

The Common Cause,

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Women's Suffrage

Societies.

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ONE PENNY.

Notes and Comments.

The "Westminster Gazette" and the Government.

The *Westminster Gazette*, replying to our note last week, is indignant with us for saying that the adoption of a Referendum for Women's Suffrage would make the Government promise of Parliamentary facilities worthless. It says:—

"This is far from being the case. The first step in the matter is to get a proposal definitely approved by the House of Commons—either the Conciliation Bill or by way of amendment to the Reform Bill. This could not be done without the assistance of the Government, which has been promised. If there is a Referendum women will be able to get the vote by two stages instead of one; but facilities for stage No. 1 are none the less essential, and the promise of them is in no sense of the word 'worthless.'"

We confess that we find this utterance somewhat cryptic. But if the suggestion is that a measure of Women's Suffrage, which had passed the House of Commons, should then be submitted to a Referendum before being referred to the House of Lords, we would remind our contemporary that part of Mr. Asquith's promise to us was, that if a Women's Suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill was approved by the Commons, it should at once become an integral part of the Government Bill. We do not wish "to be able" to get by two stages what we could get by one. The approval of the representatives of the country in Parliament will satisfy us, and we are convinced that it will also satisfy Mr. Asquith, who has told us that he is willing to bow to the considered will of the House of Commons.

Mr. Carnegie's Peace Fund.

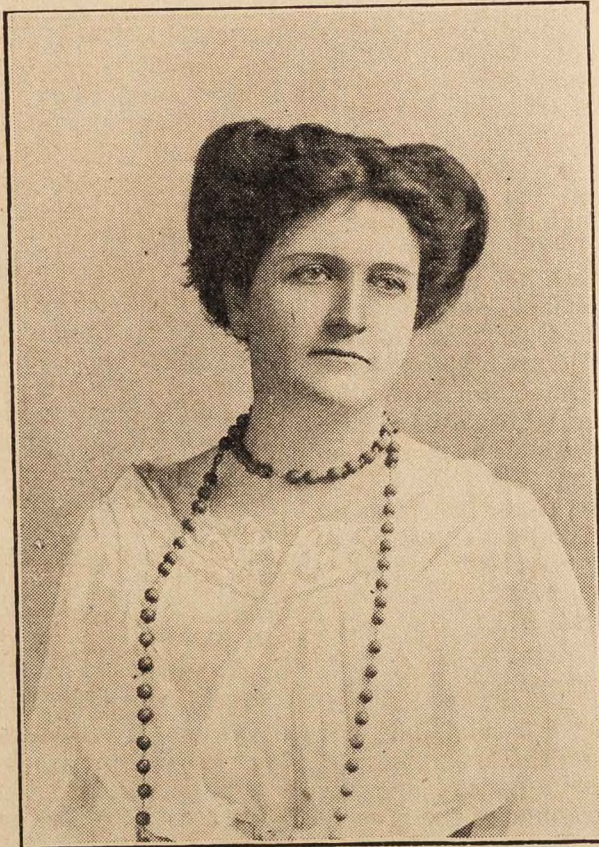
Mr. Carnegie is devoting a sum of £2,000,000 to propaganda in favour of peace by international arbitration, and the committee appointed in 1910 to consider a scheme of work has now decided on its general lines. Lectures, conferences, and publications on international law, cases of successful arbitration, international loans, armaments, and militarism, have been and will be arranged for. An international bureau is to be organised in Paris under the direction of a European committee.

Peace is essentially a "woman's question"; yet there is but one woman's name on this committee—Baroness von Suttner, winner of the Nobel peace prize. We congratulate ourselves that there is one, without ceasing to wonder why there are no more.

The Cotton Lock-out in Lancashire.

Mr. Philip Snowden puts forward the view of the trades unionist in an excellent article in this week's *Christian Common-*

wealth, and since in the daily Press we have the employers' point of view given almost invariably, every fair-minded person should read Mr. Snowden. Suffragists will be specially ready to sympathise with the trades unionists who feel that the non-unionist is content to let others fight his battle while he shares the spoils. Is it not just so with ourselves? Nevertheless we admit to finding Mr. Snowden's argument inconclusive. The fact that the State is sometimes obliged to disregard the wishes of minorities does not imply that it may always do so; still less that a smaller corporation within the State may do so; each case must be argued on its own merits. The merits of the case for forcing non-unionists into the ranks of unionism are not argued here and cannot be merely assumed because employers have often been tyrannous too.



(Photo. Elliott and Fry.) MISS E. M. LEAF,
Hon. Sec. to the Press Committee N.U.W.S.S.

The Municipal Franchise.

It is well to take into account when one is discussing the amendment to the Reform Bill, that the Government will probably revise the municipal as well as the parliamentary franchise; it is likely that it will wish to make the qualification the same for both. If it establishes residence as the qualification for men to vote in both parliamentary and municipal elections, what qualification will it choose for women in municipal elections? It is likely that whatever the Government decides upon the municipal qualification will be the qualification most approved for parliamentary representation of women.

Signs of the Times.

No sign of the times is more remarkable than the change of attitude of the Press towards Women's Suffrage. Suffrage news, once conspicuous by its absence from all the great London Dailies, now greets us on almost every page. And the most important papers not only put in our news, a majority of them have declared their sympathy with us. We are meeting with that support in the Press which we had already gained in the House of Commons and the country. But, if this a sign of the times, it is not one that has come about of itself. The "times" themselves are the result of strenuous work, and nowhere has it been more strenuous than in the National Union Press department. We all feel much gratitude to Miss Leaf and her fellow-workers for all their devoted and patient labour, and we congratulate them on its evident success.

Our Portrait.

We publish this week a portrait of Miss Emily Leaf, Hon. secretary to the National Union Press Committee and head of the Press department at the office.

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

This Year in Parliament.

Last week we considered the Conciliation Bill in all the stages that would be necessary before it could become an Act, and we concluded with a reference to the Government

REFORM BILL,

which has been announced as definitely to be introduced and pressed through all its stages this year. So far, the Government has expressed the intention of not including women in the Bill as far as Parliamentary elections are concerned.

All the Suffrage Societies, the Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party, the Fabian Society, the People's Suffrage Federation, the Women's Co-operative Guild, and others, are pressing the Government to include women in the Bill from the first. If this is not done, by far the greater number of suffragists are going to do their utmost to get an amendment passed to include women. No amendments can be moved until a Bill gets into the Committee stage, and it is quite probable (as we pointed out last week) that the Conciliation Bill may have passed its Second Reading before the Reform Bill gets into Committee. It is therefore of the utmost importance to get a good majority, for the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill, both on its own merits and because this would strengthen the hands of our friends who will be moving amendments to the Reform Bill.

But now let us suppose that the Reform Bill has been introduced without the inclusion of women. We think that this is not the right way to deal with a question of this sort, because the women's need for some measure of enfranchisement is far greater than the men's need for registration reform and because the women have shown themselves intensely earnest and able and devoted in their agitation for the vote, whereas there has been no movement in the country on the men's part to be compared with the women's. Should we urge our friends in the House, then, to vote against the first and second readings of the Reform Bill? Supposing we could

DESTROY THE REFORM BILL,

should we be wise to do so? We think not. If the Reform Bill were defeated on the first or second readings, the Government would go out and we should have lost an immense amount of the ground we have so painfully gained. But we could only defeat the Reform Bill if many members of the Coalition would vote against it, and they will not do so, because they believe that the women will get their chance, on the Committee stage. We think so too, and we mean to make the very best of that chance.

If, therefore, the Reform Bill passes first and second readings without the inclusion of women in the part dealing with the parliamentary vote, there comes

COMMITTEE STAGE,

and this stage of the Reform Bill will almost certainly be taken before the corresponding stage of the Conciliation Bill. Amendments can now be moved, and the one (to include women) which is most likely to pass will almost certainly be moved unofficially by a front-bench man, probably by

SIR EDWARD GREY

Other amendments will also probably be moved and they will be arranged in descending order, the wider ones first. The House will be left quite free to vote as it pleases, and this makes one of the chief differences between the present situation and the one in 1884. Then Mr. Gladstone set the Government whips to tell against Mr. Woodall's amendment and threatened to resign if it passed; now Mr. Asquith has promised to "bow to the will of the House," and not to put on the Government whips. Some amendment to include women is sure to pass in Committee stage and then comes the fourth great advantage which was gained by the memorable deputation of November 17th, 1911. The first was that we were assured the Government intended that the Reform Bill should be passed in 1912. The second was that the Bill would be so drafted as to permit of any amendments introducing women on other terms than men. The third was that the Government would not oppose such amendments. The fourth was that the Government would regard any amendment enfranchising women which is carried, as an integral part of the Bill

IN ALL ITS STAGES.

This means that, once an amendment has passed in Committee, the Government will assume responsibility for it; it will be part of a Government Bill, and it cannot be thrown out of the Bill in the Report stage, except with the opposition of the Government. Now it is well-known that no Government can suffer defeat on so important a matter as a Reform Bill and remain in power; the Government must stand or fall by the Reform Bill, and all supporters of the Government will be aware that defeat of the amendment on Report will mean defeat of the Bill and therefore of the Government.

Again, when the Reform Bill goes to the

HOUSE OF LORDS,

the Government is pledged not to accept it if it should be returned minus the women's amendment. They are pledged to put back the amendment and return the Bill to the House of Lords as often as may be necessary to ensure its passing. Once a women's suffrage amendment has been passed,

THE DANGER OF MANHOOD SUFFRAGE is over. We shall then find men and women working shoulder to shoulder as they should be.

It is therefore our policy not to destroy but to amend the Government Bill, so that it may become a real measure of Reform. Till it is thus amended, we hold fast to the Conciliation Bill, the only non-party measure now before Parliament.

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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 book-stalls 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.

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The Opportunity of 1912.

With hardly a breathing space for Christmas, the National Union has entered on the task which it set itself at the special General Council, and in many parts of the country the campaign of 1912 is already well begun. The scope of its campaign is defined in the most important resolution passed by the Council in the following words:—

"That the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies re-affirms its position that women are citizens no less than men, and should be enfranchised on the same terms as men. As a means towards this end it urges its members to ensure the enfranchisement of women in 1912 by working both for the Conciliation Bill and for an amendment to the Reform Bill to include women on the widest basis for which a majority can be secured in the House of Commons."

This resolution embodies both the end and the means, the goal we have in view, and the stage of the journey which we hope to accomplish in the coming year.

The object of the National Union, like that of all the chief Suffrage Societies, is to obtain the Vote for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men. What those terms are to be we have never attempted to decide. As a non-party society we leave it to others to say whether the basis of the franchise is to be a property qualification or merely "due age and competent understanding." Our claim is that whatever qualification makes men electors shall make women electors too, and that no woman shall be excluded from political freedom simply on account of her womanhood.

This removal of the sex disability suffragists regard as a right, a right which has been long denied but which is none the less real, and for which we must continue to strive. We are united in believing that the enfranchisement of women is not only a great and a necessary reform and one that has been long overdue, but that it is the reform which is now more necessary than any other, the next step forward in human progress, the measure which the nation or the statesman who cares for humanity should be most eager to achieve, the great opportunity of the present generation. In this belief and in the determination to put it into action and not to cease from labour nor shrink from any painful effort till our end has been accomplished all suffragists are at one. It is a profound bond of union and one which while it unites us to each other separates us from all who are outside our movement.

But while we are all united as to our end and as to its inestimable importance and glory, we are divided as to the means by which it is to be accomplished. The difference is one of principle as regards militant tactics, and of policy as regards the present parliamentary situation.

It is hardly possible that the difference of principle should be obliterated. We who are suffragists and non-militants hold it to be the very essence of our contention that physical force cannot be the dominant force in a civilised world. Any appeal to violence or what looks like violence appears to us to stultify this claim. We cannot therefore hope to see eye to eye with those who have thus appealed.

The difference of policy is more accidental and depends on the complexities of the situation created by the announcement of a Manhood Suffrage Bill. By their united acceptance of the Conciliation Bill last year the Suffrage Societies showed their conviction that though compromise as to our end would be baseness, compromise as to the stages by which it is to be reached would be wisdom. We showed that we were ready to meet half way those people outside our movement who cannot see our rights as we see them, to accept an instalment of justice and to enter on what a statesman has called "the far-shining path of Conciliation."

On that path the National Union is determined to continue to tread. The announcement of a Manhood Suffrage Bill by a Government which professes to rest on the will of the people filled us with an indignation which we shall not easily forget, but we are determined to make our indignation fruitful in labour and attainment. The very injustice of the proposal to answer the long, courageous, far-reaching agitation for Women's Suffrage by an extension of the Suffrage to men has awakened public opinion as nothing else could have done. All over the country we have proof of intensified sympathy with our movement. In all parts of England and Scotland and Wales new societies are springing up daily within the National Union. Irish women are giving fresh proofs that they do not care less for the freedom of their sex than the women of Great Britain. Outside the Suffrage Societies political bodies of men and women have thrown themselves into the movement, the Women's Liberal Federation is at work and the I.L.P. has begun its campaign. The Press is more open to us than it has ever been before, the *Manchester Guardian* has embraced our policy with enthusiasm, fourteen London papers have declared themselves to be in favour of Women's Suffrage. All this public sympathy and help we welcome, it is what we expected of our countrymen. It will find fresh expression in the House of Commons when it meets, it has already found expression in the Cabinet. It must be the work of the National Union so to use and concentrate it that it will result in the passage of a Women's Suffrage measure through the House of Commons before the year is out. That measure must be the widest that we can obtain, the largest instalment of justice that we can get. In struggling for it we shall not refuse the help of any who think with us. We certainly shall not refuse the help of members of the Government who realise that if the Reform Bill reached its final stages without taking in women they should be responsible for a gross injustice. In 1912 as in 1911 we shall show ourselves ready to meet those who are willing to help us even if they do not offer us the measure of Women's Suffrage we ourselves think most just. The Conciliation Bill represents the irreducible minimum of our demand. If an opportunity is offered us for obtaining a larger instalment of justice we shall take it. We are prepared to be patient, but with the patience not of submission but of watchful courage. We are determined to labour as we have never laboured before. We believe that success is certain not because of the political action of individuals but because the justice of our demand is penetrating more and more into the conscience of the country. In the past movements for human freedom have succeeded not because they had the command of physical force (the big battalions have seldom been on the side of liberty), but because they had gradually gathered in moral force to themselves till they had become irresistible. The women's movement is the greatest effort for freedom which the human race has yet made. It is bound to be hard and to call for increasing sacrifice as the days go on, but all those who covet honour and all those who love the future will be more and more eager to share with us in our toils. We cannot fail to win and so with happy hearts we go forward to greet the opportunity of 1912.

I. B. O'MALLEY.

Discarded Principles.

It is a curious thing in political life that many people, otherwise honourable and fair-minded, are ready to repudiate the principles and maxims of a life-time in order to support the policy, for the time being, of their party, or to defeat a measure which they dislike. The principle or the maxim may have been professed without qualification or reserve, but it does not suit the circumstances of the moment and it is discarded like a worn-out garment.

The rapid progress that Women's Suffrage has made of late has brought a number of such people into the light of day. They are to be found in every resort of men and they are strongly in evidence in the "Women's Platform" of the *Standard*. I refer to the people who are repudiating the old constitutional doctrine of the right of the taxpayer to parliamentary representation and to those others who are willing to adopt the referendum in the case of Women's Suffrage only.

I had an interesting talk a few days ago with one of the repudiators. We had been discussing Women's Suffrage and he was much exercised because I insisted that the Suffragists are right in holding fast to the time-honoured and constitutional maxim, "No taxation without representation." He pooh-poohed the idea, said it was a paltry ground on which to base a claim to enfranchisement, and declared that the maxim was played out. Not many years ago I had heard him maintain this played out maxim to be the foundation of our liberties and one of the bulwarks of the Constitution. I reminded him of this and he slightly changed his tune. It might be right, he admitted, in a general way, but it was untenable as applied to women. The man, I may say, is not an avowed Anti-Suffragist. He believes in Women's Suffrage (so he says) but he believes infinitely more in the Liberal Party, and so far as I can see is ready to sacrifice every other belief he has in order to keep that party in power and the present Government in office. In fact his one outstanding belief is belief in the Liberal Party.

There are thousands like him—both Liberals and Tories. At one time this old maxim was much in the mouths of Liberals. It was used as a motto to decorate the walls of the halls in which they held meetings and to stimulate the zeal of the professors of Liberalism. Even Mr. Asquith is said to have made use of it in his younger days; and a story is current that on one occasion, when asked by a lady to write in her autograph book his favourite motto or quotation, he wrote "Taxation without representation is tyranny." If the story is true (and I hope it is) and if he happened to see this book now I imagine that he would wish either to destroy it or to add a note to explain that the maxim is only applicable to men. But it was not only Liberals who used it; it was for many years an accepted tenet of the Conservative faith. Indeed it was recognised by men of all political parties as an indisputable axiom of constitutional government. With the progress of Women's Suffrage there has come a change. It is no longer universally accepted. It is looked at askance by those who are only half-hearted in the Suffrage cause and is frankly repudiated by Anti-Suffragists for Anti-Suffrage reasons. Lord Cromer and Lady Jersey, as well as many less prominent people have tried to laugh it to scorn, and Mrs. Frederick Harrison, the wife of the famous Positivist leader, has thrown it overboard. In an article against Women's Suffrage which was published in the *Standard* a short time ago she said:—

"The country has hitherto imposed tests of a rate-paying and financial rather than an educational character, but the true qualifications for the franchise are freedom, a sound mind, and capacity for serving the community. If this reasoning rests on a firm basis, and from the Liberal point of view I am convinced that it does, it cuts the ground from that shallow but oft-repeated argument of 'No taxation without representation.'"

It is a strange feature of this attack on one of the great constitutional grounds on which Suffragists base their claim for the enfranchisement of women, that Mrs. Harrison has advanced, as the true basis for the Parliamentary vote, certain qualifications that are not peculiar to men, but which they have in common with women. If the qualifications which in her words are "the true qualifications," were adopted, the result would be the disfranchisement of a great many men and the enfranchisement of a vast number of women. This of course is not what she meant. From the context it is evident that when she referred to "freedom, a sound mind, and capacity for serving the community," as the true qualifications for the vote, she meant the true qualifications as applied to men only. Women, whatever their qualifications, are in her opinion disqualified because of their sex. I do not know what Mrs. Harrison's political views are or to what party she belongs—if she belongs to any—but from a remark about "the Liberal point of view," I presume that she believes herself to be a Liberal; and I have a shrewd suspicion that had Women's Suffrage not loomed so terribly near in her frenzied imagination, she would not have thought the old maxim, "No taxation without representation," so shallow as she now does. Perhaps when women are enfranchised she will re-adopt it.

The repudiation by Anti-Suffragists of the time-honoured constitutional maxim is not more extraordinary than the coquetting of Liberals with the referendum. Almost every Liberal in the country condemns the referendum. It is uncon-

stitutional; it is undemocratic; it is opposed to the habits, the instincts, and the traditions of the people; it would do away with parliamentary and representative government: such are some of the reasons given by Liberals for opposing it. No one, I think, has spoken against it in stronger terms than Mr. Asquith and Mr. Winston Churchill. They could not entertain for one moment any suggestion that it might, even occasionally, be usefully applied;—that is when it is suggested by Tories with reference to Liberal measures. When however Women's Suffrage is discussed their dislike and scruples vanish. Mr. Asquith showed this very plainly at his interview with the Anti-Suffrage deputation last month. It is true that he gave them very little hope of being able to settle the Suffrage question by referendum, but he did not display any strong objection to it on constitutional grounds. Indeed he seemed to be ready, in the last resort, to adopt it in order to defeat Women's Suffrage and it was rather on grounds of expediency than of principle that he gave the deputation so little encouragement. Mr. Churchill has been even more frank. Some time ago he hinted at the referendum as a method for settling the Suffrage question and he has recently declared himself almost definitely in its favour. There is a curious want of moral robustness in the attitude of the two ministers. It is not statemanship but political opportunism of the worst sort and the very negation of Liberalism. I can appreciate honest change of opinion. I can understand the repudiation of a principle which has apparently been proved false; but this willingness to make use for their own purposes of electoral machinery which they think might bring disaster in its train is not creditable to either of these prominent men.

Like their leaders some of the rank and file of the Liberal Party hanker after the use of the referendum in the case of Women's Suffrage. Even so sane and friendly a newspaper as the *Westminster Gazette* has been caught in the web of sophistry woven by the Anti-Suffragists. It lately suggested that an amendment to the Reform Bill in favour of Women's Suffrage should only be passed subject to a referendum. A referendum to whom? The *Westminster Gazette* suggested the present electorate, but, as Mr. Asquith pointed out and the members of Anti-Suffrage deputation recognised, the supporters of Women's Suffrage will never admit the right of an electorate, composed entirely of men, to decide the permanent disfranchisement of women. On the other hand, to refer the question to the women of the country or to a certain number of them would be to give away the Anti-Suffragists' whole case. It would be admitting the right of women to a voice in national affairs.

The opposition of the Anti-Suffragists is at once illogical, stupid and vexatious. Beaten in argument, with the great bulk of the common-sense, intelligence, and public spirit of the country against them, they are using every means that our parliamentary system places at their disposal to defeat any measure of Women's Suffrage. Their shifts and dodgings, the repudiation by some of a great constitutional principle which they have professed for years, and the willingness of others to adopt in the case of Women's Suffrage only a system of voting that they believe to be detestable, are the measure at once of their fears and their hatred of the movement. Such conduct does not show the best side of political life, but as a sign of the times, and of the vitality of the cause, it should mightily cheer all Suffragists.

J. Y. KENNEDY.

The Economic Position of Married Women.

[We published last week an article by Miss Eleanor Rathbone on this subject, which presents a point of view not very common among Suffragists. This week we publish two brief statements of the other side of the case. We would also refer our readers to our correspondence columns.—EDITOR.]

Few people, whether Suffragists or Anti-Suffragists, will disagree with the first part of Miss Rathbone's article in last week's COMMON CAUSE, but there are many who will refuse to recognise in the difference between men's wages and women's a payment for the woman's services in the home.

Miss Rathbone quotes J. S. Mill's dictum that "the permanent remuneration of the labourers essentially depends on what we have called their habitual standard." Later on she quotes St. Paul's saying, that the labourer is worthy of his hire; but she seems to have ignored the fact that it is the worth of the labourer—or, in modern parlance, his value to his employer—as well as his habitual standard of living which determines wages. An employer will not—or, rather, cannot—pay more to his workmen than their work is worth to him. Wages may fall below the value of the work done owing to lack

of organisation or similar reasons, but they cannot possibly rise above this value. But once admit that a man produces goods or performs services at least equal in value to the full value of his wages, what justification can be found for paying a woman who does equal work a lower rate than the man because she probably has not a family to support. It only means that she is being paid less than her value to her employer—that she is worthy of more than her hire.

Of course, the fact that a man considers the needs of his family is one of the forces affecting his standard of living, and so affecting his wages; and the frequent absence of this consideration amongst women is one of the forces—but only one of several—affecting their standards and their wages. But this does not show that the lower level of women's wages is either desirable or necessary.

It is a curious commentary on the doctrine expounded by Miss Rathbone that in unorganised trades, with home work especially, it is a generally recognised fact that women who have a family to support, or who, when the husband is out of work, are temporarily the wage-earners for the family, are in a peculiarly weak position. Their earnings are notoriously low, as they will accept any work and any wages rather than see their family starve. They undercut, and so depress, wages far more than the married woman who is only earning supplementary wages. Thus, the fact that women sometimes have a family to support in some trades tends to lower rather than raise wages; yet we are told that the fact that a man generally has a family to support raises his wages very considerably. Is it not, therefore, clear that a man's position as the bread-winner of a family can only explain his higher wages, compared with those of a woman doing equally good work, if it be co-related with some difference in organisation or in his strategic position? The existence of a high standard of living does, of course, enter into his strategic position as a bargainer, so that the woman's lower standard is a partial explanation of her lower pay; but it is not, and cannot be, a justification for giving her less than her real value to her employer. It must also be remembered that standards of living are largely questions of custom; if it be constantly reiterated that women should be content with lower wages than men, it must necessarily react on their ideas of what wage they should demand. They adapt themselves to low standards of comfort, and employers—as more than one well-known writer has pointed out—develop an artificial standard of what a woman's wage should be. Nor would the demand for equal value for equal work in any way affect a woman's claim to a part of her husband's wage, as Miss Rathbone's argument implies. For the wife's claim rests not on the assumption that her husband is earning more than an equally capable woman could, owing to the probable existence of a family, but on the obvious fact that the wife renders services to her husband, some of which no other woman could perform, and others for which any other woman would, as a matter of course, receive payment.

W. A. ELKIN.

Your suggestion that Miss Rathbone's views, as stated in her article of last week, are "more usual perhaps among Anti-Suffragists than Suffragists," is, I trust, correct. Suffragists do not, for the most part, I think, wish that men should be driven out of work which they do better than women, simply because the latter are cheap. Yet Miss Rathbone urges against the demand for an equal wage that "it would mean the ousting of women altogether from many occupations in which they now make a tolerable living." Why? Because the men do the work better. Then, in the name of justice and common-sense, let them do it! We are bold enough to think that there are industries where the women will do better than the men. Sick nursing is an obvious example; and the weaving sheds of Lancashire supply another, for there, Mrs. Dickenson tells us, the women are "ousting" the men by sheer ability. I do not believe that either men or women want artificial protection from each other, but I do believe that the cheap competition, the "under-cutting" by women, has been a tragedy to both sexes, and if to protest against it be to "play into the hands of male trades unionists," I am very content so to play. Would Miss Rathbone, I wonder, have commended me if, in my profession as University Extension lecturer, I had taken lower pay than a man in order to get more work?

But surely the whole argument rests on an assumption destructive to the Women's Suffrage position. The higher wages of men are, we are told, "recognised by public opinion, by industrial practice, and by the law." True: so are all men's advantages (including political power) over women. This

is one of the worst. Let us suppose for a moment, and for the sake of argument, that men are paid highly because they have families to support, though many have none, and women less because they have no families to support, though many of them have: there remains the fundamental dishonesty implied in paying for a commodity, not according to its value, but according to the necessity of the seller. Against this dishonesty, though "recognised by public opinion, by industrial practice, and by the law," I trust that women will successfully protest, even when the "commodity" they sell is their labour. It is no more honest to give a woman half-price when she sells that, than when she sells a picture or a book. We are gradually establishing this principle among professional women; why is it to be different for those of the industrial class?

A. MAUDE ROYDEN.

Medical Women in India.

Here in Great Britain the members of the medical profession are up in arms at the idea of a form of State medical relief—not because of the principle involved—but because of the terms, the doctors do rightly to refuse to serve under such an agreement. In that vast Empire of India, whose area is nearly as large as all Europe, whose population of over 300,000,000 is more than six times as great as that of the United Kingdom, there has existed for more than half a century a State medical service—efficiently organised and equipped, under Government supervision, whose members have splendid opportunities for good and useful work for which they receive fair remuneration.

It is, however, impossible to draw any parallel between the conditions of these two countries, at the present time, from a medical point of view. More than two-thirds of the enormous Indian population are engaged in agricultural occupations, cultivating small plots of land, which give them a bare living, and their poverty, from a European standpoint, is extreme. The daily income of a labourer would be considered princely at 6d. per day—this to support a wife and family and probably an aged father and mother or other infirm relatives. Even in the towns, though wages are somewhat higher, expenses are also higher; and it is a fact that all over the country the mass of the people are very, very poor—in actual coin of the realm.

The Government of India early recognised that it was absolutely necessary to give these poor people some sort of medical relief, and that it was quite impossible to expect them to pay for it. Their own native hakims and dhais, etc., were usually entirely ignorant and incompetent, and often did more harm than good by their primitive treatment. Therefore the Government of India established a Medical Department, which was put in charge of the medical officers of the Indian Army, many of whom were thus utilised in civil employment, though it was recognised that these officers might at any time be recalled to their military duties. This Government Medical Department, officered by the doctors of the Indian Army (called the Indian Medical Service), established civil hospitals and dispensaries all over the country districts, as well as in towns; there are now nearly 3,000 of such medical establishments throughout the Empire, in which 28 million persons were treated in 1909. In these establishments the superior officers are always members of the I.M.S., the subordinates enter the medical service in India, and are mostly drawn from natives of the country. This Department is paid for partly by Imperial funds, partly by local rates when possible, and, to a small degree, by contributions from patients who can afford to pay a little.

Now to turn to the woman's side of the question, for which this long introduction was needed in order to understand the conditions of medical work in India. When this Government Medical Service was established, women doctors did not exist, certainly not in India, and for all practical purposes, not in Europe either, so that at that time it would have been quite useless to have included women doctors in this medical scheme. But the women of India, of all classes, creeds and nationalities have been for long ages most averse to consulting a man doctor, and their medical attendants have been ignorant women, to whose ministrations those of the celebrated Saïrey Gamp would be as light from darkness. A large proportion of the Indian women are purdah, viz., kept behind the veil—a survival of the times when war and rapine devastated the country—but even when not purdah, all Indian women shrink from seeing strange men. Therefore it can be readily understood that, although these State hospitals are freely at the service of women as well as men, it is mostly women of the lowest castes,

or out-caste, who make use of them; or in cases where better-class women do attend, they often delay until they are in a hopeless condition. Indeed, even at the present time not more than one-fifth of those treated in civil hospitals are women, and I fancy that in European hospitals the proportion of the sexes would be the other way about.

Thirty years ago, at the beginning of the medical women movement, the missionaries early recognised the enormous sphere of usefulness that could be opened up in India, and it was in connection with missions that the first women doctors came out to the country from England. At present these ladies form the majority of the medical women now in India, and though most efficient and devoted workers they go out to India primarily imbued with missionary zeal, and while giving the best of medical and surgical skill to their patients, it is for the sake of the Cross they carry; they have no need to "take thought for the morrow"—their Society will care for them in things material.

Lady Dufferin, whose sympathies were great for the millions of suffering women of India, organised a charitable fund about twenty-five years ago, with the lengthy title of "The National Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India." This fund has branches all over the country, collecting and spending its monies locally, under various committees. It has done, and is doing, much good work in building hospitals, giving scholarships, training nurses, supporting very inadequately a few women doctors, etc.; but all the isolated branches have little cohesion—there is no regularised scheme of service, pay, promotion, leave, etc.—and it offers no inducement to the best type of women doctor to enter its service.

In addition to the missionary women doctors, and the Dufferin women doctors, there are a comparatively large number of women doctors who are natives of India, and have become qualified in the country after attending the medical schools in Bombay, Calcutta, or Madras. These qualifications are on a very much lower level than European ones, and the women who have them are not, as a rule, competent to be put in charge of responsible posts. But for the highly trained and efficient woman doctor of these days—whose qualifications and experience rank with those of the men who enter the I.M.S.—who is desirous of making an honest livelihood by the practice of her profession, there is no opening at all in India, which is the one country that needs her more than any in the world. The opportunity to make a living from private practice alone, except in the very few large towns, is, on account of the poverty of the people, quite an impossibility. There are about 400 women doctors in India all told, and 150 million Indian women—three times as many women in India as the whole population of the British Isles, men, women and children combined. It is for those inarticulate millions that we ask the Government of India to organise a medical service, managed by competent women doctors, on the lines of the I.M.S., and under State supervision. That the plan is possible can be proved by the experiment in Bombay, where one woman's hospital—the "Cama"—was established twenty-six years ago, given over entirely to the management of women doctors, under all the usual rules and routine of State civil hospitals. This hospital is generally acknowledged to be a model of excellence, and yet

it is the only Government hospital in India entirely officered by women.

The Government of India has considered it right and wise to supply medical relief to the people of India—an assistance which is hardly utilised by the women of the country, who need it most. Now that it is possible to obtain the services of efficient medical women—which was not the case when the Civil Medical Department was established—it seems only fair and just that the well-known feelings of the women of India should be consulted by giving them a Women's Indian Medical Service.
EMMA SLATER, L.R.C.P. and S. (ED.).

The Law as Administered to Women.

At an inquest at Leicester on the three children of Mrs. Sheppard it was shown that the children, who were aged respectively five, four and two years old, set fire to the house while their mother was out at work, and died from suffocation. The mother said that she was the widow of a clerk, and only left the children when it was necessary for her to go out and earn their living. She said that when she had money she used to pay a neighbour to look after the youngest child, but that she had not always got the money, and that the neighbours would not look after the children for nothing. On this occasion she had put the children to bed in a room in which there was neither fire nor matches, and of which she did not think they could open the door. The children had, however, succeeded in getting into the lower room, in which there was a small fire. On her return she found the house full of smoke. She and a neighbour carried the children out, but all three were found to be dead.

The jury, while bringing in a verdict of "accidental death," added a rider censuring the mother for leaving the children so long in the house alone.

The Coroner then called the mother forward, and said she was deserving of severe censure. . . . "It is a serious matter for you," he said, "to leave them when it was easy for you to take some steps to have them looked after, or protected in some way. It is possible you might escape the criminal law and a fine or imprisonment. But to my mind, if you had a spark of affection for your children, you will be severely punished in your conscience for allowing them to remain in the house in an unprotected state."

If this case is correctly reported in the daily papers, it almost defies comment.

Even proved carelessness on the part of the mother would hardly have excused the brutality of the Coroner's public rebuke. But there is nothing whatever in the evidence to indicate that she was careless. It appears, on the contrary, that she had no means of supporting the children, if she did not go out and work for them, and no money to pay anyone to look after them while she was out. This being so, we should like to ask the Coroner what she was to do, and what were "the steps" it would have been "easy for her to take to have them protected in some way."

Let the men who are responsible for the social conditions in which the widows and the fatherless struggle and perish at the present time, look into their own consciences before they dare to rebuke the unhappy mothers who suffer from them.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

OBJECT: To obtain the Parliamentary franchise for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men.
METHODS: (a) The promotion of the claim of women to the Parliamentary vote by united action in Parliament and by all constitutional methods of agitation in this country. (b) The organisation of Women's Suffrage Societies on a non-party basis.
Hon. Secretaries: MISS K. D. COURTNEY. **President:** MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.
Hon. Secretary to Press Committee: MISS EMILY M. LEAF.
Telegrams: "Voiceless, London." **Hon. Sec. to Literature Committee:** MISS I. B. O'MALLEY. **Telephone:** 1960 Victoria.
Offices: Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

From Headquarters.

NEW SOCIETIES.

The following are the names of the 14 new societies which were announced last week. Since then several others have applied, making a total of 18:—

MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT FEDERATION.—Farnworth, Northwich, Blackburn, Haslingden.

NORTH-WESTERN FEDERATION.—Lancaster.

WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.—Dewsbury, Todmorden, Sowerby Bridge, Bingley.

SOUTH WALES.—Aberystwith, Abergavenny, Merthyr and District.

EASTERN COUNTIES.—Dunmow and district, King's Lynn.

KENTISH FEDERATION.—Pembury, Matfield, and Brenchley.

SOUTH-WESTERN FEDERATION.—Totnes.

SURREY, SUSSEX AND HANTS.—Ringwood.

OXFORD, BERKS AND BUCKS.—Maidenhead. In connection with the formation of the Maidenhead Society the name of the East Berks Society has been changed to that of Crowther and District. Maidenhead is in the East Berks Division, and as other societies in the same division are likely to follow, it was felt that the name applied to one society only was likely to be misleading.

ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETING.

The annual meeting of the General Council of the National Union has been fixed for Saturday, February 24th, and will be continued on Monday, February 26th, if necessary.

ALBERT HALL MEETING.

Speakers for the great Albert Hall meeting on February 23rd are as follows:—

Chair: Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D.

Speakers: Mr. Lloyd George, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Lord Lytton. Other speakers will be announced later. As we hear from the London Society that the demand for seats in some parts of the Hall already

exceeds the supply, societies and members are urged to apply as soon as possible to Miss Strachey, 58, Victoria Street, S.W.

WORK IN IRELAND.

Miss Gill is going to Ireland about January 16th, and will probably remain there for about three weeks. Meetings have been arranged for her in the North and South of Ireland, as well as in Dublin and district, and it is hoped that her tour may be very successful.

K. D. COURTNEY.

Press Department.

The New Year begins with conspicuous emphasis from the Press regarding the question of Women's Suffrage. The papers send reporters daily for information respecting the campaigns and the policy of the various Suffrage Societies, and articles have appeared in the *Globe*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily News*, the *Daily Chronicle*, the *Manchester Dispatch*, the *Church Family Newspaper* and others.

The unfriendly Conservative Press has been doing its utmost by means of sensational posters and headings to make party capital out of what it terms the "Cabinet split."

The *Daily Telegraph* presents the situation regarding the Reform Bill clearly; but it would be difficult, judging from its article on January 3rd, to gather that its editorial policy was in favour of Women's Suffrage.

The *Westminster Gazette*, ostensibly also in favour of Woman's Suffrage, appeals to a study of its files to justify its policy. These files show a belated championship of the Conciliation Bill a few weeks ago. It then dallied with the Referendum, and now points out that "the Conciliation Bill is so drawn that it meets with the opposition of some of those who have been the warmest advocates of the women's cause in and out of Parliament. That opposition is based in the belief that the Bill would add a strongly Conservative element to the register, and will give further voting power 'to property.'"

Its warning that "the vote for women will not be obtained by an energetic campaign against the vote for more men" will scarcely be appreciated by the great body of suffragists who are engaged in supporting the Cabinet Ministers who favour an amendment; on the other hand, if no amendment were incorporated, there would be every reason for that energetic campaign against the third reading of the Manhood Suffrage Bill.

We look forward to the answer of the *Westminster Gazette* to Mr. Mansell Moullin's letter on January 2nd:—

"DEAR SIR.—Why not be honest, and admit that your advocacy of the Referendum is based wholly and solely upon your dislike of Woman's Suffrage? The tide is rising fast. You will be swamped. Can you not find a better straw?"

The *Daily Chronicle*, January 4th, criticises the statement of the *Daily Telegraph* "that there is reason to believe that danger, if not defeat, awaits the Government in general, and the Prime Minister in particular, during the coming session on the question of Woman's Suffrage." "Such a statement," it says, "is, of course, nonsensical, because the Government, as a Government, is neutral." The Prime Minister, in his answers to the deputation, and Mrs. Fawcett in particular, made the matter "perfectly plain," and "it is obvious that neither danger nor defeat await the Government on the question."

The *Times*, avowedly hostile to Woman's Enfranchisement, published on January 2nd a most striking letter from a "Retired Administrator," containing a series of cogent reasons for recognising the necessity of women's influence in Imperial matters.

Contributions to the General Fund

£ s. d.
Already acknowledged since Nov. 1st, 1911 960 6 7

Received from December 30th, 1911, to January 6th, 1912:—

Subscriptions:—
Mrs. Charles T. Mitchell 1 0 0
Miss Evelyn Atkinson 5 0
Mrs. Lucy Hall 2 6
Miss Ashley 1 0

Donations—1912 Campaign:—
Mrs. Charles Thompson 5 0 0
Mrs. Tennant 10 0
The Misses Smith 5 0 0
Miss Honor Browne 2 6

Mrs. Henry Fawcett—1st of 6 monthly donations 20 0 0
Miss C. H. Stoehr—1st of 3 donations 20 0 0
Miss T. H. Harvey (Eastbourne)—part profits of entertainment 1 0 0

Miss C. Woolner, to send copy of COMMON CAUSE to library, Mansfield House Settlement 6 6
Miss K. S. O. Eustace Smith 20 0 0
Miss K. S. O. Eustace Smith (General Organisation) 10 0 0

Mid-Bucks W.S.S. 5 0 0

Affiliation Fees:—
Carlisle W.S.S. 1 13 0
Sowerby Bridge W.S.S. 6 3
Norwich W.S.S. (Additional) 4 9

Pembury, Matfield & Brenchley W.S.S. 10 0
Haslingden W.S.S. 5 0
King's Lynn W.S.S. 5 0

£ s. d.
Camberley W.S.S. 1 2 6
Llangollen W.S.S. 11 9
Altrincham W.S.S. 2 0 0
Ringwood W.S.S. 10 0
West Dorset W.S.S. 12 9
Mid-Bucks W.S.S. 1 4 0
By-Election Fund:—
Per Mrs. W. E. Dowson—14 Subscribers 4 0 0

£1,061 19 1

The Common Cause.

NOTICE.

Visitors to London are asked to make note of the fact that THE COMMON CAUSE can now be obtained on any of Willings' bookstalls, either on the Central London Tube, or on the City and South London Railway.

Federation Notes.

West Midland.
Miss Coyle, Secretary to the West Midland Federation, Warfield Cottage, Solihull, would be most grateful to receive the names of sympathisers in the districts of Leek and Kingswinford.

A NEW SOCIETY.
The Federation has formed a Society in REDDITCH during the last month, owing chiefly to the good work of Miss Coyle, Secretary to the West Mid. Federation.

"What the British public ought to know is that the Government of India, as such, while it has kept up for generations a splendidly organised and expensive medical service for men, has done almost nothing for the mothers and wives on whom the vitality of the people depends. Two-thirds of the women have been practically ignored by the State, and left to non-official agencies." A letter relating to Women's Suffrage in Finland should also reassure the Anti-Suffrage readers of the *Times* as to the justice of our demands.

Excellent articles have appeared in the *Christian Commonwealth*, January 3rd, and the *Nation*, December 30th. Those in the "Woman's Platform" of the *Standard*, by Mrs. Hamilton, Miss Constance Aston, and some foreign correspondents, should be specially noted.

EMILY M. LEAF.

Literature Department.

I have already called attention to Mr. Brailsford's admirable pamphlet on Women's Suffrage and the Reform Bill, reprinted by kind permission from *The Englishwomen*. If any members of the National Union have not studied the article either in *The Englishwomen* or in the National Union reprint, I do hope they will hasten to do so. Those of us who heard Mr. Brailsford at the Council know how lucidly he can explain Parliamentary matters. His pamphlet tells us in clear language what he thinks we may hope and expect from the present situation. Every suffragist should read it. From the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, price 1d.

Official writing paper similar to that used by the National Union office and with corners in the colours is now on sale in the Literature Department, and can be bought by the Societies. The price is 4s. 6d. per ream, subject to the usual discount for monthly payments.

I. B. O'MALLEY.

Treasurer's Notes.

We have over £100 again this week, but the first of Mrs. Fawcett's six monthly contributions is included, the promise of which I had already announced. There are, besides, a good many affiliation fees of societies; but as these are all due this month, we must not be too elated if the takings look larger than usual for the next week or two. However, our income from this source will be considerably enlarged this year if new societies come tumbling in at this rate—14 in a week and more since, with many more promised soon.

We thank Miss Stoehr for having followed Mrs. Fawcett's lead. Having given us £20 not long ago, she now sends us another £20, with a promise of a similar gift for two months more.

The subscription which I asked for to send COMMON CAUSE to Mansfield House Settlement has come in.

We have been invited to send a speaker to Ireland, and are sending our organiser, Miss Gill, very soon. Are there any Irish women—or men—who will help us with the cost?

Promises are still coming in for the collection at the Albert Hall on February 23rd, but I am obliged to ask for many more. The "widow's mite" will be very welcome, as well as the larger gifts of wealthier friends. Are not more men going to come forward? They are richer than we are and, almost of necessity, do less of the other work.

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

There are already 25 members, and the number are increasing rapidly. Deputations are being arranged in all the constituencies in the area. Mr. Wedgwood (Stoke) has promised to support amendments, including married women; also to vote against the Reform Bill if women are not included, and to support C.B. if the Reform Bill is carried without the inclusion of women.

COVENTRY.—On December 7th the annual meeting of this Branch took place at the Assembly Rooms when Miss Noel Wright gave a most interesting address, explaining the work and usefulness of the Federation. The officers and committee were re-elected and it was decided that, in addition to the honorary officers, a paid Secretary should be engaged for three days a week. By this means, Coventry hopes greatly to increase the efficiency of the Branch and to extend the work.

OLTON.—A drawing-room meeting was held on December 14th when an address was delivered by Mrs. Eric Carter on "The Feeble-Minded and their After Care." She pointed out the misery of those who are thus afflicted and the extreme danger they are to the race if allowed to become parents. She trusted the time would soon come when men and women together could use the power of the vote to bring in effective legislation on this subject.

SHROPSHIRE.—This Branch held a Common Cause week in Shrewsbury at the beginning of the month, the result of which was highly satisfactory; the number of local advertisers broke the record, and just over 500 copies were sold. On Saturday, December 2nd, several members sold in the streets and being market day it was a grand advertisement for our cause. Amongst the many willing helpers, Mrs. Shields took the palm both in hard work and successful selling.

On December 6th, at the Music Hall, a most successful demonstration took place; Mrs. Harley (President Local Branch) presided and the speakers were Mrs. Fawcett

London Society for Women's Suffrage, 58, Victoria St., S.W.

HOW WILL WOMEN GET THE VOTE IN 1912? —SPEECHES ON THE NATIONAL UNION POLICY

BY
MISS K. D. COURTNEY and MISS EDITH PALLISER, Hon. Secretaries, N.U.W.S.S., MISS CLEMENTINA BLACK, and others.
SMALL QUEEN'S HALL, Langham Place (Sole Lessees, Messrs. Chappell & Co., Ltd.).

TUESDAY, JANUARY 16th 8.30 p.m.

Admission Free. Discussion Invited.

(President N.U.W.S.S.), Mrs. Despard, and the Earl of Lytton. The proceedings began with the singing of "The Awakening" by a choir trained by Miss Kenwick. A crowded audience showed their appreciation of the opportunity of hearing such expert speakers and there was, throughout a spirit of enthusiasm and alertness which was most inspiring, and the presence of a certain number of "antis" gave just the touch of opposition which is always so helpful. An amendment, proposed and seconded by two anti-suffragists, opposing the suffrage resolution was put to the meeting and lost, after which the original resolution was put and passed by a good majority.

SOLIHULL.—The Branch has now completed the arrangements for the deputation to Mr. Newdegate, which will take place early in the New Year. The secretary reports that she keeps up the personal visiting of the rank and file of members, and is convinced how invaluable is this work. At a Primrose League meeting at Henley-in-Arden, Mr. Philip Foster, M.P., was requested to mention Women's Suffrage in his speech, which he did, and it was arranged for suffragists to attend the meeting to applaud the mention.

WARWICK AND LEAMINGTON.—On December 28th, the Branch, in conjunction with the C.U.W.F.A., formed a deputation to Mr. Pollock. Lady Willoughby de Broke was the principal speaker; the N.U. was represented by Mrs. A. Hill, Mrs. Dykes, and Miss Vellacott. The interview lasted two hours. Mr. Pollock expressed himself in favour of the Conciliation Bill, but for any further enfranchisement his attitude was entirely non-committal, and he emphatically refused to answer the usual questions laid down by the N.U.

WEST BROMWICH.—A monthly meeting was held by this Society, when Miss Abadam spoke and Mr. Fred Hughes presided. Work has also been going on in Wednesbury (next constituency), preliminary to a visit from Miss Morrison, Federation Organiser.

Surrey, Sussex and Hants. Mr. Benjamin Kidd, author of "Social Evolution," presiding at the first Women's Suffrage meeting at STREET, on November 30th, said that women would raise politics to a higher level than the business deal men had made of them. Miss Merrifield and Miss Chute Ellis spoke, and the Rector returned thanks to the speakers. The resolution was carried. The same day Mrs. Dempster proposed a resolution before a large audience at ROMSEY, calling on the Member for help in 1912. It was carried, 1 con.

Miss Palliser addressed the BRIGHTON AND HOVE Society, on December 9th, on "The Present Situation," evoking many questions. A good collection was taken. Miss Corbett gave a delightful lecture on "Women in Hungary," at Mrs. Stewart's at OXFORD on December 7th, five new members joined.

A meeting addressed by Mrs. Duncan Harris at Mrs. Howard Hayward's, PURLEY, resulted in the formation of a Branch there, Mrs. Shannon acting as temporary Hon. Secretary.

Mr. de Bérig, Professor of Philosophy, addressed Mrs. Earle's drawing-room meeting at REIGATE on December 13th, treating new aspects of Women's Suffrage in an interesting manner. Mrs. Peter Stephens presided, Mrs. Latham proposed the vote of thanks.

Miss F. de G. Merrifield spoke at HOLEY on December 15th, on the economic position of women, and Mrs. Duncan Harris followed her. Miss Crossfield presided, and the resolution supporting the Conciliation Bill or an amendment to the Reform Bill including women, and calling on the Member for help, was carried nem con. The meeting was very representative. A similar resolution was carried unanimously at the RENHILL monthly meeting on December 18th, proposed and seconded by the Rev. G. A. Colvin from Australia in the chair. Mr. Colvin said his residence in Australia before and after the granting of the Suffrage to the women there had shown him what use women would make of the vote, and he was in complete sympathy with the movement in this country. Miss Crossfield proposed the resolution, and Miss Churton, Secretary of the Rural Housing and Sanitation Association, seconded. Copies were sent to Mr. Asquith, Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Lloyd George and Col. Rawson, M.P. Miss Churton afterwards spoke on "Rural Housing and Sanitation."

A meeting and "at home" took place in the Assembly Rooms, WOKING, on December 15th. After tea Miss Corbett gave a spirited address, and Professor Urwick, from the chair, urged suffragists to press toward the goal in view. The large audience was deeply interested, including those usually indifferent. The resolution, claiming women's enfranchisement in 1912, was carried, 3 con., many not voting. Literature, Christmas cards, badges, sweets, etc., sold well.

Mrs. Corbett Ashby spoke at FARNBORO' on December 19th, Mrs. Hollings presiding. A resolution was passed favouring women's enfranchisement in 1912.

Miss I. O. Ford spoke on the industrial, and Lady Chace on the moral question at SHALFORD, when over £1 was collected. Local papers gave good reports.

At EASTBOURNE two performances were held of "After Many Days" and the "Twelve Pound Look." Miss Farnell and Miss Vignoles taking leading parts; songs completed the entertainment.

Manchester and District. OLDHAM.—Contributions to Oldham Society, December, 1911:—

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount (£ s. d.)

Mrs. Councillor Lees	10 0 0
Miss Marjory Lees	13 0 0
Mrs. J. W. Taylor's American Tea	3 5 6
Lady Emmott	1 0 0
Mrs. J. W. Taylor	1 0 0
Miss Dornaan	10 6

Scottish. The work of the Societies during December has been maintained with energy, and the accounts sent in, especially from the younger Societies, are so good, that the only regret is want of space here to fully report them.

The SHEZLAND Society's annual meeting took place in November, but the very interesting account given by the "Shetland Times" arrived too late for that month's report. The finances of the Society doubled during 1911; petitions from the County Council and a

Parish Council in favour of the Conciliation Bill had been secured; electors had questioned the Member publicly; the W.S. question had been kept before the public in the papers, and every effort maintained to emphasise the special need for the vote for women where the majority of male voters—being seamen—are seldom able to use their votes.

The ORCADIAN Society also secured a full account in the "Orkney Herald" of a successful social meeting on December 1st, announced in the paper, as a "red letter day." An excellent address was given by Mrs. Baikie; the annual report—showing the very active propaganda work carried on—was read by Mrs. Curstier; and after an enjoyable programme of music, recitations, etc., a hearty vote of thanks was moved by the Rev. Geo. Millar.

The PERER Society's month's work includes the very successful public meeting, held in the Synod Hall, November 23rd. The argument of the speaker—Lady Frances Balfour—was followed with the keenest attention, and specially appreciated by the men in the audience, and a resolution emphatically protesting against the exclusion of women from the Reform Bill, was passed.—Also a public meeting at Scene on the 30th November, at which the Reverend Millar Patrick, M.A., re-delivered—by request—his address on "Women's Suffrage from a Religious Point of View," and Mrs. Scott Murray spoke on National Union policy and aims. The monthly meeting was held on December 5th, an exposition of Women's Suffrage prospects, at present was given by Mr. Munro, followed by a discussion led by Mr. Saunders; an addition of 24 new members was announced, and a vote of thanks given on the motion of Mrs. Gray.

The GORROCK Society had an excellent meeting in the Gamble Institute on December 4th. An address from Lady Frances Balfour was received with enthusiasm, and a collection of £2 17s. 6d. was taken. On the 16th a Cake and Candy Sale was held; the generous contributions from members and friends were fully appreciated, though inclement weather diminished the attendance somewhat. The Society gains ground week by week, and the regular readers of the COMMON CAUSE are increasing.

The GREENOCK Society gave an "At Home" on December 4th at which about 80 ladies were present, of whom practically all, not already members, joined. Capital speeches were given by Mrs. Kerr, Mrs. Laurie, Mrs. Fortey, Mrs. Brown, Mrs. Beauchamp, and Mrs. Brodie, and a resolution carried which was forwarded to, and acknowledged by, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Collins, M.P. The Society has received an offer from Mr. Collins to receive a deputation on January 18th of which they intend to take full advantage, hoping to include many prominent Liberal men.

The KIRKCALDY Society arranged a Debate, held on December 5th, between Lady Frances Balfour, for the Women's Suffrage, and Mrs. Norris, for the opposing League, with Lady Helen Munro Ferguson in the chair. The debate was followed with enthusiastic interest by the large audience crowding the Beveridge Hall, and the Anti-Suffrage resolution was out-voted by a large majority—two-thirds of the assembly voting for the Suffrage amendment.

The LEVEN Society held their second meeting on December 8th, in St. Margaret's Hall—Mrs. Maenicol, vice-president, in the chair. Miss Beauchamp gave an excellent paper, much enjoyed; an addition was made to the membership, and a good collection taken.

The ST. ANDREW'S Society held their annual meeting on December 9th, in the Grand Hotel, at which Mrs. Stout read the report of the year's work. It contained a record of most satisfactory propaganda, resulting in a membership of 100, and the formation of a Society in Crail, while others, in Elie and Anstruther, are in formation. Mrs. Scott, Hon. Treasurer, presented a thoroughly satisfactory balance-sheet, and a stimulating address was given by Dr. E. Inglis, Mrs. Houston occupying the chair. A joint meeting of the Society and the Conservative and Unionist Women's Association was held on December 5th, addressed by Lady Betty Balfour, Lady Stormouth Darling, Miss Pearson and Miss Masson. An emphatic, protesting resolution was passed nem con., and sent to Major Anstruther Grey. A successful meeting was organised in Crail, at which Miss Kirby addressed an influential audience in the Town Hall.

The BRIDGE OF ALLAN AND STIRLINGSHIRE Society resolved, at a meeting on the 15th, to alter its title to the Stirlingshire Branch; after the business of the meeting was satisfactorily settled, a very helpful address from Miss Beauchamp was much enjoyed.

UXBRIDGE SOCIETY.—On Jan. 1st the annual Suffrage "At Home" was held. Mr. Masters, Miss Olive Masters, Miss K. Seymour and Mr. Charles Robinson rendered a pleasing programme of music. Miss Clarke was accompanist. A discussion on "Civilisation and Woman" followed. The speaker began by citing various features of so-called "savagery" life which survive in modern times, centring round unnecessary restrictions and taboos in favour of the male sex. After other contributions on the subject, "A Conversation in Hyde Park" was read (by request), and Dr. Ethel Smyth's march was excellently sung by Mr. and Mrs. Masters, Mrs. Blower, Mr. Cave and the Misses Cave.

The Women's Journal quotes from an amusing leader in the New York Post:—"Amazing as it may seem, the women of Los Angeles voted and the city still stands. We had been fully prepared by this time to learn that divine wrath had overwhelmed it. At least we expected to hear that the population had gone to bed dinnerless, the babies wailing, the husbands sullen and indignant because of the abandonment of homes by the enfranchised mothers. . . . Hence as journalists eager for sensations our disappointment will be readily imagined by any one who reads the news from California. Husbands and wives went placidly to the polls together, and many unattached women as well, waiting patiently in line for their turn to vote. The husbands were even chivalrous enough to hold the babies while the wives voted, moreover the grandmothers were there too, headed by the noblest of them all, Mrs. Caroline M. Severance, founder of the first Woman's Club in America, who had waited ninety-two years for this opportunity, and expressed herself as now willing to depart this earth in peace and content."

Reading Biscuit Workers.

(From a Correspondent.)

As an example of the powerlessness of women under the present industrial and political system, I should like to bring to the notice of your readers the position of women trade unionists at Messrs. Huntley and Palmers' factory at Reading. A fight for freedom is being waged by a few underpaid girls, and there is supreme need for organised and stronger bodies of women to throw in their weight on behalf of the weak. For many years the women in Reading have been trying to form a union, but without success, until last autumn, when a branch of the Federation of Women Workers was formed. Just before Christmas a large number of women were summarily dismissed from the works, and at the same time a statement was issued stating it would be impossible for the firm to continue employing workers of whose "loyalty" there was any doubt. Since a few demonstrations and protests have taken place the firm have changed ground, and now assert that incompetence was in most of the cases the cause of dismissal. As many of those dismissed had been employed in the factory from 25 to 40 years, and others from 12 to 14 years, it is curious, to say the least of it, that their incompetence should have been so long undiscovered, and that their discharge should have coincided with their joining the union. The following details will show the need for the foundation of a union. No woman gets more than 15s. a week, no women are employed after marriage, and most girls receive from 8s. to 10s. a week, unless "overtime" is very frequent. "Speeding up" has been introduced, with its accompanying increase in fatigue and strain on the health of the worker. Then there is a part of the factory called "Klondyke," because of its great heat and dryness; obviously a legitimate cause of complaint. The question is urgent, the fight is now proceeding, and help would be welcomed by the women in the union.

KENNETH D. SCOTT.

Reviews and Periodicals.

"THE ENGLISHWOMAN," January, 1912. (Sidgwick and Jackson, ls.)

The Englishwoman has been conspicuously successful in carrying out the task it set itself when it first started. As stated at the beginning of every number "it is inspired from the first page to the last by one continuous policy which is to further the enfranchisement of women," and at the same time it maintains such a high standard of general interest and literary merit that even those who are not suffragists can read it with pleasure. The current number is perhaps even more interesting than those that have gone before. It begins with a statement of the political situation from the suffrage point of view by Mrs. Fawcett which all members of the National Union ought to read. Mr. Chomeley's witty and sympathetic article on Day Schools and Boarding Schools has already called forth a leader in the "Manchester Guardian" and might well prove the starting-point of an illuminating discussion. Though Mr. Chomeley is all on the side of the parent and of home influence, his remarks will probably tell in favour of the schoolmaster with those who know that he is one himself. They show how possible it is to escape professional prejudice and convention! His moral attitude is refreshingly free from the sentimentality and cynicism which are Scylla and Charybdis to so many of those who write about boys' schools.

Foreign News.

United States.

The Lower House of the Californian Legislature has passed by unanimous vote a Bill making women eligible to all State offices. The Women's Journal in commenting on this says: "It might truthfully be said to women: 'Once gain the suffrage and all things else in the way of civic opportunities shall be added unto you.'"

An amendment to the Federal Constitution now being considered by Congress provides for the Election of U.S. Senators. Two Senators are to be elected by the people of each State and "the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature." A memorial has been sent to the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives by the Congressional Committee of the Kentucky Equal Rights association, pointing out that this amendment—if adopted as it now stands—would confer on women as well as men a legal right to vote for U.S. Senators in the six Suffrage States, but in no others. That the amendment can be altered in such a way as to confer on women a legal right to vote for U.S. Senators and yet leave these States in the exercise of the constitutional right to prescribe "male" as one of the qualifications for the electors of the most numerous branch of their State Legislatures. And it requests that this amendment should be so altered as to read "The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State elected for six years, by such of the people thereof as are 21 years old, of sound mind, and unconvicted by law of any crime." This memorial has already been adopted by several State Conventions.

Women in Industry

Readers of THE COMMON CAUSE desiring information as to the conditions under which women work, should read the columns of

THE LABOUR LEADER

in which Factory and Public Health Law is explained by an expert. . . .

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"WOMAN'S PLATFORM"

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2. Inducing the largest possible number of the general public—men and women—to do the same thing, thus extending the scope of its services to women.

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

"Women Worker's Budgets" are discussed in "Problems of the Day" and there are also articles on "Some Aspects of Female Criminality and its Treatment," "Should Orphanages be Abolished?" and "The Training of Women as Librarians." Among the purely literary contents Mrs. Brailford's study of the Wesley Women, well called "Waste," is perhaps the most interesting, but nearly all the contributions, both in prose and verse reach a



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high standard. The theatrical and book reviews are as usual particularly good. Altogether it would be difficult to find a more readable shillingsworth among current periodical literature than the Englishwoman for this month.

The current number of the CONSERVATIVE AND UNIONIST WOMEN'S FRANCHISE REVIEW has, amongst other articles, one on "The Political Outlook," by Lord Lytton, and one on "Woman's Supremacy in Her Own Sphere," by Lady Robert Cecil. It also contains a good many interesting items of news from different parts of the Empire and from foreign countries.

Published by C.U.W.F.A., 43, Dover Street, Price 2d.

We are glad to welcome the first number of a MONTHLY PAPER, published by the Church League for Women's Suffrage. It has a charming design by Miss Dorothy Grey on the front page, and its appearance is most attractive.

Published by C.L.W.S., 11, St. Mark's Crescent. Price 1d.

The CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH for January 3rd, opens with an interesting article on "The Position of Women as the New Year Dawns." The conclusion reached is that during 1911 the cause of women which is also man's cause, has made rapid progress and that still greater things may be expected in 1912.

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.

THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF MARRIED WOMEN. There is one point on which I should like Miss Rathbone's opinion re women and remuneration. Miss Rathbone states that there is a definitely understood principle that men receive more for their services than women because of their greater obligations.

Then why do women who invest money in this country receive precisely the same rate of interest as men do? Our Government itself, our corporations, our banks, our trading companies, give to the woman who lends her money exactly what they give to men.

Is a well-to-do woman's money any more valuable than a working woman's time and life and labour? If a working woman gives the same capital in her work as a man, should she not get her return equally, or would Miss Rathbone say that a woman's invested money should receive a smaller return than a man's?

Why is there a principle operating against an equal return for what we give if we are without money and give what is more valuable than money, and unthought-of if we have money?

Referring to Miss Rathbone's article in our last issue, A. J. Macgregor calls attention to the elucidation of the economic condition of women, given by Mrs. Stopes in her British Freewomen under the heading of the "Unrecorded Increment of Women's Labour" (p. 199, 4th Edition).

AMENDMENTS TO THE REFORM BILL. I am pleased to see you approve of a suggestion which I made to you recently—viz. that, to reduce the preponderance of female voters (if "Adult Suffrage" is passed), the vote should only be given to those women who apply to be put on the Register. Will you allow me to develop this idea?

Of course pure "justice" requires that we should have the vote on the same terms as men, but it would probably be impossible to carry such a measure, even if we were all in favour of it. It seems to me that not many objections can be urged against the "Voluntary Registration Qualification" for all women of the legal voting age; whatever that may be fixed for men. It need not be necessary for would-be voters to give their precise age, as that might operate to the prejudice of many wage-earners. It would be sufficient for a woman to declare herself "over 21," or "over 25," as the case might be.

It can hardly be said that women would have a very serious grievance in not being at once given the vote, when they could get it at once by registering. Moreover

our "Anti" friends would not be compelled to bear the "burden" which they so much dread—they could dismiss canvassers at once by simply saying, "Oh, but I have never registered."

MARY TERESA GORDON.

WOMEN AS ACCOUNTANTS.

May I call attention to your statement, in issue of January 4th, "Women are Still Prevented by Men from Becoming Chartered Accountants." "Chartered" in this instance is specific. There are four Associations of Accountants; that of the Chartered Accountants has precedence in date only. Women have absolute equality with men in the profession; but are admitted to it by Association only. The entrance was accomplished by Mrs. Arnes Parrie, of Craven House, Kingsway, between two and three years ago. I am away from home, so cannot refer to my authority for the name of association or exact date of admission.

MARY M. JACKSON.

DEGREES AT OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE.

In your Note headed "Honour and Modesty" you state that women are still excluded by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge from the titular degrees for which they have qualified. Ordinary and honorary degrees are conferred on men by these Universities; but as there are no titular degrees, women cannot be excluded from them. Your sentence, if you will permit me to say it, should have run: "Women are not permitted to graduate at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge even when they have complied with the University regulations as to period of residence and examinations qualifying for the degree of B.A." It is a great mistake to assume that a titular degree carrying no privileges is to be invented for women.

ANNIE A. M. ROGERS, Association for the Education of Women, Oxford.

A CORRECTION.

Kindly note that in my letter in COMMON CAUSE of December 28th, on "The Case of Miss Jessie Brown"—in the fourth line above my signature—the word "insolence" appears wrongly for "insolent." I cannot say whether it is my fault or not, but the expression I meant was "evasive insolence."

CHARLES B. MADON.

Forthcoming Meetings.

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- JANUARY 11. Norwich—Miss L. E. Sewell's drawing-room meeting—Miss Eva Ward. 4.15
JANUARY 12. Huddersfield—Mayor's Parlour—Deputation to Mr. Spennell—Miss Siddon, Mrs. Donkersley. 3.30
Norwich—Miss L. E. Sewell's drawing-room meeting—Miss Eva Ward. 3.30
JANUARY 15. Manchester—Milton Hall, Deansgate—Annual meeting—Mrs. F. T. Swanwick, M.A. 8.0
Birmingham—St. Mary's Hall, Beardwood—Rev. C. Hinschiff, Mrs. Osler (chair). 8.0
JANUARY 16. Wallasey—Central Liberal Club—Miss Rathbone Malton—Adult School—Miss I. O. Ford. 7.30
Newcastle-on-Tyne—27, Ridley Place—Suffrage Choir Practice. 8.0
Great Marlow—Danesfield—Drawing-room meeting—Mrs. Robie Uniacke, Cameron Grant, Esq., E. Hornby-Lewis, Esq. (chair). 3.0
Manchester—The Gaskell Hall, Longsight—Councillor Margaret Ashton, M.A., Miss Margaret Robertson, B.A. 8.0
Exeter—St. Hilda's Hall, York Road—Whist Drive and dance—Tickets 2s. 6d. 7.45
Oxford and Lymington—Miss Jacob Hood's—lecture, "Housekeeping as an Industry, an Art, and a Science"—Mrs. McKillop, M.A. 3.0
Luton—Mrs. Chalkey's drawing-room meeting—Mrs. Raekham. 3.0
JANUARY 17. Keswick—Battersby Lecture Hall—Miss C. E. Marshall, "The Economic Aspect of Women's Suffrage"—Miss Highton, "The Educational Uses of Women Suffrage"—Miss Sidney Knight (chair). 8.0
Bournemouth—Assembly Rooms, The Avenue—"At Home." 4.6
Birmingham—"Carnethy," Acock's Green—Mrs. Philpotts' drawing-room meeting—Mrs. Ring. 3.30
Bath—Post Office Chambers, Northgate Street—"Unjust Laws"—Miss Baretti. 5.0

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JANUARY 18. Leicester—Victoria Hall, Granby Street—Suffrage plays acted by local suffragists. Evening
Aole—Parish Room—Dr. Mary Bell, Miss E. Ward. 7.30

JANUARY 19. Maidenhead—Mrs. Oldersteary's drawing-room meeting—Miss K. D. Courtney, Mrs. Robie Uniacke (chair). 3.0

JANUARY 22. Eocles—St. Andrew's School, Monton—Miss Thirza Pottes, M.A. 8.0
Manchester—Co-operative Hall, Droylsden—Councillor Margaret Ashton, M.A., Miss Margaret Robertson, B.A. 8.0
Woburn Sands—Public Hall—Mrs. Rackham. 8.0
Farnham—The Institute, South Street—Special General Meeting, 4.30—Address by Mr. Wm. Mirrieles. 5.0

JANUARY 23. Norwich—Higher Grade School—Miss Hill's meeting for teachers—Miss Eva Ward. 5.0

Nuneaton—Congregational Lecture Hall—Mrs. Michael Sadler, Mrs. Annot Robinson (I.L.P.), W. E. Johnson, Esq., M.P. (chair). 8.0

JANUARY 24. Bath—Post Office Chambers, Northgate Street—Josephine Butler and her Work—Miss Tanner. 5.0

Bournemouth—Assembly Rooms, The Avenue—"At Home." 4.6
Portsmouth—St. Mary's School—Miss Hattvill. 4.0
Worthing—31, Warwick Street—Miss Bowen's "At Home"—"Poor-law Work"—Mrs. Whyte. 4.0

LONDON.

JANUARY 11. Highgate and East St. Pancras—Spear's Memorial Hall, Highgate Hill—Elizabeth Beesle Comedy Company in "The Rehearsal." 8.0

Claygate—The Church Schools—Meeting for women—Mrs. Longdon, Mrs. Beatey, Miss M. Martineau. 3.0

JANUARY 13. Upper Norwood—Grove Lodge—Miss Abadam, Miss Emily Green (chair). 3.0

JANUARY 15. Ealing—Miss Debaos' drawing-room meeting—Miss Watson. 3.15
Poplar—Wesleyan Chapel Lecture Hall—Woodstock Road—Mrs. Gimingham, M.A. 3.0

Camberwell—38, The Gardens, East Dulwich—Meeting for members—Miss Ruth Young. 7.30

JANUARY 16. Small Queen's Hall—London Society's Quarterly Conference—Miss Palliser, Miss Courtney, Miss Black. 8.30

JANUARY 17. Fulham—Mrs. Raikes Bromage's drawing-room meeting—Miss C. Corbett, B.A., Mr. Kennedy. 8.30
Sutton—Large Hall, Adult School—Mrs. Snowden. Evening.

JANUARY 18. West Southwark—166, Scovell Road—Junior Liberal Association—Miss Fielden and Miss G. Pott. 8.30
East Molesey—Conservative Hall—Meeting for working women. 3.0

JANUARY 19. Balham—Bell Commercial Hotel, Upper Tooting Road, S.W.—Miss Emily Hill, P.L.G., Miss Holborn (chair). 3.0

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JANUARY 24. South Kensington—Mrs. Brintow's drawing-room meeting. Afternoon

SCOTLAND.

JANUARY 19. Glasgow—Office, 202, Hope Street—"White Slave Traffic"—Mrs. Frim. 4.0

IRELAND.

JANUARY 11. Dublin—35, Molesworth Street—Irish Women Suffrage and Local Government Association—Committee meeting. 11.30
Clontarf, Co. Dublin—Town Hall—Young Men's Literary Society—Women Suffrage Meeting—Short address by members of the I.W.S.L.G.A. 8.0

MEETINGS ADDRESSED BY MEMBERS OF THE UNION.

JANUARY 11. Rugby—Debating Society—Mrs. Julian Osler. 8.0

JANUARY 12. Oldham—Lycum—Oldham District Teachers' Association—Miss Marjory Lees. 7.45

JANUARY 25. London—Marylebone W.L.A.—Mrs. Rackham. 8.0
Birmingham—Men's Liberal Association, Alston Street—Mrs. Osler. 8.0

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