrow majority of 14 as a sign of hostility to the political enfranchisement of women. They attribute this defeat to the following causes, which are irrelevant to the principle at issue, and some of which are, moreover, of a temporary nature:—

(1) The opposition of the Irish Party, which was due, not to their hostility to the principle of Women's Suffrage, but to Mr. John Redmond's belief that the passage of the Conciliation Bill through the House of Commons would endanger the success of Home Rule. The responsibility for the action of the Irish party is shared by those who persuaded them and those who allowed them to be persuaded, that this belief was well founded.

Last year 31 Nationalists voted for the Conciliation Bill and 9 against. This year 3 Independent Nationalists, but not one of Mr. Redmond's party voted for the Bill; 34 voted against it, 10 of these having voted for it in 1911: therefore, whereas in 1911 the Irish showed a majority of 22 for the Bill, in 1912 they gave an adverse vote of 34.

(2) The absence of the 13 miners' representatives in the Labour Party, who were obliged to be in their constituencies on account of the coal strike. These would have voted for the Bill with the other members of the Labour Party.

(3) The success of the efforts of the six members who urged their colleagues to break pledges given to the law-abiding Suffragists, in order to mark their disapproval of the action of the militant section. These six members claim to have turned 35 votes, and although it is clear from the division lists that they did not influence so large a number, 16 Liberals and 10 Conservatives pledged to support the Bill voted against it on this occasion.

(4) The disastrous effect of militancy on public opinion, which made it possible for members to break their pledges without arousing popular indignation.

The result of the temporary check to the passage of a Women's Suffrage measure through the House of Commons will be an increase of vigour and determination in those who are

working for this reform. Already many women have been drawn aside from other work, political and philanthropic, to concentrate upon obtaining the Parliamentary vote, without which they feel such work is heavily handicapped. One deplorable but inevitable result of delay will be the still further diversion of funds and work from other channels of social usefulness.

The first object of the N.U.W.S.S. will be to strengthen the support of a W.S. amendment to the promised Government Reform Bill. The Committee feel that the responsibility for ensuring the passage of such an amendment is laid upon those who opposed (and with the aid of the militants, defeated) the Conciliation Bill because they preferred a wider measure.

The Committee consider that in spite of the defeat of the Bill there are several elements of encouragement in the situation. The number of favourable Unionist votes has increased from 53 in 1911 to 61 in 1912, and on this occasion the Labour Party resolved to give the Bill their official support. The speakers and voters for the Bill included many of the ablest men in the House of Commons. The names of Sir Edward Grey, Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Arthur Balfour, Sir Alfred Mond, Mr. Bonar Law, and Mr. Snowden are in themselves proofs of this assertion.

The cordial thanks of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies are heartily given to those friends of the movement who supported the Bill by voice and vote. There would be no cause for regret if all those who professed to support the enfranchisement of women had worked actively to place a measure of Women's Suffrage on the Statute Book.

Press Department.

The value of a defeat lies in the fact that it enables us to learn exactly how we stand. As regards our own forces, of course, every check simply serves to increase our determination and energy, but amongst those supporters who are not actually within our ranks a kind of sorting process takes place, in the course of which the hangers-on in times of prosperity are weeded out, leaving only the convinced Suffragists to continue the fight with us. This process is most instructive to watch in the case of the Press.

It is not more than a few months ago that the Daily Chronicle assured us of its support, yet, in its issue of March 30th, we find a leading article entitled "Lightening the Ship," in which the Government is urged to postpone its Electoral Reform Bill till 1913, a course of action which would involve breaking the pledge given to the National Union on November 17th, and a suggestion which Mr. Lloyd George has characterised as "an imputation of deep dishonour which he declines to discuss." "The process of lightening the legislative ship," says the Daily Chronicle, "may be said to have begun with the result of the second reading debate on the Conciliation Bill. That adverse vote puts female franchise out of the running for the time being. Parliament cannot this year be asked to consider the question again. With it, then, it would be well to postpone the Government's measure of Electoral Reform. . . . Certainly, there is not sufficient time for such a piece of work this year; but, if the Government's Electoral Reform measure is postponed till 1913, there is no reason why Mr. Harold Baker's Plural Voting Bill should not be carried." "The abolition of the plural vote," which "is long overdue," "the eagerly awaited measure which is to make a curbed and fettered Ireland free," "the demand which the Welsh people have so long, so patiently, and so convincingly put forward"—these can all be dealt with this session; but for a measure which will afford women another opportunity of making good their claim to enfranchisement there is no time, although the epithets employed above would appear to women to apply with at least equal force to their demand. On this occasion, any effect which this article may have produced on lukewarm supporters will have been counter-balanced by the inspiring contribution by Mrs. Swanwick to the same issue, but we would remind the Daily Chronicle that this policy of urging the Government to break pledges given to women is not one which commends itself to Suffragists.

The Westminster Gazette has not come through the hour of defeat with flying colours. Passages such as the following from its issue of March 29th make us rub our eyes with astonishment, and ask whether the writer has existed in a state of coma for the last seven years, or whether this is another case of misrepresentation. "But each campaign of speech-interrupting, stone-throwing, and window-breaking was at the same time alienating great masses of opinion which, though unconvinced, were disposed to be favourable, and which might have won if, after the first advertisement by the new methods, the whole of the Suffragists had sat down together to do the quiet, hard work which is indispensable to all causes, and without which

angry manifestations are mere foam with no wave beneath them. If the movement is brought to a standstill it is because this work has never been done. The old Suffragists held drawing-room meetings, and went gently on their way, content with an annual motion or second reading in the House of Commons. The new Suffragists agitated violently. . . . Finally we are told that "the ultimate answer to the line of reasoning" pursued by Sir Almroth Wright "must come from women themselves, and come, not from hysterical demonstrations, which appear to confirm it, but from the serious pleas of practical working women, who can assure us that they have the majority of their sex upon their side, in regarding exclusion from direct influence on the legislature as bad for the State and an injury to their sex." We would recommend to the Westminster a perusal of Mrs. Fawcett's "Short History of Women's Suffrage," of the list of meetings held by the National Union, published weekly in the COMMON CAUSE during the last three years, and of the resolutions passed by associations of working women on the subject of Women's Suffrage. Having thus acquired a few facts, it may perhaps hope to produce an article on the question, without rendering itself a laughing stock to the world in general.

To read the Morning Post on the subject of Women's Suffrage gives one the sensation of listening to a familiar and hackneyed tune on a barrel organ. We wonder whether the grinder is as wearied of it as the listeners. The only interest lies in counting the number of self-contradictions in which the writer becomes involved, and of which we may quote the following, in the Morning Post of March 29th:—"In many constituencies the women electors would hold the balance of power. . . . They would support only those candidates who are ready to assent to the extension of the franchise to women. . . . It is not true that the women of the country want the vote. A small minority have been clamouring for it, but it is absurd to take the noise of the few as representing the voice of the many."

After these lukewarm friends and avowed enemies it is very refreshing to turn to the vigorous article in the Manchester Guardian, on March 29th, and see the futility of the objections raised during the debate of the night before exposed for the benefit of those who, in the matter of Women's Suffrage, as the Westminster says, "fall back on their instinct." It is good, too, to find that others besides ourselves realise that Suffragists "will not lose hope or heart."

The Daily News has proved itself a staunch friend during the last few days. On March 28th it made an urgent appeal to members of Parliament not to be deterred from voting according to their convictions by the action of "a small fraction of the whole body of women who desire the vote." Reviewing the situation on March 30th, the Daily News says "the whole movement should at once accept the leadership of Mrs. Henry Fawcett, who is endowed with the statesman's experience and the statesman's judgment."

The Morning Leader concludes an interesting article by affirming its conviction, which every Suffragist will endorse, that "the House of Commons . . . cannot . . . permanently resist a demand, the justice of which the same House has within the last three years formally admitted."

The letter by Sir Almroth Wright in the Times of March 28th, which Viscount Helmsley found so "extraordinarily able and interesting," has called forth many replies contrasting most favourably with it by their sanity and commonsense, of which that by Sir Victor Horsley, in the Times of April 1st, is a striking example.

M. MACKENZIE.

Literature Department.

N.U.W.S.S., 14, GREAT SMITH STREET, S.W.

The Manifesto issued by the National Union on March 29th, giving the reasons for the defeat of the Conciliation Bill and announcing policy, has been reprinted, and can be had at 1s. per 100.

I greatly hope that Suffragists who are going to holiday resorts for Easter will, where possible, take some National Union leaflets with them to distribute. I heard the other day from a lady who has been placing a supply of leaflets in the waiting-room of the Baths at Droitwich, with a notice "Please take one." She says that she finds visitors are quite ready to take them and read them. Will not other members do the same thing in other places? Our leaflets ought to be found in all kinds of waiting-rooms, seaside shelters, etc. It would be useful if they could also be given away to the crowds who walk up and down the esplanades of south coast watering places during the Easter days. The following leaflets can any of them be had for 4d. per 100, or 2s. 6d. per 1,000, and any of them would be most suitable:—

"Why do women want the vote; well, why do men vote?"

"Women in the Home."  
"The Tool."  
"The Wider World."  
"Let the Women Help."  
"What will happen when Women get the Vote."  
"Fourteen Reasons for Women's Suffrage."  
Will not some holiday-makers buy 2s. 6d. worth and give them away?

I. B. O'MALLEY.

Treasurer's Notes.

Since last week we are faced with a new situation. As has been shown in the statement issued by the National Executive on Friday, some of the causes of the adverse vote in the House of Commons were accidental and unavoidable, but others call for prompt and active attention.

Under cover of the wave of adverse sentiment which passed over the country owing to the recent action of the militants, a number of members of Parliament have broken their pledges given both to us and to their constituents. Therefore, our immediate work lies in the constituencies.

Instant advantage must be taken of the revulsion in our favour brought about by the conduct of those who should have

Contributions.

ALBERT HALL MEETING, FEBRUARY 23rd, 1912.  
Already announced . . . . . 2,739 12 9

FIFTH LIST.  
Donations given or collected by Societies.

Table listing contributions from various societies and individuals, including Keswick, Liverpool, and others.

Table listing contributions from individuals, including Mrs. A. Booth, Mrs. Bosanquet, Mrs. Brunner, etc.

Table listing contributions from individuals, including Mrs. E. L. Rathbone, Mrs. Johnson, Mrs. Stewart Brown, etc.

Table listing contributions from individuals, including Mrs. Hugh Rathbone, Mrs. F. Rathbone, etc.

Table listing contributions from individuals, including Mrs. W. B. Moyle, Mrs. W. Allen, Miss Hastie, etc.

Table listing contributions from individuals, including Mrs. Ronalds, Mrs. Leighton, Mrs. E. Dowson, etc.

Table listing contributions from individuals, including Mrs. Aubrey Dowson, Mrs. Grenville, Miss Noel Wright, etc.

Table listing contributions from individuals, including Mrs. Allport, Nurse Synner, etc.

Table listing contributions from Teignmouth, Tynemouth and District, West Bromwich, Windsor Committee (London Soc.), etc.

\*Already announced in error as a donation from Mrs. Bye.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO GENERAL FUND.

Already acknowledged since Nov. 1st, 1911 . . . 1,984 6 0  
Received from March 23rd to March 30th, 1912.

Table listing subscriptions from individuals, including Lady Onslow, Miss A. Leigh Browne, Lady Nottage, etc.

Table listing subscriptions from individuals, including Mrs. A. M. Stephenson, Mrs. E. P. Kitchen, Mrs. Russell Upcher, etc.

Table listing subscriptions from individuals, including Mrs. G. T. Flecher, Miss M. F. Rice, Miss B. Cartwright, etc.

Table listing subscriptions from individuals, including Mrs. J. C. G. Sykes, Mr. W. S. B. McLaren, M.P., Miss L. Robinson, etc.

Table listing subscriptions from individuals, including Mrs. Graham, Dr. Jan Walker, Miss E. Bateson, etc.

Table listing subscriptions from individuals, including Mrs. P. Strachey, Miss Teresa Gosse, Miss Silcox, etc.

Table listing subscriptions from individuals, including Mrs. W. E. Dowson, Mrs. W. E. Dowson, etc.

Federation Notes.

South Western.  
FORMATION OF A SOCIETY AT TIVERTON.  
I am glad to be able to report the formation of a new society at Tiverton. Until now that constituency has not had a suffrage society, though the member was in favour of the Conciliation Bill. Before I arrived excellent work had been done by Mrs. Jefford—indeed it is to her enthusiasm and loyalty to the cause that the society really owes its birth.

stood by us in the House of Commons, and preparations must be made for the next battle (that for an amendment to include women in the Government's Reform Bill).

Already suggestions have been sent out to the Branches from Headquarters, which will strain the resources of the Societies concerned to the utmost, and show the mettle of our workers.

We shall have to draw heavily on our funds, and are obliged therefore to appeal for further help at once.

Already, before there has been time to issue such an appeal, I have received letters from good friends and true, enclosing gifts. One says the only response that can be made to Thursday's vote is an immediate contribution to our funds; one calls it an "indignation fund," another a "protest," but, by whatever name it is called, such action shows a real appreciation of our position, and that with every great event, whether for good or ill, the National Union is called on for additional and ever-increasing activity.

Everyone will be glad to hear that Mrs. Auerbach has just returned safely from South Africa, and will shortly take up her duties as Treasurer. I hope that the response to this appeal will show her that the splendid spirit animating the Union during the last six months is in no way damped by the temporary difficulties through which the movement is passing.

FRANCES STERLING  
(Treasurer, pro tem.).

came specially to hear her. Mr. Widgery gave a short and much appreciated speech from the chair. Votes of thanks were proposed and seconded by Mr. Acland Troyte and Mrs. Longly.

I was most grateful for the help given by Mrs. Paisley, Miss Marrack, Miss Fisher, Miss M. Todd, and others. Before the meeting Miss Lake kindly played the piano for half an hour and Miss Kirk gave a recitation. A good collection was taken and the COMMON CAUSE sold.

The following day we had a committee meeting and agreed to affiliate to the National Union, and officers were elected.

The society starts its career with a membership between 30 and 40, which the Committee hopes soon to double. Altogether everything points to the society doing excellent work and becoming a strong centre in the Federation.

MARGUERITE NORMA-SMITH.

West Lancashire, West Cheshire and N. Wales.

About the beginning of February we found to our consternation that the member for Merionethshire had been showing himself a somewhat doubtful "supporter," and as we have as yet no well established society in this division, it was decided that I should go to various places in Merionethshire with a view of getting the Local Liberal Executive Committees to pass resolutions. My visits revealed the satisfactory state of things. There were at most one or two men on each committee who were opposed to the passing of a resolution. But it is one thing to get the individual members to agree and another to get these somewhat loosely organised committees actually to meet for the purpose of passing a resolution on Women's Suffrage. However, three towns, Bala, Barmouth and Towyne have already done this, and there is good hope that the others will follow.

Thanks to the hard work of Miss Stewart (Llangollen) and the active co-operation of Rev. Ivan Davies, of Llandrillo, it was arranged to hold meetings at Bala, Corwen and Llandrillo. It was a great blow when, owing to the window smashing and the consequent sense of resentment throughout the country, the chairman of the Bala meeting, who is well known and greatly respected, requested us to postpone the meeting fearing a disturbance. Of course we were most reluctant to do so, but local circumstances left us no choice.

The Corwen meeting was held on March 12th. Rev. Ivan Davies presiding, and Mrs. J. J. Richards speaking in Welsh, and Miss Stewart and I in English.

The deferred Bala meeting was held last week, March 29th. We were naturally a little anxious; however, local pride had been roused, and there was evidently a determination on the part of the older men that we should have nothing to complain of. Though the room was crowded and there were many youths, they listened well to Miss Mason and Rev. J. J. Morgan and Mr. Reilly Williams. The chairman was the Rev. T. T. Phillips.

The Llandrillo meeting was held the same night, Rev. Ivan Davies presiding and Mrs. Richards and Miss Stewart speaking.

It is comparatively easy to get good audiences in these small country towns, where a suffrage meeting is a novel event, and in all these meetings the audience has been very big in proportion to the population. The most successful of all the series of meetings we have held this month was that at Bala on Festinog, March 28th, at which Miss Margaret Robertson had kindly consented to speak. There were about 900 people present, and they most evidently came in serious mood and listened with remarkable attention and sympathy. This lonely mountain town, with its great quarry industry, has an active intellectual life. The ground had been well prepared by good friends who had written in the local papers and talked about the coming event of the meeting. Mr. Jones Morris presided most ably, and the interest aroused by Miss Robertson's splendid speech will we believe, not be allowed to die down, but will result in the formation of a local society.

The meeting at *Llanrust*, March 27th, also addressed by Miss Robertson, was different in tone, and it was only after she had been speaking for twenty minutes that she was at last able to gain a really attentive hearing—and few speakers would have achieved this—nevertheless there was a large portion of the audience really interested and we had a good list of sympathisers who gave in their names as being anxious to hear more.

The *Barnmouth* meeting, March 27th, had for some reason not caught the attention of the youth of the place, and Miss Mason and Rev. Gwynfryn Jones found most sympathetic listeners. Mrs. Morgan (Balymacera) kindly presided.

Nowhere so much as in Wales are we dependent on the help of local friends as Welsh speaking is in many places essential—that is to say, it is essential there should be some Welsh speaking. In parts of Merionethshire it is only an exceptional English speaker who can make herself understood all through.

Ten days at the beginning of this month I spent in Carnarvon and Pwllheli, helping the local societies with a memorial to Mr. Lloyd George, thanking him for his courageous advocacy of our cause. I was also busy trying to arrange for a great public meeting in Carnarvon to be held jointly by the W. L. F. and the local Suffrage Society—but just as the plans were taking form and the window smashing outbreak occurred, and the majority of the joint committee were strongly of the opinion that it was inopportune to go on with the plan. The minority felt bound to give way for the moment; but we greatly hope it is only a case of the Bala meeting once again, and that when we do hold the big meeting in Carnarvon we shall have as little cause to regret it.

Miss Colquhitt has been working with me both in the memorial work and in advertising these meetings. The cheerful and effective help has been specially welcome, as it has been a hard month.

Militant violence, had weathered the strike, all have added to our difficulties. On the other hand, we have been immensely cheered by the warm-hearted sympathy and willing helpfulness of the Welsh people, and now under the great disappointment of the Conciliation Bill it is some consolation to note that all the North Wales members stood by us save two. Either our fears about Mr. Haydn Jones were groundless or our work had its effect, for he was not one of the two. Miss Mason, who came to help us with speaking at Barnmouth and Bala, has now gone on to Dolgelly to try and revive interest in that friendly but sleepy little town. If the weather is fit she hopes to hold an open-air meeting with the help of Mr. Rolly Williams, a most welcome volunteer for Welsh speaking in this district.

EDITH ESKRIDGE.

**West of England.**  
WESTON-SUPER-MARE.  
Miss Edith Robertson and I have had a busy fortnight in Weston-super-Mare. Some good drawing-room meetings were held, and a number of new members were enrolled. Most of our time was spent on deputation work, and the difficulties of tackling the Wells division, which is long and straggling, were much increased by scarcity of trains. We had one record day, when Mrs. Thorpe motored us to Winscombe and Wells, where we had calls to pay, and afterwards to Langport in time to take an afternoon meeting at Mrs. Wedd's. The evening saw us in Yeovil addressing a meeting arranged by the League of Young Liberals.

On the last evening of our visit a magnificent meeting was held in the Town Hall. Canon Talbot was in the chair, and gave us an excellent address on "The Religious Side of the Women's Suffrage Movement." He was followed by the Rev. Fleming Williams, whose eloquence made a profound impression on all those present. A very good collection was taken, and only two people in the whole audience voted against the resolution.

**MINNEHEAD.**  
We are now in Minehead doing what we can towards founding a new branch for this neighbourhood. The beginnings are very hopeful; a number of names have already been secured. We are arranging for meetings to be held here after Easter week.

K. M. S. ROBERTSON.

**Scottish.**  
Our big meeting in the Music Hall, Aberdeen, on March 27th, turned out well, our audience numbering about 1,200, and our resolution being passed with only four dissentients. Lady Frances Balfour was prevented from being with us by the curtailment of the train service due to the strike, but Mrs. Philip Snowden, of course, rose to the occasion, and did all she could to make amends. Miss L. I. Lumsden, LL.D., in the chair, made a weighty and impressive appeal which strengthened the pride our Aberdeen Society feels in its President. During the week a deputation was sent to Mr. Cowan, Member for East Aberdeenshire, and Miss Lumsden and I had interviews with Mr. Esslemont, one of the two members for Aberdeen. From neither of them did we get any satisfaction. For the present I remain at 130, Crown Street, Aberdeen, and should be glad of names of sympathisers in the city, or in the county of Aberdeenshire.

ALICE CROMPTON.

**ANNUAL MEETING OF FEDERATION.**  
The second Annual Business Meeting of the Scottish Federation was held on Saturday, March 30th, at 9, Melville Street, Edinburgh, Andrew Ballantyne, Esq., in the Chair. There was a large attendance of delegates from all parts of Scotland. Much regret was expressed at the absence of Miss S. E. S. Main, the Hon. President of the Federation, and a telegram of greeting was dispatched assuring her of the Scottish Federation's unflagging enthusiasm, and a similar telegram was sent to Mrs. Fawcett.

The Report presented to the meeting showed that the number of societies within the Federation had increased from 31 to 44, all affiliated to the National Union, and others are in the process of formation. Over 500

meetings have been held during the year, many of them in large halls such as the Music Hall, Edinburgh, St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, City Hall, Perth, and the Music Hall, Aberdeen. At all these meetings resolutions were passed, if not unanimously, at least with very few dissentients. Nine By-Election campaigns were carried on, two of these, St. Rollax (Glasgow) and East Edinburgh, at the same time. Whist Parties, etc., to raise money for the Central Fund. The result of these efforts was seen in the Treasurer's Report, which showed an income of £646 17s. 7d. The discussion on resolutions was concise, and to the point.

A resolution was adopted creating a new office of Hon. Parliamentary Secretary; by this it is hoped that much valuable work may be added to that done in the past. It was also resolved that societies be urged to subscribe for two copies of THE COMMON CAUSE, one to be sent to the M.P. for the Constituency, and the other to be placed on the table of the local Public Library or Reading Room. Societies were also recommended to appoint a literature secretary, who should have two or more workers under her, for the purpose of house to house visitation, and distribution of free literature.

After a cordial vote of thanks to the Chairman for his excellent conduct of the business, the delegates were refreshed with tea, thoughtfully provided by Miss Main. On the preceding evening a most enjoyable reception was given in the rooms of the Edinburgh Society by D. Elsie Inglis, Miss Chrystal Macmillan, Miss Frances Simson and Miss London. Miss Maude Royden was present, and gave a most stimulating and earnest address, which was greatly appreciated by those present.

**Eastern Counties.**  
A successful "At Home" was held at the Shire Hall, Chelmsford, on March 22nd. Lady Rayleigh presided and made a speech dealing with the general aspect of the question. Sir J. A. Cockburn, in an interesting speech, said the granting of the vote to women was but a necessary step in the evolution of Parliament. Women had all sorts of industrial interests, and wanted the vote for the same reasons that men did. Parliamentary Government rested on the fact that the people themselves knew what was best for themselves. He dealt with the results of granting the franchise to women in Australia. A resolution urging the Government to pass some measure of enfranchisement for women this session was proposed by Sir J. A. Cockburn, seconded by Mrs. Alderton, and carried unanimously.

**S. Wales and Monmouthshire.**

CARDIFF AND DISTRICT.—On Monday, March 25th, a meeting of members was held in the Park Hall to wish goodbye to Miss Helen Fraser. For four months Miss Fraser has worked for the Society and Federation with most splendid results. During the last year the growth of the Cardiff Society has been phenomenal, the membership has doubled, and our Society with its 320 members probably comes next in size to the largest in the Union. This great increase in membership has been obtained mainly by small drawing-room and other meetings. On Monday members were asked to bring friends. Miss Fraser spoke excellently to a resolution calling on members of Parliament to support the Conciliation Bill, and the Rev. George Legge, of Australia, seconded, the resolution being carried unanimously. After the speeches our President (Mrs. Lewis) presented Miss Fraser with a silver pendant on behalf of the members of the Society as an expression of warm appreciation of her work. Sixty new members joined the Society during the evening.

On March 30th, a meeting of the Executive Committee passed a resolution expressing surprise and regret at the defeat of the Conciliation Bill, condemning the dishonourable conduct of those members who caused this defeat by breaking their pledges, and resolving that this defeat shall stimulate our Society to fresh effort. We are glad to report that our own member, Lord Ninian Creighton Stuart, while unavoidably absent, fulfilled his pledge by obtaining a pair.

NEWPORT sent a memorial to Mr. Haslam. A concert for the obtaining of funds resulted in £14 16s., the net profit being £7 7s. 9d. A large meeting will be held in the first week in May.

SWANSEA.—Miss Dilwyn has consented to be President, and Miss Thomas has been appointed Co-Secretary. There is a steady increase in membership.

PONTYPRIDD.—The Society met last week and resolved to ask a number of most prominent electors to write to Mr. Clement Edwards urging him to vote for the second reading of the Conciliation Bill. The Chairman of the District Council consented to see Mr. Edwards on behalf of the Society. Mr. Edwards told him that he had hitherto fulfilled his pledges and voted for the Conciliation Bill. At this meeting of the Society two members undertook to become COMMON CAUSE agents, and in this way it is hoped to increase the circulation of our paper in Pontypridd.

CARMARTHEN.—This Society now numbers 88 members. At the time of the by-election a meeting was held, at which Miss Fraser spoke and Mr. Maguire, a member of the Committee, took the chair. The room was well filled. On February 10th two delegates appointed by the Society attended the meeting of the Federation at Swansea. Recently Miss Waring spent two days in the town and arranged a "memorial" to be presented to Mr. Hinds, begging him to vote for the Conciliation Bill. Mr. Hinds acknowledged this, and wrote: "It was not necessary to petition me on the subject. I voted for the Bill before, and intend doing so on Thursday, and hope it will be carried on its second reading." Miss Waring also took steps towards getting a resolution on the subject passed by the Town Council and local Liberal Association; the attendance at the ensuing meeting was, however, too small to warrant the passing of the resolution, but both bodies promise to bring the matter forward again. On April 25th Miss Royden will lecture, and it is hoped that money will be raised for the Federation.

BOURNEMOUTH.—The winter series of very successful "At Homes," held in the Assembly Rooms, Bournemouth, closed on March 27th. The hall was crammed, and speeches by men and women were interspersed by songs by Mrs. Hamilton Grant and Miss Mackay, and recitations by Mrs. Taylor-Lobley and Miss Millward. A resolution, thanking "The Standard" for giving women the "Women's Platform," was passed. Several new members joined. THE COMMON CAUSE was, as usual, on sale.

**People's Suffrage Federation.**

On Saturday, March 30th, there was an interesting conference at the Essex Hall, presided over by Mrs. Anderson (Miss Mary Macarthur) and attended by 163 delegates representing directly or indirectly 250,000 working women. We believe that quite the best way to meet the Anti-Suffragists is to show plainly, what is undoubtedly the case, that the best working women do want the vote.

The following organisations were asked to be present and take part in the Conference:  
WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE GUILD, Central Committee and 48 Branches in London and neighbourhood.  
WOMEN'S LABOUR LEAGUE, Executive and 12 Branches in London.  
RAILWAY WOMEN'S GUILD, Executive and 3 Branches in London.  
TRADE UNIONS—  
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN WORKERS, Executive Committee and 19 Branches in London.  
NATIONAL UNION OF SHOP ASSISTANTS, Executive Women's Section and 90 Branches in London.  
NATIONAL UNION OF PRINTERS' WAREHOUSEMEN AND CUTTERS, Executive and 2 Branches in London.  
NATIONAL UNION OF CLERKS.  
AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF TELEPHONE OPERATIVES, Executive and 2 Branches.  
POSTAL TELEGRAPH CLERKS' ASSOCIATION, Executive and London Branch.  
CIGAR MAKERS' MUTUAL ASSOCIATION.  
ROYAL ARMY CLOTHING EMPLOYEES' UNION.  
SOCIETY OF TAILORS AND TAILORESSES.  
SOCIETY OF WOMEN EMPLOYED IN BOOKBINDING.  
ASSOCIATION OF SHORTHAND WRITERS AND TYPISTS.  
AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF TAILORS, East End Branch.  
DOMESTIC WORKERS' UNION.  
AMALGAMATED UNION OF CO-OPERATIVE EMPLOYEES, Central London Branch.

Mrs. ANDERSON, in her opening address, said that hitherto trade-union women had held aloof because the proposals before Parliament were only for a section. She held that the poverty disqualification was as great as the sex disqualification. To read the newspapers one would suppose that Women's Suffrage had received a defeat (No), but this was not so. Where was the logic, reason or common honesty in the performance of the members of Parliament who had voted against the very Bill they professed to approve on account of certain deeds of some women? "We do not find Sir Edward Carson's methods reprobated by Unionists who say 'we will now be Home Rulers'!" The fact was that all other causes were backed by people who had votes. They talked of "instability"! Mr. Sydney Buxton and others like him could not be surpassed by women. (Cheers.)

Women wanted the vote more and more because Parliament was more and more passing laws interfering with them. The Insurance Act, directly affecting four millions and indirectly affecting far more, had done much to bring the need home to women. She told the story of a factory-worker who professed to be an anti-suffragist, but who, in discussing the Insurance Act said, "Why have they done this without putting a paper round the factory to ask if we want it?" The fact was working women needed the vote, although they did not always know it. Women did not want a vote because they were against factory legislation; they wanted more legislation and better. With regard to the prohibition of women in unhealthy employments they wanted neither men nor women to work in unhealthy employments; they wanted them made healthy. The enfranchisement of women would have not a sudden, but a gradual effect; when women got the vote they would develop a political point of view, and the men would help them to form it. Women suffered not only as workers, but as wives; when men were out of employment the home suffered. Women, having more value for human life, would on the whole make for peace.

Mrs. Anderson thought that the enfranchisement of women would have a great effect on the women themselves and make them realise their responsibilities, and stimulate their industrial organisation. Working women were taking part in no sex war: they believed men and women must stand or fall together. If a girl worked for low wages she was dragging down men's wages, perhaps even the wages of her future husband.

Mrs. HOOD, of the Women's Co-operative Guild, proposed the following resolution:—"That this conference of delegates representing trade unions and other societies of women employed in industrial and commercial work, of housewives and of domestic servants, calls for the enfranchisement of every adult woman equally with every adult man as the only means of giving the workers of every class their due share in the government of the country, and in the reform of industrial and social conditions." She spoke from the married woman's point of view, and as such demanded "some say in the health and education of our children." She considered the position of women in the home was a very ambiguous one. "We want to be the parents of our own children! (Cheers.) With all due respect for those gentlemen at Westminster, they can't possibly realise what education is good

**"Thinking Women Read The Standard"**

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

**"WOMAN'S PLATFORM"**

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

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

1. Following "WOMAN'S PLATFORM" closely and day by day in The Standard, and using it freely in women's interests, as opportunity offers.
2. Inducing the largest possible number of the general public—men and women—to do the same thing, thus extending the scope of its services to women.

The Standard,  
104, SHOE LANE, LONDON, E.C.

for our children, especially girls (cheers), especially the class of gentleman there is at Westminster." She urged that school clinics were essential for the health of the children. Inspection had shown they needed attention, and the mother could not find time to take them to hospitals without neglecting the home. They wanted better houses. "We don't want to blame our men people, but they don't understand what is necessary to a woman's house." (Cheers.) There was often no pantry and no proper accommodation for coal, and the houses were so ill-planned that the woman had to go up many weary unnecessary steps. The Divorce laws needed altering for the sake of both parties. (Loud cheers.) The present law was very unjust to women. If women had the power they would insist that their "men people" should be as pure as women were expected to be. The combined efforts of men and women would make social life purer. Questions of insurance, wages and taxation were all important to the woman in the home. "I don't blame our men people altogether for what's wrong," she concluded, in her serene, motherly way. "They can't help it. It would make us better citizens and better educated to our responsibilities to have the vote. We should be better mothers and better wives, for instead of being the toy or the servant we should be the comrades of our husbands."

Mrs. SPINK spoke for the shop-assistants, and Miss NEAL for the three million domestic workers. She blamed men for having made militant actions necessary, and derided the notion that they were not womanly while the abominable conditions against which they were a protest are womanly. Factory acts did help the factory worker, but the domestic workers were helpless. She did maintain that men were to blame. "We are their sisters and their daughters, and if they had worked for us we should not be so badly treated." Among the other speakers (all married women one raised a laugh by an ironical reference to the phrase "non-workers" as applied to wives at home; one complained that, having brought up her children, after 25 years of married life, all political papers and notices came for her husband and sons and she was ignored; a third said that she found working women often knew more than the men about politics, only they don't call it politics. Referring to a silly statement that it would never do for a woman to be in Parliament because if she were pretty the men would think of nothing else, she remarked dryly that "even a pretty woman can live down her prettiness.")

The resolution was carried unanimously, and another to this effect was then moved by Dr. MARION PHILLIPS:—

"That this Conference earnestly appeals to Members of Parliament and all friends of labour and progress to do their very utmost at this critical moment to secure that the Government Electoral Reform Bill shall give the Vote to all adult men and women on a short residential qualification." Dr. Phillips remarked, amid applause, that whatever they might think about the window-breakers there were no two opinions about the members of Parliament. "They are the victims of panic and they will get over it. It couldn't have happened in any House of women." They must see to it that the pledges made to the Irishmen were kept, and they must wake the Liberals out of their shameful panic. It was their task to organise the workers and to get votes for organised workers. They should oppose any effort to put off electoral reform by passing merely a Plural Voting Bill. She concluded by telling them, "You working women have allowed middle-class women to do the work for the vote. You have been very quiet, you must lift up your voices and claim your vote."

Mrs. CARSON alluded to the debate on the Conciliation Bill as "a disgrace." She also thought they would have to do what other people had done, i.e., "get the right side of the Irishmen." They would each have to do their "little bit of work," and when men told them that "women had no time" they should be reminded how much time men spent in political clubs "not discussing politics"! (Laughter and cheers.)

**Irish Notes.**

"An army disciplined by defeat is invincible." We have suffered a temporary defeat, but we shall rise from it stronger, wiser, more determined; aware of our weak spots and ready to reform them. This is not a time for hasty proclamations. We in Ireland should pause to reconsider our position. But the pause need by no means be an idle one. Now is the time for still more enthusiastic propaganda work. And we know that many schemes for such work are in process of formation. The Federated Societies

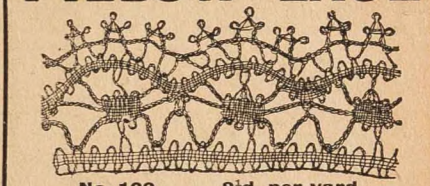
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anticipate valuable results from Miss Cicely Corbett's promised tour in April. Meetings for her are to be arranged in Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Skibbereen, Lisburn, Armagh, Warrenpoint and Killeel. The Rev. Hugh Chapman, Chaplain to the King, of the Savoy Chapel, has also promised to address three meetings in Ireland, and his visit will coincide with Miss Cicely Corbett's; so in Armagh, Lisburn and Dublin large meetings are to be organised to give audiences the opportunity of hearing these two interesting speakers from the same platform. The Dublin meeting for them is to be held in the Aberdeen Hall on Friday afternoon, April 19th. We understand that the subject of Mr. Chapman's speech will be the moral aspect of Women's Suffrage.

Miss Corbett will speak at an afternoon meeting at Howth, Co. Dublin, on April 11th. The Warrenpoint and Killeel meetings are fixed for April 15th, and on the 22nd Miss Corbett begins her Southern tour in Cork.

The Irishwomen's Reform League have called a special meeting for members on Wednesday, April 3rd, to discuss the future policy of the League with regard to Women's Suffrage. Later in the month the committee of the Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation will meet and the same sub-

ject will be the most important item on the agenda. A proposal will also be brought forward to establish in London a small Executive Council to help the Federation in political work and to keep the Central Committee in touch with the opinions of English societies.

Mrs. Metge and Miss Louie Bennett were sent to London by the committee of the Federation to lobby Irish members on behalf of the Conciliation Bill. The Irish party were not, however, free to give any support to the Bill. In fact it is pretty certain that the desire of the leaders of the party was to kill the Bill, and thus remove the serious possibility of any amendment claiming enfranchisement for Irishwomen to the Home Rule Bill. Party tactics probably demanded this action, but the evils of party Government are once again forcibly demonstrated by the broken pledges and the disloyalty to avowed principles to which many of our Irish members have been committed.

L. BENNETT.

Hope Deferred.

Our hope, so long deferred—so long deferred—Fed, as the years go by,  
On the vague promise and the vaguer word,  
Our hope can never die!

Though we have sown the seed with anxious care,  
Though we have toiled and prayed  
With the long patience that defies despair,  
Our harvest is delayed.

More promises, evasions and delays;  
Another chance gone by;  
Yet through the days, the never ending days,  
Our hope can never die.

G. M. GEORGE.

Review.

THE INN OF DREAMS. By Olive Custance (Lady Alfred Douglas). (John Lane.)

We women make many verses such as this book contains, but very little poetry. Since the days of the Portuguese Sonnets, Emily Brontë, and Christina Rossetti, the divine voice has been largely silenced in us, till Susan Mitchell a few years ago brought out "The Living Chalice." There, in "Master of Life, Thy Cup has passed me by," we hear the great cry again. Perhaps the Spirit has been manifested in other ways, in novels and letters, and the *journal intime*, and also in public speech.

Lady Alfred Douglas seems to us most nearly to justify the beautiful title of her new book in the verses we quote below:—

CANDLE-LIGHT.

"Frail golden flowers that perish at a breath,  
Flickering points of honey-coloured flame,  
From sunset gardens of the moon you came,  
Pale flowers of passion . . . delicate flowers of death.

"Roses with amber petals that arise  
Out of the purple darkness of the night  
To deck the darkened house of Love, to light  
The laughing lips, the beautiful glad eyes.

"Lilies with violet-coloured hearts that break  
In shining clusters round the silent dead,  
A diadem of stars at feet and head,  
The glory dazzles . . . but they do not wake."

GIFTS.

"Come near! you are my friend and I will wear  
Gems for your sake, and flowers in my hair;  
Garments of silver gauze, and cloth of gold . . .  
And I will give you power to have and hold,  
And passion, and delight, and ecstasy.  
What will you give to me?"

L. M. E.

Letters to the Editor.

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

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

UNDISHHEARTENED.

At this unpleasant moment, it is refreshing to hear from Connecticut that our cause is progressing there well. A lady in South Manchester, Conn., writes that after a big meeting just held by Dr. Coit on Women's Suffrage, 146 persons joined the cause; and that at similar meetings in other towns thousands of dollars were subscribed. We feel grateful to Dr. Coit for his work, and I feel inclined to ask him to come home through China, to help matters there!

If Chinese women get the franchise before we do, will

not a blush be raised on the cheeks of those who deserted us, and those who betrayed us last Thursday? It would be a refreshing sight.—Your undishheartened colleague,

ISABELLA O. FORD.

A CHARMING LETTER FROM AMERICA. May I ask you to send me a bound copy of THE COMMON CAUSE of 1911? I have been a subscriber for the past year to THE COMMON CAUSE and am glad to have this opportunity of telling with what great interest and delight I read it. Some of my 1911 copies have been lost, and they are too valuable not to have complete. I am so impressed with the fairness of your statements and the appeal you make to the intelligence of your readers. It was my very great privilege to meet as well as hear Miss Royden when she was in Chicago last autumn, and I am frank to say that she is by all odds the greatest English speaker I have heard.

MARGARET DRIVER ROBINS.

THE AETHNIC UNION.

Will not all your readers who revolt against the dismal materialism and fatalism of such views as those put forward by Sir A. Wright, join the Aethnic Union, the object of which is to emancipate the spirit from the incubus of sex?

If one is not to have a vote because one is too ladylike to fight, it surely follows that one should not order dinner because one is too ladylike to slaughter sheep! Science seems in these latter days to have parted company with logic.

TH. BATY (Registrar, A.U.)

7, Mitre Court Buildings, Temple.

THE LETTER OF SIR ALMROTH WRIGHT. May I, as a happily married woman and the mother of four healthy well-grown sons, who are, nevertheless, a thorough-going suffragist, be allowed through the medium of your esteemed paper to endorse a statement made by Sir Almroth Wright in a letter to *The Times* of March 28th? He says, "For man, the physiology and psychology of woman is full of difficulties." The three columns that follow show that he has not solved those difficulties. It is not my intention to touch on the many fallacies he brings forward in his long letter, but there is one point which it is impossible for me to

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GENERAL.

APRIL 17. Bath—Post Office Chambers, Northgate Street—"Judge and Jury," the trial of Woman Suffrage 4.30  
Newcastle-on-Tyne—Lorraine Hall—Shop Assistants' Meeting—Mrs. Rackham 8.0

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

MEETINGS ADDRESSED BY MEMBERS OF THE UNION.

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

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TYPEWRITING.—MSS., Agenda, Notices of Meetings, etc. Small charges, promptness, accuracy. Central Postgraduate Institute, 63 and 64, Chancery Lane, W.C.

pass over in silence—i.e., his reference to medical women, in which it is easy to detect the note of hostility towards women doctors, against which those brave pioneers, Dr. Jex Blake, Dr. Garrett Anderson, and others, had to fight years ago, and which still seem to animate some medical men in England.

This hostility is astounding to one who has lived long in a country where, as in Russia, doctors of both sexes work so harmoniously together, that in cases of a peculiarly delicate nature it is quite common for a medical man to send a woman patient to a lady doctor for examination, in the same way that he might send a patient to an oculist or other specialist, thus saving her from that terrible ordeal which many a modest woman has to face when attended by a man doctor, often at a time when she ought to be saved every mental strain and every excessive effort of will.

Compared to such an ordeal, the violation of certain "modesties and reticences" by those medical women, who in their "desire for knowledge" mention certain subjects in a purely scientific and impersonal conversation, sink into insignificance.

One would think that anyone desiring to keep up such reticences and modesties would be only too glad to assist those brave women, who, doing violence to their own feelings, study and qualify to save their sisters from situations often too deeply felt even to be mentioned, instead of accusing them of not being in favour of modesty.

LOUISE MAUDE (Mrs. Aylmer Maude.)

Mrs. Beaumont (Wakefield) writes protesting against Sir A. Wright's "infamous article" in *The Times*.

Mrs. Bray (Fleet) suggests that the proper answer to the vote in the House last Thursday is for voteless women to strike politically and do no more work for their parties either Parliamentary or Municipal.

Mr. W. H. Hill writes, saying he thinks both the traditions and interests of Irishmen should make them "by the women's colours," and if they do not, he anticipates disaster for Home Rule, and although himself a Home-Ruler, he is of opinion they would deserve defeat.

AVICIAE'S WIFE writes suggesting that the time has come for women to refuse all financial and other aid to all objects except those for the assistance of women and girls, and she also announces her intention of joining the Women's Tax Resistance League if women are not included in any Reform Bill the Government may introduce.

Other Societies.

WOMEN'S TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE. The following letter was sent last week to Members of Parliament:—I am requested by my Committee to call your attention to the enclosed leaflet, and to inform you that, since the Conciliation Bill passed its second reading last session by a majority of 167, several new facts have arisen which render it more than ever imperative that a measure for the enfranchisement of women should be placed upon the statute book without delay. The payment of salaries to members of Parliament, and the domestic clauses in the Insurance Act have kindled the spirit of rebellion amongst the most patient and law-abiding of women. During the last year this League has organised over a hundred meetings and sale protests in all parts of the country, and in each case a strong resolution to justify the resistance of unconstitutional taxation has been carried either unanimously or with not more than three dissentients. You will recognise that the responsibility of this rebellion rests with the Government, which violates the fundamental principle of our constitution by excluding women taxpayers from the advantages of representative government.

We therefore urge you to be in your place on the 28th inst. to vote for the second reading of the Conciliation Bill, and to give it your support through all its further stages, as there is only one way of allaying the rapidly growing discontent amongst the women householders of this country, who are determined to resist imperial taxation until it is accompanied with representation.

THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

The following resolution was carried at a meeting on Friday:—"That this meeting of the Executive Committee of the Fabian Society protests against the unwise and unnecessary severity of the sentences recently passed on the Militant Suffragists."

Forthcoming Meetings.

ARRANGED BY THE NATIONAL UNION.

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

APRIL 11. Bexhill-on-Sea—Victoria Hall—Lecture on "Norway"—Mrs. Strickland evening.

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

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

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

Nottingham—Office, 54, Long Row—Whist Drive 7.30

Sunderland—Bede Hall, Burdon Road—Mrs. Rackham, Canon Hopkinson (chair) 8.0

Alderley Edge—Public Hall—Miss M. Robertson 7.30

APRIL 16. Newcastle-on-Tyne—27, Ridley Place—Suffrage choir practice, conducted by Mrs. Bellas Simpson 8.0

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