

The Common Cause

THE ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF

Oct. 31st,
1912.

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Women's Suffrage

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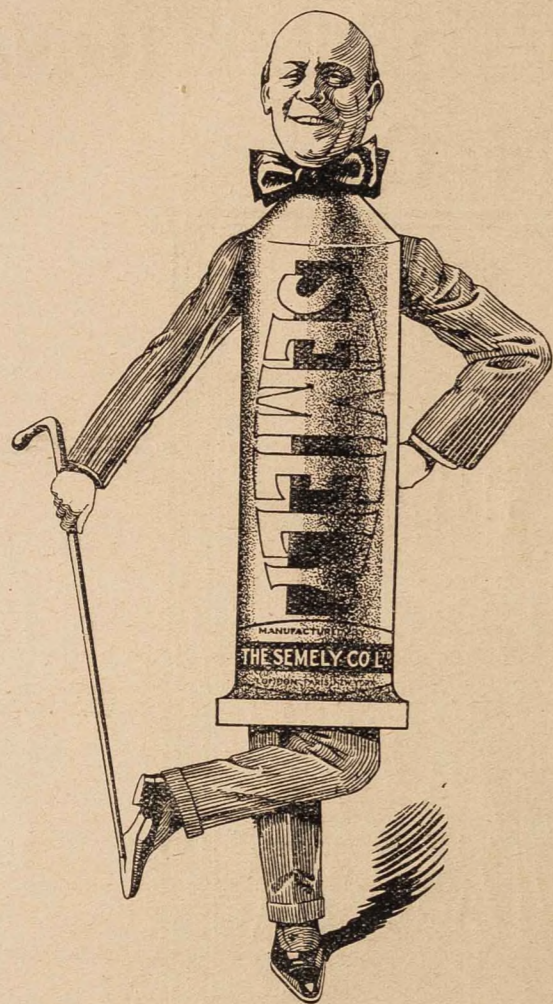
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Correspondents are Requested to Note that this paper goes to press on Tuesday. The latest news, notices and reports should, therefore, reach the Editor by first post on Monday. The Editor reminds correspondents, however, that the work is made much 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 is obtainable at newsagents and bookstalls by mid-day on Thursday. If people have any difficulty in getting it locally they should write to the Manager, The Common Cause, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C., giving the name and address of the newsagent or bookstall from which they wish to be supplied.

Notes and Comments.

The Men's International Alliance.

The Congress of the Men's International Alliance which has just been held in London is not only the event of the week. It is in a sense the most important event in the whole campaign for Women's Suffrage. From the outset the cause has not lacked chivalrous helpers among the other sex, but the organisation of an association of men with the sole purpose of doing justice to women marked a new and important stage in the campaign. A League of citizens, whose "guns are loaded," to use Mr. Zangwill's famous phrase, was a new and welcome departure, even when it was confined to one country. But when the movement spread, when leagues were formed in other countries, too, and when all these were federated last year into one international league, then success became certain. No longer was it possible to talk of a "sex war." Nor can we any longer be told that only a few extremists in our own country are clamouring for women's enfranchisement. The internationalism of the demand, and the fact that men are making it for women, must for ever explode two of the trite old arguments against it.

Insular London.

That London should have been chosen to welcome the first of these congresses seems right and fitting, since England formed the first Men's League, and gave a president to the Alliance. Yet during the course of the week some of us must have felt a little doubtful whether we really deserved this honour. When a speaker at the lunch at the International Franchise Club described London as one of the most provincial of cities most of us laughed, but few were inclined to contradict. Even Suffragists are frequently found quite unaware of the extent to which the movement has progressed in other countries. They scarcely suspect that in Denmark and Sweden the proportion of members of suffrage societies to population is far greater than in England, notwithstanding the immense variety of associations into which we are unfortunately always splitting up. As for the Press in general, it shows but little interest in the foreigners in our midst, who have come over to help at this most critical stage of our campaign. While some of the delegates come with commissions for articles from the leading papers in their country, we look in vain for a really helpful report of proceedings in one of our English dailies. No doubt they give "what the public wants." In spite of aeroplanes and foreign travel, and education, England is still insular, and perhaps none the worse for that. But there are some lessons to be learnt from internationalists after all.

The World-wide Movement.

Of all the many strong arguments in favour of Women's Suffrage, none surely is stronger than the fact that the movement is world-wide. When we read in Mrs. Chapman Catt's wonderful accounts of her travels, how the Chinese women helped in the Revolution, how their "Dare to die" clubs were transformed into Suffrage societies, because they understood, after a

successful war, that the next step was to take their share in the improvement of peaceful government, when we find that the women of the Portuguese Republic formed themselves into a society to ask for the vote, when we read in the monthly numbers of *Jus Suffragii* (as alas! too few of us do) of the progress of the movement in the twenty-four countries of the International Alliance, we feel that we are a part of the greatest movement of the modern world, that everywhere woman is at last finding utterance. The education which is falling to her lot is giving her at last that "gift of the lyre," the lack of which Euripides makes her deplore. It is because women have awakened everywhere that victory is certain. And we can afford to wait if need be, even though we see some late starter reach the goal before us. For, who knows whether she, too, may not have drawn her first inspiration from an English pen!

Delegates at the House of Commons.

Perhaps the most important event of the Congress is the reception by the Parliamentary Joint Campaign Committee in the House of Commons, when the delegates were to be entertained to tea in the Harcourt Room, and received afterwards in the Grand Committee Room of the House. When we remember that among the delegates is Mr. Beckmann, leader of the Liberal party in the Swedish Upper House, we realise that words spoken by him must have a different effect from those uttered by unfranchised Englishwomen.

The International Franchise Club.

It was a happy inspiration to hold the meetings of the Congress at the International Franchise Club, and to give all the delegates the privileges of membership for the time being. And it is of good augury for the future of the club, showing that it will be international in fact as well as in name. The opening of the new library, from which all club members may borrow books without payment, is another step in the right direction, if care is taken to include the best foreign as well as English books on each subject. More and more such a club should become a centre for international information as well as for social gatherings. Nothing seems to have struck our foreign guests more than the divisions in our Suffrage ranks. These we know are unhappily to some extent inevitable, but that is all the more reason why we should gladly welcome any opportunities for intercourse between men and women of any society and nation so long as they are agreed in the fundamental demand of "Votes for Women."

Women's Co-operative Guild and Women's Suffrage.

The Women's Co-operative Guild, which is probably the largest association of working women in the United Kingdom, consists principally of married women, and has for years held regular meetings at which all questions of public importance have been discussed. No one who has attended many such meetings can fail to have been struck by the political insight and judgment shown in these debates. That sense of emptiness and unreality which marks so many Parliamentary discussions is conspicuously absent; these women living close to the realities of family life and educated by the hopes and difficulties of the great co-operative movement, are citizens of whom any nation might be proud. The resolution recently passed unanimously by the Citizenship Sub-committee of the Guild is of great importance. It runs as follows:—

"On behalf of the Women's Co-operative Guild, this meeting of the Citizenship Sub-Committee reaffirms its demand for the inclusion of women in the Reform Bill, on terms of equality; welcomes the statement by Mr. MacDonald, M.P., that the Labour party is working hard to secure the Irish vote, and that the prospects of women's suffrage are brighter; but urges the Labour party and every suffrage member of the House at once to make it clear that they will vote against the third reading of the Reform Bill unless it includes women."

Marriage.

At St. Saviour's, Paddington, on Saturday, October 19th, Elspeth McClelland to A. W. Spencer.

Albert Hall Meeting on November 5th.

Never in the long history of the peaceful agitation for the enfranchisement of women has it been so important as it is now that a public meeting should be largely attended. Never has there been a moment when speeches on the question can have been more vitally interesting or the attention of the public in general so great. Even anti-Suffragists are showing a desire to attend and hear what the leaders of the Suffrage movement have to say. But members of the National Union must not relax their own efforts; and those who wish for good seats should lose no time in applying to Miss P. Strachey, London Society for Women's Suffrage, 58, Victoria Street, S.W. More literature sellers are needed.

Next Week.

Next week the COMMON CAUSE will be published on Friday instead of Thursday, in order that an account of the Albert Hall meeting on Tuesday night may be included.

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE



(By kind permission of the Artists' Suffrage League.)

ELECTION FIGHTING FUND.

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MRS. STANBURY.
MR. G. E. S. STRATFIELD.
MR. ISRAEL ZANOWILL.

Labour will not leave the Women Out!

Work in Rotherham.

Miss Margaret Robertson visited Rotherham last week to initiate a campaign there, in case Mr. Pease is opposed by a Labour candidate at the next election. She has left Mrs. Townley in charge of the organising work, in conjunction with Mrs. Earp, Hon. Sec. of the Rotherham W.S.S. A very successful public meeting was held in Rotherham on Thursday, October 24th. It was to have been an ordinary propaganda meeting, and Mrs. F. D. Acland was to be the speaker. She put off going, however, and at the request of the Rotherham W.S.S. it was turned into an E.F.F. meeting, and Mrs. Swanwick and Mrs. Annot Robinson were sent as speakers. The following resolution was passed with only one dissident, the support of the men being particularly cordial:—

"That this meeting deeply regrets the attitude of the Rt. Hon. J. A. Pease, M.P., towards the enfranchisement of women, and urgently calls upon him to press for the inclusion of women in the electorate for the subordinate Parliament of Ireland to be established by the Home Rule Bill; and further urges him, in deference to the wishes of his constituents, to refrain from voting against Sir Edward Grey's Amendment to the Government Franchise Bill, deleting the word "Male" from Clause 1, Section 1.

North-Eastern Federation.

Miss Robertson went on from Rotherham to the North-Eastern Federation, for meetings in Gateshead and Bishop Auckland, two of the constituencies in which E.F.F. work has been inaugurated. She has also been prospecting in other constituencies in that district. We hope to publish a report from her in this page next week.

"The Daily Citizen."

Very great disappointment is felt by the E.F.F. Committee and by our members throughout the country at the unsatisfactory attitude towards the W.S. movement of the new Labour paper from which so much was hoped. Its present tone, if persisted in, will seriously jeopardise the success of our work in support of Labour candidates. It has already had an appreciable effect on the contributions to our Fighting Fund. This matter is dealt with more fully in the Press Department Notes.

Some Liberal Opinions on the E.F.F. Policy.

The following articles on our new election policy have been sent to us by two well-known Liberal women:—

There is a feeling in some quarters that we stand to lose as much as we gain by the Fighting Fund policy. Some people feel that what we gain in support from the Labour party we shall lose from the other two parties, and that the loss is greater than the gain, in that the Labour party is the smallest and least influential of the three. Liberals especially feel that we are

incurring the hostility of a party a large majority of whose members have long been pledged to support the Suffrage cause—a party which by its size and position has the power to grant the enfranchisement of women if it chooses.

To these we have to prove our case: that we stand to gain and not lose by the new policy. It is important to remember that for us non-militants election policy is the means by which we hope to get the vote; it is our one weapon, and if it is to achieve its purpose it must be both strong and sharp. It is the education of public opinion in the country, the size of our membership, and the numbers of our "Friends," which make the weapon strong; how can we make it sharp? Our policy in the past was simply to wield our weapon on behalf of the candidate who was our best friend, and, up to a point, the policy was a success; it rapidly found favour with the people because it was simple and reasonable, and it had a good effect in arousing interest and support in the constituencies; but it does not appear ever to have had much power to alter the result of the election, and it certainly failed to arouse any strong feeling of gratitude or fear in friend or foe, while those who had received the support of the union did not invariably remember their pledges when they became Members of Parliament.

The weapon was not so very sharp—certainly not so sharp as its strength warranted. A new one was designed to make our help more effective by giving it to a candidate not only as an individual supporter, but also as a member of a party which has made women's suffrage part of its policy. It cannot be too often reiterated that it is this last fact alone which has caused the National Union to give their help to Labour candidates at by-elections. It is not from any inclination to support Labour as such; it is not from a desire to "punish" the other two parties, and especially the Liberals, because they have not put Women's Suffrage upon their programme; it is simply because we know that as a member of the Labour party it is much easier for a man to be a really effective supporter of Women's Suffrage in the House of Commons than as a Liberal or a Conservative. As a Labour member, a man is expected to support Women's Suffrage—to make sacrifices for it if need be—because it is part of the policy of the party to which he belongs. With the other parties, the party pull is exerted in the opposite direction, and it certainly does not improve a man's prospects in the party if he is a keen suffragist; sacrifices are proportionately harder to make. That some men have made them fills us with gratitude and has caused us to safeguard the new policy wherever possible, so that we may not, if it can be avoided, find ourselves in the unhappy position of fighting against a man who has laboured long and strenuously on our behalf. Such a position has been brought about more than once by the anti-government policy of the militant societies, and has struck everyone—the instructed and the man in the street—as unreasonable and short-sighted. But these exceptions having been made, it becomes increasingly clear in the light of the events of 1912 that it is Party influences and Party policies which count in

Parliament, and not the opinions of individual members, and it is mainly by the support or by the opposition of parties that we shall win or lose.

There can be little doubt that in a constituency in which the Election Fighting Fund policy has been successfully carried out and a Labour man returned to the House of Commons, much will have been gained. Our support of him testifies to the fact that he is a satisfactory Suffragist, and all that he does for suffrage will win him the approval of his Party leaders. More than that, he makes one more for a Party which alone takes an active part in the Suffrage Movement, and will be prepared to risk much that it holds of value for the sake of suffrage. This last fact was made clear by the consistent support which Labour members have given to the Conciliation Bill, though they never concealed the fact that the measure was not by any means what they would have desired or chosen. In contrast, however, to many Liberals, they were willing to put on one side the details of the particular Bill, and the effect that it might have in particular constituencies. They cared for the principle involved, which transcended all else and was of fundamental and world-wide value. This realisation of the importance of the principle as compared with the merits and defects of any particular measure is peculiar to the Labour Party; its significance cannot be over-estimated, and the want of it is the one thing which is likely to wreck our chances in the Reform Bill.

But it remains to notice one more point. Granted that the return of the Labour candidate to Parliament is a success for Suffrage, what about those cases—and they are far more numerous—in which the Labour candidate is not returned? By our hostility have we not destroyed all influence we might have had with the new Member, and will it not be good luck more than good guidance if he is not actually an anti-Suffragist? In such cases, though we have not secured an immediate success which will affect favourably the divisions in Parliament, it does not thereby follow that we have failed. We may have prepared the way for a success next time; we may have made ourselves felt as a power in the constituency; we may have consolidated the support and enthusiasm of the Labour Party both in Parliament and in the country; we may have made ourselves respected, and even feared, by our opponents. Above all, surely we Liberals, especially, can say that we have been true to our principles even though we have been compelled to work against our Party; we have fastened to our banner the most fundamental doctrines of the Liberal Party—the abolition of artificial barriers and restrictions, the enfranchisement of the people as individuals and as citizens. We must imagine that the Liberal Party only believes in the truth of these principles in cases where they have already been applied; our support, then, must be given to those who have the courage to apply them to-day and in the future.

C. D. RACKHAM.

Though for many years an ardent worker in the Liberal ranks, and an enthusiastic supporter of the Party, I, nevertheless,

The Religious Aspect of Women's Suffrage.

Many years ago, the Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies preached a sermon upon the subject of Martha and Mary, which might advantageously be printed nowadays (perhaps by the Church League for Women's Suffrage), and widely circulated. It pointed out how Mary, deserting her domestic occupations to sit and hear of the wider issues of life and religion, was praised for her choice. The preacher reminded his congregation that Christ was accustomed, in speaking, to touch upon all the problems and duties of human life, and that by His words to Martha He thus explicitly included these among the matters with which women ought to be concerned. She, confining herself to that "woman's sphere" to which her successors are so frequently directed, was warned that there existed a "better part" which is not to be taken from those who choose it. It is in the spirit of Mary that many modern women are entering into wider fields of service than family life alone affords. They see around them evils that must be checked, and public work that needs doing. They know that they possess education, intelligence and some leisure, and they desire to use these gifts in the service of their neighbours and of righteousness. They know that they have inherited conditions of civilisation which make life safer, happier and longer, and they feel the duty of repaying to the future the debt that they owe to the past. They dare not, if they feel the real religious impulse, bury the talent entrusted to them. To accept these good things passively, and make no attempt at

heartily welcome the new fighting policy of the National Union, and am glad to contribute to the special fund which is being raised for this purpose.

Before everything I am a Suffragist, and am prepared to sacrifice even party for the principle of equal representation, and the removal of sex disqualification, in the matter of the Parliamentary vote. Seeing that the present Government tramples under foot one of the fundamental principles of Liberalism, in denying to the women of the land the right to a voice in the making of the laws which they have to obey, and (so far as they are concerned) in governing without the consent of the governed, I hold it to be the duty of every Liberal woman, who is a true Suffragist, to throw the whole weight of her influence and energy for the time being into Suffrage work alone. And to make it clear to the present Government that the women will no longer submit to be fooled and betrayed by the Party.

True, we have many good friends at Westminster in the Liberal ranks, and some staunch friends in the Cabinet, but until we make clear our demand that the heads of the Government shall cease to "play the game" unfairly, I fear, it will be played. Nothing can so quickly or fully convince them that the Liberal women are in deadly earnest in this matter as to find that these are prepared to support a Labour candidate where possible, even at the risk of putting in a Conservative, in order to demonstrate their determination that this long-delayed measure of justice shall speedily become law. We are sometimes told that the Labour Party will, in its turn, betray us as the Liberal Party has done. My reply to that is: the Labour Party, in the matter of votes for women, has a splendid record, and it is on this that my trust in it for the future is placed.

One Suffrage Bill after another has come up before Parliament, and in every case the Labourites have given a practically solid vote for the women. Many of these Bills have been distinctly of the "limited" type, some even what is called "anti-democratic," but the Labour men, as a whole, have never wavered; they have supported them, by voice and vote, in the House of Commons; they have proved their sincerity and bonafides, and the women have not been slow to recognise this. What the Labour men in Parliament have done for us in the past, I believe they will do in the future; hence I cordially welcome the New Fighting Policy of the National Union, which, in the event (from the Suffrage standpoint) of a non-tried, or uncertain Liberal appearing as a candidate, will support and work for a member of that Party which has proved itself by deeds, and not merely by words, loyal to the women's cause in the House of Commons.

JANE E. STRICKLAND.

NINETEENTH LIST TO OCTOBER 25TH.

| | | | |
|---|-------------|---|--------|
| Already acknowledged... | £4,094 9 3 | Miss Alice Gates ... | 2 0 0 |
| Mrs. Willis ... | 15 0 0 | Keswick W.S.B. collected at meetings... | 2 12 0 |
| Mrs. James Todd (2nd Quarterly Donation)... | 0 13 0 | | |
| TOTAL ... | £4,114 14 3 | | |

sharing the civic burdens which they involve, is to be a mean and selfish person—a person of an ungrateful and irreligious spirit. In our own day and country, when legislation touches human lives at every point, when the aspiration of the best citizens is to make the law a protector of the weak, and a helper of the poor, when every voluntary association finds itself presently invoking the aid of the law, it seems strange that any woman can conceive it her duty to avoid the responsibility of full citizenship. For if the electors are responsible—as they are—for the continued existence of evils which fresh laws or the better administration of old ones might check; surely those non-electors are also responsible who sit down contented to have no voice in the matter. If any woman to whom the New Testament is a guide should read these lines, let her reflect upon the implications of the words: "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me." The prisoner, the sick, the starving, and the indigent are the charge, now, of the law; those citizens, therefore, who refuse to have a voice in the guidance of the law, are shirking the most direct means of fulfilling the duties indicated to them by the narrative to which these words belong.

An important meeting of the Cambridge Suffrage Society was held on Tuesday, October 22nd, expressly to set forth the religious and moral aspects of the question. The Dean of Worcester (Dr. Moore Ede), in a remarkable speech, called attention to the equal treatment of man and woman in the gospels. "Nowhere in the New Testament would they find one gospel for women and another for men. . . . Nowhere in any of His utterances did He express the common male opinion

that there was one code of morals for men and another for women." Mrs. Osler, at the same meeting, expressed "her deep conviction that the Women's Suffrage movement was the most Christian development of modern politics," and instanced the white slave traffic, with the horrible conditions of which men seemed unable—she would not allow herself to say unwilling—to grapple as one of the matters upon which the help of women's votes was needed. A meeting on the same subject is to be held in the Christian Institute, Glasgow, on the 11th of November. The chair will be taken by the Very Rev. P. M'Adam Ure. The speakers will be Dr. John Hunter, Miss Frances Stirling, Dr. Drummond, the Rev. Provost Deene, and the Rev. Norman M Lean.

Mr. Ernest Beckman, too, the leader of the Liberal Party in Sweden, speaking on Friday evening at Lady Brassey's, dwelt upon the waste of energy and organisation involved in the struggle merely to secure that tool of further work, the vote. He, a responsible Minister, anxious to carry out reforms, desired the moral weight of women's votes behind him, and sighed for the day when the power that is now being directed to the removal of a barrier will be set free for constructive effort.

And of what sort will that constructive effort be when it comes? Will women allow themselves merely to merge into existing parties, and to accept the catch words—often mere empty seed vessels from which the living part has long fallen away—of one or the other group? Or will they attempt to form a separate feminist party?

These are questions which none of us can answer. But one thing can be seen clearly beforehand by observers who have watched the political life of our country, and watched, also, the work of women in many sorts of voluntary associations. That is the difference between the spirit in which women pursue their activities, and the spirit which prevails in ordinary political life. The "game of politics" is to many men engaged in it a game, indeed, of elaborate rules, systems and conventions, practised with the earnestness that marks the modern Briton at his golf, and about as closely related to real life. Administration is always tending to crystallise into routine, officialdom and "red tape." To this sort of petrification women have been much less exposed. For one thing, small children are great impediments to routine; they cry, or catch measles, or have pains or cut teeth or fingers at all kinds of odd and awkward moments. Moreover, in their various "movements" women have been pursuing not personal careers, but specific aims upon which their hearts are set. Consequently, their thought has been alive and growing, and officialdom (which is a machinery used in place of thought) has had little chance of seizing them. Is it possible, for instance, to think of their Jane Addams and "red tape" in the same breath?

It is this spirit of reality, this sense of the thing to be done, of the living issues and human beings concerned which women may—and if they realise their mission—will bring into public life. It is precisely this spirit which is needed where, as in a complex and closely populated community must be the case, laws enter more and more into the organisation of people's daily existence. Unless consideration for each human individual's case comes to furnish, as it were, an elastic padding to the hard metallic framework, there will be points of cruel pressure and continual discontent. The humanising of politics is badly needed, and is never likely to come through men. If we can but retain in our success the qualities that have been shown in our struggle, we shall bring to the public life of our country the very gift that it most needs.

Why We are not "Militant."

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, in last week's "Votes for Women," writes an impassioned appeal to the "law-abiding suffragist" to join in "militancy"—an appeal which shows so total a misunderstanding of the "law-abiding" position as to be almost ludicrous, and at the same time almost pathetic. Here are her words:—

We do preach militancy—vigorous and sustained militancy—to all those women who have hitherto thought that the victory was to be won by constitutional methods alone. Surely they have awakened at last from their dream of conquest by trustful confidence. Even at the eleventh hour they can save the situation by determined action.

We call upon every single woman in the ranks of the Woman's Movement to come out and fight, to adopt the essence of the militant creed by ceasing to approach politicians as supplicants entreating favour, and by demanding as upstanding women an immediate Government measure of enfranchisement as their right. Let them give the Government clearly to understand that in default of payment of this long overdue debt, they

will assert and maintain their claim by active and persistent opposition and by methods that are unpleasant and harassing, and that they will not hesitate if necessary for the vindication of the fundamental principle of human liberty to use methods that are in open defiance of the law.

These are brave words, but what do they really signify? Apparently that Mrs. Lawrence believes legislators to be more easily and quickly affected by means of riots, window breaking, etc., than by the ordinary means of peaceful political propaganda. Well, that is where the adherents of the National Union differ from Mrs. Lawrence. We believe that in a country possessing liberty of the Press, and as much as ours does of the forms of representative government, the Parliamentary vote is likely to be much more quickly won by peaceful organisation, by capturing the Press, and by intervening in elections, not against, but on behalf of certain candidates, than by any conceivable form of violence. We do not suppose that ours is a very rapid way of approach, but we fail to see how that advocated by Mrs. Lawrence can ever approach at all. The link of cause and effect by which breaking the windows of electors or interrupting speakers whom they want to hear, induces these electors to vote for suffragist candidates to Parliament, or to evict an anti-suffrage Government escapes us; and some of us have for years studied the columns of the militant Press in vain for an explanation of the way in which the action taken could possibly produce the results foretold. It is not that, as some of our suffragette friends so obligingly assure us, we "only don't go so far" as they do; it is that we are not going their way at all, because they have never been able to convince us that it is the right one.

The example of the Irish party is pointed out; and we rub our eyes and wonder. For we have all seen the Irish party "militate" and obstruct for years on end without gaining their object, and have since seen them drop their obstructive methods, and carry on their political struggle in precisely the old orderly manner common to Parliamentary life. They have not yet attained their aim, but very few people maintain that they are not nearer to it now than they were in the days when Mr. O'Brien struggled in prison for recognition as a political offender, or on the morrow of the Phoenix Park murders.

Political results must be won by the use of votes, and women, until they have votes of their own, can only be served by those of men. The question for suffragists, therefore, is how to influence the votes of men, and especially of those men who are ministers, or who are powerful in the eyes of ministers. That it is possible effectively to frighten them into doing what we wish we do not believe. Therefore we go on, trusting very little in most Members of Parliament, but considerably in the inevitable evolution of society, and, more still, in the gradual education of public opinion. After all, no Parliament can go on in perpetuity which does not follow the clearly expressed opinion of the electorate.

Women and the Home Rule Bill.—II.

Suffragists are anxiously awaiting the result of the vote on Mr. Snowden's amendment to the Home Rule Bill on Monday, November 4th. Will the House of Commons, which has so often declared its belief in the enfranchisement of women, at last give effect to that belief by giving Irishwomen some share of representation in their own Irish Parliament? Or will members once again deny by their acts the principle they profess with their lips? The answer will depend greatly—if not wholly—on whether the amendment will have to face official Government opposition. If it does not, it ought to pass with a good majority. There are over 400 Suffragists in the House of Commons. Many who are afraid of giving votes to women for the Imperial Parliament (because of some demoralising effect they believe women would have on the army and navy) are quite willing to let them vote on all questions of Home and domestic politics, such as the Irish Parliament will have to deal with. We have got a number of promises of support from members who have opposed all former women's suffrage measures, but a good many promises are conditional on the question being left to a free vote of the House.

Will it be left to a free vote? At the time of writing this question has not yet been decided. Liberals tell us that the Government will not do anything contrary to the wishes of the Irish Nationalists. The large majority of Nationalists are Suffragists, but they say they cannot at this juncture do anything that would "embarrass the Government."

Now there is no reason at all why the inclusion of women in the electorate for the Irish Parliament should embarrass the Government, unless the Government stakes its fate on the Amendment by putting on the Government Whips against it. If this is done the vote will be taken not on the merits of the question, but on a purely party issue. If the Amendment is

defeated it will have been defeated by the hostile act of the Government.

Some supporters of the Government are anxiously assuring us that the employment of Government pressure to defeat this amendment must not be taken to imply any hostility to Women's Suffrage. It is not for us to decide what are the Government's motives, but we are bound to judge their action by its effects. A murderer is not acquitted because he assures his judges that he had no personal antipathy to his victim.

What will be the effect of defeating the Women's Suffrage Amendment to the Home Rule Bill?

A new disability will be imposed upon women of a very serious kind. A damaging precedent will have been created by the setting up of a new "representative" body which leaves women entirely unrepresented. In the event of similar Parliaments being established later on for England, Scotland and Wales, the Women's Suffrage battle will have to be fought over again on each separate occasion.

The argument that so far as practicable all matters of Irish government should be left to the Irish people to decide for themselves appeals convincingly to all Home Rulers—but to Suffragist Home Rulers "the people" does not mean the male voters only. Why should Irishwomen be excluded from all say in matters in which they will be quite as closely concerned as the men? Have they not borne their share in the long struggle for Home Rule? Have they not proved their loyalty and devotion over and over again? When Parnell was imprisoned was it not his sister, Anna Parnell, who formed the Irishwomen's Land League and saved the Nationalists' funds and kept the flag flying until Parnell was released?

It is beside the mark to tell us that it will be open to the Irish Parliament to enfranchise Irishwomen after three years. The doings of those first three years will have far-reaching effects, and it is vitally important that the first Irish Parliament should be representative of the whole Irish people, whose interests will be entrusted to its care.

Of course, if the inclusion of women in the Reform Bill were assured, there would be no need for us to concern ourselves about this separate measure for enfranchising the women of Ireland, because any amendment including women in the electorate for the Imperial Parliament would apply to the electorate for the Irish Parliament as well. It is the uncertainty about the fate of the Reform Bill amendments—or rather the certainty that if Mr. Redmond's present intention is persisted in they will be defeated—which makes it absolutely essential for us to press for this separate Irish measure now. A SUFFRAGIST HOME RULER.

Errata in last week's article on "Women and the Home Rule Bill":—Par. 1, l. 4-6: "The electors for the Irish Parliament shall be the same for the Imperial Parliament," should have been "The electors for the Irish Parliament shall be the same as for the Imperial Parliament." Par. 1, l. 15: "Discuss" should have been "dismiss." Last par.: The sentence marked with an asterisk should have been inserted in par. 3. "Parliamentary amendment" should have been "Party amendment."

The National Council of Women Workers

The COMMON CAUSE of October 10th contained a leading article headed "The One Thing Needful," which dealt with the annual meeting of the National Council of Women at Oxford. In the issue of the 17th appeared a letter from Miss Rose Graham, protesting against a statement in that article, and a reply to that letter by the writer of the article. We had hoped last week to insert—we did print—two other letters, and to deal with a statement by Mrs. Humphry Ward that appeared in the *Standard*, but pressure of space prevented our doing so. Here are the letters:—

I have just seen a letter in your last issue in which it is implied that Women's Suffrage was a forbidden topic at the Council and Conference of the Women Workers at Oxford. That this topic was obviously, even ludicrously, unacceptable to some of those in charge of the arrangements is, I should imagine, incontrovertible; but to state that it was forbidden at the business Council meeting is, in my opinion, incorrect.

On a motion to the effect that the Council should express its gratitude to the

Government for introducing the Feeble-Minded Bill. Mrs. Tanner, of the Women's Freedom League, proposed an amendment to omit the words referring to gratitude, and I being a delegate of the N.U.W.S.S., supported this amendment. Unfortunately I could not catch all that Mrs. Tanner said, but she made, I believe, a well-received speech in the Woman Suffrage sense. I also said that "as representing an unrepresented sex," it seemed to me that the Union would stultify itself if it were to express gratitude to the Government for legislating further upon the lives of women while denying to them the protection of representation. This also was well received, and Miss Hitchcock, Convener of the Education Section of the N.U.W.W., quickly interjected, "Yes, let us keep our gratitude for another occasion," proposed the substitution of the word "satisfaction." This was not perhaps a much happier choice, but the fact remains that "gratitude" disappeared like smoke before Suffragist opposition. It would indeed be a bold chairman who should, at an N.U.W.W. meeting rule out of order any reference to Woman Suffrage, considering that that Union has twice affirmed this principle by solemn resolution. It is common knowledge that the Union has, by a recent action placed itself in an amusingly untenable position, and is therefore nervous and ill at ease, but we Suffragists know that in the Union, as in the world outside, greater are the forces that are with us than those that are against us. History teaches us that a weak foe sometimes fears battle.

A. HELEN WARD.

Beaconsfield.

I was present at the recent conference of the N.U.W.W. at Oxford, and venture to differ from some of your other correspondents on this subject.

To begin with I was greatly impressed by the large number of Suffrage badges worn by delegates, most of which were the badges of our Union.

Then as regards the remarks made in an article about the absence of working women, certain practical considerations present themselves, such as the questions of leisure and money, but I do not think anyone can doubt that those who took part in the conference are women workers in a very real sense, and in touch with life in a very real way. It would be invidious to mention names in this connection, though many occur to one.

Then as regards the suppression of the question of Women's Suffrage. The subject was not on the Agenda, it is true, but naturally it was continually mentioned and always received hearty applause. Those who were dissatisfied at not obtaining a place on the Agenda for a Women's Suffrage resolution went to work in a constitutional way and rapidly secured signatures to enable them to have a Special Council called to discuss amendments to the Reform-Bill. A sudden shout of "Votes for Women" seemed inopportune in view of this movement for a Special Council. It was known that many otherwise sympathetic delegates would consider the interruption as a breach of good manners. It therefore received no support from those who wished to keep and not alienate support.

The debates of the N.U.W.W. were of burning interest to Suffragists, touching as they did on so many practical questions concerning women. It is very much gained when we can hear experts on "Women in India," "Women's Wages," "Infant life protection," "Juvenile Labour Exchanges," and other subjects too numerous to mention, and though I deeply regret that the one subject that touches all other subjects—Women's Suffrage—did not get a definite time for discussion, I look on the conference as educative in the deepest sense, and therefore the very best preparation for the conversion of those present to our cause.

I have not attempted to go fully into the reasons which prevented a Women's Suffrage resolution from getting a place on the Agenda, but it must be obvious that a topic of such urgent interest could hardly have been excluded had the Rules and Constitution of the N.U.W.W. been framed on practical lines. It is good news to learn that plans have been set on foot to prevent a recurrence of this situation in future.

ROSAMUND SMITH,

12, Eaton Place, S.W.

Mrs. Humphry Ward, in the *Standard* of October 19, writes, in answer to Sir William Chance, to admit that the suffrage resolution passed in 1909 by the National Council of Women, has not been rescinded. She adds:—

But there was a serious contest on the subject in 1910 within the National Union of Women Workers, which led to the summoning of a special council meeting in November of that year. The result of that meeting was in the nature of a compromise, which, like most compromises adopted from honourable motives, substantially met the justice of the case. The Union, which contains a majority of Suffragists, was not asked formally to rescind its resolution, but by a majority, including large numbers of Suffragists, it refused to take any further step which would have so committed it to Women Suffrage as to force the anti-Suffrage minority to resign.

This statement of Mrs. Humphry Ward's does substantially confirm what was said in the article, and repeated by its writer the next week. It means that this largest representative group of women has debarred itself from expressing at this vital moment the opinion to which it is already definitely committed, upon the most important of all the political questions that affect women. It becomes interesting to enquire whether the Anti-Suffrage League was affiliated before or after the passing of the resolution in 1909; and if the date was later, with what purpose that League joined itself into a Council the declared policy of which was diametrically opposed to its own.

By taking neither side upon such a question as Women's Suffrage at the moment when a Government Bill is imminent, the Council abdicates the claim which should be its to represent the interests of women. The peace that depends upon no party doing anything, is not very far removed from the peace of death, and it is earnestly to be hoped that at the special meeting (which we are glad to hear from Miss Graham has now been fixed for Wednesday, November 20th, from 10.30 to 1.30, in the small hall of the New Central Hall, Westminster), the Council will emerge from this state of suspended animation. Better oppose Women's Suffrage altogether than abstain from decided action on such a question.

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Discussion Invited. Tea.

Men's International Alliance for Women's Suffrage.

The first International Congress of Men in support of Women's Suffrage is now over, and it is possible to take a retrospect of its general character and results. It has a special interest for British suffragists in that the International Alliance of Men owes its inception to the British League, founded in 1907. In recognition of this fact the first president was appointed by the British League, namely Sir John Cockburn, K.C.M.G., who, as Premier of South Australia, passed a Women's Suffrage measure in that Colony as far back as 1903. Sir John thus occupies a unique position in our suffrage annals. He has taken a continuous interest in the proceedings of the Congress, and to his unflinching geniality has been due much of the success of the Congress.

The salient feature of the meetings has, of course, been their international character. It has been good for all of us to recognise that we are part of a great human movement, which is as wide as humanity itself, and as certain of success as the stars in their courses.

The second great feature is the importance which the delegates have attached to the action of Britain in this matter. It is not for us to accept all they have said, but, however small may be the truth which underlies it, it must be an incentive to us to work with redoubled ardour. Every great nation which takes a step in the right direction helps humanity as a whole. Surely the men who heard the speeches of Mr. Beckman (Sweden), M. du Breuil de St. Germain (France), Mr. Zsombor Szasz (Hungary), Frau Rosika Schwimmer (Hungary), Madame Martina Kramers (Holland), and others, will realise how much depends upon their determination and self-sacrifice in the interest of this great Cause.

Yet another point is the admirable success of the business meetings at which significant resolutions have been passed after eager and yet cautious discussion. A text of the most important is given below.

Lady Brassey's reception, on behalf of the National Union, was a delightful interlude in the sterner joys of meetings and banquets. Her own speech and the message from the Earl Brassey were much appreciated, and the speeches of Mrs. Fawcett, Mr. Beckman, Frau Schwimmer and Mr. du Breuil de St. Germain were admirable.

The visit to Oxford was unfortunately coincident with a steady downpour, and several members of the League's Executive were, moreover, detained in town by private affairs. None the less the day was highly successful, and Professor Margoliouth made a very significant reference to the probability that the embargo on women's degrees would soon be broken down.

The Hyde Park demonstration was a huge success. The weather, though dull, was warm and dry, and a big crowd assembled round the three lorries. The audience were immensely struck by the fluency of the delegates speaking in English. The resolution was carried almost unanimously at all the platforms.

"The First Congress of the Men's International Alliance for Woman Suffrage desires to call the attention of men of all nations to the serious economic effects upon their wages and security of employment arising from the steadily increasing employment of unorganised and unrepresented women, who necessarily accept a lower scale of remuneration for equal work. It points out that the granting of women's enfranchisement in twelve countries and States of Europe, the United States and Australasia, has been followed in almost every case by steps towards equalisation in the rates of remuneration of men and women in many professions and trades; and it regards the enfranchisement of women in other countries as vitally necessary in order to secure economic equality, and thus to check the displacement of men by women, which will inevitably continue if the latter are not given equal responsibility and power as citizens."

On Monday, October 28th, at 11 a.m., was the Reception of the Report of the Committee upon the Statutes of the International Alliance, followed by the election of the President and officers, and an address of welcome by Mr. G. Spiller, on behalf of the Union of Ethical Societies.

The resolutions carried were as follows:—

"That this Congress calls attention to the serious evils to the race consequent upon the white slave traffic and the social subordination of women, and considers that the enfranchisement of women is imperatively demanded in order to obtain rational and

just legislation and administration concerning these matters. It points out that in every country where Women's Suffrage has been passed the age of consent has been considerably raised, and the white slave traffic has been greatly reduced."

"The first Congress of the Men's International Alliance for Woman Suffrage notes with regret that an opinion exists in some quarters that the political and general emancipation of women is fraught with danger to motherhood and the quality of the race. As a proof to the contrary it calls attention to the fact that the general and infantile mortality in Australia, where women have long been enfranchised, has become the lowest in the world, and desires to record its conviction that the interests of race-improvement will best be served by granting to women the fullest opportunity of development."

"The first Congress of the Men's International Alliance desires to express its emphatic dissent from the frequently expressed opinion that the granting of Women's Suffrage would be a danger to national security and military strength. While believing that the influence of women in politics will be in the direction of assisting the peaceful settlement of international disputes, it points out that the Senate and House of Representatives of Australia have officially testified to the ability of women in matters of defence and imperial concern, and that New Zealand and Australia have been foremost in giving practical effect to the demand of women for naval and military efficiency as a means of national preservation."

"The first Congress of the Men's International Alliance for Women Suffrage sends most cordial greetings to the workers in the Women's Suffrage Cause in various countries, and expresses its earnest hope that their efforts will be crowned by early success."

Formal invitation to the Men's International Alliance to participate in the Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance at Budapest in 1913 were cordially extended by Frau Rosika Schwimmer on behalf of the Hungarian Feminist Verein and by Dr. Megyery de Megyer on behalf of the Hungarian Men's League for Women's Suffrage, and arrangements will be made for the representation of the Men's International Alliance at the Budapest Congress.

The Hon. Sir John Cockburn, K.C.M.G., was unanimously re-elected President of the Alliance.

In Parliament.

THE CASE OF MISS JESSIE BROWN.

The Secretary for Scotland was asked on the 22nd whether any action had been taken in adventures the Glasgow magistrates that a solatium should be paid to Miss Jessie Brown, who was wrongfully punished for solicitation on the evidence of two constables since found guilty of crimes. Mr. McKinnon Wood replied that he was in correspondence with the magistrates and awaiting their reply. The further history of this case should be watched.

A WIFE'S INCOME.

It appears from Mr. Masterman's answer to a question that the possession by a wife of an income of £26 per annum and upwards does not entitle her husband to a certificate of exemption under the Insurance Act. In other words, the wife's income is not regarded as her husband's, but as hers. This point should be remembered by speakers when mentioning the contrary attitude of the law towards the income of a wife when the question of tax arises.

MENTAL DEFICIENCY BILL.

There seems every prospect that this most dangerous measure will be allowed to pass into law. A good many amendments are proposed, but no amendment can be satisfactory which does not remove so much of the whole structure as to leave it not worth passing. A board of fifteen or fewer commissioners is proposed, of whom not more than twelve are to be paid, and four of whom are to be medical and four legal practitioners. At least one medical commissioner is to be a woman; and at least one of the paid, and one of the unpaid, commissioners is to be a woman.

Mr. McKenna proposes an amendment which would practically create an inner cabinet of the board, consisting of not more than four of the paid commissioners and the chairman, to execute such of the powers and duties of the board as are mentioned in the schedule.

Under the dominion of the board, which will have power permanently to detain and control them, are to pass various classes of persons, including those licenced under various police Acts, and (e) "who are prostitutes or females of known immoral character or who have twice or oftener given birth to an illegitimate child." Surely the ordinary public does not understand the

enormous infringements of liberty to which the door is being opened by such enactments as this.

Mr. Locker Lamson's amendment is even more wholesale in character, and would include all people "in whose cases such other circumstances exist as may be specified in regulations to be made by the board of control as being circumstances which make such persons injurious or dangerous to themselves or the com-

munity." This amendment would set up an undefined despotism of fifteen or less persons, a dozen of whom may be paid officials, who are to be allowed to define any circumstances whatever as making other persons injurious or dangerous to themselves or to the community, and to confine such persons for life.

We strongly recommend all our readers to study the admirable article upon this Bill which appeared in the "Nation" last week.

THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

Non-Party.

Non-Militant.

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.

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From Headquarters.

We have already been asked by some members of our more distant societies whether this office will be open on the evening of November 4th. We shall be very glad to make this arrangement, as no doubt many members will wish to be in Parliament Square to hear the result of the debate on Mr. Philip Snowden's Women's Suffrage amendment to the Home Rule Bill. The amendment will be backed by Mr. Dickinson, whose name is already well known throughout the Union. Our friends and supporters who intend to be in London on Tuesday, November 5th, will be interested to know that Mr. Dickinson will be the principal speaker at the Reception given by the London Society on that day at the Westminster Palace Hotel. Coming as it does the day after this important debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Dickinson's presence at the Reception will be of peculiar interest. The chair will be taken by Mrs. Swanwick, and Miss Cockle will also speak. Through the generosity of a London member, tea will be provided for those present.

The W.S.P.U. and the Labour Party.

It is difficult to conceive of any political move which could be more ill-timed than Mrs. Pankhurst's declaration of war on the Labour Party. The attitude of the Party is the same now as it was last January, and the political situation with regard to Women's Suffrage has not materially changed since the defeat of the Conciliation Bill in March. There is no conceivable reason for attacking the party now, which did not exist then; on the contrary, there is now a substantial reason for not doing so, seeing that last May the National Union resolved in certain circumstances to support the Labour candidate, and has successfully carried that policy into effect at recent by-elections. But Mrs. Pankhurst has chosen this moment to deliver an ultimatum to the Labour Party—they are to vote against the Government on every question until Women's Suffrage shall have been made a Government measure, or they are to be opposed by the W.S.P.U. It is obvious that members of the Labour Party could not accept this invitation without breaking faith with their constituents; and accordingly Mr. Henderson and Mr. Snowden, two of the staunchest supporters of Women's Suffrage in the House of Commons, are to be made the immediate object of attack. Happily nothing can move either of these men from the position he has taken up on the Women's Suffrage question; but from the National Union point of view, the unfortunate part of Mrs. Pankhurst's policy consists in the fact that if it is sufficiently well advertised it is likely to divert attention from the reasonable demands which suffragists make upon the Labour Party, and to alienate the support of the rank and file of Labour throughout the country, as well as that of those members of the Party in the House of Commons who are less determined in their support of Women's Suffrage.

The National Union looks to the Labour Party to support in turn every amendment to include women in the Reform Bill, further to secure the passage of an amendment by making

such terms with the Irish Party as will ensure their support. Lastly, in the event of the failure of any amendment, it would expect the Party to put into effect the resolution passed by the Conference, and vote against any extension of the Franchise. To men which was not accompanied by at least some measure of Women's Suffrage. These are reasonable demands which are in harmony with the principles of the Labour Party, and can be carried out without the violation of engagements into which members have entered with their constituents. At the same time, the N.U. is perfectly aware of certain reactionary elements in the Party, and nothing could be more mistaken than to represent it as inspired by "blind confidence" in its intentions. It cannot be too often repeated that the Union has formed no alliance with the Labour Party, but supports individual Labour candidates when they are themselves satis-



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factory on the Women's Suffrage question, and when they are not opposing candidates who have proved themselves active supporters of Women's Suffrage. For preparing the ground for a contest those constituencies are selected where the sitting member is a Liberal Anti-Suffragist. The policy has in fact two aspects: on the one hand it is pro-labour, and in this respect is based upon the honourable record of the Labour Party on the Women's Suffrage question. The enfranchisement of women is a definite part of the policy of the Party; it voted consistently for the Conciliation Bill, although that measure did not represent its own demands, and when the Government Reform Bill was announced, the Labour Party Conference resolved that "No Bill can be acceptable to the Labour and Socialist Movement which does not include women."

But the other aspect of the policy is at least of equal importance; it is designed not only to strengthen the hands of the only Suffrage Party in the House of Commons, but also to bring pressure to bear upon the two other sections of the Coalition—the Liberals, and more especially the Nationalists. If with the help of the N.U. the Labour Party are able successfully to contest by-elections, and to run Labour candidates in a number of constituencies now held by Liberals, the position will be a serious one both for the Liberals and for the Nationalists who have staked everything on this Government remaining in power its full time.

The Government defeats at Crewe and Midlothian were the direct results of the intervention of a Labour candidate, and dealt a serious blow at the prestige of the Liberal Party; a few more such events would inevitably shorten its life. Is it not possible to conceive that in these circumstances the Nationalists might consider that the interests of Home Rule demanded the passage of a Women's Suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill? And may we suggest to those who advocate an anti-government policy that the defeat of the Liberal candidate at Crewe and Midlothian, and the fear of other such defeats bring more pressure to bear upon the Government than that which Mrs. Pankhurst hopes to exert through an attack upon the Labour Party? From this point of view, the support of Labour candidates in three-cornered contests is indeed the anti-government policy carried out in the only effective way.

It is impossible to discuss the attitude of Suffrage Societies towards the Labour Party without some mention of the recent letters which have appeared in the *Daily Citizen*. It is much to be regretted that Mr. Macdonald should have concerned himself mainly with destructive criticism of the policy announced by Mrs. Pankhurst, but his statement that he intends to stand by the Women's Labour League is important, seeing that the League has adopted precisely the same attitude to the Franchise Bill as the N.U.W.S.S. In an interview with a representative of the *Morning Post*, a member of the Women's Labour League thus described the attitude of her Society, "Of course we want to see all women enfranchised, but at the worst, we shall put up with the very unsatisfactory extension of the franchise provided for in the Conciliation Bill—at any rate, we shall look to see at least one of the three amendments dealing with the enfranchisement of women which are down for discussion incorporated in the Bill. But if, when it comes up for its third reading, none of these amendments is included, then we shall expect the Labour Party to vote against it." This is in effect the policy of the N.U., and it is a matter for satisfaction that it should have been adopted by the Women's Labour League and so cordially supported by Mr. Macdonald.

Press Department.

October 28th, 1912.

The Men's League Handbook appears this week, and should be obtained at once by members, especially by Press secretaries. Its valuable articles, including those by Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., the Earl of Lytton, Mr. Henderson, M.P., Mr. Philip Snowden, Mr. P. W. Wilson, and others, deal with the current topics of the Suffrage movement.

Mrs. Fawcett's article summarises the latest development of the policy of the National Union. Mr. Snowden writes on the amendment to the Home Rule Bill, the subject of immediate interest. Those who are interested in the economic aspect of Women's Suffrage will welcome the information tabulated by Dr. Drysdale, which shows the relation between wages and prices, the relative numbers of men and women employed in certain trades, and the number of women per thousand workers in others. Mr. P. W. Wilson's article will appeal to Suffragists most strongly on the side of its timely warnings to the Liberal Government, and to the Nationalists. In regard to the latter, he says:

"But let us suppose that they are moved by the plea of 'Home Rule first, and the rest nowhere.' Do they seriously imagine that the perplexities which admittedly surround Women's Suffrage will be dispelled by keeping the issue open? One sees ahead a long vista of three-cornered by-elections, with Labour financed by the Suffragists, of disorder which will prevent a proper presentation of the Ministerial case, of splitting Liberal organisations in the constituencies, and of a growing disgust on the part of the public, which will say, within a very few weeks of the adverse division, 'Parliament may not have been to blame in the past over this matter, but Parliament is now responsible, because the House of Commons deliberately threw away a perfectly reasonable opportunity of meeting the women's grievances.'" And nothing is more certain than that if the Irish vote, cast sincerely, has entered into the blunder, English opinion, fanned by Conservative controversialists, will be too ready to draw a moral most unfavourable to the popularity of Home Rule during the coming two years."

In relation to the Women's Social and Political Union, he says, "Their importance has been greatly exaggerated. They are a mere handful, and not the wisest handful in the movement. To refuse the vote on their account, is to pander to their self-importance, and to ignore the orderly and reasonable substance of the real Woman's Movement."

An interesting article by Mr. Brailsford in the November number of the *Englishwoman*, compares the Parliamentary position of Women's Suffrage with that of the emancipation of the Nonconformists and the Catholics in 1828 and 1829, "when a great and even revolutionary constitutional change was carried out under a divided Ministry by a loose and non-party majority."

The article in the *Labour Leader* on October 24th should also be noted, and the letter from Miss K. D. Courtney appearing in the *Manchester Guardian* on October 24th.

The *Daily Citizen*, the new Labour paper, owing possibly to the fact that its organisation is incomplete, has so far evoked much criticism from Suffragists, and response from them cannot be expected till news is more adequately given, and the activity of the Constitutional bodies is better represented.

PARLIAMENTARY.

All our attention during the last two weeks has been devoted to the organising of support for Mr. Snowden's amendment to the Home Rule Bill, including Irishwomen in the electorate for the Irish Parliament. (See articles in last week's, this week's, and next week's COMMON CAUSE.)

A Parliamentary Sub-Committee is now in working order, and meets at the N.U. offices at 3.30 on Mondays. Its members are:—The hon. officers of the N.U., Mrs. Swanwick, Miss Macmillan, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, *Miss Philippa Strachey, *Miss

M. J. Henderson, *Miss L. Henderson, *Mrs. Ronald Garrett (formerly Miss Kate Robertson), *Miss E. Deakin.

C. E. MARSHALL
(Acting Hon. Parl. Sec. during
Miss Palliser's absence.)

*Co-opted by N.U. Executive.

Literature Department.

WOMEN WHO PAY TAXES.

We have an excellent new leaflet this week, "Taxes and Votes," by Miss L. C. Jones. It is an answer to an Anti-Suffrage one, and should be very useful.

[B.85, "Taxes and Votes," 6d. per 100, 4s. 6d. per 1,000.]

WOMEN AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Now that the local government elections are coming on, we earnestly hope that members will distribute our two excellent leaflets, "Women in Local Government," and "Is This Equality," as widely as possible. They each cost 1s. 4d. per 100, 12s. 6d. per 1,000.

ALBERT HALL MEETING.

We hope to have three new pamphlets and a new picture poster ready in time for the Albert Hall meeting on November 5th.

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT.

May I call attention to the marriage announcement on another page, which specially concerns this department? We should find it hard to rejoice if it meant that Mrs. Spencer were giving up work at the National Union; but this is not the case. She is already back in the office, and will continue her valuable services, so there is no alloy in our pleasure.

NOTICE.

Miss O'Malley would be very glad indeed to hear from any members of the National Union who would be willing to sell literature or COMMON CAUSES at the Albert Hall, and who have not yet volunteered. It is necessary for sellers to be in the Hall as soon after 6.15 as possible. There will be three new pamphlets by the speakers at the meeting on sale, so it is important to have plenty of sellers.

I. B. O'MALLEY.

Friends of Women's Suffrage.

Friends of Women's Suffrage work is being done in Malvern, Tewkesbury, and East Boldre. Reports have been received from a large number of societies working the scheme. An abstract will be published later.

Contributions to the General Fund.

Already acknowledged since Nov., 1911..... £7,714 6 11

Received from October 19th to 25th, 1912:—

| | |
|---|------------|
| Subscriptions:— | |
| Mrs. Reid | 1 0 0 |
| Mrs. Laycock | 1 1 0 |
| Mrs. Carl Hentschel | 5 0 0 |
| Miss Iva Holden | 4 12 0 |
| Miss A. M. Partridge | 2 6 0 |
| Miss Maisie Radford | 6 0 0 |
| Mrs. Chas. H. Fisher | 2 6 0 |
| Miss Winifred Cowan | 10 6 0 |
| Mr. A. Allan Bone | 1 0 0 |
| Miss Margaret O'Shea | 1 10 0 |
| Miss Nora O'Shea | 1 10 0 |
| Miss C. M. Gordon | 2 6 0 |
| Mrs. Auerbach | 25 0 0 |
| Donations:— | |
| Mrs. Partridge | 2 6 0 |
| Miss Milton (6th donation) | 2 6 0 |
| Affiliation Fees | 2 6 0 |
| Blackhill and Consett W.S.S. entrance fee | 2 6 0 |
| | <hr/> |
| | £7,745 6 5 |

LIST OF AMOUNTS COLLECTED FROM THE WEST MIDLAND FEDERATION.

| | |
|----------------------------------|--------------|
| Annual Report. | |
| Birmingham | 4665 0 0 |
| Coventry | 28 4 2 |
| Kidderminster and District | 4 12 0 |
| Lichfield | 1 6 0 |
| Malvern | 2 16 2 |
| Nuneaton | 6 1 11 |
| Olton | 13 11 5 |
| Oswestry | 1 15 0 |
| Piddiachi | 2 8 9 |
| Parby | 76 0 0 |
| Shrewsbury | 56 10 8 |
| Sitchall and District | 86 18 3 |
| Stafford | 6 3 5 |
| Sturrock and Leamington | 28 7 0 |
| West Bromwich | 51 10 9 |
| Wellington (Shropshire) | 5 16 7 |
| Wolverhampton | 15 10 0 |
| Worcester | 24 5 6 |
| West Midland Federation | 310 15 10 |
| Total | <hr/> |
| | £1,387 13 11 |

London Society.

The first of the new series of receptions at the Westminster Palace Hotel on October 19th proved a great success. The rooms were crowded and the speeches were of exceptional interest. When Mrs. Fawcett rose to speak the audience stood up and greeted her with loud and prolonged applause. Her speech dealt largely with the political situation. She informed her hearers that she had written to the Government Whip, Mr. Illingworth, to remind him of the Prime Minister's pledge and to request from him an explanation of an ambiguous phrase he had used in a recent letter which had appeared in the Press. (Mrs. Fawcett's letter and Mr. Illingworth's reply appear in full in the *Manchester Guardian* of October 19th.) She also paid a warm tribute to our friends in the Labour Party, and explained for the benefit of the many strangers present the reasons for which the non-party N.U.W.S.S. was affording support in three-cornered contests specially to Labour candidates, who were personally satisfactory on the Woman Suffrage question. She pointed out the supreme importance of the fact that such men had the whole-hearted support of their party behind them, that party being the only one which has, up to the present, made Women's Suffrage a definite part of the party programme. Such being the case, suffragists must give this measure of support to that party who have made their cause its own, as a tariff reformer who cared supremely for tariff reform would support the Conservatives so long as they promoted the cause he had at heart, and a Home Ruler would for the same reason be found backing a Liberal candidate if the Government had declared for Home Rule. In reference to her own personal attitude, Mrs. Fawcett, declaring herself in regard to parties as such, apart from their attitude towards the causes she had at heart, illustrated her position by a story about the French young lady and her fiancé, which delighted the audience: "I do not love him—I do not hate him—he is to me as that football." Mrs. Fawcett's closing words were such as to inspire courage and hope, for in beautiful language she reminded us that the bad must die away and the good alone will live and continue.

Hotel, which took place on October 22nd, was, if possible, more crowded than the first, large numbers of extra chairs having to be requisitioned. Miss Maude Royden, in the chair, made a series of delightful little "speechlets," and a concluding speech, Mr. P. Whitwell Wilson (P. W. W., of the *Daily News*), speaking frankly as a Liberal, showed in a singularly able and closely reasoned speech that if the Liberal Government shirked its responsibilities its "embarrassments" will increase and not decrease. Mrs. Swanwick, at her brilliant best, showed the urgency of "all hands" concentrating at this moment on Mr. Snowden's amendment to the Home Rule Bill. The kind hospitality of the anonymous hostess was warmly appreciated by a large number of members and friends at the tea interval.

CHINGFORD.—On October 8th, at the Spicer Memorial Hall on November 5th a Woman's Suffrage debate, arranged at the request of the local W.L.B. between Mrs. Stanbury, London Society of the N.U.W.S.S., and Miss Mabel Lintin, of the N.L. for Opposing Women's Suffrage, resulted in the resolution for Women's Suffrage being carried by 33 to 8.

CLERKENWELL.—On October 23rd Miss Royden addressed a meeting of the Woodcarvers' and Furniture Makers' Trades Union at the Grey Gate, City Road. Her closely-reasoned argument and strong appeal was listened to with profound attention by the forty-two men present, who showed their entire agreement with her in the discussion that followed. Several excellent speeches were made by members of the Trade Union, one especially dealing with the Anti-Suffrage argument that woman's only sphere was the home carried conviction in every word. The resolution was carried unanimously and with great enthusiasm, and it was afterwards resolved that it should be sent to the Albert Hall on November 5th as part of a letter of sympathy signed by all the men present at the meeting.

WEST LONDON RECEPTIONS.—The second of the series of Tuesday Public Receptions at the Westminster Palace

for other local Parliaments. Miss Royden gave a stirring and interesting speech to the members, explaining the amendments to the Reform Bill and emphasising the need in women for courage to do the right, since the Suffrage Movement was "up against" all the corrupt interests of the country. Objections that were raised in discussion were admirably refuted by Royden in her replies. Eighteen COMMON CAUSES were sold and two new members joined. The three local papers, *Stoke Newington Recorder*, *North London Guardian*, and the *Hackney and Kingland Gazette*, all inserted good reports of the meeting.

ISLINGTON.—The final part of the series of debates arranged by this Branch was held on November 18th at Unity Church, Upper Street. Miss Janet Thomson opened and Mrs. Southgate (Anti-Suffrage League) opposed. The resolution, which was carried by an overwhelming majority, was "That it is desirable to grant the Parliamentary vote to women; and this meeting calls upon the Government to include women in their proposed Franchise Bill." A pleasant feature of the debate was the presence of men electors of South and East Islington, who took part in the questions, and it was decided to send copies of the resolution to the members for S. and E. Islington. The promoters of the debate feel much encouraged by such a large and enthusiastic audience on a wet night. Several new "Friends of Suffrage" were made and COMMON CAUSES sold.

ISLINGTON, SOUTH.—A meeting, under the auspices of the B.W.P.A., was held on October 24th at the Islington Chapel Schoolroom. A strong resolution on the "White Slave Traffic" was passed on the motion of Mrs. Milne (member of the London Suffrage Society) and the meeting was then addressed on the subject of the Franchise by Mrs. Ford Smith, who put her arguments in a most racy and convincing form. Several members of the Islington Branch of the London Society also spoke.

ISLINGTON, WEST.—Miss Hill, from the London Society, addressed a meeting of the Women's Liberal Association, at 314, Caledonian Road, on Monday, 7th inst. Several members of the L.S. Society spoke. Mrs. Richard, Miss Bisset-Smith, and Mrs. Labrum, and the meeting was unanimous in determination to do all possible to secure Suffrage on law-abiding lines. Thanks were expressed to the London Society for the excellent speakers supplied for the open-air meetings in July last. NORTH LAMBERT.—On October 15th, at Holy Trinity Vicarage, Carlisle Street, a very thoughtful little gathering, presided over by the Rev. A. O. Hayes, M.A., was addressed by Miss M. Goddard. Some literature was sold and several present promised help, also Friends of Suffrage were made.

WEST NEWINGTON.—On September 19th an open-air meeting was held at the corner of Penton Place. Speakers: Mrs. Stanbury, Dr. Drisdale, and Mr. Lewis Phillips. SIX Friends of Women's Suffrage were made, a large number of questions asked, and literature and COMMON CAUSES distributed and sold.

On October 7th an open-air meeting was held at the corner of Trinity Street. Speakers: Miss H. D. Cooke and Mr. Walter Hogg. Several Friends of Women's Suffrage were made.

WEST SOUTHWARK.—Open-air meetings were held on September 16th and 23rd October 10th and 14th. Among the speakers were Miss Rinder, Mr. F. N. Sargeant, Miss Walshe, Miss H. Robinson, Dr. C. V. Drysdale, Miss Corbett, Miss Fielden, Miss Agnes Dawson and Miss Steehr. COMMON CAUSES were sold and literature was distributed at all the meetings.

On October 8th, at the Webster Street Mission, Mrs. Rogers addressed a large audience of women, chiefly on the White Slave trade, and was listened to most attentively.

TOTTENHAM.—On Tuesday, October 14th, the local Women's Co-operative Guild were addressed, by request, by Mrs. Rawlings, of the London Society. There was a good attendance, and questions were asked and much interest evinced. The women present seemed all in favour of Suffrage, and a good many "Friends" cards were signed and leaflets distributed.

WALWORTH.—On October 3rd an open-air meeting was held at the corner of Liverpool Street. Speakers: Miss Eimer and Mr. Simpson. Friends of Suffrage were made and literature distributed.

Federation Notes.

West Midland
FORMATION OF NEW SOCIETY AT BRIDGNORTH.—On Oct. 24th, after a most successful drawing-room meeting held at Oldbury Grange, Bridgnorth, by kind permission of Mrs. Bacon, at which Miss Frances Stirling spoke and the chair was taken by Mrs. Harley—the newly joined members formed themselves without delay into a society—officers and committee were elected—and they hope to have their first committee meeting on the 31st, when they will send up their application to be affiliated to the National Union, and will federate to the West Midland Federation. The energy and zeal displayed was

OATINE SOAP FREE.

In these days many of the blemishes and disfigurements of the complexion are simply the result of using bad soap, which has a most injurious effect upon the skin, robbing it of its natural oil, and leaving it dry and rough. Good soaps leave the skin clear and soft, particularly Oatine Soap, which possesses healing and cleansing properties unprovided by any other soap. If there are any readers of this paper who have not tried it, and would like to do so, the Proprietors will send a 3d. tablet free to all sending 3d. in 1d. stamps for the Oatine Sample Outfit, which contains a sample of Oatine Cream, Snow, Salve, Face Powder, Tooth Powder, Shaving Powder, together with a full size 2d. Shampoo Powder, also the free 3d. Tablet of Oatine Soap. Applications for this should be addressed to the Oatine Co., 282D, Oatine Buildings, Borough, London, S.E. (Advt.)

beyond all praise, and one feels assured that this new society will grow to great importance. It was a touching proof of the hostess' love for the cause, that although suffering from acute illness, she would not allow the meeting to be put off.

Eastern Counties.

CAMBRIDGE.—A crowded and enthusiastic meeting was held in the Guildhall on October 22nd to consider the religious and moral aspects of women's social service and to urge the inclusion of women in the Reform Bill. The platform was large and industrial, and included representatives from many societies in the Eastern Counties Federation.

The Master of Selwyn College presided, and the speakers were the Very Rev. the Dean of Worcester, Mrs. Osier, Rev. E. H. Strachan, Professor Senes Woodhead and Mrs. Rackham.

The chairman said he supported the cause of Women's Suffrage mainly because it was so obviously right and just, in that we claimed to be a self-governing community, having as one of our fundamental principles no taxation without representation. He dismissed the physical force argument on the ground that right, not might, was the basis of civilised government.

The Dean of Worcester showed how the question of Women's Enfranchisement was essentially a religious question, and had the sanction of Christ as well as of St. Paul. He said that the time was now ripe for the State to put into action the Christian teaching of the equality of men and women, in that under Adult Suffrage personality was to be made the basis of the vote—and woman was as much as man a spiritual entity—a person.

He showed further how all the most needed social reforms could be hastened and effectively carried out only with the help of the woman's vote.

Mrs. Osier claimed that the Women's Suffrage question was the most Christianised development of modern politics, for beneath the claim lay the command of Christ: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." She dealt boldly and most effectively with the White Slave Traffic, by comparing the "God has spoken to women wisdom" of John Knox with the "natural and irreparable political ignorance of women" of Mrs. Humphry Ward.

The Rev. R. H. Strachan spoke of the "moral and irreparable political ignorance of women" of Mrs. Humphry Ward, and urged "women" to be the moral sentinels of society, but without the vote they went to their work crippled and handicapped.

Mrs. Rackham, who was given the enthusiastic reception she always receives from a Cambridge audience, urged all her hearers to come forward and help this great movement, which all must feel could never be seriously checked, while delay was grievous, in that it meant so much waste of power and inevitable bitterness.

Votes of thanks were moved and seconded by Professor Bethune Baker and Mrs. T. Clay, and the audience showed their appreciation by passing, almost unanimously, a resolution demanding inclusion of women in the Reform Bill and by giving ten guineas in the collection.

South Western.

PLYMOUTH.—The autumn work will take the form of a series of ward meetings, addressed by local speakers. One of these has been held, and they will continue at intervals of about a fortnight. To provide funds for this work, and to clear the society of debt, a bazaar will be held in December, for which working parties are being held about once a week. Another effort to relieve our chronic state of debt is a Suffrage Calendar in the colours with suitable quotations. It may be had post free for 6d. from Miss Slater, 107, Tavistock Road, Plymouth.

TRURO.—Miss Walford, N.U. Organiser, after overcoming many difficulties, has been successful in starting a branch at Truro. A drawing-room meeting was held, when Miss Walford and Dr. Ramsay spoke on the White Slave Traffic and 23 new members joined, nearly doubling the membership.

Manchester and District.

ACCRIINGTON.—On Wednesday, October 16th, the annual meeting was held. Miss Williamson Lee occupied the chair, and Miss Mary Robertson addressed the meeting. Miss Robertson spoke of the necessity of putting the Suffrage question before all others at the present time. On Thursday, October 17th, an open-air meeting was held in the Covered Market. This meeting was well attended. Mrs. Hurrell took the chair and the meeting was addressed by Mrs. Muter Wilson, of Didsbury. On Saturday, October 19th, under the auspices of the Antley Wesley Guild, a Suffrage debate was held. Miss F. Hoare spoke for the Suffrage, and Mr. Gilbert Sprake spoke against it. The resolution was carried by a very large majority.

ALTRINCHAM.—On October 7th, Mrs. Alfred Haworth presided over the annual business meeting of the Altrincham Society at the Downs Lecture Room, Bowdon. The satisfactory report of the work done by the society during the preceding year included the formation of a new society at Bramhall, as the State Society has also affiliated itself to the N.U. There are now three N.U. societies in the Altrincham division.

The society accepted, with very great regret, the resignations of Mrs. Alfred Haworth, chairman, and Miss Arnold, hon. secretary.

Miss Darlington moved the resolution that this meeting calls upon the members for this division to vote against the third reading of the Reform Bill unless women are included. The resolution was carried unanimously.

On hearing that Mr. Kebby Fletcher, M.P. for the division, was in the neighbourhood, the committee asked if he would be willing to receive a deputation. This he refused to do.

ALBERT HALL, Manchester, at which Mrs. Fawcett, Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., Mr. Lawrence Houseman and others spoke. The hall was packed, and the resolution was passed with only two dissentients. A number of open-air meetings at which Mrs. Wilson, Mrs. Annot Robinson, Mr. Stanton Barnes, Mrs. Norbury and others spoke, were held before the demonstration in different parts of the town to advertise the meeting in the Albert Hall, and proved most successful.

A drawing-room meeting was held at Mrs. Hillers, Oakholme, Alexandra Park, on October 1st, to arouse local interest in the Friends of Women's Suffrage scheme. Miss Eleanor Rathbone, of Liverpool, who was the speaker, gave a most interesting address. A local Friends of Women's Suffrage secretary was appointed, and several members promised to become visitors.

The weekly meetings of the Suffrage Clubs, which are held on Monday evenings at the York Street Temperance Hall, Hulme, and at Oldfield Hall, Salford, are being well attended and much local interest is being aroused. About forty new members have joined during the last month. The speakers who have kindly helped this month are Mrs. Muter Wilson, Mrs. Annot Robinson, Mrs. Gordon, and Mr. Crane.

Excellent propaganda is being done in the Didsbury district by the new committee who have undertaken the local organisation. Mrs. Warwick, Mrs. Williams and Mrs. Thomson are working hard to make the monthly meetings, which are being arranged, successful.

OLDHAM.—Oldham had its first Suffrage procession on Saturday, October 5th. By permission of the Parks Committee we assembled on the spare ground near Alexandra Park. The president (Miss Lees) and the honorary secretaries headed the procession, which was led by a band. The members of the society with their beautiful new banner and Mrs. Councillor Lees in her carriage with Miss Margaret Robertson, B.A., came forward by the following sections—Women's Liberal Association, Workers' Educational Association, Women's Labour League, women's guilds, nurses, graduates, men's section and motor section. The day was beautiful and fine and the many banners and the robes of the graduates added to the attractiveness of the march, which was watched by many people as the procession passed through the principal streets. A large crowd joined in the mass meeting at Wendish Park, which was opened to the public for the occasion. Miss Lees presided at the first platform, and was supported by Mrs. Fletcher (chairman, Board of Guardian). Mr. J. R. Clynnes, M.P., and Councillors Middleton and Buckley, Dr. Olive Clayton had charge of platform 2, and other speakers were Mrs. Jagger, Mr. W. Barton, M.P., Rev. A. J. Viner and Mr. Councillor Low. Mrs. Lees presided at platform 3 and the speakers were Miss Margaret Robertson, B.A., Rev. G. S. Okburn and Mr. H. Morgan. A letter was read from Mr. Bartley-Dennis, M.P., regretting his absence on account of illness.

He showed further how all the most needed social reforms could be hastened and effectively carried out only with the help of the woman's vote.

Mrs. Osier claimed that the Women's Suffrage question was the most Christianised development of modern politics, for beneath the claim lay the command of Christ: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." She dealt boldly and most effectively with the White Slave Traffic, by comparing the "God has spoken to women wisdom" of John Knox with the "natural and irreparable political ignorance of women" of Mrs. Humphry Ward.

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Mrs. Rackham, who was given the enthusiastic reception she always receives from a Cambridge audience, urged all her hearers to come forward and help this great movement, which all must feel could never be seriously checked, while delay was grievous, in that it meant so much waste of power and inevitable bitterness.

Votes of thanks were moved and seconded by Professor Bethune Baker and Mrs. T. Clay, and the audience showed their appreciation by passing, almost unanimously, a resolution demanding inclusion of women in the Reform Bill and by giving ten guineas in the collection.

South Wales and Monmouthshire.

SOUTH WALES.—Our work during the last week has been particularly fruitful; many new members have joined our Society, and a good deal of literature has been sold. Miss Fraser has addressed six meetings during the week—Briton Ferry, Swansea, Chepstow, Bargoed, Penygraig, and Farmers. At our meeting in Bargoed on Thursday there were about 900 people. They gave us a most hearty welcome, and the meeting was characterised by a feeling of good cheer. Any semblance to a joke was greeted with roars of laughter. This was the first Women's Suffrage meeting they had had in the place. Ladies from the town very kindly helped to sell literature and COMMON CAUSES. After the meeting 23 members joined. The following night Miss Fraser and Mrs. Jameson Williams addressed a meeting at Penygraig; nine new members joined and a good deal of literature was sold. Our meeting on Saturday was composed of a different type of audience. It took place at Farmers, a small village right amongst the hills, the nearest station being eight miles away. In spite of a very stormy night the schoolroom was full. Miss Fraser spoke in English and I made a few remarks in Welsh. Twenty-seven COMMON CAUSES were sold, also badges, and 23 new members joined.

B. DAVIES, Assist. Organiser.

Miss B. Davies is organising meetings in the Federation to be addressed by Miss Helen Fraser, who is here for six weeks. The meetings have been extremely successful, and those yet to be held should prove equally good. It is hoped to form several new societies in the area. Press notices have been good. Nothing but the strongest disapproval of the treatment of Suffragists at Llanystumdwy has been expressed both by the Suffragists and anti-Suffragists. Resolutions have been carried at every meeting and ten dozen COMMON CAUSES have been sold in a week.

PONTYPRIDD.—Two very large open-air meetings (of over 500 men and women) were held on October 3rd and 4th. The crowds were very interested and carried resolutions in both cases unanimously.

PENYGRAIG I.L.P.—Miss Helen Fraser addressed a meeting of Branch members in Library, Penygraig, on October 8th, and after her forcible and telling speech she also addressed the branch meeting and seconded Mr. George Lansbury's resolution, which was carried unanimously.

TEORCHY.—An open-air meeting was held in Square on October 7th, at which Miss Fraser and Miss Davies spoke to a large crowd—resolution again carried unanimously.

YSTRAD.—Miss Helen Fraser and Mrs. E. T. Davies spoke at an open-air meeting here on October 10th. Both Miss Fraser and Mrs. Davies's speeches were listened to with the greatest attention and sympathy and resolution carried.

NEWPORT.—A crowded public debate on the question of Women's Suffrage was held by the Y.M.C.A. at their hall, Newport (Mon.) on Wednesday, October 9th. Miss Helen Fraser speaking for the branch moved and seconded Mr. George Lansbury's resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The Manchester Society has been very busy during the past month with the arrangements for the National Union Council Meeting which was held in Manchester at the Midland Hall on October 9th and 10th. On the evening of the 9th, a reception was given by the Manchester members to the delegates and was well attended. On October 10th a large public meeting was held in the



NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES. GREAT ORIENTAL BAZAAR AND FETE, EMPRESS ROOMS, KENSINGTON, W.

Opening with an ORIENTAL COSTUME BALL, Thursday, December 5th.
Inclusive Tickets—ONE GUINEA, including Ball, Supper, and admission each day.
(Six inclusive Tickets 45 15s. 6d.)
Full particulars, tickets, and suggestions as to costumes, to be obtained from Miss Norah Gildea, London Society for Women's Suffrage, 58, Victoria St., S.W.

THE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE CLUB

Announces that premises have been secured in York Street, St. James, and will be ready for Members' early in November. The date of opening will be officially announced.

Subscriptions £1 ls. and no entrance. Only a further 75 Founder Members can be enrolled.

Further particulars, Secretary, 3, York Street, St. James. Letters only.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE

REGULAR PUBLIC MEETINGS AT CAXTON HALL, WESTMINSTER, Every Wednesday Afternoon.

Speakers, November 6th: MR. G. E. O'DELL. MRS. NEVINSON.

The Chair will be taken promptly at 3.30 by MISS ANNA MUNRO.

MENTAL AND SPIRITUAL HEALING.

Mrs. MARY SEATON is forming CLASSES at The Higher Thought Centre, 10, Cheshion Gardens, W. (Two minutes from KENSINGTON Underground) in SELF-HEALING—Healing others and How to gain Complete Self-Mastery.

Commencing Tuesday, October 15th. Course of Seven Sessions, 1 Guinea. Same course, private pupils, 5 Guineas. Patients treated and Consultations given from 11 to 1 daily. 5s. each.

LECTURES every WEDNESDAY in November, at 3 p.m., at 10, Cheshion Gardens, Kensington, W. Admission free, voluntary collection. (Will give Lectures in Clubs or Private Drawing-Rooms by arrangement.)

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE. THE CHANCE OF A LIFETIME!

COME TO THE INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE FAIR

TO BE HELD AT THE CHELSEA TOWN HALL, KING'S ROAD, On Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, November 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th, 1912.

From 3 p.m. to 10 p.m. Doors open at 2.45 To Buy your CHRISTMAS PRESENTS. A Unique Choice from Articles sent by Comrades all the World Over.

Come! Without Fail! Come!! National Dances, Folk Songs, Theatrical Performances, Action Songs, Baker's Oven, Prize Competitions, etc.

WAYS BY WHICH YOU CAN HELP THE INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE FAIR.

SUGGEST Unique side-shows and competitions. S. AND GIVE Articles for sale, specially foreign ones. Sweets, time, money, information to perfect the "International" idea.

TICKETS 2s., 1s. and 6d. To be had from the WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE, Robert Street, W.C. and from the Branch Secretaries.

THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. Monthly Paper, 1d.

CONTENTS OF OCTOBER NUMBER: Women's Vote and National Temperance; Miss BERTHA MASON, Sex Dominion and Genesis; Rev. G. H. DAVIS, Great Women of History; Miss EMILY C. GROWSE, Leading Articles: The Honour of the Flag; A Gilbertian Situation.

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H. B. Samuels, of the National League for Opposing Women's Suffrage, was her opponent. Miss Fraser's speeches were extremely interesting and impressive, and completely carried the audience away, so much so that, on the vote being taken at the end of debate, the motion was carried with over 200 for and about six dissentients. Several new members were gained for society.

TONYPANDY.—A very large open-air meeting of between 600 and 700 people was held in the Square here on Friday, October 11th, Miss Helen Fraser and Miss Bessie Davies speaking. The crowd was intensely interested and carried resolution, with one dissentient, after some questions. Every COMMON CAUSE bought was sold out, and more could have been sold, and seventeen Friends of Women's Suffrage were gained. The Friends of W.S. in Rhondda Valley now number about 100.

CAREFF has held a Reception to meet Mrs. Lees, the ex-Mayor of Oldham. At this meeting 30 new members were obtained. On the 31st of this month Mrs. Mackirdy (Olive Christian Malvern) will give a lecture, and a public meeting on the "White Slave Traffic," is being arranged by our Society. Later we shall have meetings, to be addressed by Miss Helen Fraser, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Miss Townsend, and Mrs. George Morgan. In December we shall have a "Sale of Christmas Gifts" to raise funds.

N. and E. Ridings.

Apologies are due to this Federation for the insertion of the notice of the deputation to Viscount Helmsley under Sussex, Surrey and Hants in last week's issue.

East Midland.

DEPUTATION TO COL. RATCLIFF, M.P.—A deputation representing the Burton W.S.S. waited upon Col. Ratcliff, M.P. for the Burton Division, to elicit his opinions with regard to the new Reform Bill. Col. Ratcliff declined to bind himself to any definite procedure with regard to the inclusion of a Women's Franchise amendment in the Bill, but stated that his own support of the principle of votes for qualified women remained unchanged and unaffected by the campaign of violence carried on by the militant section, which, nevertheless, had alienated many friends, and had largely increased the difficulties of those who were working for the Suffrage.

NEW SOCIETY AT ILKESTON.—The nucleus of the new Society was formed at a meeting over which Mrs. Cowmeadow presided on July 2nd, after most successful propaganda work at the by-election. Mrs. Walters was elected President, and Miss Oliver Hon. Treasurer. By the end of September the Society promised enough members to allow of its affiliation to the N.U.W.S.S., besides a considerable number of "Friends of Women's Suffrage."

A public meeting was held on October 21st, at which the speakers were Miss C. Corbett, B.A., Miss Margaret Robertson, B.A., and Mrs. Cowmeadow. In spite of very bad

weather, there was a representative attendance and a full platform. The Editor of the local Liberal paper took the chair, and made a most sympathetic speech. He was supported by Liberal, Conservative and Labour Town Councillors and by ministers of various denominations. The vote of thanks was proposed by Wm. Smith, Esq., and seconded by a local vicar. A good collection was taken, nine new members joined, including the chairman, and 31 COMMON CAUSES were sold. The resolution was passed that it was the best Women's Suffrage meeting he had attended in Ilkeston, because it included supporters belonging to all parties and denominations. This general support is due to Mrs. Cowmeadow's wisdom and hard work. The Society hopes to bring sufficiently strong influence to bear on Col. Seely to secure that he does not vote against the Suffrage amendments to the Reform Bill. Meanwhile, there is still much spade work to be done here.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FEDERATION.—The annual meeting of the Federation was held at the Office of the Nottingham Society on October 14th. The report of the Hon. Sec. showed a very satisfactory year's work, the numbers of societies having increased from six to sixteen. The Treasurer's report showed a balance of £18 from total receipts of £156, but this result is not so satisfactory as it sounds, as the sum raised within the Federation would have been totally inadequate if it had not been supplemented by large grants from the N. U. for work in new ground.

Mrs. Manners was re-elected Chairman, and Miss A. M. Dowson was re-elected Hon. Sec. Miss Sloane resigned the Press Secretaryship, but was re-elected COMMON CAUSE correspondent. The Rev. W. C. Roberts and Mrs. Roberts of Crick Rectory, Rugby, were elected Joint Press Secretaries. Mrs. Roberts was re-elected Treasurer. Mrs. W. E. Dowson was elected representative of the Federation on the Organisation Committee of the National Union.

Miss Elwood (Leicester) gave an interesting report of the meeting of Press Secretaries held at Manchester on the occasion of the N. U. Council meeting.

Plans of work for the autumn and winter were discussed and detailed arrangements were made for the Bazaar and fetes which is to be held at Nottingham on November 29th and 30th. NOTTINGHAM.—The weekly "At Home" at the office of the Society have been resumed from September 23rd. Papers and addresses have been given by Miss Quare, Miss Farrow, Miss Goldberg and Miss Caldwell. These evenings have now been turned into working parties for the Bazaar, and an animated discussion was continued over an excellent tea kindly provided by Mrs. Sansom. "Friends of Women's Suffrage" cards were passed round, and all sixteen signed. The guests seemed disappointed to hear that this did not make them full members, and finally eight of the sixteen joined the Nottingham Branch and paid the 1s. subscription on the spot.

A successful "At Home" was held in the Mechanics' Lecture Hall on September 24th, the Hon. Mrs. Handford in the chair. Miss Cicely Corbett gave an address on the present political situation. Dr. Blandy proposed a resolution calling upon the local M.P.'s to support Mr. Philip Snowden's amendment to the Home Rule Bill. This was carried unanimously. A second resolution was passed, urging the retention of the original clauses of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. The proposer and seconder of this were Mrs. Morton and Dr. Sarah Gray. Tea was provided

by the kindness of many of our members, and a good collection was taken.

BURTON-ON-TRENT.—On Wednesday, October 23rd, an important meeting was held at the Town Hall. The Deputy Mayor, Councillor Jenkins, occupied the chair, and the principal speakers were the Earl of Lytton, Miss Cicely Corbett, B.A., and the Rev. M. Rosenthal. The speeches were listened to with interest and enthusiasm, and the resolution, calling upon the Government to incorporate Women's Suffrage in the new Reform Bill, was carried with only one dissentient. The other speakers, moving votes of thanks, etc., were Councillor Hutchinson, Mr. S. Redfern, Mr. Ferdinand Forster and Mr. Percy Mellor.

PETERBOROUGH.—(Cutting from Peterborough Express October 23rd).—At a meeting of the Peterborough Branch of the Independent Labour Party held at the Bedford Cafe on Sunday, October 20th, the following resolution was passed:—"The Peterborough Branch of the I.L.P., being determined that the political enfranchisement of the women workers shall be granted without delay, condemns the Government for introducing a Franchise Bill for men only, repudiates the sham pledges by which the Government are trying to trick the advocates of votes for women, protests against the Government which is guilty of such a policy being kept in power by the aid of Labour votes, and finally calls upon the Labour Members of Parliament to vote accordingly until they have either driven them from office or compelled them to introduce and carry a proposal giving votes to women on equal terms with men."

A meeting was held in the Rectory Club Room on Monday, October 7th, at which Mrs. A. H. Green, late Sec. of the Rugby W.S.S., gave a very interesting account of the history of the Suffrage movement. A general discussion followed, and a vote of thanks to Mrs. Green was carried with great heartiness.

KETERING.—A members' meeting was held on September 23rd, at which Miss Courtney very ably and clearly stated the reasons for the new development of the election policy of the National Union. The Kettering Branch, as a whole, had been strongly opposed to the new policy; but Miss Courtney's explanation removed the difficulties of most of the members, and the Committee has now been re-formed.

OTHER SOCIETIES.—Other Societies report working parties for the forthcoming Bazaar, and energetic work for the Friends of Women's Suffrage.

HUCKNALL.—The Hucknall Branch, which is now directly affiliated to the National Union, has made encouraging progress of late.

A splendid meeting was held on October 22nd at the Co-operative Hall. Mrs. Manners, P.L.G., of Mansfield, took the chair, and the speakers were Miss Cicely Corbett, B.A., Mr. A. Richardson (ex-M.P. for South Nottingham), and Mrs. Dowson. The audience, numbering about four hundred, included a generous proportion of men, and gave the speakers a splendid hearing. A resolution was carried unanimously, calling upon the House of Commons to refuse to pass any Franchise Bill that does not include some manner of enfranchisement for women, and urging the local M.P., Mr. Lief Jones, to vote for Mr. Philip Snowden's amendment to the Home Rule Bill. Copies of the resolution were to be sent to Mr. Lief Jones, M.P., the party Whips, and the local agents. The organisation of the meeting was admirably executed by Miss Balkin (organiser), Mrs. Merrick (hon. secretary), and Mrs. Ward (hon. treasurer) rendered valuable help. A good stroke of business was the renting of an empty shop in High Street for a display of posters, which greatly helped to stimulate public interest.

is Vice-Chairman of the local Board of Guardians, and has been a Guardian for some 15 or 16 years. Miss Irene Fisher is standing as a Socialist candidate in Hampstead. Also Miss Mary Armstrong as a representative of the Hampstead Citizens' Union for the Town Ward, Hampstead.

A Volunteer.

We have received a letter from Mr. Harry Morris inviting the "co-operation of all interested in the question of Hygiene and the Laws of Nature to openly and fearlessly discuss the question of the White Slave Traffic Bill. Could we not arrange 'she asks' to hold numbers of lectures and meetings? Who will help?"

We would strongly urge this lady and all who feel as one does the terrible evils habitually spoken of under the general term "the white slave traffic" to place their time and energies at the disposal of the existing societies which have for years been working for the removal of these evils. These societies have accumulated a fund of knowledge and experience, the absence of which must gravely handicap the efforts of new recruits who endeavour to do similar work without their assistance.

A Working Woman's Experiences.

I started work in the cotton factory at the age of 10, as a half-timer, being compelled by the loss of my father to add to the family income.

The fact that my mother was an invalid, and that I was the only girl in a large family of boys was responsible for the serious way in which I have always looked on life in all its phases.

My mother thought that boys were the most important section of the community; therefore my first ambition was to compete with them for equality. How well I remember the time when I became conscious of the fact that I had realised my ambition.

The first step in my public career was taken on my own initiative, and took the form of becoming a member of the Card Room Workers' Union. The feeling of indignation caused by the thought that a card room worker was, according to the public opinion of that time, of



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a caste lower than that of a weaver, planted the seed of indignation in my mind that has since become part of my nature.

My idea of a true democracy is that it must be composed of the aristocracy of intellect and character from all classes.

Another of my ambitions having been satisfied, viz., to show public opinion that in the so-called lower caste there did exist individuals who had the spirit to battle with injustices, I became a member of the Weavers' Union, having changed my occupation from that of card room worker to that of winder. Here again I found it was not an easy thing for a woman to assert her own individuality, even in a working-class movement. But to me it was a great ideal, to give to democracy the true power it required, viz., the co-operation of men and women alike.

In doing what I thought best to bring about the above ideal I began to work in the Suffrage Movement.

In my work in the streets and at the factory gates I am often reminded of the fact that in asserting our claim to political equality a great deal of misunderstanding arises. It is so easy to make statements that everyone approves of, but a great deal of courage is needed to claim that women have a perfect right to earn their own living in whatever form they think best, and work out their own economic freedom. A great deal of hard work is needed yet to get rid of the erroneous ideas that because women demand a right to live, and therefore must work, that they do it with the motive of throwing men out of work, and that in asserting her own individuality she is desirous of gaining undue power over man.

The reason the working men have preceded the working women in the political and industrial evolution is mainly due to the false sentiment which is displayed towards women in the labour and political world.

In the struggle for freedom, whether it is that of a race, a class, or a sex, something falls by the way. Sometimes it is the race itself, not having the strength to reach the goal. In the case of a class the weapons are too sharp; they are destroying instead of constructing; and in the struggle of a sex there are also dark blots on the horizon, undercutting in the labour market, and loss of child life.

Unfortunately the rank and file cannot see the end we have in view but only the means to the end; but I feel sure that posterity will look with scorn at the criticisms of the day, and will admire the spirit and courage that have been shown to reach the end.

My greatest ideal of all is that when we have obtained political equality, the same enthusiasm will be shown to bring about the commonwealth, where men and women will be economically free.

Foreign News.

Denmark.

The Danish delegates to the Men's Congress bring us hopeful news. The long expected Bill to amend the fundamental election law has been introduced into the Danish parliament. It is a constitutional change, the effect of which would be to give votes to all women over 25. Since it is a Government Bill and all parties in Denmark now seem agreed as to the desirability of Women's Suffrage, there ought to be no difficulty about passing it, but even if it pass this year women will not be immediately enfranchised. For in Denmark every constitutional change must be passed by two successive parliaments. As these must first be an election before the Act can be confirmed it would be premature to try to fix the exact date of women's enfranchisement in Denmark. All we can say is that it cannot be far off.

Frau Munter sends to the Press department this week the following letter, which gives further details about the introduction of the Danish Bill.

DEAR MISS ATKINSON.—The Bill for the amendment of the constitution, as proposed by the Government, was presented on Oct. 23rd at 2 o'clock, to Parliament by the Prime Minister, Klaus Berntsen. It is long since a speech from any Prime Minister has been listened to with such eagerness. It was read with force, and we give here some of the amendments:—

(1) to (30). The right to vote for the members of the Folkething (House of Commons) by every man or woman of unspotted reputation, who is 25 years of age, and lives in the constituency.

(a) Provided that he (or she) has not received Poor Relief.

(b) That he (or she) has control of his or her property. The authority of the husband over joint property does not make the wife subject to exception.

(31) to (111). The number of members in the Folkething is decided by the law of elections, but must not exceed 132. The division of constituencies must be decided by the law of elections. Each constituency must elect one of the candidates who stands for it.

The members of the House of Representatives (Folkething) shall be elected for four years.

(111) to (134). The number of the members of the Upper House (Landsting) shall be 66, 52 being elected in the Landsting circles, one member being elected in Barnholm, and one in the Lagthing of the Faro Islands. The 54 elected members must elect 12 more members to make up the number to 66. They are to be elected for 8 years. For the Upper House, the King has had the prerogative up till now of electing 12 members for life. It is here that the great struggle will arise. You see how prudently it has been proposed instead that the elected 54 members shall elect those 12. The first reading will take place on Saturday in the House of Representatives. I will keep you informed. You know that our Women's Rights Bill has always been coupled with a Bill likely to be defeated, and for this reason for many years, we shall not make progress.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) JOHANNE MUNTER.

Reviews.

MARRIAGE. By H. G. Wells. Macmillan and Co., pp. 551, 6s.

It is hard to forgive Trafford, the hero of this marriage, having such a mother, for marrying a vulgarian like Marjorie Pope. But one knows men do these things in real life when the vulgarian is physically attractive. It would have been miraculous if Marjorie, the daughter of such parents (described with Mr. Wells' characteristic malicious enjoyment) had been other than she proved. As a girl she hates her home-life, but although she has a college training, she has not the grit to work for her living, and engages herself to a man for whom she feels nothing but repulsion, in order that she may live in unearned luxury. She then falls in love, and elopes with Trafford, a "poor" man with £600 a year and devoted to research, for which we are told he has a rare genius. Marjorie proceeds to eat him up. Her love of pretty things is reinforced by the competitive snobbery of the idle, and she makes the usual sentimental play with motherhood. Trafford abandons his science for money making, and ceases to have any existence except as the host of his parasitic wife. Nine years of this busy death make him revolt, and he takes Marjorie off to Labrador, where, after adventures, they talk their situation out and resolve to live differently. Trafford is a credible person. One can believe in the man who idealises a girl for her copper-red hair and her graceful body, and who, for a time, wastes his soul and substance on the woman of whom he has taken possession: it is a form of extravagance allied to that of ruining himself on dogs and horses; less respectable, because the ruin of the woman is an important wrong added to the ruin of the man. One can believe, too, in Trafford's desperate clutch at his fugitive self and his resolve to re-enter into possession of it.

Marjorie, who has always remained in love with him, yields with extraordinary complaisance to his changed intentions, and resolves to be "his squaw and body servant first of all, and then—a mother." As to the first resolve, she may succeed, because she is in love with him, and recognises his superiority. As to the second, the measure of herself will be the measure of her motherhood, and she is not and never will be a fine person. The mind flatly refuses to accept Mr. Wells' rather fatuous assertion that she felt and understood "quite fully the intention and significance of all he (Trafford) said." That is part of the desire to have it all ways; to possess a woman who shall have all the charm and the caprice of the eternal feminine, who shall, by the grossness of her desires and the pettiness of her conversation, give him an agreeable sense of superiority, and yet shall, to order, acquire deep spiritual insight when her husband feels he needs it.

As much religion as my William likes," in fact. To attempt synthetic human nature is an amusing piece of psychical chemistry, but Mr. Wells' mixture is of incompatible elements. One wonders whether it was timidity or insight which

made him put the silliest generalisations about "we women" into the mouth of Marjorie. Suffragists are familiar enough with the spoilt woman, who finds in the phrase, "we women are too ignorant, too weak, too hysterical," the excuse she craves for idleness; but is Mr. Wells quite sure that he could not just as truthfully have said "you women"? The book suggests it. H. M. S.

HOW WE WON THE VOTE IN CALIFORNIA.

By Selina Solomons. Published by the New Woman Publishing Co., 773, Bay Street, San Francisco, Cal., U.S.A. Price 35 cents.

Every stage of the struggle by which American women are winning their freedom is of poignant interest to English women. It is encouraging to read of the obstacles which Suffragists in California have overcome. They were faced with every kind of party intrigue and with that clinging political corruption from which it is hoped that the women's vote will purify the States. That the masculine contempt they had to meet was not less than in Europe is shown by the anecdotes related by Miss Solomons early in her pamphlet.

"Forty prominent women of the W.C.T.U. had gone to the legislature to plead for protection for young girls. Appearing before the Committee on Public Morals, and stating that they represented 50,000 women of California, the Chairman sneeringly replied, in words which deserve to be handed down in the annals of our movement, 'Well, you are no more than fifty thousand mice! How many votes can you deliver?' And the law makers all laughed at the joke."

Susan Anthony and Anna Shaw led a great campaign in California in 1896, and a Suffrage amendment was brought before the electors, but was lost by 13,000 votes, the adverse vote coming chiefly from San Francisco. This did not discourage the Californian women. Mrs. Lillian Coffin founded the Equal Suffrage League of San Francisco. Great services were rendered to the cause by this League and by the Central Committee of the Californian Equal Suffrage Association.

Every year from 1896 to 1907 the Californian legislature gave what is called in America "the spectacular vote" in favour of Women's Suffrage. The expression is not used in England, but English Suffragists will find no difficulty in understanding it! In 1907 the legislators began to take suffrage more seriously, and the opposition of all the forces of corruption redoubled. The history of the succeeding years fills us with a sense of familiarity. The defeats endured by the Suffragists were none the less bitter because they were brought about largely by those who professed to be in favour of women's suffrage, but feared that they might endanger other reform measures if they made a fight for it. In the final struggle San Francisco again declared against equal suffrage, but its vote was counteracted by Los Angeles and the country districts. The great campaign that was carried on in the country in 1911 closely resembled in its methods the work of constitutional Suffragists in England, and the results will encourage any who are inclined to feel that meetings, distribution of literature, press work, etc., may go on for ever without achieving the desired end. The vote has been won by these means in California, and will be won here. A study of the suffrage battles in America can only strengthen the hope and determination of British Suffragists.

PERFECT HEALTH FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

By Elizabeth Swan Chessier, M.B., Ch.B. Methuen, 3s. 6d. net.

This thoroughly sensible and useful little book contains, indeed, nothing very new or original, but it has the rather rare merit of saying all that is necessary and no more. Its author, we observe, recommends brown bread without reservation, although a good many persons of delicate digestion find that it does not suit them; and lays down a rule that in cases of sleeplessness food should not be taken later than two hours before going to bed. Experience, however, shows that, in some cases, the taking of food—even of a good deal of food—the last thing at night will encourage sleep when other treatment has failed. But these are trifling specks, and they are the only ones that a careful perusal has revealed. The excellent observation on p. 53, that schools for fathers are needed, as well as schools for mothers, is a reminder by no means always unnecessary, that parental duties are not solely maternal.

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THE BLUE BOOK. Vol. I., No. III. Conducted by Oxford Undergraduates. Published every two months. Crosby, Lockwood and Son. 1s.

This magazine continues to uphold a high standard of literary ability, and is interesting in its presentation of various phases of contemporary literature. Special praise is due to the admirable Reminiscences of Jowett, which give us so sane an idea of the Master. Gerald Gould contributes two characteristic love poems—and there is good criticism in Jean D'Auvergne's article on The Russian Decadents, and in certain of the reviews, such as that of Marriage, by H. G. Wells.

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.

At this juncture, when the securing of a favourable vote from every possible M.P. is of vital importance, may I suggest a form of campaign which practically every branch could adopt where the member's vote is at all in doubt. It is the very old, but invaluable, method of getting electors to write to their member, but with this important difference, that the effort be organised, and the way of the "writer" made easy.

Roughly, there are three months before the Franchise Bill reaches the Committee stage. That gives approximately 100 days. Let the aim be to secure that every day till then the member shall receive a personal original letter. To facilitate this, let the branch secure the services of a typist, either paid or voluntary, to attend either after a meeting at the office, or at the voter's home by appointment, to take down his letter, which will later be sent to him for signature. The following are further useful hints:—

(1) Let every letter be different and approach the subject from as many points of view as possible. (2) For the sake of those who are not accustomed to framing letters of this character, have a number of draft letters from which such a correspondent could choose, adding to, deleting from, or varying as his personal feelings dictate.

(3) Where possible use the private headed paper of the writer, or vary the paper to avoid any appearance of being circulars.

(4) Get the more willing correspondents to write their own letters.

(5) Let every correspondent be a voter, if possible; if not, fill up with other male writers, or the voteless women.

(6) Some one person should be responsible for the posting, so that one letter goes off each day. The addresses could be varied if the member has town and country residences, clubs, etc.

(7) Letters should be brief and to the point. (8) Ask each writer to suggest the name of another likely correspondent.

If this is well and tactfully carried out, the member could not say that his constituents were indifferent, and he would hesitate to offend so many. I am aware that some branches are undertaking a postcard bombardment, but this is rather too mechanical, and not sufficiently individualistic. THOS. G. ROGERS.

4, Cholmeley Park, Highgate.

I am so much in accord with the views expressed by Mr. Barclay that I think he deserves the thanks of those who are in sympathy with his kindly criticism. There does appear to be a growing tendency as he points out, for only resolutions backed by the executive to have any chance of success, and if during the speech of the proposer of a resolution sent up by a society, many of the occupants of the platform, think it unnecessary to even listen, there appears to be a good justification for Mr. Barclay's contention that these resolutions are not treated seriously. I am not writing in any hostile spirit, but Mr. Barclay has had the courage to openly express opinions, which are always rumbling beneath the surface, and which are often unaccountable for an uncomfortable jarring note in the whole council.

N. O'SHEA. The Cottage, Cosham. October 20th, 1912.

CHELTEENHAM AND THE VAN. Madam,—I think Miss Collum's statement that the Prestbury meeting consisted of "three or four adults" must be a misprint, as before I left that meeting about ten minutes after speaking began, I counted twenty-five adults, and Miss Gill told me next day that they had "got a meeting," from which I gathered that the numbers had at least not melted away. Moreover, I think had there been really only four persons the meeting would not have been held, as was the case at Churchdown, where there were as many as ten or so I was told immediately afterwards.

THEODORA MILLS, (Hon. Sec., Cheltenham).

Other Societies.

RECEPTION TO DR. AND MR. MARK WILKS. The Women's Tax Resistance League will hold a public reception to Dr. and Mr. Wilks on the evening of Monday, November 11th, at Oaxton Hall, at eight o'clock.

They point out that this gathering will help to keep before the public mind the necessity for the alteration of the laws which affect the taxation of married women. Amongst the speakers will be Mrs. Despard, Dr. Elizabeth Wilks, Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., Mr. F. Pethick Lawrence and Mr. Mark Wilks. Tickets, 2s. each, including refreshments, may be had from all Suffrage Societies and from the offices of the League, 10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

THE WOMEN'S MARCH. The Women's March continues, and appears to arouse friendly sentiments in the places through which it passes. Many signatures are being received to the petition.

Forthcoming Meetings.

ARRANGED BY THE NATIONAL UNION (The meetings are given only a fortnight in advance.)

Table listing various meetings and events across different locations like Chelmsford, Bristol, Wrexham, etc., with dates and times.

Southwold—Constitutional Club—Miss I. O. Ford—Mrs. Charles Foster (chair) 8.0
 Basingstoke—Town Hall—Councillor Margaret Ashton 3.0
 Wallsend—Cafe—Miss C. M. Gordon, Miss Weddell 7.30
 Birkenhead—Mrs. Henderson's Drawing-room Meeting, 31, Westbank Road—Miss Cherry Cardiff—Albany Road Schools—Miss Helen Fraser 8.0
NOVEMBER 7.
 Bristol—Coliseum—Suffrage Stall—The Misses Chate 12-10
 Colchester—Moot Hall—Sir John Cockburn, Miss Florence Balgarnie, Mr. Gurney Benham (chair) 8.0
 Sutton Coldfield—Town Hall—Miss Cicely Corbett, B.A., H. Baillie-Weaver, Esq., LL.B., J. Ansell, Esq., J.P. (chair)—Doors open 7.30 8.0
 Leamington—Birch's Music Room, Parade—Meeting of the Franchise Club 3.0
 Hove—Town Hall—Miss Abadam on "The White Slave Traffic" (women only)—chair, Mrs. Heskyns 3.15
 Brighton—Pavilion—Miss Abadam on "The White Slave Traffic" (women only)—chair, Dr. Helen Boyle 8.15
NOVEMBER 8.
 Nottingham—Lister's Hall, Finkle Street—Miss Norma-Smith, Mrs. F. E. Marshall, of Keswick (chair) 8.0
 Stourbridge—Y.M.C.A. Rooms, High Street—Invitation meeting—H.H. The Rance of Sarawak, Miss Cicely Corbett, B.A., Mr. H. Baillie Weaver (chair) 3.0
 Stafford—Odfellow's Hall—Public meeting—Miss Cicely Corbett, B.A., Mr. H. Baillie Weaver—Mr. Dostock (chair) 8.0

THE COMMON CAUSE.

Brighton—The Dome—Mass meeting—Miss Abadam, the Earl of Lytton, Mr. G. Lansbury, M.P., Mr. Harold Stoner, Mr. A. O. Jennings 8.15
 Bristol—Coliseum—Suffrage Stall—Miss Baker, Miss Stock 12-10
 Bristol—2, Park Avenue, Victoria Park—Mrs. W. C. H. Cross, Miss Chate 3.30
 Berkhamsted—Progress Hall—Mrs. Nott Bower on "Women's Work in Local Government" 3.15
NOVEMBER 9.
 Bristol—Coliseum—Suffrage Stall—Miss Tanner, Mrs. W. C. H. Cross 12-10
NOVEMBER 11.
 Glastonbury—Public meeting—Mr. Laurence Housman
 Norwich—Thatched Assembly Rooms—Lantern lecture on G. F. Watts—Miss Helen Colman (for funds of Eastern Counties Federation) 8.0
 Bristol—Speakers' Class—111a, White Ladies Road—Leader, Mrs. Randall Vickers 2.30
 West Cams—Willingham Schoolroom—Mrs. Rackham, Mrs. Rootham, Mrs. Peck 7.0
NOVEMBER 12.
 Consett—Miss Trotter's Drawing-room meeting—Miss Frances Sterling 3.0
 Consett—Co-operative Hall—Miss F. Sterling 7.30
NOVEMBER 13.
 Huddersfield—Mayor's Parlour—Mrs. F. T. Swawick, M.A. 3.0
 Leeds—Albion Hall (Y.M.C.A.)—Councillor Margaret Ashton and others 8.0
 East Bristol—Barrow Road—Miss Margaret Robinson 8.0
 Wokingham—Town Hall—Lady Frances Balfour, Mr. Mirreles, B.Sc.—Mrs. Robie Uniacke (chair) 8.0
 Sunderland—Drawing-room meeting—Miss Frances Sterling 3.0
 Newcastle—3, Osborne Terrace—Dr. Ethel Williams and Miss Hardcastle, "At Home." 8-10.30
NOVEMBER 14.
 East Bristol—Thingsley Hall, Old Market Street—Miss M. Robinson 8.0
 Tynemouth—Mrs. Ronald Stevenson's Drawing-room meeting—Miss Frances Sterling 3.0
 South Shields—Public meeting—Miss Frances Sterling 7.30
 Maidenhead—Drill Hall—Lady Frances Balfour, R. P. Cholmeley, Esq.—Mrs. Robie Uniacke (chair) 8.0

LONDON.

OCTOBER 31.
 S. Paddington—75, Hereford Road, W.—Sewing meeting for the London Society's Bazaar—Members and friends from all constituencies welcome 2.30
 Kensington, N. and S.—Working party, 8, Queen's Gate Terrace 3.0
 Wimbledon—Sewing meeting—Stamford House, Wimbledon Common 3-6.30
 Hampstead—Working party—Hostess, Mrs. Fortescue Fox, 13, Belsize Park Gardens 3-6
 Sutton—Drawing-room meeting—Hostess, Miss Close, Clarendon, Brighton Road—Speaker, Mrs. John Roskill 3.0
 Waltham Abbey—W.L.A.—Speaker, Miss G. Hill Afternoon
 West Southwark—Corner of Friar Street and Great Suffolk Street—Open-air meeting—Speakers, Miss Helen Ward, Miss Janet Thomson, M.A. 7.30
 Islington, N.—St. Luke's Literary and Debating Society—Parish Room, Mayfield Road—Speakers, Miss A. Maude Royden, Mr. W. H. Mullens 8.0
 Toynbee Hall—28, Commercial Road, E.—Debate—Mrs. Swanwick and Miss Mabel Smith 8.0
 Rotherhithe—The Tunnel—Open-air meeting—Speaker, Miss M. Goddard 8.0
NOVEMBER 1.
 St. George's, Hanover Square—"At Home"—Hostess the Countess Brassey, 24, Park Lane—Speaker, Miss Mary MacArthur, "Women and Trade Unionism" 3.30
NOVEMBER 2.
 Norwood—Suffrage Office—Miss Abadam—Miss L. G. Archer (chair) 8.0
NOVEMBER 3.
 Tooting Broadway—Wesleyan Methodist Central Hall—Problems of the Church. Must Face"—Miss Sterling on "Women in Modern Life" Afternoon
NOVEMBER 4.
 N. Paddington—47a, Clifton Gardens, Maida Vale, W.—Sewing meeting—members and friends from all constituencies welcome 2.30
 Hampstead—Working party—Hostess, Mrs. Dryhurst, 6, Keats Grove, Downshire Hill 3-6
 Highgate—26, West Hill—Working party for London Society's Bazaar—members and friends from all neighbouring constituencies welcome 3-5
 C. and S. Hackney—Hostess, Mrs. Fisher, 24, Lower Clapton Road, N.E.—Working party for London Society's Bazaar. All members and friends are invited to attend 3-6
 N. Lambeth—Jurston Hall, Gerridge St.—Women's meeting 3.35
 Poplar—Commercial Road, Central Hall Women's Suffrage meeting—Speaker, Miss A. Maude Royden 3.0
 Shoreditch—Lecture Hall—Y.M.C.A. Debate, "That the Suffrage be Extended to Women"—Speaker, L. S. W. S. and Mr. H. G. Williams 8.0
 Brixton—St. Mathew's Literary and Debating Society—St. Mathew's Schools, Church Road, Brixton—Speaker, Lady Frances Balfour on "Women as Citizens" 8.0
NOVEMBER 5.
 West London Reception—Westminster Palace Hotel—Chair, Mrs. F. T. Swawick—Speakers, Miss H. D. Cockle, Mr. W. H. Dickinson, M.P. 3.30-6.15

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Royal Albert Hall—Mass meeting—Chair, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, L.L.D.—Speakers, Miss A. Maude Royden, Miss Margaret Robertson, B.A., Mr. W. C. Anderson, Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P.—Doors open 7.15 8.30
NOVEMBER 7.
 S. Paddington—75, Hereford Road—Sewing meeting for the London Society's Bazaar—Members and friends from all constituencies welcome 2.30
 Wimbledon—Sewing meeting—Stamford House, Wimbledon Common 3.0-6.30
 Hampstead—Working party—Hostess, Mrs. Fortescue Fox, 13, Belsize Park Gardens 3.0-6.0
 Kensington, N. and S.—Working Party—8, Queen's Gate Terrace 3.0
 Blackfriars Road—No. 4 Vestry, Surrey Chapel—Speaker, Mrs. Garrett Jones 3.0
 Wimbledon—24, Broadway—Hostess, Mrs. Mallett, Speaker, Miss M. E. Hewitt 3.0
 North London—Reception—Y.M.C.A., 17, Camden Road—Speaker, Miss W. A. Elkin 3.30
 N. Kensington—W.L.A., 92, Ladbroke Grove, W.—Address on Women's Suffrage by Miss Helen Ward 8.0
 S. Islington—Onward Girls' Club, Britannia Road, Essex Road—Chair, Mrs. Blyth, Speaker, Miss Rosamund Smith 8.30
 Poplar—Presbyterian Settlement, 56, East India Dock Road—Speaker, Mrs. Rackham 8.30

SCOTLAND.

OCTOBER 31.
 Edinburgh—Miss Beggie, 1, Merchiston Bank Gardens—Drawing-room meeting—Miss Alice Low Afternoon
 Glasgow—Kinning Park Working Girls' Club—Miss Mildred Watson 8.30
 Aberdeen—17, St. Nicholas Street—Women's Labour League—Miss Alice Crompton, M.A. 8.0
NOVEMBER 1.
 Edinburgh—40, Shandwick Place—Mrs. Shaw McLauren—"Women's Position in India" 4.30
 Glasgow—Mrs. Gray, 4, Clairmont Gardens, Glasgow—Miss Mildred Watson 3.0
 Crieff—Public Meeting, Porteus Hall—Dr. Inglis and Miss R. Mason 8.15
NOVEMBER 2.
 Aberdeen—239, Union Street—B.W.T.A. Branch—Miss Alice Crompton, M.A. 3.30
NOVEMBER 3.
 Edinburgh—L.L.P. Rooms, 1, Ardmillan Terrace—Miss Alice Low 8.0
NOVEMBER 5.
 Glasgow—Miss McLean, 3, Kirkley Gardens—Miss Mildred Watson 4.0
NOVEMBER 7.
 Glasgow—Mrs. Rintoul, 13, Victoria Circus—Drawing-room meeting—Miss Watson 3.30
NOVEMBER 8.
 Edinburgh—40, Shandwick Place—At Home 4.30
NOVEMBER 11.
 Edinburgh—Miss Sutherland, 19, Granby Road—Drawing-room meeting—Miss A. Maude Royden 8.0
 Glasgow—Christian Institute, Bothwell Street—Public meeting—"The Religious Aspect of the Women's Movement." Chairman, the Very Rev. P. McAdam Muir, D.D.; Intercessory Prayer, the Rev. John Hunter, D.D.; Miss Frances Sterling, the Very Rev. Provost Deane, the Rev. R. J. Drummond, D.D., the Rev. Norman McLean, supported by many of the leading clergymen in Glasgow 2.30
NOVEMBER 12.
 Edinburgh—Spring Valley Hall, Morningside—Public meeting—Miss A. Maude Royden—Charles Robertson, Esq. (chair), Councillor J. M. Rusk 8.0
 Glasgow—Mrs. McTaggart, 110, Springhill Avenue, Pollokshields—Miss Mildred Watson 3.0
NOVEMBER 13.
 Edinburgh—Auditorium, Bo'ness—Public Meeting—Miss A. Maude Royden 8.0

MEETINGS ADDRESSED BY MEMBERS OF THE UNION.

OCTOBER 31.
 Birmingham—St. George's Institute, Handsworth—Mrs. Ring 8.15
NOVEMBER 11.
 Birmingham—Lodge Road Institute, Handsworth—Mrs. Ring 7.45
NOVEMBER 12.
 Birmingham—Pazeley Street Mission—Mrs. Ring 3.30

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