

The Common Cause,

The Organ of the National Union of

Women's Suffrage

Societies.

Vol. III., No. 141.

Registered as
a Newspaper.

DECEMBER 21, 1911.

ONE PENNY.



"Nunc cursu lampada tibi trado."—VARRO.

FROM GENERATION TO GENERATION.

Notes and Comments.

Towards Unity.

The old year ends with the nearest approach to unity between Suffragists that has been seen in our day and generation. On Saturday last two of the most prominent members of the Cabinet addressed a meeting of Liberal women, and called them to active effort in ensuring the enfranchisement of women next year. On Thursday, at a conference in the House to which representatives of suffrage societies were invited, a beginning was made in the organising of a great national campaign of men and women. For many years past the women's societies have carried on this national campaign with very little help from men and with none from Ministers. This is to be all changed, and the new year is to see Suffrage Ministers at last putting their shoulders to the wheel and helping the women.

Our Friends in the Past.

With the new helpers who are flocking to our standard let us not forget those who came to it when we were at our darkest. Let us not forget that the work of the Conciliation Committee in pulling together the scattered strands of our supporters, made a rope that would stand any strain, and dragged into the forefront of practical politics a measure for the immediate enfranchisement of women. To Mr. Brailsford's stubborn energy we owe the drawing together of men of all parties for a purpose above party; these men held together and increased their majority from 110 to 167 in face of the most determined attacks, and we rely upon those faithful ones for the core of our support in the future as in the past.

Helpful Speeches.

The Women's Liberal Federation may be congratulated upon having organised and carried through a highly successful demonstration. The rather barn-like Horticultural Hall was quite full, and the audience, mainly composed of women, listened appreciatively to the excellent little opening address of Mrs. McLaren, the hopeful and determined words of Sir Edward Grey, and the more emotional appeal of Mr. Lloyd George. The party note was entirely absent from their advocacy of the enfranchisement of women, which was placed upon grounds which must appeal to true social reformers of any party, and this is of the happiest augury for the fate of the women's amendment to the Reform Bill next session. In men used only to party platforms, speaking to an audience of women composed almost exclusively of their own party, at the end of a series of sessions in which party strife has been at its bitterest, we regard it as a feat of no little self-restraint and moderation to place this question in a position removed from irrelevant bitternesses, and we owe no little acknowledgment to the two Ministers who so successfully did this on Saturday.

The Assault on Mr. Lloyd George.

We regret to hear that, on his return from the Horticultural Hall, Mr. Lloyd George was struck by a despatch case hurled through the window of his car by a young man. Both Ministers were naturally weary at the end of a very hard session, and they kept their promise to speak for women's suffrage, although they must have found it a considerable addition to their labours. We are all the more sorry for the totally unjustifiable and cowardly attack on one of them, and we think all decent Suffragists will be sorry too.

Suffragists in the House.

One hundred and thirty-eight members of Parliament who have voted for Women's Suffrage in the House of Commons have signed the protest against "the campaign of organised rowdiness now being carried on by certain advocates of Women's Suffrage." The signatories include 102 Liberals, 18 Unionists, ten Nationalists, and eight Labour members.

The Antis in the Dusty Arena.

Mr. Asquith's reply to the Anti-Suffragists was very much what might have been expected and in no way alters the situation. He is not without a sense of humour and his chaff about the "shyness" of the Anti-Suffragists in naming the Referendum and his invitation to the men to "take off their coats" and the women to lend their help "in whatever panoply they think best adapted for effective militant operations of a constitutional kind" are very much to our mind. The Premier is actually tipping woman off her pedestal into the "dusty arena."

The prospect does not alarm us at all. The more the Antis are compelled to state their objections instead of nursing their "dim feelings" the better for us. Mr. Asquith spoke of the provision for delay which was contained in the Parliament Act as being a safeguard against "hasty legislation." One wonders

what he would call tardy! But again we are not alarmed. If the Lords do hold up the Reform Bill it will be the Reform Bill as a whole, and no Government can again throw over the women "to lighten the ship." The *Times* sees this as clearly as we do and is very unhappy about it. In a melancholy leader it says:—

"The House of Lords, as he must see upon reflection, would be in a very difficult position if a woman suffrage amendment to a Franchise Bill were carried in the Commons and then adopted by the Government. The Lords would not be able to reject or delay woman suffrage without doing the same to the male suffrage proposed, and as the matter would have been made a party question, we can easily imagine the kind of things that would be said in Limehouse and elsewhere."

It was no empty pledge that Mr. Asquith gave us and we fear nothing.

The First Woman F.R.C.S.

Miss Eleanor Davies-Colley has been admitted Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons; she is the first woman to be admitted. She has the M.B., B.Sc. and M.D. degrees of London University.

Pitfalls for the Unwary.

The danger of quoting from the Bible without first referring to the context was illustrated last week by the *Spectator's* delightful reference to Aaron's Rod. This week the *Observer* has fallen into the trap. Referring to Mr. Asquith's reply to the Anti-Suffragist deputation, it describes him as a politician "content to take the Gadarene swine as an example of conduct and sagacity." We refrain from remarking on the politeness, but merely offer the following comment:—

We understand from the early part of the article that the accusation brought against Mr. Asquith is that of "drifting." If the writer will refer to the New Testament, he will find that the Gadarene swine did anything but drift; on the contrary, "they ran violently down a steep slope into the sea." If we are to conclude that Mr. Asquith is running violently in the direction of Women's Suffrage, no one can expect us, as suffragists, to regret it.

Domestic Servants.

The Women's Industrial Council (7, John Street, Adelphi) has issued forms of inquiry into the conditions of domestic service—"the largest single industry in the country." The form contains a list of alleged drawbacks and suggested reforms, and people are being invited to fill them up. We are asked to state that funds are required to carry on the inquiry.

Women's Suffrage in Norway.

A correspondent asks us to state what is the basis of the Norwegian franchise for women. It is given in the *Statesman's Year Book*, 1911, as follows:—"Every Norwegian citizen (meaning male citizen) of 25 years of age . . . is entitled to elect. Women are since 1907 . . . entitled to vote if they (or the husband when the couple have property in common) have paid income tax on an annual income of 400 kroner (about £22) in the towns, 300 kroner (about £16) in the country districts." It will be seen, therefore, that the women in Norway have not the vote on the same terms as men, since they are obliged to pay a small income tax, either directly or indirectly. It is not proposed by anyone to make such a condition in England; the payment of rates, not taxes, is the proposed qualification.

The Importance of Election Work.

The past year has been very heavy on the Scottish Federation in the matter of by-elections, and the work of their devoted organisers would be lightened if donations were sent especially for by-election work. None except those who have been electioneering with small funds know the desperate wear and tear of the body. The organiser, if she cannot afford posters and advertisements, must chalk and distribute hand-bills; if she cannot hire a motor, she must wait for trains, which are sometimes so infrequent as to involve hours of exhausting waiting in wet clothes, cold, and hungry; if she cannot afford waggons or lorries, she must stand on the kerb or on a borrowed chair. One trembles to think what accumulated discomforts and ills may come from inadequate food and miserable sleeping accommodation. All this in addition to the wear and tear of speaking and the great responsibility of the work. It is the policy of the National Union to put Women's Suffrage before the electors at every by-election, and it is ten times more urgent to do so now when the policy of the Union requires the vote of every possible Suffragist on the amendment to the Reform Bill. The organisers, in their devotion to our work, will take the food from their own mouths in order to pay for another hall. It should be a point of honour with members of the National Union to send as many handsome donations as possible for each by-election. Miss Alice Crompton, 16, Countess Street, Salt-coats, Ayrshire, is running a very hard fight in a difficult constituency.

ALL BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS should be addressed to The Manager, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

ADVERTISEMENTS should reach the Office by first post on Tuesday.

POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

British Isles: 6s. 6d., Abroad: 8s. 8d. per annum. Copies of back numbers 1d. (post free), or 21d. when more than three months old. A few copies of Vol. I. to be had at 3d. each, post free.

LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS should be addressed to the Editor, 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, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C., giving the name and address of the newsagent or bookstall from which they wish to be supplied.

NOTICE: CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS.

Next week, in view of the Christmas holidays, we shall go to press a day later, and the paper will not be published until Friday, December 29th. The Wednesday rallies are suspended for the same reason. Notice of their resumption will be given in the paper.

Contents.

Cartoon: From Generation to Generation	641	The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies—contd.:—	
Notes and Comments	642	Press Department	648
The Torchbearers	643	Literature Department	648
Christmas Messages	644	Treasurer's Notes	648
Sir E. Grey and Mr. Lloyd George at the Horticultural Hall	645	By-Elections	649
The Premier and the Anti-Suffragists	647	Federation Notes	649
The P.S.F. Conference	647	Advisers' Support	651
In Parliament	647	Foreign News	651
The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies:—		Reviews	652
From Headquarters	647	A Prison Interview	652
		Verse: A Hundred Years Ago	652
		Letters to the Editor	652

The Torch-bearers.

Quasi cursores vitae lampada tradunt.—LUCRETIUS.

From time to time, as the years pass, the pioneers hand on their torches to us, the younger women. And we—are we ready to take the torch? Are we able not only to keep it alight but to create new fire ourselves and pass it on, a brighter glow? It is difficult for us to realise now what it cost to lift the torch of women's freedom in those days when there were no colleges or high schools for women and when women were taught only two allied arts—how to bear all that was decreed to them, and how to "make a constant society of their pins and needles," when very harsh things—harder to bear than stones—were spoken of her who dared to stand out on platforms and assert herself, and when those even who apologised for her urged that she was "respectable." We have forgotten so much. In our forgetfulness we sometimes discuss if we live now in a state of sex war. Some even say the suffragists have created one. But Meredith could say with truth, of sixty or eighty years ago: "She (Diana) resigned herself to the recognition of a state of duel between the sexes—active enough in her sphere of society. The circle hummed with it; many lived for it. Could she pretend to ignore it?" It was upon this ideal of marriage (in which a battle was avoided by the annihilation of one of the combatants) set forth so pathetically by Clarissa Harlowe, that this gospel of spiritual freedom shone. She draws the following picture of wifehood, then the be-all and end-all of women:—"Marriage is a very solemn engagement, enough to make a young creature's heart ache with the best prospects, when she thinks of it!—To be given up to a strange man; to be engrafted into a strange family; to give up her very name as a mark of her becoming his absolute and dependent; to be obliged to prefer this strange man to father, mother—to everybody—and his humours to all her own. Or to contend perhaps in breach of a vowed duty, for every innocent instance of free will. To go nowhither; to make acquaintance; to give up acquaintance; to renounce even the strictest friendships perhaps; all at his pleasure, whether she think it reasonable to do so or not . . ." Well might Clarissa's friend, Anna Howe say that the relation of men and women was a continual war, for Anna Howe had the spirit to speak of a bit of the marriage service as "that little reptile word 'obey.'"

The pioneers set about to end that war. Think of those women, the Anna Howes, half free in spirit, wholly bond in

circumstance, who sitting in darkness saw this great light—the torch of the pioneers. It must have seemed so far away, so dim and uncertain a glow, and many must have turned their backs upon it, incredulous. Yet it was the inspirational fire, inextinguishable, burning in those who had set their hearts in the future, and growing in volume and brilliancy of hope, as they groped after it through the successive archways of time. There are still Clarissa Harlowes and Anna Howes among us and we have still to bear the torch for them.

Long ago Euripides saw the light and sang:—

"The old bards shall cease, and their memory that lingers

Of frail brides and faithless shall be shrivelled as with fire. For they loved us not nor knew us; and our lips were dumb, our fingers

Could wake not the secret of the lyre."

Two and a half thousand years of wrong have rolled on since his prophecy, and now at last it is becoming present truth. During the last century that age-long silence has broken in a multitude of women's voices. And it is the pioneers who have made it so, with their touch of live coal on the lips. They were the first new bards who taught our fingers to wake the women's secret from the lyre and to sing the woman's glory, and it is fitting that at this time we should remember their old achievement, and in gratitude for it and in the hope it gives, look forward to the future.

The year has swung us on to another Christmas and New Year; the first, a festival of the coming of a new inspiration to the earth and of the birth of the Pioneer of Pioneers; the second, a time of retrospect and prospect, when we take stock of progress. It is a time to think of our inspiration and of those who have hitherto guided it. In this number some of the pioneers send us messages of greeting. Let us greet them in return by a shout of promise, remembering not only the particular application of our cause immediately before us, but also the wider significance of it.

It is not merely a struggle for votes. It is a war against sex-war and the antagonism of the sex-interests. These periods of new inspiration—these new births—each seem an effort to put an end to war, just as Christmas is the marking of a new impulse against the very spirit of war. By degrees war is being hounded out of the world. Constant combat between tribe and tribe changed to war between nation and nation, war standing at bay step by step as communities grew through union. Then when these latter wars became less frequent the movement against the antagonism of class and class began in the campaign against slavery. Sixty years ago a new inspiration shone out and the campaign against the war of the sexes was seriously entered upon. Nothing could be more right than that we should pledge ourselves anew to this campaign, realising the immensity of the whole in this Christmas festival of peace.

We are hopeful; and we pledge ourselves to fulfil that hope. We are idealists, but we hope practical idealists, and we have to remember that the magnificent way does not always lead to the goal; and that in order to complete a picture it is sometimes necessary to concentrate on one corner of it. The practical idealist, with the whole in his heart, submits to the plodding of compromise. The followers of the red, white and green flag can read the signs of the times from the war of the red, white and green in Italy. First, there was Mazzini, the fire-kindler, then Garibaldi, the fighter, then Cavour, the diplomat, and because the cause could not be won without these three intelligences, Mazzini and Garibaldi, hating it, and with mis-giving, accepted compromise. The kingdom suggested by Cavour was not that free republic of which they dreamed; it was not the beautiful, beloved ideal for which they fought; the more passionate spirits accused them of betrayal when instead of the republic they had striven for, they accepted a kingdom; the temporising means to the great end irked them; but it was the greatest leap forward practicable at the time and they accepted it. And by taking it they won the independence of Italy to go forward and shape its future.

It is the same in our movement. We must not be afraid to be on the side of the easily-satisfied people now. It is a doom to which we have looked forward. We shall be ranged with those whose memories are so short that they are saying they "always did believe in Women's Suffrage"! It is a pleasant sensation to feel oneself in the right with two or three. To be overtaken by the loudly proclaiming majority is a banal experience in comparison. But we must have the moral courage to fall—for the moment—placidly into step with them. We have been Mazzini and Garibaldi; we have now to be Cavour. It is not a rapturous prospect, but nevertheless it is a test of our mettle, and a most excellent training in common sense. We have to alter many preconceived notions, to be alert to political issues, not hasty to take offence, amenable, ready to welcome

gladly the help of all; we have to be enthusiastically circumspect. For high-spirited people in a high-spirited cause it is not easy. But it can be done.

As one of our leaders said: "It matters not so much what we win as the way in which we fight." And in the way in which we fight we can bring the force of our ideal to bear. We can practise our ideal itself.

In looking over the year I see a tendency growing up that appears to me antagonistic to our whole ideal. It amounts to a forgetting—almost to a negation of our aim. It is a tendency to make Woman—right or wrong—the object for which we are fighting. It expresses itself in the phrase "I don't care what you are" (meaning in policy) "so long as you aren't against the women" (meaning "so long as you don't breathe a word in criticism of the action of any woman"). But our object is liberty for women to become their real and best selves. And this will never be attained if we are going to confess ourselves warranted to break under criticism. This tendency points to one of the pitfalls for women—an unnecessary desire to prove uniformity in the face of the enemy. But the enemy will recognise it for what it is worth—an ostrich policy—and timid at that. Criticism that is afraid to utter itself, however genuine and even lovable the motive, which cries "unity, unity," when there is no unity, will never tend to that end of unity, much less to a healthy temper of mind. Let us not imagine that absence of criticism means loyalty. It means moral cowardice on one's own part or the imputation of moral cowardice to those one refrains from criticising. Women have to learn and so must bear criticism. Stevenson says: "To accept the loved one's faults although it has an air of freedom, is to kiss the chain." Woman is our "loved one" just now, because just now she is the less fortunate half of humanity, but to refrain from criticism of women, or of the policy of any body of women, as if woman were sacrosanct, is not loving her, but insulting her. This is a mean submission to love, and an assertion of women's incapacity for aught but futility. It is not the way of those who see a future for women. In our haste to be loyal to women, we forget our ideal itself. The ideal of the pioneers was to assert and accentuate—not their womanhood, but their humanity. In the women's movement I am not a woman. *Homo sum.*

It was this great message the pioneers brought to the world sixty years ago, when women were crushed beneath their womanhood, trained to it, circumscribed by it as in a prison. It has to be re-asserted now, lest in this new and morbid tendency of what is called "loyalty to women," loyalty to the cause itself—to humanity—to men—to all indeed, but a few women, is forgotten. When we think women are wrong, or mistaken, and are harming what they are out to fight for, then to preserve a silent neutrality is the supreme disloyalty to them and to the principle they love. It is that governance by personality instead of by principle which women as well as men—perhaps even more than men owing to their age-long history—have to combat. Even He whose festival of birth is also a festival of peace, has said: "I came not to bring peace but a sword." Not to wield that sword against any women's action, however mistaken we may think it, is a morbid and harmful tenderness, which will not keep bright our ideals, and which makes us unworthy to receive the torch from the hand of our fire-givers.

Their message is *Homo sum*. Let us at this time once more renew the inspiration of it and sink the cry of Woman, right or wrong.

A. M. ALLEN.

Christmas Messages.

THEN AND NOW.

To the Editor of THE COMMON CAUSE.

Madam,—You have asked me to send you a letter of encouragement for your Christmas number. May we not find good ground for encouragement in comparing the early stages of the Women's movement, taking as its starting point the year 1848, with present conditions? First and foremost among the pioneers may be named the founders of Queen's College, Harley Street—a new and daring enterprise—Professors Nicholay, F. D. Maurice and others, soon followed by Mrs. Reid and the other founders of Bedford College, Bedford Square. At this period such was the state of public opinion that it was thought necessary to apologise for using the name of "college" and for including mathematics in the curriculum. "It is proposed," said Professor Maurice, "to open a college in London for the education of females. The word 'college' in this connection has to English ears a novel and an ambitious sound. I wish we could have found a simpler one, which would

have described our objects as well. We have set down mathematics in our course of studies, knowing that we might thereby encounter the charge of giving a little learning, which is dangerous, but being ready to meet that charge in this case as in others. We are aware that our pupils are not likely to advance far in mathematics, but we believe that if they learn really what they do learn they will not have got what is dangerous, but what is safe." Modest as were such aspirations, generations of students issuing from these colleges raised the standard of culture and prepared the way for further progress.

In a different field, to this period belongs the great name of Florence Nightingale, whose beneficent work won widespread renown. In 1858 came Barbara Leigh Smith (Madame Bodichon), Adelaide Proctor, Jessie Boucherett, and others, who from a small centre in Langham Place started first the *Englishwoman's Journal*, and a little later the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women, forming a nucleus of friends ready to hold out a helping hand to anyone desiring to join in their crusade. Among the objects which they had at heart was the opening of the medical profession, in which Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell and Mrs. Russell Gurney were the chief movers, and in this direction a practical step was taken by the appearance on the scene in 1861 of Elizabeth Garrett (Mrs. Anderson, M.D.). In 1862, information having been received that the University of London was about to apply for a new charter, Mr. Newton Garrett and his daughter presented a memorial suggesting the addition of a clause providing for the admission of women. This proposal, supported by Mr. Grote and the Right Hon. Robert Lowe, was rejected. The matter did not, however, end there. A committee was formed for obtaining the admission of women to university examinations, and as a first result of their efforts the local examinations of the University of Cambridge were in 1865 thrown open to girls, the same action being taken by the University of Oxford five years later. It is interesting to note, as indicating the intrinsic importance of this measure, apart from its far-reaching consequences as the first step in university recognition, that while in 1858, before the admission of girls, the number of candidates for examination by Cambridge was 387, in 1910 the number of boys and girls examined in the same subjects and judged by the same standard had reached 22,371. This is leaving out of the account the large number of candidates also presented for the Oxford examinations.

An important step was taken by the Schools Inquiry Commission of 1864, in including girls' schools in their inquiry, helping towards the formation of the Girls' Public Day Schools Company, in which Mr. William Grey, Miss Shirreff, and Lady Stanley of Alderley took a leading part. This Company established high schools for girls on the model of the North London Collegiate School and the Cheltenham Ladies' College, in which Miss Buss and Miss Beale had been doing such valuable work. Later on, the Endowed Schools Commission, of which our staunch friend Lord Lyttelton was the chairman, did good service in securing the appropriation of some share in endowments to the education of girls.

In 1865, Elizabeth Garrett, after a struggle with adverse influences, the arduous nature of which can perhaps only be appreciated by those who had the privilege of closely watching it, became a qualified medical practitioner. There are now some 500 women on the Medical Register residing in the United Kingdom.

The year 1869 was signalled by the opening of Girton College, Cambridge, at first stationed at Hitchin, followed by the foundation of other colleges of a similar type. At the same time our friends in the University of London—notably Mr. R. H. Hutton and Mr. J. G. Fitch—were not idle, and in 1878, after sixteen years of effort, within and without, that university opened wide its doors to women. Other universities followed and at this moment women have unrestricted access to all the universities of the United Kingdom, except Oxford and Cambridge.

In the field of legislation, the seventies saw the passing, mainly through the efforts, at once zealous and wise, of Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy and Mr. Jacob Bright, of the Married Women's Property Acts, forming a measure which may well be called revolutionary, though it has come into effect with so little disturbance of family life that we hardly realise what a fundamental change has taken place.

As regards Women's Suffrage, our era may be said to have begun with the presentation to John Stuart Mill, in April, 1866, of a petition signed by 1,499 women. In the autumn a paper by Madame Bodichon on "Reasons for the Enfranchisement of Women," was read at the annual meeting of the Social Science

Association, and this was followed by the formation of Women's Suffrage Committees in London, Manchester and elsewhere. About the same time Miss Becker made her *début*, with an article in the *Contemporary Review*, of which Dr. Alford, Dean of Canterbury, was the editor. To chronicle in detail the later stages of the movement would occupy more space than THE COMMON CAUSE could spare, and it is the less necessary as the steps towards the Parliamentary enfranchisement of women are so well described, up to a comparatively recent date, in Miss Blackburn's valuable "Record of Women's Suffrage," and information as to the progress made in other directions may be obtained from the various memoirs of the distinguished woman to whom it was chiefly due and from other sources.

In regard to the names introduced in this slight sketch it will be understood that selection has been difficult. I have tried to meet the case by, as a rule, naming only those who have passed away, but so many have gone from us that even with this limitation the record is far from complete. I should like to point out, in passing, how many men, in early as well as in later times, have generously worked with and for women, sharing alike their good and their evil fortune.

It may perhaps be observed that in this brief and inadequate survey of the past, difficulties and failures are for the most part ignored. Need we dwell upon them? May we not rather rejoice over the great things which have been achieved, and take courage for the future? Those who have gone before fought a good fight, and prevailed perhaps beyond their own expectations. Let us not for a moment doubt that, fighting still in the same spirit, victory will surely be ours.

17, Glenmore Road, N.W.

EMILY DAVIES.

THE CRY TO FREEDOM.

In the last century freedom slept lightly. It awakened to the cry of the West Indian slaves and at the voices of our working men in 1832; again, when Gladstone called for household suffrage. It never crossed my mind when John Stuart Mill, Peter Taylor, and Jacob Bright invoked freedom in the name of women in the House of Commons that the call could be in vain, nor 50 years could pass away and the plea remain unheeded. I grieve for this long delay, but do not lose heart or courage. The struggle cannot be long. "The wheels of God grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small."

May I offer you the grateful thanks of your fellow-workers,

ANNA M. PRIESTMAN.

MARIAN MILL COLMAN.

MARY PRIESTMAN.

37, Durdham Park, Redland, Bristol.

COURAGE.

To the Editor of THE COMMON CAUSE.

Madam,—The year that is now so near its close has been one of much activity in support of Women's Suffrage, of many hopes, and of some disappointments. On the whole, advance has been made. I should like to be allowed to say, "Courage, courage, courage" to all our workers. Comparing the state of the question as it is now with what it was 50 years ago, no one can doubt the immense progress that has been made. Even within the last five years the advance in public opinion has been enormous. Sacrifices will still be demanded, and they will again and again be joyfully made. Even our least appreciative of critics never ventures to say that women are behind men in endurance, steadfastness, and faith in the ultimate victory of justice. We have but to hold on and to refuse to know what it is to be weary. Every great step in the upward development of mankind has been gained by those who fought the good fight of their own time in this spirit. It is for us to follow them, and to rejoice that we are thought worthy, if need be, to suffer.—I am, Madam, yours, etc.,

ELIZABETH GARRETT ANDERSON, M.D.

Aldeburgh, Suffolk.

Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Lloyd George at the Horticultural Hall.

On Saturday, December 16th, in the Horticultural Hall, a large meeting of the Women's Liberal Federation was addressed by Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Lloyd George upon Women's Suffrage. Lady Carlisle, who was to have presided, was unable to be present, and sent the following letter:—
"I wish I could have expressed to Mr. Lloyd George and to Sir Edward Grey, on behalf of the Liberal women of the Federation, how deep and how rejoicing is our thankfulness that they have come forward as the fighting champions of the women's suffrage cause, and that they purpose to carry this long-delayed reform right through all obstacles to

victory. We believe that these statesmen and their suffrage colleagues in the Cabinet having shouldered this great responsibility and set themselves with determination to this glorious task, a near triumph is assured, and that we may expect with a confident and reasoned trust that an amendment giving Parliamentary votes to women on a wide democratic basis will in the next session be carried, and will stand part of the Reform Bill. After that the Prime Minister, according to his promise, will press through its remaining stages a Government Reform Bill, containing the enfranchisement of some seven or eight millions of women, and thanks to his hard-won Parliament Act he will be able to secure the passage of our reform through the House of Lords, thus adding one more epoch-making measure to the record of this powerful and beneficent Government. We are now very near to the promised land, and I venture to prophesy that when at last women's citizenship has become an accomplished fact Mr. Asquith and those who still fear calling women into political life will realise that this act of justice to women is in very truth good for the women and good for the State."

A CALL TO WORK.

Mrs. Eva McLaren took the chair. She said that Mr. Asquith, whom they as Liberal women respected, and would so gladly have welcomed as leader, had spoken to a deputation last week of "premature jubilation." They would be unwise, she thought, to enter upon this campaign in a dejected spirit. "We have a good cause, leaders we trust, and a devoted rank and file. If we were dejected, we should deserve defeat." They did not doubt that some day, and soon, they would have the right to be jubilant; meanwhile their temper was quiet and confident. The vote could only be won with untiring efforts, and the nearer it seemed the harder they must work. They wanted their friends in the Cabinet to know they were not afraid of work.

Sir Edward Grey, who was warmly received, said that if they had known beforehand the conditions under which this meeting would be held they might have shrunk, for it had come upon the last day of an exceedingly arduous session, in which he and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had had a heavy burden. It was very difficult to take an active and effective part in outside movements not connected with his own department, and the more he cared, the more deeply he felt, the harder it was to do anything.

LORD HALDANE.

The first thing he had to do was to regret that the colleague who twenty years ago joined him in bringing this matter forward was not able to be present. Commenting that it was important to have support in the Lords, he read the following letter from Lord Haldane:—

"To my great regret I cannot be present to speak at the meeting on Saturday in support of woman suffrage. A public engagement of long standing for that evening compels me to go to the North of England. If I had been with you and Lloyd George I should have desired to express myself emphatically. The development of political life in this country has, in my opinion, reached a stage where it is no longer either logical or expedient or just to withhold the franchise from women. The argument against the extension based on a supposed principle comes too late in the day. In substance the domain of our public life has, with the single exception of the Parliamentary franchise, been thrown open to women. We invite their co-operation in all practical movements, and not least in those concerned with Imperial politics. How can we insist any longer on a supposed natural disqualification for government?"

"As for the fear of domination by women because of their numbers, or of their destroying the virile traditions of our race, it does not weigh with me; leadership is no question of mere numbers. I have confidence in the forces that make for the influence of man, and I leave to nature herself the preservation of the balance and the solution of problems which ought not to arise while human nature remains what it is. But, for the rest, looking at the complex and intricate social questions which are ahead—questions with which Parliament is being called on in an increasing degree to occupy itself—I see nothing but gain in the full participation of women in the franchise. Had I been with you on Saturday I should have sought an opportunity of expressing myself in this sense."

Sir Edward Grey dealt with some of the well-known objections to the enfranchisement of women and maintained that where you have responsibility you must not refuse representation; he quoted the experience of New Zealand and Australia and he showed how the sphere of government was being enormously extended. He quoted from Mr. Lloyd George's speech at Bath and described it as the "most powerful, eloquent and sympathetic plea."

KEEPING OUR MAJORITY.

A great many questions of social reform were not party questions, but if there were some women electors in every constituency, men of all parties would be affected by them. He believed the influence of women in politics had been good and he believed it would have a "humanising and civilising influence." "That is one of the reasons I most deplore violence. If you have scenes of violence, especially when they take petty forms, you paralyse this movement." No cause ought to be wrecked by a minority. He did not forget that before the Reform Bill of 1832 there was much worse violence, but they had to remember that what they had to do was to keep the House of Commons to its opinion. Their work was not to demonstrate their feelings, but to bring people round. It was a mistake to

think that it was the Government which was their objective in the House of Commons; everything depended on the votes in the House, and next year would be the most important and critical in the history of the Women's Suffrage movement.

NO DEMAND FOR ADULT SUFFRAGE.

Describing the political situation, he said, the promise for the Conciliation Bill still stood on the condition that it should be open to amendment. The rock ahead had been this amendment, because if it had been passed with the aid of the enemies of the Bill the measure might have been lost on the third reading. "I was prepared," he said, "to vote for the Conciliation Bill as it stood rather than have it wrecked." He did not believe the country wanted Adult Suffrage, but he was never content at the exclusion of married women. How could he be after all he had said about homes? But he would not have voted for anything that would have wrecked the Bill, and not being a Government Bill it would not have had the support of any organisation against obstruction. The situation was now modified by the introduction of the Reform Bill, which improved the chances of Women's Suffrage. Any majority there might be for the amendment would not affect the majority for this Bill, the opponents of the Bill could not wreck it with a wide amendment; the passage of the Bill was assured.

A HOUSEHOLD FRANCHISE.

As to the amendment which he hoped to see passed, it was one which would give all that would have been given by the Conciliation Bill and include married women as well. He wanted the household to be represented by both husband and wife. "Let us unite," he cried, "on household suffrage for women! Let us put everything aside to carry that. Let us make our great effort for that."

WHY THERE CANNOT BE A GOVERNMENT BILL.

Passing on to the question why the Government did not itself put women into the Bill, he said that if the suffragists in the Cabinet insisted on this the Government would break up and there would be no Bill of any kind.

However much they were divided on Women's Suffrage they were all united in loyalty to the Prime Minister, and they were not going to do anything to cause him to resign. Even if they did, the only result would be to bring in another party equally divided upon the subject. The Government had met the suffragists fairly, and had agreed to accept the will of the House; this gave them the best opportunity they had ever had.

DEFEAT INCONCEIVABLE.

He concluded with these words:—"I understand the indignation which people feel at any idea of a Bill being passed which is going to widen the suffrage to men, increase the suffrage for men, and do nothing for women. I would not have been a party to the introduction of any Bill which did not give the House of Commons a fair opportunity of putting Women's Suffrage into it. I will go further, and say this: it is to me inconceivable that a House of Commons which has more than once by large majorities approved the principle of Women's Suffrage should calmly proceed to pass through all its stages a Bill to widen the suffrage for men without doing something to remove the barrier against women having votes. Until that happens, until the House of Commons has refused to put a Women's Suffrage amendment into the Government Bill, I decline to believe that possible. If it does happen, the House of Commons will have placed itself, in my opinion, in an invidious and indefensible position. Until that happens let us be united in taking the Government Bill as the greatest opportunity Women's Suffrage has yet had, and doing all we can to get the amendment placed in it."

ENDORSEMENT OF SIR EDWARD GREY.

Mr. Lloyd George, who was received with much cheering, said he was there "to say ditto to Sir Edward Grey." "I endorse," he continued, "every sentence he uttered, especially in the second part of his speech. Tactically I am entirely with him, and he has incidentally answered a long and rather involved interrogatory which I have received lately. His answer is, I think, a complete one and I endorse it in every particular." Referring to the Insurance Bill, to which the Royal Assent has just been given, Mr. Lloyd George said that that Bill affected four million of women workers and their opinion had never been asked. It could not be asked. He had received "a few deputations," but he could not receive four millions "even in the Albert Hall." It affected seven million married women, and they could only express an opinion through their husbands. The House of Commons which trusted women to administer the Act did not ask them what that Act should be. If women were unfit to vote why were they fit to be commissioners?

WE MUST PULL TOGETHER.

Next year was going to be a very critical year, and would probably determine the issue for this Parliament. In view of the Anti-Suffrage deputation received by the Prime Minister it was most desirable we should have complete unity. Whatever divergent views they had it was important they should not wrangle. "Let us unite and use all our powers to achieve a triumph next session. If we pull together, nothing can prevent success." For who was to prevent? Not the Government, which was pledged not to use its strength in opposition; and the majority of the members of the Government were pledged to use their influence. Not the House of Commons, in which we had a decided majority. Nothing could stand between us and the weaving into the Reform Bill of a women's suffrage amendment except the action of some of those responsible for the support of the cause.

THE REFERENDUM.

Referring to the suggestion that there was no mandate, Mr. Lloyd George said that each Member must get his mandate from his own constituents, and Members had been pledged again and again in sight of their constituents; most of them had voted for a Bill, and had gone through the elections after and been re-elected. If they had suddenly declared for women's suffrage it might have been said the electors did not realise the position. And they could not say it was merely the expression of a "pious opinion," for in 1908 the Prime Minister had declared that he would allow this amendment to a Reform Bill, and from that moment the expression of approval ceased to be a "pious opinion," and men knew that they were face to face with a measure of the first importance. As for the suggested Referendum: Liberals were opposed on general principles to the Referendum, on other questions, as unfair, and it would be doubly unfair for women's suffrage. Were they to have a Referendum to men only? Or was there to be a special register of women? If so, he thought they had better let it remain. He could not see how any Liberal statesman who opposed so strenuously the application of the Referendum for some questions could, with any sense of fairness or decency extend it to questions like women's suffrage.

A BROAD DEMOCRATIC FRANCHISE.

Were they going to have a broad democratic franchise such as that sketched by Sir Edward Grey, or a limited one? That depended upon women themselves. As long as members of Parliament and their sympathies were not alienated, as long as enemies were not made for the cause, he felt confident that next year would see the inclusion in the Government measure of amendments which would enfranchise millions of the women of this country. Mr. Lloyd George expressed his belief in the capacity and intelligence and public spirit of women, and derided the pessimistic predictions, comparing them with some that had been made in the debates on the Reform Bill of 1832, and he concluded with a moving appeal.

THE MOST ENDURING PARTNERSHIP.

"To be quite frank, has the government of men been such an unqualified success that we can claim a monopoly for ourselves? We are here near the seat of Government. You have got the Throne; you have got the Houses of Legislature; you have got the great stately buildings from which edicts go forth that affect the lives of millions of people in the remotest ends of the earth; and yet, within a mile of the Throne, within a mile of your Houses of Parliament, you have poverty, wretchedness, squalor which fills the heart with disgust and horror. That is after ages of the government of men. Why, men have not yet devised a better method of settling international quarrels than by blowing each others' brains out! All the great problems of life men and women have settled together. The deepest problems of life, the greatest problems of life, they have shared them. The sorrows of life and its trials they have shared. It is the oldest partnership, the most enduring, the most successful—and I say it would be a day of blessing for this Empire when that partnership is carried into the sphere of Government.

Lady Bamford Slack and Mrs. Broadley Reid moved and seconded a resolution thanking the Ministers for their speeches, and the Prime Minister for his promise and pledging themselves to do all in their power "to co-operate with the Suffrage leaders in the House of Commons to secure the passing of an amendment to be incorporated in the Reform Bill which will confer a wide measure of enfranchisement on women."

Sir Edward Grey, in replying, said he understood how natural was the sense of injustice women had, so long as they were excluded, and it was his knowledge of how deep and earnest was this sense which made him earnest in the cause. He and Mr. Lloyd George, in thanking Mrs. McLaren, both alluded to the devoted work she had done in promoting it.

The Premier and the Anti-Suffragists.

On Thursday, December 14, Mr. Asquith received a deputation from the League for opposing Women's Suffrage. Lord Curzon, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Miss Violet Markham all advocated a reference to the people, but did not state any particular form of reference. Sir Charles Henry, M.P., asked Mr. Asquith to support the anti-suffragists in the country and said they relied on his advocacy and co-operation.

Mr. Asquith, in replying, set aside the demand for a referendum as impracticable and declared that he must abide by the agreement arrived at in the Cabinet in which "a considerable majority of my colleagues" differed from him on this question. He concluded with these words:—

You will say to me this is very cold comfort. And so it is. Speaking for the moment as in a sense one of yourselves, as one who desires to see this change prevented, I do not take a hopeless view of the situation. The public opinion, after all, of the country is, or ought to be, and I hope will be, the predominating factor in determining a matter of such gravity as this. Mrs. Humphry Ward has told us and Miss Markham confirmed that now that the prospect is approaching of a practical effort being made there is a growing feeling, expressing itself more and more articulately, of hostility to the proposed change. Lord Curzon has referred to the operation of the Parliament Bill. I have always said—I am not going to re-open any of the controversies of last summer, but I have always maintained, and it is my honest opinion that the prolongation of discussion which the Parliament Act provides for a Bill which has been rejected by the Second Chamber in the first instance and finally over the veto of the Second Chamber passed into law would be fatal to the political prospect of a measure which is really condemned by the preponderating opinion of the country. That is the safeguard which we believe that the measure contains in itself and upon which I personally have always very strongly relied. And if it be true, as I hope and believe that it is true, that the more people in this country—the intelligent, cool-headed people in this country—realise what this change really means and to what logical consequences, it must lead you the more that is put before them, as it can be put before them by ladies and gentlemen like yourselves, with emphasis, clearness, and proper organisation, the better it will be. I take myself a much more hopeful view than some people do of our prospects in the future.

Sir Charles Henry was kind enough to invite me personally to enter into the arena into which some of my colleagues have already descended. (Laughter.) I do not use the word in any offensive sense. When you leave the bench of spectators and take a part in the combat you have to go down a few steps. I must take time to consider that suggestion. I do think—I say this quite frankly—that it is time for those who hold strong views upon this subject, unless there is a possibility, as in my own case, of some very special personal disability—well, I am reserving a definite opinion upon it—but I do think it is time that they should take off their coats, those at any rate who belong to my own sex, and that the ladies should lend all the co-operation they can in whatever capacity they think best adapted for effective militant operations of a constitutional kind, and I entertain very strong hope that if that was done and the case was clearly and cogently presented to the public opinion of the country, some of the jubiliations which are now already being heard from the supporters of the movement would be found to have been premature, and that public opinion would declare that it is not fair to make this gigantic experiment, for which there is no parallel in the history of any other country in Europe (for all the cases in which female suffrage has hitherto been granted are cases of communities in which the social, economic, and political conditions are totally different from our own), until at any rate they have had further time to reflect upon these questions. I cannot say more than that to you to-day, and I trust that if not satisfied you are at any rate contented.

(We take these words from the report in the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.)

People's Suffrage Federation Conference.

On Saturday, December 9th, the People's Suffrage Federation held a Conference at Newcastle on Adult Suffrage, the first of a series in the principal towns of the kingdom. The aim

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:	President:	Secretary:	Hon. Treasurer:
MISS K. D. COURTNEY.	MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.	MISS GERALDINE COOKE.	MRS. AUERBACH.
MISS EDITH PALLISER (Parliamentary).		Hon. Secretary to Press Committee:	MISS EMILY M. LEAF
Telegrams: "Voiceless, London."	Hon. Sec. to Literature Committee: MISS I. B. O'MALLEY.	Offices:	Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

From Headquarters.

CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS.
The National Union office will be closed from December 23rd to December 26th inclusive. Urgent letters, which require an immediate reply, may be sent to Miss K. Courtney, Well House, Shawford, Hants.

ALBERT HALL MEETING.
Societies applying for boxes or other seats for the Albert Hall meeting are requested to write to Miss Strachey, 58, Victoria Street, S.W., as the sale of tickets will be dealt with by the London Society. Applica-

tions should be sent in as soon as possible, but the boxes will not be allotted until the month of January.

CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE NATIONAL UNION AND PARTY ORGANISATIONS.
The National Union is extremely anxious that so far as possible unity of policy and of action in view of the political situation should be maintained amongst the societies working for women's suffrage. On Thursday, December 7th, representatives of the Conservative and Unionist Association met the Executive of the National Union to discuss the possibility of united action; on the following Thursday, December 14th, a meeting was arranged between members of the Executive of the Women's of the promoters was to affirm the principle of equal adult suffrage, and to urge upon the Prime Minister to substitute for his promised Manhood Bill a measure giving votes to all men and women over twenty-one, on a three months' residential qualification. Invitations were sent to all organisations having the further extension of the franchise as a plank in their platform; and among those present were representatives of Trade Unions, Miners' Lodges, Liberal and Labour associations, Women's Co-operative Guilds and the various suffrage societies. "Equality" was the watchword of the Conference, in which men and women were about equal in number; but the suffrage delegates had an advantage, inasmuch as they knew exactly what amendments they wished to insert in the various resolutions in order to crystallise the desire of the meeting to give expression to their dissatisfaction at the proposed exclusion of women from the Reform Bill. With the first resolution on the Agenda suffragists had no concern, for it dealt only with the basis of the franchise claiming Adult Suffrage as the only satisfactory solution. As Chairman of the Newcastle Society, I spoke to it, however, in order to make clear at the outset that we were present at the Conference solely to safeguard the interests of women, and that we should express no opinion upon, and vote neither for nor against such resolutions. In doing this I spoke not only for the National Union, but for the W.S.P.U., C.L., and W.F.L., whose representatives had discussed together the agenda and decided on a plan of action, and whose delegates an hour previously had assembled in the office of the N.U. to hear the decisions and to receive instructions. Our most important amendment was carried unanimously. It instructed the P.S.F. "To call upon M.P.'s who uphold the right of every adult citizen to the franchise to vote against the Reform Bill on its third reading unless women are included." In other words, the adult suffrage society to whose representatives Mr. Asquith replied that he would give them Manhood Suffrage, have retorted—and unanimously—that if women are not included they will have none of his votes for men. The P.S.F. has 114 M.P.'s on its Parliamentary Council and there are in the present House of Commons 170 who advocate Adult suffrage. To all of these are sent resolutions regretting the proposed exclusion of women from the promised Reform Bill, welcoming the Prime Minister's statement that the measure will be open to amendments which will give equal voting rights at Parliamentary elections to men and women; and calling upon them, in the last extremity, to stand by the women to whose strenuous and untiring exertions the movement for the extension of the franchise owes its present prominent and favourable position.

ETHEL M. N. WILLIAMS,
Chairman of the Newcastle-on-Tyne
Society of Women's Suffrage.

(The resolutions passed will be found on page 651.)

In Parliament.

THE END OF THE SESSION.

On December 13th the Finance Bill was read a third time, and the Speaker declared that in his opinion it was not a Money Bill within the meaning of the Parliament Act. On the same day the House considered the Lords' Amendments to the Shops Bill and accepted them, including one which makes the provisions apply to members of the family employed by a shopkeeper. On Saturday 16th the Insurance Bill having passed the House of Lords and received the Royal Assent, Parliament was prorogued until February 14th.

Liberal Federation and of the Executive of the National Union. This meeting had originally been proposed before the announcement of the Reform Bill was made, but the changed political situation made it all the more valuable.

CONFERENCE AT THE HOUSE.

On the evening of the same day, December 14th, Miss Palliser and Miss Courtney attended a conference at the House of Commons, called by a committee of members in favour of the enfranchisement of women on broad and democratic lines, to consider the possibility of joint action between them and the various societies in favour of women's suffrage.

After a lengthy discussion the following resolution was passed:—"That the societies represented in this conference be invited each to appoint one delegate to a Central Committee to co-operate with a Committee of Members of Parliament for the purpose of co-ordinating the work of the societies throughout the country in support of the campaign for the extension of the franchise to women on broad and democratic lines."

This resolution will be brought before the Executive of the National Union at its next meeting on January 4th, and it will then be decided whether or not to accept the invitation.

The societies represented at the conference were as follows:—

- The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.
The Women's Freedom League.
The Men's League for Women's Suffrage.
The Women's Liberal Federation.
The Professional and Industrial Women's Suffrage Society.
The Women's Co-operative Guild.
The People's Suffrage Federation.
The Women's Labour League.
The Fabian Society.

Press Department.

The Spectator is obdurate in its refusal to publish any statements from the National Union in answer to the Anti-Suffrage articles containing the amusing references to the Conciliation Bill and Aaron's Rod. Even if women's interests might not be championed, it might have been imagined that the Spectator, so strong in its theological articles, would have permitted them to vindicate their knowledge of the Bible—or at least to have suggested that it was Jonah who was "swallowed up"—and not Aaron's rod. And even he was restored after a short interval, undamaged, and, in the opinion of some, improved. There are signs, however, of the buds of Aaron's rod bursting even in the Spectator. We note its remark that "there are many anti-suffragists who would favour Women's Suffrage if they thought it possible to give the vote to a comparatively few selected women."

Our anti-suffrage opponents have a lamentable habit of dragging in Biblical texts, stories, and parables—often in the most irrelevant connections—as a means for giving an appearance of sacredness to their arguments. The story of Adam and Eve frequently recurs in the newspapers, and the following reflections of an anti-suffragist, beyond the range of confutation, are chronicled this week with all seriousness in the Western Mail.

"By long experience I have concluded that since the days of Eve (whether a figurative story or not) woman has ever been the dupe of Satan, and is now again preparing for herself and this country a dread future by falling into the hands of astute instigators for their own purposes of the franchise, and probably leading to her own slavery. Can we not grasp that a Creator arranged one strong being in body and mind (man) and a lesser one (woman), both equally to carry out the many, but utterly different, occupations fitted for each—man not being fitted for the one, neither woman for the other."

We are glad to note that the Free Church League has appointed a Press Secretary. E. M. LEAF.

Literature Department.

The Literature Committee has reprinted Mr. Brailsford's article on the Political Situation, which was published in the December number of the Englishwoman. Price 1d.

A new leaflet has also been published containing Mr. Balfour's statements on Franchise Reform in 1906. This leaflet has a brief statement of the N.U. policy on the back including the resolution passed at the Council meeting with regard to supporting both the Conciliation Bill and an amendment to the Reform Bill. Price, 1s. 6d. per 100.

The National Union still has some boxes of the attractive crackers in our colours, issued by Messrs. Sparagnane. Members who have not yet bought any are urged to order at once. 2s. and 3s. per box.

- Letter pads, good cream laid paper, with red, white, and green corners. Design in colour on cover. 9d. each.
Blotting books with same design, 6d. each.
Blotting pads, with linen corners in the colours, 6 1/2 d. each.
Labels for baggage or for Christmas parcels, 1d. per dozen.
New badges, 9d. each.

Treasurer's Notes.

We have already received a warm response to my last week's appeal for funds from several friends, old and new. The promises for the Albert Hall collection are also beginning to come in well.

But Christmas is upon us, and we may surely take a brief pause before rushing upon our great task with renewed energy. We are thinking of Christmas presents just now. It will be a great day when we can give our country the finest of Christmas presents—its women as real citizens. Meantime I hope the Christmas boxes of the National Union will be sumptuous.

Please help me to a bumper week's takings for the first of the New Year. FRANCES M. STERLING, Treasurer, pro tem.

NATIONAL HEALTH SOCIETY.

Lady Sanitary Inspectors, Health Visitors, &c.

SPECIAL TRAINING LECTURES FOR LADIES,

in preparation for the Examination of the Sanitary Inspectors' Examination Board, and for the Diploma of the National Health Society.

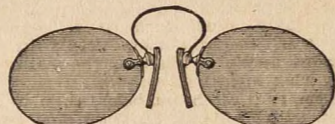
COMMENCE IN JANUARY, 1912

Apply to the SECRETARY, National Health Society, 53, Berners Street, W.

INCOME TAX.

ETHEL K. THOMAS, F.L.A.A., ACCOUNTANT AND AUDITOR. Income Tax Recovery Department, 46a, High Street, Slough, Bucks. Special attention given to Recovery of Income Tax. Assessments, Overcharges and Appeals.

WHY WEAR HEAVY Eyeglasses & Spectacles?



When Preston's Noted Rimless Eyeglasses and Spectacles are to be had at prices within the reach of all. They reveal the natural beauty of the eyes, and lend an air of refinement to the face. Eyeglasses from 5/6. Spectacles from 10/6. Made in Steel, Rolled Gold, and Gold. Write or call for Booklet, "Imperfections of Vision," and mention this paper.

PHILIP A. PRESTON, Eyesight Specialist, 130, High Holborn, London, W.C.

MRS. ENNIS RICHMOND, late Principal of West Heath School for boys and girls, Hampstead (now carried on by her son, Mr. Kenneth Richmond) takes at Valley End, Surrey, girls up to the age of 18.

A thoroughly good education in all ordinary School Subjects (including Advanced French and Music) is given, and, in addition, the girls have definite teaching in Household and Domestic Arts.

Valley End is in the middle of the 'Heather Country,' with every opportunity for a healthful and interesting life for young people.

Postal Address:—

Valley End, Chobham, Surrey.

Station: Sunningdale, L. & S.W.R.

Contributions to the General Fund.

Table with columns for donor names and amounts. Includes entries like 'Mrs. Theodore Williams... 10 0', 'Hon. Mrs. A. Lytton... 5 0 0', and 'Garmarthen W.S.S. ... 8 9'.

THE BY-ELECTIONS.

NORTH AYRSHIRE. Candidates.—Mr. A. M. Anderson, K.C. (Liberal), Captain Duncan Campbell, D.S.O. (Unionist). Polling Day.—Wednesday, December 20th. Committee Rooms.—16, Countess Street, Saltcoats. Organizer.—Miss Alice Crompton, M.A.

Our questions to the candidates have elicited from the Unionist, Captain Campbell, answers no more favourable than those of the Solicitor-General, the Liberal. Neither of them professes himself hostile to our cause; neither of them, however, has mentioned us in his election address, nor will fully pledge himself to definite support in the House next year.

We have two valuable assets in this campaign: Firstly, excellent committee rooms in the shape of a big-windowed shop in the Town Hall buildings, just opposite the railway station, where all who run may (and do) read our posters, pamphlets, and leaflets.

Secondly, the presence in the town of the Anti-Suffrage League, whose premises exactly front our own. To their placard, "Women Do Not Want the Vote," we have retorted, on the hoardings and in our window, with the big Dog-in-the-Manger poster, and with a smaller one—"Women Who Think and Women Who Work DO Want the Vote."

Our handicaps are two: Firstly, our dearth of speakers. Miss Kirby and I are practically alone, and, though we spoke with the tongues of men and of angels, we could not speak on twelve platforms at once.

Secondly, we have to clear the minds of the electors of the confusion existing between us and the W.S.P.U., who have written across their committee-room window: "Keep the Liberal Out!" (One morning the outside of the window was found painted bright red—the Liberal colour.) Both the W.S.P.U. and we have issued manifestoes to the electorate—the former maintaining their disbelief in the possibility of a women's amendment to the Reform Bill being passed, whilst ours calls on the electors to heckle the candidates on our question and to give the new Member a mandate to support such an amendment.

Opposition to our cause does not exist; resolutions in its favour at crowded meetings are, as usual, carried with only one or two dissentients. The workmen at the steel and iron and shipbuilding yards are on our side almost to a man. THE COMMON CAUSE sells readily, and our manifestoes are eagerly taken.

We owe thanks to the Kilmarnock Society for four workers, one of whom, Mrs. Stuart Park, has been indefatigable and indispensable. From three medical women we have had that help which their status and profession alone can give—Dr. Elsie Inglis (who took cheerfully the long journey to and from Edinburgh), Dr. Mary Nannetti, of Kilmarnock, and Dr. Everset MacLaren, of Glasgow. Miss Eunice Murray, of the Freedom League, gave a fine speech at Ardrossan, and we were specially glad of the comradeship of so distinguished a member of that Society. Without the arrival of Miss Edith Kirby, who has been spared from the Federation Office in Edinburgh, it would have been impossible to cover the ground as we are doing, nor could our meetings have been so successful had not Miss Riddell, of Melrose, toiled all day long advertising them by calls and conversation and hand-bill distributing in Dalry, Ardrossan, Saltcoats, and Darvel.

Twenty-one polling stations should be staffed on the 20th, but we shall have to concentrate on a few, and there distribute our manifesto and sell our COMMON CAUSES. The number containing the portrait of Miss

Mona Wilson, First Woman Insurance Commissioner, has roused much interest.

The Glasgow Herald has given us a fair amount of notice, and the Manchester Guardian, with its usual sympathy, has sent an interviewer to our committee rooms.

GOVAN.

Candidates: (Mr. D. T. Holmes (L.), (Mr. George Balfour (U.)). Polling day: Friday, December 22nd. Committee Rooms: 828, Govan Road.

Organizer: Mrs. Cowmeadow. We have made great strides in Govan since the last report. Both candidates were interviewed early in the week, and very definite answers received. Mr. D. T. Holmes, the Liberal candidate, expressed himself strongly in our favour, and gave affirmative answers to all the questions submitted. Mr. G. Balfour, on the contrary, was as strongly against us, and gave us a very decided no. Obviously the reasonable policy was that adopted to "support Liberal strongly," and moreover, it is one that commends our cause to the "man in the street."

We are having very successful meetings at the works and shipyards, both at breakfast and dinner hours, and these are especially important, as the majority of the listeners are voters. It is difficult to get questions, but as I have been assured at several meetings by auditors that they do not want to ask questions "because they are satisfied," it may be an encouraging sign, and at one breakfast-hour meeting a man moved a vote of thanks.

There is a great demand for literature, and large quantities have been distributed at political meetings and yard gates.

We conclude our campaign by holding an indoor meeting on Wednesday, when the chair will be taken by the Rev. J. Barr, a very popular local speaker, and an outdoor demonstration, on Thursday (the eve of the poll), when we shall have the help of County Councillor Ballantyne, and Mr. J. S. Campbell, as chairmen, and speakers from Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Everything points to the return of Mr. D. T. Holmes for Govan, and I think we may consider that in such case we shall not only have the sympathetic help of the member, but that his party, rank and file as well as leaders, will be prepared to support him in pushing forward our claims. C. E. COWMEADOW.

Federation Notes.

Eastern Counties.

WORK IN NORFOLK. HARLESTON.—On November 23rd, Mrs. Hazard, of Harleston, gave a drawing-room meeting. The room was filled by an attentive audience. Mr. Hazard took the chair, and I gave an address, which was followed by a good discussion.

KING'S LYNN AND DISTRICT.—Following the interest aroused by Lady Frances Balfour's great meeting of November 20th, many of our supporters desired that we should hold a large public debate. In spite of many efforts, however, this has been deferred owing to the customary difficulty of finding any anti-suffragist who will formulate arguments against us. A proposal of the correspondence in the Standard on the East Anglian anti-suffrage campaign, I have been interested to find in King's Lynn, Hunstanton, and other places I have visited, that their attempted public meetings have ended in fiasco.

HUNSTANTON.—On Monday, December 11th, I gave a lecture on "Women's Suffrage and Some Present-day Problems" in the Town Hall. There was a large and very thoughtful audience. Dr. Ball "a neutral with leanings," took the chair, and made amusing observations. At the close of the lecture, Mr. J. H. Page, J.P., a leading Liberal, contributed a short but telling speech on the injustice of bringing voteless women into the Insurance Bill. As a magistrate, he spoke of the difficulties unmarried mothers experience in obtaining affiliation orders. He has joined our society. A motion in general terms was carried with only four dissentients. The success of the meeting at Hunstanton was due in great part to the work done by Miss Coulton, Mrs. Cliff, Miss Smith, and other friends. On December 14th, we held an "At Home" in the Assembly Rooms of the Town Hall, King's Lynn, to start the "King's Lynn and District" Society. A group of ladies in the town kindly acted as hostesses. Mrs. Heitland gave an address on the present political situation of Women's Suffrage. She described the progress made, which is best shown by the reception of the last Suffrage deputation to the Premier, and she made an amusing reference to an old attempt of hers to get a meeting in Lynn. Under the chairmanship of the Rev. A. W. Hayes, we then proceeded to the election of officers and committee. Mrs. Ingleby was unanimously invited to act as president.

SWAFFHAM.—On Friday, December 15th, a meeting was held in the parish room of the small town of Swaffham. The Vicar, the Rev. Keeling-Scott presided, and Mr. Mirrieles, of Cambridge, who has before given me invaluable help, was the principal speaker. About a hundred people attended the meeting, which was unavoidably held on a very busy evening. Mr. Mirrieles spoke most convincingly, and we both had some excellent discussion with the audience. A resolution in general terms in favour of Women's Suffrage was carried. The Lynn Advertiser and the Lynn News have both continued to give excellent and full reports of my work. EVA WARD.

HERTFORD AND DISTRICT.—The Hertford Society, which was formed last April, has been rather at a standstill owing to the difficulty of finding a suitable Secretary,

and applied to the Federation for the help of an Organizer to give them a start. Miss Annie Villiers of the Hitchin and District Society having offered to do work of this kind, was sent by the Federation to Hertford in November to give what help she could to this young society. There seems every prospect of its going on well now, however, as a most capable secretary has been found in Miss Louisa Puller, of Youngsbury, Ware, whose energy and enthusiasm are boundless, and although the numbers are at present rather small, they will doubtless increase as the district is more worked. A good many visits were paid by Miss Puller and Miss Villiers in Ware and Broxbourne, and four meetings held, which resulted in about twelve or thirteen new members being enrolled. The Hertford Women's Liberal Association passed the N.U. resolution without a dissentient, and received an acknowledgment from Sir John Rolleston saying he was quite in favour of it. Miss Dunlop, of the Younger Suffragists' Society, kindly addressed two meetings. If any reader of THE COMMON CAUSE should know anyone in Broxbourne or Hoddesdon willing to lend a drawing-room for a meeting, Miss Puller would be very glad to hear from them. A good number of COMMON CAUSES were sold and literature distributed.

HITCHIN AND DISTRICT.—On December 16th a meeting was arranged in the small Public Hall, Stevenage, for the purpose of explaining to members and friends the present situation and policy of the National Union. A good number accepted the invitation of Committee to tea, after which an interesting account of the National Union Special Council on December 8th was given by Miss A. Villiers, one of the delegates, Mrs. Wathen, the other delegate taking the chair. A number of COMMON CAUSES were sold, and three new members and associates joined the society.

North Western.

FORMATION OF A SOCIETY AT LANCASTER.—A most successful "At Home" was held in the old Church House, Lancaster, on December 11th. Six Lancaster ladies sent out invitations, and, as a result, a hundred people were present at our meeting. Lancaster was almost untouched ground from the Suffrage point of view, and we were delighted to have such a crowded room. Mrs. Watson presided, and made an excellent little speech from the chair. I had a most attentive and sympathetic audience; a short discussion followed, and when the membership cards were passed round over 50 names were given in of people willing to join a local society. An influential and enthusiastic Committee met next day, and elected their officers. Mrs. Croft Helme and Miss Mellor have kindly consented to act as joint hon. secretaries. Mrs. E. G. Clark will act as hon. treasurer. A "White Elephant" tea was arranged, by which the new society hope to raise funds to have a big public meeting with well-known speakers in the New Year. Several more people joined the society the following day, making a total of 65 members. The success of the Lancaster campaign is largely owing to the splendid work done by Miss Cassidy, Mrs. G. Barrow, and Miss Mellor, and Mrs. George Barrow's very generous gift of £5 enables the new society to start with funds in hand. I personally am most grateful to Mrs. Barrow for her charming hospitality to me.

On December 12th I addressed a small meeting at Haslem, which had been arranged by the Vicar, the Rev. Harold Hastings, who kindly took the chair for me. The audience was composed mostly of men, five of whom joined at the close of the meeting. On Thursday evening I addressed an audience of 60 people in the Public Hall, Seascale. Mr. Joseph Chisam presided, and several new members were added to the small society there.

MARGUERITE NORMA-SMITH.

West Midland.

On November 27th a meeting of the West Midland Federation was held at the Grand Hotel, Birmingham. Mrs. Osler presided, and Miss Sterling gave a most hopeful and inspiring address on the present political situation as regards Women's Suffrage. Birmingham held a small sale in aid of the Federation funds, and was thus enabled to hand over to the treasurer, Mrs. Harley, the sum of £4 19s. 6d.

A very successful meeting was held in South Birmingham on December 12th. Lady Willoughby de Broke spoke on Industrial Women and the Vote, and Miss Ashton most kindly arranged for Miss Margaret Robertson to come, as Lord Lytton was unable to fulfil his engagement with us. We felt ourselves very fortunate in getting Miss Robertson; and the Conservative and Unionist Franchise Association also kindly came to our help, and sent us J. Cameron Grant, Esq., who speaks ably on the White Slave Traffic, and on Trade Unionism and Women's Suffrage. The meeting was well reported in the Press. The N.U. Resolution was passed unanimously, and sent to the various Members of Parliament for the City.

Oxford, Berks and Bucks.

Miss Gill spent a week with the Mid-Bucks Society at the end of November, and addressed the following meetings:—Nov. 27th—Aylesbury, Co-operative Women's Guild, members and friends. Nov. 28th—Drawing-room meeting at Aylesbury. Nov. 29—Chesham—Meeting for members of the Mid-Bucks Society. Nov. 30th—Meeting for village women at Great Missenden. Dec. 1st—Aylesbury—Invitation meeting in the Co-operative Hall.

On December 14th Mrs. Rackham addressed a meeting of members of the Liberal Association and their friends at Great Missenden. She also addressed a drawing-room meeting on the same day, held at the house of the hon. sec., Miss Courtauld, at Great Missenden.

The Bucks Advertiser, Aylesbury, inserts notices of meetings held by the Mid-Bucks Society, and sends a reporter when requested.

S. Wales and Monmouth.

ABERGAUENNY.—I have spent about ten days here, and have had some difficulty in getting together

a Society of 22. However, there seems to be every prospect of steady growth, when militancy is perhaps less to the fore in London. Three ladies, Mrs. Aldrich-Blake, Miss Houliston, formerly of Newnham, head mistress of the Intermediate School, and Mrs. Thomas, have kindly offered to give Women's Suffrage drawing-room meetings. On December 12th we had a meeting of sympathisers, at which the movement was briefly described, and the N.U. constitution explained. Miss Baker Gobb, an old Girtonian, proposed that a Women's Suffrage Society be formed in Abercromby, and the resolution carried, we went on to draw up rules and elect a committee. Miss Walker, M.Sc., of Leeds University, is to be hon. sec., and Miss Gardner, formerly of Holloway College, treasurer. Abercromby ought to do well. Its associations with the world of intellectual women are something to be proud of. Miss Constance Jones, mistress of Girton, is from these parts.

L. F. WARING.

West Lancashire, West Cheshire and N. Wales.

The Wallasey and Wirral Society had two most successful meetings in West Kirby on November 5th. Miss Frances Sterling was the chief speaker, and the Chairman in the afternoon was Miss Will Lang, and in the evening Alderman Raffles Bulley, J.P. The resolution was carried unanimously at both meetings. Several new members joined the society, and a good collection was taken. On November 30th a drawing-room meeting was kindly given by Mrs. Ward Platt, of New Brighton, when Miss Cherry was the principal speaker. At all meetings the COMMON CAUSE has been much in evidence.

N. and E. Ridings (Yorks.).

We are glad to announce that owing to the energy of the York Committee, THE COMMON CAUSE is once more on sale at the principal bookstall in York Railway Station.

South Western.

FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS.

Mr. Mathieson	£ s. d.
Exeter Society	4 0 0
Dr. Ramsay	3 0 0
	0 10 0

West of England.

BATH.—The Chancellor's speech has been the great event of the month here. We distributed 190 copies of THE COMMON CAUSE to members of the National Liberal Federation on November 23rd and 24th, and circulated Mr. Lloyd George's suffrage pledge on large posters in the town. The speech has had a marked effect in Bath and district. On December 6th, at the Oddfellows' Hall, Laocok, a crowded men's meeting, arranged by Mrs. Gilchrist Clark, carried with enthusiasm a resolution calling on the Government to remove the sex disability. A strong feeling that women should receive the vote on the same terms as men was also shown. Dr. Mary Morris and Professor Skemp, of Bristol, were the speakers. At the office meetings, speakers and subjects were as follows:—November 22nd, Mrs. Blackstone, "Women's Municipal Vote"; November 29th, Miss Wheelwright, "A Week with London Suffragists"; Miss Johnston, "Miss Courtney's Impressions of the Chancellor's Speech"; December 6th, Dr. Mary Morris, "Legislation for the Feeble-minded"; December 13th, Miss Wheelwright, "Mr. Brailsford's Article in the *Englishwoman*". Report of the special Council meeting.

BRISTOL.—Three debates and three meetings have taken place during the month. The debaters were Mrs. Green-Armstrong and Mrs. Hicks v. Mrs. Trappell, and Miss Tanner v. Miss Price. Miss Williams addressed the cooperative women at Shirehampton, a village just outside Bristol. Mrs. Stopes, from London, took a drawing-room meeting at Mrs. Outley's, and Mrs. Semington spoke at the Adult School, Bishopston.

CHELSEHAM.—The annual meeting took place at the Town Hall on December 12th. Mr. Agg-Gardner, member for the division, kindly presided, and Miss Baretti, of Bristol, was the speaker. The officers and committee were re-elected with the addition of Mrs. Cowdell. A small sale of work, held on the same occasion, proved financially satisfactory. A resolution in our favour was carried nem. con.

SWINDON AND NORTH WILTS.—The best suffrage meeting ever held in the town took place on November 21st in the Town Hall. Mrs. Pawcett spoke, and Mrs. Lambert, wife of the member, presided. The speeches were followed with marked attention, and a favourable resolution was carried without dissent. Several new members joined. A successful members' meeting was held on November 30th, and afterwards a letter dissociating the branch from militancy was sent to the Press. During the summer five open-air meetings, at all of which our resolution was carried, have also taken place.

WILMINGTON.—On December 7th a public meeting took place here in the Town Hall. Canon Talbot, of Bristol, and Miss Fielden, of London, were the speakers, Miss Baretti being in the chair. The hall was fairly well filled, and our resolution was carried by a small majority, the bulk of the audience not voting.

WESTON-SUPER-MARE.—On December 2nd a most successful variety entertainment was given by the members of the Clifton Suffrage Dramatic Society in the Town Hall. Under the talented direction of Miss Walters, "How the Vote was Won" was most ably represented; dances, songs, solos and recitations delighted a large and appreciative audience, and Miss Baretti, in a brief speech, pointed the moral of the play.

WINCOMBE.—The autumn work of the Wincombe branch has been as follows: Drawing-room meeting at Mrs. Grubb's, October 15th, speaker, Mrs. Hicks on "The Insurance Bill"; November 27th, drawing-room meeting at Mrs. Lean's, subject, "Women's Social Work in Settlements"; speakers—Miss Towers, Miss G. Dyke Spicer; December 13th, drawing-room meeting at Mrs. Tannock's, subject, "Women on Public Buses"; speaker, Miss H. Sturge; December 6th, public meeting at the Assembly Rooms, addressed by Miss Fraser, Mrs. Green-Armstrong, Mr. Cross in the chair. Miss K. Robertson has addressed the following meetings:—December 9th,

at Street, Mrs. Clothier's drawing-room meeting for school teachers; December 12th, Highbridge Adult School, and a meeting at Burnham on December 13th.

Kentish.

A NEW SOCIETY.—Very little, if any, work has ever been done in Deal or Walmer in the cause of Votes for Women. It was therefore only about two months ago that a deputation from the Dover Branch (Dr. Annie Brunyate and Miss Bomford) visited Mrs. Clare Royse of Lower Walmer, with a view to starting a branch in Deal and Walmer. Private invitation meetings were held during November at Mrs. Clare Royse's, at Mrs. Whittaker, Heaton Suffrage Circle, speaker, Miss Forbes, of Benmore, at Col. and Mrs. Curtis's, and Mrs. Hardman's, all in Lower Walmer, which resulted in close on 100 members joining, and a crowded meeting being held at the Masonic Hall, Deal, on November 30th. Miss Abadam was the speaker, and gave a long and most interesting address to a most attentive audience, amongst whom were very many leading and well-known anti-... In the unavoidable absence, through sudden indisposition, of Mr. C. Hinsford, of the Church League, Mrs. Clare Royse took the chair. A resolution protesting against women's exclusion from the Reform Bill was carried by a large majority. The great progress made by the Society is most encouraging, as the district was supposed to be a stronghold of conservatism and anti-suffragism. More workers are wanted, and applications for membership should be addressed to Mrs. Clare Royse (hon. sec.), 2, Herschell Road, Lower Walmer, or to Miss M. Attwell (hon. treas.), Albany House, Victoria Parade, Deal.

RAMSGATE.—The Secretary reports most hopefully of the progress made by the society. On November 24th the first absolutely free meeting the society had tried was held with the greatest success, and the hall was packed with a much interested audience to hear Miss Chrystal Macmillan speak on the Insurance Bill. It is hoped that this meeting has resulted in much extension of feeling in favour of Women's Suffrage. The Secretary also states that there is a majority of suffragists on the Ramsgate Town Council.

FOLKESTONE.—A small meeting was held at Kent College on November 24th, by kind permission of Miss Brunyate, who took the chair and gave a short account of the work of the society during its eighteen months of existence. Miss Dutton spoke on the need for the vote, and Dr. Annie Brunyate on the present political situation. A resolution calling on the Government to include women in the Reform Bill was carried unanimously.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS.—The Tunbridge Wells Society started its fortnightly "At Home" at the Suffrage Shop on December 11th. It also hopes to hold evening meetings every Wednesday (early closing day). Mrs. White, a member of the society, hopes to hold monthly meetings for working women for "Suffrage Talks" and tea. A Study Circle has also been formed by the society, which met for the first time on December 7th to discuss the Insurance Bill.

SEVENOAKS.—The monthly meeting of the Sevenoaks Society was held at the Oddfellows' Hall on December 7th. The chair was taken by the Rev. Percy Thompson, and the Rev. Dr. Cobb, of St. Ethelburga's, Bishopsgate, delivered a very able address, in which he contended that to produce the true balance in life, men and women must combine, and that it is the right of women to stand side by side with men in every capacity of life. A vote of thanks to the chairman and speaker was proposed by Mrs. Wadsworth and seconded by Mr. Thomas Okey.

TONBRIDGE.—A meeting was held in the Y.M.C.A. Room on November 16th, at which Miss Dutton spoke. On November 18th a meeting was held at Judd House, by kind invitation of Mrs. Whitty, at which Miss Dutton and Mrs. Alfred Earl spoke, and a resolution was passed to support the Conciliation Bill.

Two new branches have been formed at (i) Shoreham and Otford, (ii) Pembury, Matfield and Brenchley.

West Riding

FORMATION OF A SOCIETY AT SOWERBY BRIDGE.
"Nay! You will not be successful! I have lived in Sowerby Bridge all my life, and I know what the people are like. It takes a lot to rouse them. Even the... of which I am president, is going down steadily in numbers. You see, we are shut in by the hills. Besides, we never have had a Women's Suffrage meeting here before. No one knows much about it. Oh! then you are not a Suffragette! Well, now, I've heard now of your Society!" These were the kind of remarks the organiser had made to her when she began to do suffrage work in this quaint and typical Yorkshire town. Everyone is busy here. The mills are all working, and one gets told very often, "Oh! I am too busy. I have no time to think of such things!" Quite a good number, however, found time to come to the meeting in the Industrial Hall on November 30th, and among the audience there were many men's faces. The Rev. W. C. Evans (who has lived in Sowerby over 21 years), was the chairman. The organiser of the meeting, read the resolution, and gave a short history of the National Union. Mr. Stanton Barnes seconded the resolution, and gave a clever and thoughtful speech, pointing out very clearly the way women are handicapped through not having the vote. He was listened to with great attention. One of the local schoolmistresses recited before and after the collection, which came to over 15s., and then Mrs. Aldersley wound up with a rousing speech. Her account of the pit-brow work was most interesting. When the resolution was put to the meeting it was carried heartily, with one dissident only. No questions were asked, and twenty people have given in their names as wishing to join the Society

BRADFORD.—Meetings have been held as follows:—October: General meeting of members to meet Miss Hiltson, organiser, who addressed the meeting; Women's Co-operative Guild, speaker, Mrs. Bernheim, chair, Mrs. Fearnley, Queensbury, Women's Co-operative Guild, speaker, Mrs. Bernheim, chair, President, November: Great Horton Women's Co-operative Guild, speaker, Miss Hiltson, chair, Mrs. Walton; Public Meeting, Mechanics' Institute, already reported in Common Cause, December: West Bowling Women's Co-operative Guild, speaker, Miss Hiltson, chair, Mrs. Baldwin; Lister Hills Ward Women's Liberal Association, speaker, Mrs. Hiltson, chair, Mrs. T. R. Hill; Great Horton Ward Women's Liberal Association, speaker, Mrs. Bernheim, chair, Mrs. Whittaker; Heaton Suffrage Circle, speaker, Miss Hiltson, chair, Miss Gregson; Adult School, Feversham Street, speaker, Mrs. Bernheim; Public Meeting, Mechanics' Institute, speakers, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Mr. F. Stanton Barnes, chair, Mrs. Jacob Moser. Visits are being made daily by Miss Hiltson, and evidence of it is shown in the attendance at the public meetings.

DEVONPORT.—Meeting on December 12th, addressed by Mrs. Rackham. In February next the society hopes to have the pleasure of hearing Mrs. Henry Pawcett, LL.D. GOOLE.—Lady Frances Balfour addressed a crowded meeting on Wednesday, November 22nd. A great impression was made, the local papers giving a column and a half to reports of the meeting. Numerous converts were made, and the society is now on a firm financial footing. A resolution calling upon the local M.P. to press for the inclusion of women in the Government Reform Bill was unanimously passed.

LYNDEN.—On November 24th a council meeting was held in the Parochial Hall, at which it was resolved to affiliate the society for one year with the West Riding Federation. A meeting of the members of the association followed the Council meeting. Miss Siddon presided. The following women were included, and a copy sent to the Prime Minister and to the four M.P.'s in the district:—That this meeting protests against the exclusion of women from the Government Reform Bill, holds to the pledge of facilities for the Conciliation Bill, welcomes the promise of the Government that any amendment enfranchising women which is carried in the House of Commons shall become an integral part of the Reform Bill, and calls upon the members for their divisions to do all in their power to ensure women's enfranchisement in 1912.

KEIGHLEY AND DISTRICT.—A meeting was held in the Temperance Institute on December 14th. Miss Clough presided. Miss Cookshott (Oakworth) spoke very hopefully of the situation, and said we had never before given such substantial help in the midst of a full season. With such kind friends willing to give their services, it only needs the hearty co-operation of all the members of the society to ensure funds for further work. A most successful meeting was arranged by Mrs. Angus Wilkinson at the Albert Hall, Westhorpe, on December 12th. Miss C. M. Gordon and Mrs. Biltcliffe made a most favourable impression on a large audience, many of whom had never been to a suffrage meeting before. Over two hundred teachers from elementary, secondary and private schools in the district accepted the invitation of the committee to an "At Home" in the Lovain Hall on December 15th. A monologue, entitled "The New Anti-Suffrage Society," was given by Miss Edith Ericsson, and a performance of "Alice in Wonderland" was given, appreciated by the teachers who also listened with interest to a speech on "Suffrage from the Teachers' Point of View" from Dr. Ethel Williams. We are most grateful to all who took part in the play, especially Miss Curry and Miss Walker, Miss E. Sharp and Dr. Mabel Campbell, and all others who helped to make the entertainment a success. A members' meeting was held in the office, on December 16th, at which an address on "Our Hopes for 1912" was given by Miss C. M. Gordon. The society has gained 28 members this month. The Secretary was very glad to receive offers of drawing-room meetings early in the New Year. The office will be closed from December 21st, and will re-open on January 3rd.

BOURNEMOUTH.—Miss Abadam spoke to a large audience at Bourne Mouth on December 15th in her usual able manner. The chairman, the Rev. H. P. James, gave a capital opening address. The resolution was carried with only one dissident.

URXBRIDGE SOCIETY.—A successful "At Home" was held on Monday, December 19th. The speaker was Miss Alison Neilans, who dealt with the antiquated fiction that "Woman's place is the home." The speaker showed by lively example how sadly our daily life, philanthropic schemes, and Church work would be disorganised and hampered if all the women who do useful work (paid or unpaid) suddenly went home. The need for the vote was explained, and a discussion followed. One visitor introduced the subject of "Militant Methods," stating that he thought these were at present premature, and professing himself a convinced adherent to the principle of women's political rights. It was pointed out to him that he could not, with any show of reason, leave the hall without joining a Constitutional Society. This he accordingly did. Would that all objectors to "Militant Methods" were equally logical. A pleasing entertainment was contributed by the Misses Caswell, Miss Jenkins, Mr. and Miss Lennox, Miss Lees, Miss Weir, and Mr. Whittington. The thanks of the committee are especially due to those visitors who helped the members on this occasion.

North Eastern.

DARLINGTON.—On November 21st a large public meeting was held in the Mechanics' Hall, at which Miss Margaret Robertson made a stirring speech in her own vigorous and searching way. G. E. Markham, Esq., the invaluable president of the Darlington Society, presided, and Mr. Woodward proposed the resolution, urging the borough and county members to press for the inclusion of women in the Reform Bill. On Monday, December 4th, a delightful dramatic entertainment was given in the Mechanics' Hall in aid of suffrage funds. The Polam Hall orchestra provided a very welcome programme of music, conducted by Miss Groschel, and "How the Vote was Won" was charmingly acted under the management of Miss Ethel Watson. A monologue, "The Anti-Suffragist," was given by Miss Elsie Robinson, and the large audience greatly appreciated the lighter side of suffrage enthusiasm. On December 9th, by kind invitation of Miss Herbert, Hampden Road, a drawing-room meeting was held, when Miss Telford occupied the chair, and Miss Alice Lucas read an interesting paper on the legal disabilities of women. Two new members joined.

Joint Citizenship.

GATESHEAD.—In the Co-operative Hall, on November 24th, a public meeting was held, presided over by the Rev. H. G. Windley, M.A. Miss Margaret Ashton was the speaker, and gave a magnificent address on the N.U. resolution. Dr. Dunn seconded, and the resolution was carried unanimously. Ten new members were enrolled. The collection amounted to £6 1s. 3d., and a good number of COMMON CAUSES were sold. On November 29th a drawing-room meeting was given by Miss Temperley and Mrs. Dunn at 4, Carlton Terrace. An excellent speech was made by Mrs. Rackham to an uncommonly large audience. Five members joined.

HEXHAM.—On Saturday, December 9th, a reception was held at the Abbey Hotel. Lady Howick received and presided over a large gathering. Miss Margaret Mein made a quiet, strong speech on the value and necessity of the vote, and Miss Fenwick seconded the resolution.

HEXHAM.—On Saturday, December 9th, a reception was held at the Abbey Hotel. Lady Howick received and presided over a large gathering. Miss Margaret Mein made a quiet, strong speech on the value and necessity of the vote, and Miss Fenwick seconded the resolution.

JANLOW.—A well-attended meeting was held on December 14th, at which Mrs. Black, Mrs. Biltcliffe, and Miss Gordon spoke. A resolution calling upon the member, Mr. Godfrey M. Palmer, to vote against the Third Reading of the Government Reform Bill unless women were included, was carried unanimously. Two new members joined the society.

NEWCASTLE.—The Newcastle Society has this month made good its promise to carry out a strenuous campaign of propaganda, having in the past fortnight organised four events, besides the usual choir practices and speakers' classes. It was represented by two delegates at the Conference of the People's Suffrage Federation on December 9th, and some of its members acted proxy for other societies in the Federation on December 11th in an excellent amateur performance of "Niobe" was given on behalf of the funds of the Society through the kindness of Mrs. W. S. Wilson and Mr. Engelbach, and Miss Hattie Page and her orchestra gave a delightful programme of music. Our thanks are due to them for giving such substantial help in the midst of a full season. With such kind friends willing to give their services, it only needs the hearty co-operation of all the members of the society to ensure funds for further work. A most successful meeting was arranged by Mrs. Angus Wilkinson at the Albert Hall, Westhorpe, on December 12th. Miss C. M. Gordon and Mrs. Biltcliffe made a most favourable impression on a large audience, many of whom had never been to a suffrage meeting before. Over two hundred teachers from elementary, secondary and private schools in the district accepted the invitation of the committee to an "At Home" in the Lovain Hall on December 15th. A monologue, entitled "The New Anti-Suffrage Society," was given by Miss Edith Ericsson, and a performance of "Alice in Wonderland" was given, appreciated by the teachers who also listened with interest to a speech on "Suffrage from the Teachers' Point of View" from Dr. Ethel Williams. We are most grateful to all who took part in the play, especially Miss Curry and Miss Walker, Miss E. Sharp and Dr. Mabel Campbell, and all others who helped to make the entertainment a success. A members' meeting was held in the office, on December 16th, at which an address on "Our Hopes for 1912" was given by Miss C. M. Gordon. The society has gained 28 members this month. The Secretary was very glad to receive offers of drawing-room meetings early in the New Year. The office will be closed from December 21st, and will re-open on January 3rd.

URXBRIDGE SOCIETY.—A successful "At Home" was held on Monday, December 19th. The speaker was Miss Alison Neilans, who dealt with the antiquated fiction that "Woman's place is the home." The speaker showed by lively example how sadly our daily life, philanthropic schemes, and Church work would be disorganised and hampered if all the women who do useful work (paid or unpaid) suddenly went home. The need for the vote was explained, and a discussion followed. One visitor introduced the subject of "Militant Methods," stating that he thought these were at present premature, and professing himself a convinced adherent to the principle of women's political rights. It was pointed out to him that he could not, with any show of reason, leave the hall without joining a Constitutional Society. This he accordingly did. Would that all objectors to "Militant Methods" were equally logical. A pleasing entertainment was contributed by the Misses Caswell, Miss Jenkins, Mr. and Miss Lennox, Miss Lees, Miss Weir, and Mr. Whittington. The thanks of the committee are especially due to those visitors who helped the members on this occasion.

URXBRIDGE SOCIETY.—A successful "At Home" was held on Monday, December 19th. The speaker was Miss Alison Neilans, who dealt with the antiquated fiction that "Woman's place is the home." The speaker showed by lively example how sadly our daily life, philanthropic schemes, and Church work would be disorganised and hampered if all the women who do useful work (paid or unpaid) suddenly went home. The need for the vote was explained, and a discussion followed. One visitor introduced the subject of "Militant Methods," stating that he thought these were at present premature, and professing himself a convinced adherent to the principle of women's political rights. It was pointed out to him that he could not, with any show of reason, leave the hall without joining a Constitutional Society. This he accordingly did. Would that all objectors to "Militant Methods" were equally logical. A pleasing entertainment was contributed by the Misses Caswell, Miss Jenkins, Mr. and Miss Lennox, Miss Lees, Miss Weir, and Mr. Whittington. The thanks of the committee are especially due to those visitors who helped the members on this occasion.

URXBRIDGE SOCIETY.—A successful "At Home" was held on Monday, December 19th. The speaker was Miss Alison Neilans, who dealt with the antiquated fiction that "Woman's place is the home." The speaker showed by lively example how sadly our daily life, philanthropic schemes, and Church work would be disorganised and hampered if all the women who do useful work (paid or unpaid) suddenly went home. The need for the vote was explained, and a discussion followed. One visitor introduced the subject of "Militant Methods," stating that he thought these were at present premature, and professing himself a convinced adherent to the principle of women's political rights. It was pointed out to him that he could not, with any show of reason, leave the hall without joining a Constitutional Society. This he accordingly did. Would that all objectors to "Militant Methods" were equally logical. A pleasing entertainment was contributed by the Misses Caswell, Miss Jenkins, Mr. and Miss Lennox, Miss Lees, Miss Weir, and Mr. Whittington. The thanks of the committee are especially due to those visitors who helped the members on this occasion.

URXBRIDGE SOCIETY.—A successful "At Home" was held on Monday, December 19th. The speaker was Miss Alison Neilans, who dealt with the antiquated fiction that "Woman's place is the home." The speaker showed by lively example how sadly our daily life, philanthropic schemes, and Church work would be disorganised and hampered if all the women who do useful work (paid or unpaid) suddenly went home. The need for the vote was explained, and a discussion followed. One visitor introduced the subject of "Militant Methods," stating that he thought these were at present premature, and professing himself a convinced adherent to the principle of women's political rights. It was pointed out to him that he could not, with any show of reason, leave the hall without joining a Constitutional Society. This he accordingly did. Would that all objectors to "Militant Methods" were equally logical. A pleasing entertainment was contributed by the Misses Caswell, Miss Jenkins, Mr. and Miss Lennox, Miss Lees, Miss Weir, and Mr. Whittington. The thanks of the committee are especially due to those visitors who helped the members on this occasion.

Joint Citizenship.

GATESHEAD.—In the Co-operative Hall, on November 24th, a public meeting was held, presided over by the Rev. H. G. Windley, M.A. Miss Margaret Ashton was the speaker, and gave a magnificent address on the N.U. resolution. Dr. Dunn seconded, and the resolution was carried unanimously. Ten new members were enrolled. The collection amounted to £6 1s. 3d., and a good number of COMMON CAUSES were sold. On November 29th a drawing-room meeting was given by Miss Temperley and Mrs. Dunn at 4, Carlton Terrace. An excellent speech was made by Mrs. Rackham to an uncommonly large audience. Five members joined.

HEXHAM.—On Saturday, December 9th, a reception was held at the Abbey Hotel. Lady Howick received and presided over a large gathering. Miss Margaret Mein made a quiet, strong speech on the value and necessity of the vote, and Miss Fenwick seconded the resolution.

not in this country only, but in all States having any pretence to civilisation, and he gave sound reasons for the demand for this next step onward by showing that our modern social and educational legislation is of a totally different character to that of even 50 years ago. If society recognises to-day that the child, its moral, mental and physical well-being is the basis of the nation, then for the proper framing and administration of this legislation the direct co-operation of men and women is a pressing need of the modern state.

As an instance of this need, the speaker adduced the fact that of the bills now before the Commons to check the recruiting of that pitiful army of unfortunate, not one has sufficient pressure behind it to obtain facilities for further stages.

After outlining the multifarious activities of the modern woman—bread-winning, on social, commercial, artistic and scientific lines, Sir John Cockburn voiced his opinion of the citizen who, realising the need of the protection afforded him by his vote, will not lend a hand to help the woman working at his side to obtain that same protection. "There is a nice position for a man to occupy," said bluntly this champion of fair-play.

Sir John Cockburn is a great admirer of the British Constitution, but he recognises that in some respects it is "a little behind the age," and he points out that it is the duty of all loyal citizens to see that this great and honoured Institution be kept up-to-date.

Adultists stand by the Women.

The I.L.P. has issued an appeal to those who are in agreement with the policy of Adult Suffrage to help them in a great national campaign. They say the I.L.P. has never departed from the principle of political equality between the sexes, and strongly deprecates the introduction of any government measure which still leaves a bar against the political freedom of the worker. Equity can be established next year if working-class opinion is organised and brought to bear on the Government. To make the opinion of the workers articulate and effective is the purpose of this campaign.

At all the meetings and demonstrations resolutions will be moved and the following demands pressed home:—(1) That further extensions of the franchise to men which leave the injustice to women unredressed should be definitely opposed; (2) that the Government must embody Woman's Suffrage as an integral part of its proposed Bill, not leaving the question to the chance of subsequent amendments; (3) that in view of the Prime Minister's declaration for Manhood Suffrage, equality can only be secured by an Adult Suffrage measure conferring equal rights on men and women.

The Fabian Women's Group has issued an appeal to Adultists, in which the following occurs:—"The important question is, how can Adult Suffrage be achieved? First, every effort should be made through the Labour Party and other organisations possessing influence to induce the Government to include women in the Bill. Some believe that this may yet be done. We doubt it, so long as Mr. Asquith is at the head of the Government. But there can be no possible harm or danger in trying it. Secondly, all Socialist and Labour women must call on the Parliamentary Labour Party to move an amendment conferring the franchise on women on the same terms as men, assuring them of the ardent and active help of the women's organisations. Thirdly, should Adult Suffrage fail let us urge the Labour members in the House to support amendments less wide, aiming always at getting for us women as much franchise as we can. . . . There is, however, one line of action which will immensely increase our chance of success. If at an early date next session it is known that fifty or sixty members of the advanced section of the House will vote against the final reading of the Bill unless women are included, then their inclusion on a wide democratic basis will be made certain."

The Fabian Women's Group has issued an appeal to Adultists, in which the following occurs:—"The important question is, how can Adult Suffrage be achieved? First, every effort should be made through the Labour Party and other organisations possessing influence to induce the Government to include women in the Bill. Some believe that this may yet be done. We doubt it, so long as Mr. Asquith is at the head of the Government. But there can be no possible harm or danger in trying it. Secondly, all Socialist and Labour women must call on the Parliamentary Labour Party to move an amendment conferring the franchise on women on the same terms as men, assuring them of the ardent and active help of the women's organisations. Thirdly, should Adult Suffrage fail let us urge the Labour members in the House to support amendments less wide, aiming always at getting for us women as much franchise as we can. . . . There is, however, one line of action which will immensely increase our chance of success. If at an early date next session it is known that fifty or sixty members of the advanced section of the House will vote against the final reading of the Bill unless women are included, then their inclusion on a wide democratic basis will be made certain."

Resolutions passed at the P.S.F. Conference.

RESOLUTION 1.
"That this Conference endorses the principle of the People's Suffrage Federation's Adult Suffrage Bill conferring the franchise on every person not under twenty-one years of age (whether male or female, married or unmarried) on a three months' residential qualification."

RESOLUTION 2.
"That this Conference while regretting the refusal of the Prime Minister to accede to the request of the People's Suffrage Federation to introduce the Reform Bill in a form giving the Parliamentary franchise to women as well as men, welcomes the Prime Minister's statement to the deputation of Members of Parliament which waited upon him on November 7th, that the Government Reform Bill will be open to such amendments as will give equal rights in Parliamentary elections to men and women since it brings the question of Adult Suffrage for men and women into the forefront of immediately practical politics, urges the Government to introduce the promised Manhood Suffrage Bill as an adult suffrage bill conferring the Parliamentary and municipal franchise on every adult man and woman on a short residential qualification; and further, that copies of this resolution be sent to the Prime Minister and to all members of the Cabinet."

RESOLUTION 3.
"That the delegates present at this Conference call upon the People's Suffrage Federation to call upon all Members of Parliament who uphold the right of every adult citizen to the franchise, to vote against the Reform Bill on its third reading unless women are included, and pledge themselves to ask the societies they represent:— (1) To pass a resolution to the same effect as that set forth under Section 2 of this agenda and to send copies of the resolution to the Prime Minister and to all other Members of the Cabinet, and to their local Member of Parliament; (2) to pass a resolution in support of the object of the resolution to the Secretary of the Federation, and that delegates further undertake to endeavour to form branches of the People's Suffrage Federation in their localities."

Prestwich Council pass Women's Suffrage Resolution.

At the December meeting of the Prestwich Urban District Council a resolution in favour of granting the Parliamentary franchise to duly qualified women was passed, eight in favour, and two against. The resolution was proposed by Councillor Walkden, seconded by Councillor Dodgson, and supported by the Rev. F. W. Cooper, M.A.

A Correction.

There were two misprints in our paragraph of last week. One was that that ugly non-descript word "Suffragette" was substituted for "Suffragist"; the other was more serious. Our correspondent points out that, "by an omission of the word 'with,' I was made to say the reverse of what I intended—not that the presence of women on local bodies has so much increased the growth of feminism; but has so much increased with the growth of feminism. My point is, that the very feminist movement, which Anti-Suffragists deplore, feeds the very supply of women on local bodies, which they advocate." Our correspondent has pursued her investigations further, and has now found that in the Executive Committee of the Women's Trade Union League, out of eleven there are eight Suffragists and three whose opinions she has not been able to ascertain, making the percentage of Suffragists 72.7.

Foreign News.

UNITED STATES.
Events move fast in America, and it seems as though the prophecy that the Californian victory would be a turning-point in the Suffrage movement is likely to be speedily verified. At present it seems that Wisconsin will be the next State "in." Here the wording of the State constitution affords facilities for the change, as Article 31 confers the franchise on every male person 21 years or upwards who has resided within the State for at least a year and possesses certain other qualifications. The same section provides that the Legislature may at any time extend by law the right of suffrage to persons not therein enumerated; and as practically the only persons "not therein enumerated" are women, the framers of the constitution clearly foresaw the day when their successors would wish to extend the franchise to the other sex. But here, too, the change must be submitted to the vote of the people before it can become law.

The first step has now been taken. The Legislature has added a section to the statutes extending the suffrage to women. The Bill passed the Senate by a vote of 16 to 4, and the Assembly by 59 to 29, and received the approval of the Governor. The voting takes place in November of next year.

The Wisconsin Teachers' Association recently recorded its approval of women's suffrage. Mr. Parlin, a former president of the association, speaking on the question described the women's suffrage law as "the most important piece of school legislation. . . . It will be a great day for education when women vote. Then, indeed, will pension laws for teachers, minimum salary Acts, consolidated school district legislation, county boards of education Bills, and every Act that looks to the betterment of the school be readily passed, for the woman is intelligent enough to see the value of educational measures, and self-sacrificing enough to tax herself for the benefit of her children."

More surprising, perhaps, is the news of progress made in the old State of Pennsylvania. The State Suffrage Association, which lately held its convention at Philadelphia, was accorded an official welcome. An electrical display in front of the City Hall flashed out the words, "Welcome Pennsylvania Women's Suffrage Association." The Mayor delivered the address of welcome, and offered the use of his reception-room for meetings. The Press has devoted space to detailed accounts of the meetings and the policemen of Philadelphia have announced the intention of forming a Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

Another encouraging sign of the times is the decision of the Women's National Committee of the Socialist party to present, through Mr. Victor L. Berger, the representative from Wisconsin, to the Congress of the United States, a petition asking for political equality for men and women. The National American Woman Suffrage Association has decided to endorse the petition and help to secure signatures.

GERMANY.

The German Union of Suffrage Associations has taken the opportunity of the elections to the Reichstag to hold a public demonstration in Berlin, which took place on Monday last. Its main object was to set forth "the demands which women make from the new Reichstag." Politicians of all parties were invited to attend.

SWEDEN.

The elections to the Upper House are now finished, and the result is pretty much what was anticipated, as the Conservatives have a majority of 22.

PORTUGAL.

The latest addition to the International Woman Suffrage alliance is Portugal, which recently applied for admission through the Portugal Woman Suffrage Association. The International Association now includes 26 countries.

Reviews.

THE WIFE IN ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES.

By ERNEST J. SHUSTER. (Williams and Norgate.)

Dr. Schuster himself describes this little volume, slight in matter and quite without polish in style, as an "unsystematic ramble." In it he, of course, but touches on the fringe of that deeply interesting region explored more fully, though still incompletely, by Latourneau, in his "Condition de la Femme," and Marianne Weber in her "Ehefrau und Mutter in der Rechtsentwicklung." Nevertheless, while he modestly denies any hope of making converts, few can read his pages without feeling more strongly that, as he says, "The position which the commonly received views allocate to woman is one which does injustice to her powers, and which, while it deprives public affairs of a useful and almost necessary element, causes many human lives to be wasted in frivolous and degrading pursuits." He is in thorough sympathy with all the movements for the better and wider education of women, which not only, as he says, prepare her to exercise the right of citizenship demanded, but are themselves the immediate cause of that demand. Education came first. It was not until the old fictions about woman sphere had been definitely broken down by the proof that women were capable of achievements not different in quality from those of men, and the entrance of women into industry and the professions, that those who were bearing the burdens of citizenship demanded to be admitted to its privileges. This is in fact one great difference between the woman of to-day and her sister in Greece and Rome. There was no effective movement for emancipation there, because there was no widespread education. The educated women to whom Euripides refers in the Medea were not the Greek wives, but those other women whom, as Demosthenes said, "we have as companions for the sake of pleasure." It was to this class that Aspasia belonged: and the weight of evidence seems against Dr. Schuster when he says that she and the other alien women in Athens exercised an influence purely "erotic in its nature." After all it is to Aspasia that Socrates bids the young husband to whom Xenophon introduces us in the Economicus, go for advice about the instruction of his ignorant girl-wife.

Dr. Schuster passes over the Middle Ages very quickly. This is the more to be regretted as it is to the perversion of the Christian doctrine of marriage effected by the Canon law that many modern difficulties are due. He gives an interesting, though somewhat scrappy, account of the laws affecting divorce in England, France and Germany. Here we are behind both these

European countries in which, as in Scotland, the law is the same for men and women: although married women's property is, since 1882, better protected in England than elsewhere. His brief survey of the tactics of the different Suffrage societies is eminently just and tolerant.

M. A. H.

A Prison Interview.

(Being a short dialogue between a "lady visitor" and a "criminal.")

"Mary Saunders, Church of England. Seven days."

"She was a pleasant, healthy-looking old woman, with plaintive eyes, the corners of her mouth drooped."

"Now what has brought you here, Mary?"

"Begging, mum."

"Well, how did it happen? Are you very poor—a widow?"

"No, mum, I've a good home and husband in good work."

"Then why on earth did you beg?"

"I know I done wrong, but it's very hard, 'm, my husband's a good husband, he never knocked me about nor kept me short. But it's hard to be swore at and him always grumbling, and once before mum, many years ago I done it, I run away and I had to come back again. I ought to have remembered as I couldn't help myself."

"So you ran away and couldn't keep yourself. How old are you?"

"Sixty, and he's sixty-eight, and I was married nigh forty years ago and I've had six children, five of 'em married, my last daughter's to be married come Christmas. He's a hard man and so jealous and masterful, and though he's good to me he won't let me go out o' th' house except to see my married daughters. I can't always be going to see them, and it does get very monotonous, doesn't it, if you have to stay in the house all the time, and him always grumbling and never a kind word? Last spring he broke his leg and I nursed him day and night for weeks, and I thought that might make him kinder like and turn his heart, but it didn't." There were tears in her eyes and her voice.

"Go on, tell me how you come to be in prison."

"Well, a fortnight ago I went out. I was sick of being indoors and he cum home and found me out. And we had a row and he cursed me and said things. And I was wild and went away to B., and I got a bit of odd work and managed for a day or two, and then I'd no more money. Being old and strange I couldn't get proper work. So I saw I must go back. I ought to have remembered I had to go back, time before. I begun to walk home, but I'm old, and I'd had no food; it was too far. I tried to beg my fare and was took up. That's all."

"Will your husband have you back?"

"Oh, he'll be glad enough to see me, I'm not afraid o' that. But could you ask them here to give me my fare home, I was took up at B., and I'm too old to walk home. I must go back. There's no help for me is there? It's so very monotonous."

Her eyes pleaded for a hopeful word.

"No, Mary, there's no hope for you. You must go home and make the best of it and try not to hear the hard words. You are too old to begin afresh and he's too old to change his way. It's all wrong that he should tyrannise over you, but all you can do is to tell your daughters never to let their husbands treat them in that way."

She held my hand and pressed it.

"Thank you, mum. I knew I done wrong to run away. I ought to have remembered I couldn't keep myself. Good-day."

A Hundred Years Ago.

The following verses have been sent us by Mr. Ian C. Hannah, M.A., who says it was written by one of his "forbearers," Eleanor Tatlock, as long ago as 1811. He adds: "I am very proud of my relationship, and if she can see me to-day, I think she is glad that I am on your side:—"

A PROPOSAL.

The Lords of creation (to whom, by the bye, I refuse no due tokens of reverence, not I) Oft tell us that, as they were meant to preside, Talents equal to theirs were to women denied, And that, therefore, poor things! they were never endued

With minds so expanded, so vigorous and shrewd.

Nor would we presume to dispute what they say, Yet we cannot help thinking we've hardly fair play, And that they on our powers should not thus pour disgrace Till some plan like the following's allow'd to take place.

From women take needles, and let us resign The making of puddings, and pickles, and wine; With all the *et ceteras* which cause so much toil, And prevent our improving our minds all the while.

Then send us to college, and there at our suit Give us plenty of time, and of tutors to boot; Provide us with books, pens, machines, maps and charts,

For learning the languages, sciences, arts, Let us study the classics, and duly con o'er The huge folios which treasure the learning of yore.

And attend all the lectures until we attain A good share of sound knowledge with all her bright train;

Then our theses maintain, to prepare for degrees, And proceed B.A.'s, M.A.'s, D.L.'s, and D.D.'s.

Then, leaving the college and still unperplex'd With household concerns, and with business unrev'd,

Leave us free, at our pleasure, o'er Europe to roam, Or study its history in quiet at home;

Free intercourse hold with the wise and the good, And trace out the path they before have pursu'd; And thus to enjoy ev'ry means we can find Of high cultivation, and knowledge refin'd.

If after all this we should boobies remain, Your pre-eminence, sirs, you will firmly maintain, And your triumphs will sure be more solid and sweet,

At the trials so fair, and the proof so complete.

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.

NON-MILITANT.

Should not our action with regard to the militant tactics of the W.S.P.U. be, not to criticise their policy so much as to emphasise our own?

With this object in view I should like to suggest that for the next few months we should have effective strips with the words "Non-militant" in very distinct red and green to use on all possible occasions, and that every ticket, advertisement, and even all the COMMON CAUSE posters should be stamped right across in large letters "Non-militant." "Non-militant" and "education" are our two watchwords for the next few months, let us see to it that we make the best use of them.

MARGARET NORBURY.

THE BATH MEETING.

I beg to take exception to the statement on page 569 of your issue dated November 30th, 1911, that "the W.S.P.U. have repudiated the Conciliation Bill and demand Adult Suffrage." What we demand is that the Government shall withdraw its Manhood Suffrage Bill and introduce a Bill giving equal franchise to men and women—a very different matter.

There were more than twelve interrupters at the Bath meeting.

The police defended the interrupters from the violence of the stewards and audience.

As to Mr. Lloyd George's discomposure let me refer you to his own statement addressed to Lord Lytton. You ignore the fact that one man suffragist who asked a question at question time was ejected violently, Mr. Lloyd George observing, "He is better outside."

These men did not "create a disturbance." The disturbance was caused by the Liberal stewards.

J. GONNE.

Hazeldene, Sylvan Way, Bognor.

Dec. 9th, 1911.

THE N.U.T. AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

May I point out to Suffragists who are members of the N.U.T. that it is not enough to pass resolutions expressing sympathy with Woman Suffrage without making sure that those resolutions reach their destination. The local branch of which I am a member passed a sympathetic resolution on September 16th. This resolution did not reach Russell Square until October 23rd. Five weeks elapsed between the passing and the sending to Headquarters.

I may also add that it was not until inquiry had been made that the resolution was sent to its destination.

Need I say that the local secretary is a strong opponent to the Women's Movement?

J. E. CAMPBELL.
Bradford.
710, Wakefield Road,
Dec. 1st, 1911.

DOMESTIC SERVICE.

I have read with much interest the letters on the Servant Question, and as a mistress of 19 years' standing I should like to say that I quite agree with the servant who makes a plea for more fresh air, and greater freedom. Any mistress who will take the mental trouble to put herself in the place of the average servant will see how irksome it must be to have only one or two stated periods of "outing" in the whole long week. Often, even when work is done, it is against the rule of the house for servants to go out, to leave, even for half-an-hour, their often dark basements, unless special permission is asked. Again, very often, visitors are not allowed. Let any mistress in whose house these stern rules prevail, ask herself if, boxed up from day to day with only a few other women (perhaps quite unconvivial) she would remain cheerful, happy and devoted to her master's and mistress's interests? A time-table would be almost an impossibility, except in large establishments, but consideration and a wish to be just to one's servants will do instead. One must admit that in many cases servants have themselves to blame for such things as the prohibition of visitors, owing to their hours, feeding hosts on their master's food, etc. But it is unfair to the better-class ones to make them suffer for the unscrupulous. I often feel sorry for the little "twenty" just entering on a life of rather monotonous work, when she sees the "young lady" of the house entering on her gay and varied existence. It is well that our servants should not look on us as jailors who, for £12, £20 or £30 have bought their whole time and labour. Comparing wages in other employments of life, I do not think domestic service badly paid; everything in daily life, except clothes, is provided, and girls have no expensive training to undergo, but can earn from the age of 14. I believe that if more freedom were given, mistresses could command a better class of servants, and demand from them a higher degree of efficiency. But the fact remains that the servants will never be perfect any more than their mistresses, or the rest of the world!

YET ANOTHER MISTRESS.

I gathered from the previous letter of "Another Mistress" that it was impossible for any servant to work 16 hours per day, unless she was dilatory and frittered away her time. Now, she admits that some general servants do actually have to work 16 hours per day, also, servants in households where there are "muddles." Before I send her a list, would "Another Mistress" kindly oblige by explaining the word "muddle"? Does she mean large families, where there is a deal of entertaining done and where odd meals are required at various hours of the day? I stated in my first letter what time I was allowed out (4 hours per week and alternate Sundays, 6 and sometimes 7 hours).

ANOTHER SERVANT.

AMENDMENTS TO THE REFORM BILL. To my enquiry as to whether the National Union would accept the Reform Bill with the narrow amendment to include women, you make no reply except to say that the proposal "will be met by the request for better terms for women." It is difficult to see exactly what is meant by this, or how far it will take us; requests do not seem to have been very effective so far.

However, I am fully answered in other parts of your paper of Dec. 7th. It is quite clear from the article by Miss Courtney that whatever requests the National Union might make they would accept the narrow amendment and evidently rejoice in it, for we are told that "if wider measures should be rejected the passing of some measure of women's suffrage is absolutely certain," and on these grounds the W.S.P.U. policy "is regarded as madness." So it would be if the certainty fore-shadowed were considered satisfactory, but I thought that everybody knew that with Manhood Suffrage the Conciliation Bill proposals had ceased to interest the W.S.P.U. In other words, that they will not accept that Bill along with votes for all men. Therefore the criticism of that Society with which the greater part of your paper is occupied this week is very wide of the mark. The difference between the two societies is now a fundamental one of aim, beside which the comparatively unimportant one of methods fades into insignificance. Miss Courtney says the W.S.P.U. "are refusing to work for and to obtain a large measure of women's suffrage next year." But as they are only a "small section" of suffragists the loss of their work cannot amount to much, and if the N.U. works hard and secures the wide amendment, although it will be our duty to try and "look silly" we shall be so pleased, that it will be a most difficult task.

Fairholme, E. A. ARMSTRONG (W.S.P.U.).
Jarrow-on-Tyne.
Dec. 8th, 1911.

[Since the objection to the Conciliation Bill made by a large number of Liberal Suffragists was that it did not enfranchise enough women, there is good hope now that these men will support the wider amendment, To many Liberals the fact that they will have to fall back on the Conciliation Bill if the wider amendment does not pass will act as a spur. We see no signs that our "request" is less likely of fulfilment than the "demand" of the W.S.P.U.—Ed. C.C.]

The Council of the National Union, at its special meeting, re-affirmed by resolution its "demand for the vote on the same terms as men, and as a means to this end decided to work for an amendment to the Reform Bill enfranchising women on the widest possible basis for which support can be secured in the House." It rejected a non-committal resolution in favour of even expressing an opinion as to which amendment this would be.

THE STANDARD

is publishing an Important Series of Articles by the Special Commissioners of "The Standard," numerous Bishops and Divines of the Established Church, and many great Political Leaders and Organisers, under the heading of

"The Red Peril"

These Articles will deal with

THE AIMS OF SOCIALISM,

which are to

Abolish the Monarchy,
Abandon Christianity,
Destroy the Church,
Reject all Religion,
and
Annul the Marriage Laws.

See

The STANDARD Daily.

The Council made its position quite clear—it accepts anything less than equal terms with men only as a means to an end. Whatever less measure is accepted, that measure is accepted because it is the one which will command a majority in the House.

Miss Rathbone's interesting and somewhat controversial article is last week's COMMON CAUSE, appeals to me only as a piece of special pleading, and I am glad Miss Peart points out some of the glaring defects of the Norwegian amendment from the widow's point of view. What about a woman living apart from her husband and yet not able to be a householder, and the re-marrying of the divorced man or woman? In all these cases the woman will get a vote as the wife of a householder, while widows or married women living apart from their husbands if unable to be householders are disfranchised.

A joint household of man and wife will have two votes. What position will a woman have in a joint household consisting of mother and son, brother and sister? All Miss Rathbone's arguments can be made to apply to these cases, and why should not these joint households have two votes? If the Norwegian amendment has these defects from the married women's point of view, what can be said in defence of the unjust treatment of the unmarried woman who must be self-supporting and cannot be a householder? She was sacrificed in the Conciliation Bill, but she is not only sacrificed in the Norwegian amendment, but is expected to help win support for an amendment which will enfranchise not a few struggling widows and women on the municipal register, but a number of wealthy, prosperous women who toil not neither do they spin, nor need they worry about the difficulty of finding the wherewithal for daily bread. The unmarried woman feels the struggle for existence as keenly as any other unit of the community. We have made the woman's need of the vote in the labour market a plank in our platform, and if we must at this point drop the unmarried ones, I do hope we shall only do so in the spirit of the resolution of the Council meeting, an instalment accepted for one reason only—viz., it commands the support of a majority in the House.

N. O'SHEA.

I have read with interest in this week's COMMON CAUSE the article by Miss Rathbone, and also the letter of Miss D. Peart, on a householder?

Both point to a conclusion which I, for one, have hoped would become obvious, namely, that, supposing we cannot obtain womanhood suffrage (the only logical solution) the plan known as "Dickinson II." is not necessarily the only nor the best alternative.

Let us grant, for the purpose of argument, that we can't risk offending the masculine prejudice against having more women voters than men voters. Our problem, then, is so to enfranchise some women as will secure the representation of all women.

For this purpose "Dickinson II." has certain obvious disadvantages:—

(a) It would leave unenfranchised some whole classes, —e.g., domestic servants. Why should the footman vote and not the housemaid? Why should the male shop assistant vote and not the female? Why, as Miss Peart pertinently asks, in the case of an "irregular union" should the man vote and not the woman, since both equally have sinned against the existing social code?

(b) The very anomalies and absurdities of the present franchise system which the Reform Bill would abolish for men, would be perpetuated in the case of unmarried women. There would still be scope for legal quibbles and the game of "rigging" the register. Why should the sempstress paying rates for an "occupation" vote, and the sempstress living with her father, or in lodgings, not vote? Why should a wife vote because she helps to run the household, but a sister performing the same function not vote?

If we cannot be absolutely logical, do let us be as logical as we can. There is a perfectly simple plan of keeping the number of women voters less than that of men, while not doing injustice to any class. That is the plan of enfranchising women on the same "citizen" or "residence" basis as men, but of not allowing them to vote until they are twenty-five or (if preferred) twenty-eight.

This plan would enfranchise some women from every class in just proportion. It would work in much better than the other with the democratic spirit of the Bill as a whole. It would, so far as I can gather, be a much more acceptable compromise to adult suffragists, whose votes are essential to success.

It avoids the objectionable idea that a married woman is to be enfranchised as a sort of appendage to her citizen husband, from whose halo of citizenship she herself catches a reflected ray. On all these grounds I would plead with suffragists to see to it that the age-limit plan is thoroughly discussed.

E. ACLAND.

5, Cheyne Place, Chelsea, Dec. 14th, 1911.

As one of the older Suffragists, ever firmly fixed in the belief that votes are of far less importance to women than the removal of the artificial, sex restrictions that now debar them from voting, I most strongly protest against any proposal to replace one form of sex discrimination with another. The idea of making marriage an electoral qualification for women is not only silly and childish in its conception, but must be revolting to any self-respecting married woman who thinks clearly on the subject. To me it is no less insulting and humiliating than the marriage disqualification at present existing, and I equally repudiate both.

During the 14 years of my married life, my husband and I voted municipally on the same qualification, as

NEAR THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

KINGSLEY HOTEL**HART STREET, BLOOMSBURY SQUARE,
LONDON.**

Well-appointed and commodious TEMPERANCE HOTEL, offering all the conveniences and advantages of the larger modern Licensed Hotels at moderate charges

Telegraphic Address:—"BOOKCRAFT, LONDON."

Lounges and Spacious Dining, Drawing, Writing, Reading, Billiard, and Smoking Rooms.
Bathrooms on every Floor.
Perfect Sanitation. Passenger Lifts.
Floors Fireproof Throughout.
Night Porters. Telephone.

BEDROOM, ATTENDANCE, AND TABLE D'HOTE BREAKFAST, SINGLE, from 5/8 to 7/8.

TABLE D'HOTE DINNER, six courses, 3/-

Full Tariff and Testimonials on application

THREE ARTS BALL

Wednesday December 20th, at the

ALBERT HALL.

FANCY DRESS. DANCING 10 to 4.

A few tickets left, 15/- each, including Buffet Supper.

Apply SHERWOOD FOSTER, Three Arts Club, 19a, Marylebone Road.
Telephone 2213 Mayfair.**INVISIBLE COURIERS TOURS****Dr. Seelig's System.**

Pre-arranged. Inclusive. Independent.

**16 Days' Swiss Winter Sports Tour, 11 Guineas.
Start any Day.****PALESTINE and EGYPT TOUR**, under leadership of the Rev. W. Hippisley, Cameley Rectory, Temple Cloud, Bristol. 43 days, 60 Guineas. Start 21st February, 1912.

Tours to Algiers, Tunis, Italy, Spain, Riviera, etc. Start any day. Independent Travel. For full particulars write—

50, Parliament Street, London, S.W.

A Valuable Christmas Present.**Volumes I and II**

OF

The Common Cause.

Indispensable as a work of reference to every Suffrage and Anti-Suffrage speaker and writer,

The Index has been prepared with great care.

Bound in red, white, and green.

Price 8s. 6d.

Postage 7d.

Apply, The Manager, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

**ROYAL ABBEY LAUNDRY AND
CLEANING WORKS,
CHISWICK PARK, W.**

Telephone: 588 HAMMERSMITH.

Proprietors—Mr. and Mrs. F. HENRY.

**Deansgate Temperance Hotel,
Manchester. LARGEST AND BEST IN THE TOWN.**

Most centrally situated.

Manchester and Salford Cars to all parts pass close to the Hotel.

PASSENGER LIFT. TWO NIGHT PORTERS.

Re-decorated and re-furnished.

National Telephone 5538 & 5539 City, Manchester.

STANLEY D. GORDON, Manager.**GIOLA (Seeola) TOOTH POWDER**
AN IDEAL DENTIFRICE, BECAUSE

It is Antiseptic but non-poisonous.

Does not contain any injurious Acid or Dye.

Preserves and whitens the teeth.

Certified by the Institute of Hygiene, 1910.

Awarded honours at the Japan-British Exhibition.

Sold by Chemists Everywhere.

Wholesale: Black Bull Works, Caledonian Market, London. N.

THE CONCILIATION BILL.

To counteract MISREPRESENTATION, Suffragists and the general public should be made acquainted with its provisions and effect. Broadcast distribution of the two-colour explanatory leaflet just drawn up by Miss Margaret Robertson, B.A., is the best means of doing so. To be had only from THE WILLIAM MORRIS PRESS, LTD., 42, ALBERT STREET, MANCHESTER, at the prices following:—250 3s. 6d., 500 5s., 1,000 9s., 2,000 17s., 3,000 24s., 5,000 37s. 6d., all carriage paid.

Tel. 2966 Gerrard.

Licensed by L.E.C.

THE WEST END ASSOCIATION.

(Miss GOLDING.)

Secretaries, Housekeepers, Matrons, Governesses, Nurses and Companions introduced free of charge. Flats, families receiving Paying Guests, Schools, Nursing Homes and Couriers recommended. There is also a Branch for Domestic Servants.

317, REGENT STREET, W. (Near QUEEN'S HALL.)

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

A delicate and beautiful reproduction in colours of the famous picture of

MISS FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

exhibited at the

NATIONAL GALLERY

is now published by the

Men's League for Women's Suffrage

and obtainable by return of post at the low price of 5/- each post free packed in a roller. The picture is 12 x 8, inset in a specially designed margin, making the total length and width 20 x 14 inches.

Readers wishing for one of these pictures kindly fill in the following coupon and post to or call at the

MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,

159, ST. STEPHEN'S HOUSE, WESTMINSTER.

Please send me copies of Miss F. Nightingale's

reproduction in colours, for which I enclose.....

Kindly send by return of post.

Name

Address

Date.....