

The Common Cause,

The Organ of the National Union of

Women's Suffrage Societies.

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ONE PENNY.

Notes and Comments.

Funds.

Last Friday we "called the tune." We must now all "pay the piper." Our readers will see in this week's issue that Miss Courtney and Miss Palliser are attending a joint Conference of Suffragists at the House of Commons with a view to arriving at some basis for concerted action. There never has been such a chance for a great national movement of men and women, and the prospect will give us all the greatest hope. One thing is certain: not less, but much more money will be needed. It can hardly be necessary to appeal to members of the National Union to "Back the winner—Women's Suffrage in 1912." Mr. Lloyd George is to speak for the National Union on February 23rd. We should like our collection then to surprise him.

Aaron's Rod.

A correspondent writes:—In last week's *Spectator* occurs the following passage:—"The Conciliation Bill is swallowed up, like Aaron's rod." The truth, as testified by Holy Writ, is that Aaron's rod, being changed by God into a serpent for the confounding of Pharaoh, swallowed up all the other serpents, which were the devices of the magicians. A previous episode in the career of Aaron's rod was that when it was placed before the Lord with all the other tribal rods, it, alone, budded, blossomed and bore almonds. It is nice to know from the *Spectator* that the Conciliation Bill is like Aaron's rod—the rod of God. Let us hope it will prove so!

More Resolutions.

The following resolution was passed at the annual meeting of the Mid-Oxon W.L.A. :—

"That this meeting of the Mid-Oxon Women's Liberal Association, while regretting that women are not to be included in the Government Reform Bill, relies entirely on the Prime Minister's assurance that full facilities shall be given to the House of Commons for the adoption of a Woman Suffrage amendment, and also on Mr. Lloyd George's promise to advocate such an amendment both inside and outside the House. This meeting further urges all Liberal Members of Parliament earnestly to support Mr. Lloyd George in the fulfilment of this promise."

The Limerick County Council, urged by the Branch Committee of the Irish Women's Suffrage Association, passed, *nem. con.*, a resolution in favour of the Conciliation Bill, twenty being present.

The Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation sent the following to Mr. Asquith:—

"The Committees and Members of the Woman's Suffrage Societies in various parts of Ireland, which are included in the Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, wish to assert their reasoned

conviction that, in any extension of the franchise, sex should no longer be a disqualification. They, 'being of full age and competent understanding,' claim their rights as citizens, and beg now strongly to urge their demand that women be included in any Reform Bill you introduce."

Suffragists in Public Works.

A correspondent writes:—"Anti-Suffragists have, for the most part, abandoned the position that woman's place is restricted to the home. They now express concern that women should spend their energies in obtaining the vote, while they neglect the duty of serving on local bodies. It might be inferred that it is Anti-Suffragists who are doing this valuable work. The subjoined table aims at showing what those women are who serve on local bodies, and whose presence there has so much increased the growth of feminism.

My information has been obtained from lists of membership of Suffrage Societies, from literature, and from personal inquiry.

The British Women's Temperance Association is federated to the World's Christian Temperance Union, whose "platform" contains the three "planks"—Temperance, Purity, the Vote. Miss Willard, the famous president of the W.C.T.U., left it on record that whenever she got hold of a sympathetic politician, who admitted the desirability of some legislation she was anxious for, he always told her: "Your cause carries no votes"; and so she was led to make the franchise a branch of the W.C.T.U. Hence readers of *The White Ribbon* will find that the organ of the B.W.T.A. is a systematic propagandist of Votes for Women.

The societies examined are:—

1. The Women's Trade Union League (Executive Committee).
2. Women's Industrial Council (Officers).
3. National Union of Women Workers (Executive Committee).
4. National Anti-Sweating League (Officers).
5. Ladies' National Association for the Abolition of the State Regulation of Vice and Promotion of Social Purity (Executive Committee).
6. British Women's Temperance Association (National Officers).
7. The Humanitarian League (General Council).
8. The Penal Reform League (Vice-Presidents).
9. The International Association for Labour Legislation (Executive Committee, 1910).



Photo: Elliott & Fry. [Block kindly lent by the "Daily Telegraph."]

MISS MONA WILSON.
First Woman Insurance Commissioner.

Society.	Number of Women.	Suffragette	Anti.	Neutral.	Unascertained.	Percentage of Suffragists.
1	11	6	—	—	5	54.5
2	13	10	—	1	2	76.9
3	48	36	5	3	4	75
4	10	8	—	—	2	80
5	33	30	1	1	1	90.9
6	8	4	—	—	4	50
7	6	4	—	—	2	66.6
8	8	7	—	—	11	87.5
9	5	4	—	—	1	80

One of the Pioneers.

We have received from Dr. Garrett Anderson, with a Christmas message for publication next week, a subscription of £5 for the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

Poking Fun.

We have received quite a number of letters objecting to last week's cartoon—some polite, some not. We think our critics are making rather a fuss. If women come into politics they must, like men, take their chance of political caricature. Our cartoonist was careful not to make any fun of persons, but only of policy. Some people have been confused enough to say "we are all working for the same thing." We are not. The W.S.P.U. has been opposing the solution of the question, which has, as far as we know, rallied the great body of all Suffragists. We believe that if they persist in isolating themselves in this manner it will end in their political extinction. We certainly cannot for one moment allow the only other alternative—that it will end in the extinction of the chance of Women's Suffrage—which is what the Antis are saying. We trust that when their leaders realise this, they will like good tacticians abandon an untenable position.

We could wish that our friends would not take everything quite so much "au tragique." The present situation has its comic as well as its serious side, and we think that it makes for sanity in human relations to see the comic side, and to bear with others when they see the comic side of our policy. It would never occur to us for one moment, as Miss Lowe suggests in her letter, to allow any jesting over the women's sufferings, for which we all have the respect due to courage and sincerity. But political policy is another matter altogether, and we regarded it as fair game for good-natured chaff. We plead for a robust view about women and criticism. It is demoralising to be supposed to be exempt from criticism. We certainly are not. Why should other women be? It is wholesome discipline for us all.

Our Champions.

In reply to Mr. Franklin's letter on p. 638, we regret it if our comment seemed to imply that we did not recognise the motives of the interrupters or the needless violence of Liberal stewards; one can't say every thing every time, and we have many times acknowledged both. With regard to the points made by Mr. Franklin (1) it is true that the W.S.P.U. discovered an ingenious device by which the blame could be thrown on the audience and not on the interrupter, but the fury of the audience is partly explained (not justified) by their knowledge that this is a device. In *Votes for Women* we read constant glorification of their success in breaking up meetings, and their last week's contents bill triumphed in having "silenced Mr. Asquith." It strikes us as insincere to adopt a wrecking method and then to assume an air of injured innocence when it is called by its true name. (2) When we used the word "fun" we were thinking of the spirit in which these attacks are often made and described rather than to the particular conduct in that hall. The "serenading" of Mr. Lloyd George's host and many other tricks and practical jokes strike us as being ill-natured "fun" of a peculiarly indefensible sort. (3) Lastly, it is a little too much to expect that, even although Mr. Franklin and his friends are, in their opinion, "suffering to help" our cause, we, who regard their intervention as a tiresome obstacle, should feel any gratitude to them. We recognise that they mean to help us, but our emotions are much the same as those of a person swimming vigorously and in reach of the goal who was suddenly pulled under by an inexperienced swimmer anxious to effect a rescue. "We don't want rescuing, thank you. We are doing very nicely," would be the first polite intimation; but by and bye, would not the swimmer be tempted to hit out at the heroic "rescuer?" May it not in the end be even necessary to put him out of mischief and then swim to shore with him safely tucked under the arm?

An Equal Standard.

Madame Avril de Sainte Croix gave, on December 5th, to a good assembly in the Morley Hall, an eloquent and profoundly felt address upon "Les lois et les mœurs; l'unité de la morale." It was, in the main, a plea for moral and spiritual education; not only those to whom the law applied, but those who had to administer the law must be educated in order that the law may be operative. She illustrated her theme by the law of affiliation. No such law exists in France, she said, and English people are apt to pride themselves on having one. "But are you sure," she asked, "that you have so much the advantage of us? Is not the indemnity a material one only, and is not the betrayed girl still ruined and the seducer still received in your drawing-rooms?"

She cited three countries where regulation had recently been abolished. In Spain no preparation had been made, public opinion had not been educated and the autocratic decree remained a dead letter. In Denmark there had been hard work on the part of the women, but they had not realised that the abolition of regulation was not the abolition of prostitution, and they had not checked the social and economic causes of prostitution. If you turn these women out of the houses into the streets merely, you have not fulfilled your duty. In Holland, finally, she described the work as having been well prepared and well carried out and successful. The decree merely consecrated a change which had already taken place in the minds of men and women. Laws were nothing without a perpetual struggle, to prepare for them, to obtain them, to maintain them. The White Slave traffic was, however, largely made possible by regulation, and you could not persuade a shrewd girl of the people that an act can be at once immoral and State licensed. She spoke of the abominable effects of regulation on those who had to administer it.

She made a warm appeal to women not to be indifferent to the degradation of other women and concluded, "Feminist as I am, convinced Suffragist as I am, I tell you your vote will be as nothing unless you also win the equal moral standard, the ethical basis of law."

Letting Loose Criminals.

We wish to draw attention to the fact that Walter Perry, found guilty, at the Central Criminal Court, of the manslaughter of a little girl of five whom he had decoyed into a field and abandoned, was the same man who, in October, 1906, was convicted of felony for taking away by force a child of three. These dangerous criminals, many of them weak-witted, are constantly being let loose to destroy children. It ought to be possible to put out of mischief for life a man who has once been proved guilty of a crime of this nature. Our failure to protect our children is a national shame and horror.

The Lace Finishers' Struggle.

Mr. Mallon writes:—Readers of THE COMMON CAUSE are writing to ask if the Lace Finishers continue to struggle. They do. Some employers have been shamed into signing the "White List," others are adamant. It seems that for the larger number of women still locked-out support will have to be afforded until mid-February, when the new minimum rates will become obligatory upon employers as a whole. Money, therefore, is still needed.

A feature of the strikes which took place during the summer was the loyalty with which men and women workers supported one another. The feature is noticeable in this Nottingham quarrel where the local Trade Unionists are evincing deep interest in the grievances of the women. The local engineers, for instance, are levying their members to the extent of a penny a week, the Trades Council has issued books of penny tickets, and by a score of Unions, large and small, sums have been voted. It is no uncommon thing for a rough-looking workman to come into the office of the Women's Union and put down 6d. or 1s. in aid of the fund. In all these ways very valuable financial support has been given, some of it undoubtedly by men who themselves have little to spare. But even more than the money one welcomes the spirit in which it has been proffered.

The old apathy of the male unionists in respect of women's organisation is passing away and in the next few years nothing is more certain than that the great men's societies will enter actively upon the task, initiated by the Women's Trade Union League, of enrolling their women colleagues.

Meantime the Lace Finishers' Union is waxing steadily in strength and probably one-third of the whole great community of lace home workers is at present on its books. Without undue optimism one may look during the next few years to their complete enlistment and to the creation, therefore, of the largest home workers' Trade Union in the world. That such a miracle should seem possible is a sign of the happier lot that the future appears to promise to women in the industrial world.

Our Portrait.

Miss Mona Wilson, the Woman Commissioner appointed for England by the Government, is a daughter of Canon Wilson, of Worcester, formerly Archdeacon of Manchester and Headmaster of Clifton. Canon and Mrs. Wilson are towers of strength to the Suffrage cause in Worcester. Miss Wilson has been recently occupied in administering the Trade Board Act with regard to the chain-making and box-making trades; she has served as a member of the Home Office Departmental Committee on Industrial Accidents, and has devoted her whole life to the problems of women's employment.

ALL BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS should be addressed to The Manager, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
ADVERTISEMENTS should reach the Office by first post on Tuesday.

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

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

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

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The Right to Work.

In interpreting the speeches made in the House last Tuesday, and seeking for the motives which underlie the very harmless-seeming amendment passed, it is not irrelevant to consider at whose desire this amendment was passed, and how it came into existence. Mr. Masterman's own explanation of its origin was: "The amendment which forbade the future employment of women at the pit-brow was opposed by me in the name of the Government, and with the promise to the Committee that, if they refused it, there should be some attempt to give women some safeguard against injury to health through the using of too heavy work." It is clear, then, that this was a sop to someone; it was a compromise between two parties; who were those parties?

The fact is that the amendment cannot be justly considered on its face value. Of course no one wants "boys, girls or women" (one is struck by the odd order) to lift weights "likely to cause injury." No one wants men to do so either. Are there no cases of hernia among men? Of varicose veins of the most aggravated type among men? But, we are told, women are weaker and more helpless than men, and therefore they need the protection of the law, where men can look after themselves. We are not going to deny that women are far weaker than men in the labour market, and that employers do frequently exploit mercilessly this weakness, to the great injury of the health of the women. We are in the completest agreement with such factory legislation as provides real safeguards without putting women at an artificial disadvantage with regard to men. The establishment of a minimum wage, of reasonable hours, and of proper sanitary conditions—all these and more are on the right lines. But when we have so vaguely worded a regulation as this—"likely to cause injury"—and when we remember the cause of this agitation and the lamentably sentimental state of mind of many men on the subject of women's work, we confess to considerable apprehension about the tribunal which is to decide the "likeliness" or "unlikeliness" of injury, and we should greatly prefer that women should be protected by an Employers' Liability Act rather than by a provision which makes it possible for men who consider coal dust as "degrading" to decide that any particular work is "likely to cause injury."

The whole course of the debate on the amendment which followed and which was moved by Mr. Masterman (to delete the Sub-section which would have abolished women's labour on the pit-brows for the future) and the nature of the demands made by the Miners' Federation, render it impossible not to regard the tender consideration for the health of the women with more

than a little suspicion. Mr. Atherley Jones related how in 1887 he moved for the abolition of women from the pit-brows, and was supported by the whole of the Liberal party and he regarded it as "little short of a scandal" that a Liberal Government should now be found on the other side. We, on the other hand, regard it as a most significant sign of the times that, with an awakened womanhood rapidly becoming instructed, and on the eve of the political enfranchisement of women, the Government should take into consideration at least partially the opinions and desires of the women themselves, and not consent to the wiping out of a healthy and decent bread-winning occupation. Mr. Atherley Jones was eloquent on the "degrading" nature of the work of "tub-showing" even if it did not injure the women's health; Sir A. Markham also thought it was "degrading" to a woman to get coal-dusty, and several members asked whether gentlemen present would like their womenfolk to do this work. Now if this work had never been tried, it might have been more difficult to prove it was not "degrading." But where work is being actually done, we may legitimately ask for proof of degradation if we are to believe it "degrading." Are these pit-brow lasses degraded, as a matter of hard fact? We have never seen in England a stouter, healthier, kindlier, jollier set of women living a hard but a decent life. Mr. Atherley Jones congratulated England on having nearly abolished field work for women. We cannot share his enthusiasm, and we hope that many may yet return to it under better conditions. We regard the tendency to confine women to indoor work as a tendency very dangerous to health and sanity and when the effort is made to do this by compulsion we regard it as tyranny of a peculiarly aggravated type. Mr. Atherley Jones is really too mid-Victorian in his theories of health. We of this generation know how many of the ailments "peculiar to women" were not peculiar to women at all, but to the confined, cramped, airless existence without healthy exercise and freedom to which most women used to be condemned. And nothing could be of worse augury for the future of the race than that we should endeavour to stamp out all that is robust, all that is racy, all that is bold and individual among women and reduce them all to anæmic, sedentary, nerveless nullities. No healthy-minded man or woman should regard healthy physical exertion as degrading either to man or woman. And as for coal-dust! We know of men miners who sit down to tea "in their black," but we never heard of women not washing before they touched food or platter. The opposition to miners' baths did not come from women. We think that the bringing into the home of coal-dust is a great grievance and hardship for those who have to do the cleaning, but we have yet to learn that coal-dust brought home by a woman is more blackening to the house than coal-dust brought home by a man.

Again, Mr. W. E. Harvey (a miners' representative) said—"we believe it is detrimental to them at their own time of life, and becomes more detrimental later on." Mr. Atherley Jones also said the work "had a tendency to impair women in the performance of their most sacred duties." Neither of these gentlemen gave one shred of evidence in support of this pious opinion, and doctors, matrons, and officers of health state that no cases of strain have ever come to their notice. Mr. Atherley Jones sneered most unworthily at Lanark and Lancashire as "dark and forgotten corners of the earth," and compared them with those centres of light and civilisation, Durham, which he was "proud to represent," Glamorgan, and Yorkshire. We should like to refer Mr. Atherley Jones to the Government inquiry into infant mortality, and he would there see that Glamorgan and Durham have a most unenviable supremacy in the high death rate of babies, while he may learn that the sexual morality of Lancashire compares favourably also.

Mr. Harvey spoke of the "real reason" for the retention of women being that it was "cheap labour." Here we have the "real reason" for the opposition. We are not out to defend cheap labour, but we submit that the way to improve the wages of women is not to take more and yet more employments away from them, and so to crowd them more and yet more into those that remain open to them; that is the way to lower, not to raise, the wages of women. If women's wages are too low, let men combine and use their political power to raise them; they will find no opposition whatever to that on the part of the women. Let men insist if they like that miners shall not use foul language, if they think this really is so great an evil. Let men insist on proper sanitary accommodation, and all possible devices for modifying the injurious effects of the dirt incidental to the occupation. But when they have just passed an Insurance Bill by which men and women are taxed to the tune of 2d. a week per insured person for some 11

millions of men, and for only 5 millions of women, they cannot quite expect us to believe that they are honest when they discriminate against women on behalf of their "sacred duties." If the health of women is more precious to the nation than the health of men, our politicians ought to remember this when it is a question of giving State aid, and not only when it is a question of taking away the right to work. The hospitals for women and children are full of cases where women's "sacred duties" have been rendered hard or impossible by the actions of men, but these evils are never seriously touched, because to do so would be to curtail the pleasures and privileges of men; it is easier to restrict the employment of women.

To sum up: the whole agitation has a sinister look. The professed reason was to safeguard the health and morals of women, and many ignorant and sentimental politicians were deluded by this. It has been proved that the health of the women has not suffered at all and that their morals are above the average. The real fact is that the women's work is wanted by the older men, and therefore the purely masculine Miners' Federation clamours for the forcible exclusion of the women, and is offered by the Government a sop in the form of an amendment, which may perhaps be interpreted by men to the disadvantage of the women. We hope it will not. But it puts upon the women the burden of increased vigilance and it adds to the presumptions against women's labour which always affect them injuriously with employers.

Work of the Press Department.

The Press Department was started in its present form last March, and has therefore been in existence a little over eight months.

The necessity for this new activity lay in the fact that it was evident that the persistent boycott of the Suffrage question by most of the great daily newspapers could only be dealt with by specialised effort. Miss C. E. Marshall originated the plan for organising a separate department to deal with the matter, and laid down the scheme which has since been followed. It began with attempting to induce the editors of influential papers to give the subject a fair hearing. It is true that militant suffrage news had been already accepted, and we have perhaps to thank that section for breaking down the boycott in the first instance, but the motives underlying insertion in these cases were not by any means necessarily friendly to the cause.

Though the mention of the Suffrage was in almost all instances courteously treated, it was evidently an interest not connected closely with the editorial office; and a certain remoteness of aspect was apparent, when editors were approached with a request for practical support. In some cases the topic excited aversion, but this was discovered to be not necessarily so much from the nature of the subject, as from the purely professional fear of the prospect of inundations of material and letters, if correspondence was once thrown open, and the consequent difficulty of dealing with correspondents whose letters were not inserted, the dislike that the elderly male householder who controlled the choice of the paper would feel at the introduction of the feminine element in the Press, the complications regarding party policy and the formlessness of the material likely to be sent in.

In face of the fear of increased demands on waste paper baskets, the subject itself seemed to retire into obscurity. This only made it more apparent that there was general ignorance of the fact of the wide-spread desire amongst women for news of an entirely different nature from that provided on the wearisome woman's page, and it convinced us that the Press Department, if it were to be successful, must set itself first to make known the demand and stimulate it, secondly to collect the news and distribute it in such a form as would be acceptable to the Press, thirdly to give wider publicity to the constitutional policy of the National Union, and fourthly to further the organisation of Press work in all the Federations of the country. Experience soon proved that our first Press Secretary had been right in her assumption, that it was largely the lack of proper organisation which had prevented the insertion of news. Members of the National Union were urged therefore to make apparent their desire for Suffrage news by appeals to the Press, and practical support was given to those papers which complied, by substituting them for non-Suffrage papers. THE COMMON CAUSE published weekly notices on the attitude of the papers, and these furnished a guide for its readers.

The effective distribution of news has awakened interest in the movement generally and the demand for newspaper reports of the hundreds of meetings held by the National Union and other societies all over the country has no doubt contributed to make evident to the Press the fact that the thousands of

women who desire the supply of news concerning Suffrage cannot with advantage be ignored. At their meetings, the preference of Women Suffragists for certain papers is openly expressed, and the enormous power of women, as a factor to be reckoned with in the Press and in politics, is being daily more fully recognised and also that it is the progressive women who are the motive force in creating the demand and not the passive. The work that we have attempted in London has been carried on throughout the country, through the Press Secretaries in each Federation, and again through the Press Secretaries in the Societies, who keep a close record of the attitude of the papers on the Suffrage question, organise a circulation of news, answer Anti-Suffrage criticisms, supply information to the papers regarding National Union policy, and see that reports of meetings are duly given, etc.

A description of the daily routine at the Central office will perhaps summarise the work best. The Press cuttings have arrived by nine o'clock and they must be sorted out and Anti-Suffrage criticisms answered, or sent to the Federation Press Secretaries. The cuttings must then be filed, and a record kept of the contents of each important paper, as well as a subject index of the matter dealt with in the more important ones. People frequently apply to us for information on various topics recorded in the Press. The provincial correspondence involves a constant interchange of information regarding the organisation of Press work, arrangements for reports of meetings in the London papers, and of paragraphs for publication in the London Press. The news for the evening issue should be drafted by mid-day; that for the next day's publication in the morning papers by six o'clock. Advance notices of meetings must be sent, and arrangements made for daily announcements to the Press generally. Reports of meetings are useless if they arrive a few hours late. News reaching us from various societies must be drafted into shape at once, and all communications regarding by-election news and the latest information of the National Union policy must be despatched for next day's insertion as a rule by special messenger, as quickly as possible. It is desirable that the various papers which demand news should have separate drafts, and the increasing readiness of the better ones for solid information render efficient and voluntary help necessary, if propaganda through the Press is to be effective and arguments well answered.

In addition, there are the weekly papers which, on the whole, are very favourable to Suffrage, and for which special drafts should be ready on certain days. The latest Parliamentary news can, of course, be obtained from the National Union office, through the Parliamentary Secretary. We have besides, increasing communication with 21 foreign countries, where we have correspondents from Suffrage Societies. They send us special accounts bearing on subjects relating to the movement, and we, in exchange, do the same. The *Standard's* "Woman's Page" has created great interest abroad, and we hear that one paper at least is imitating it in Italy.

Besides this, the Central Press Department sends occasional drafts of news to some selected and favourable large provincial papers, which are also informed of important events through the "Central News Agency" and the "Press Association." As the papers become more friendly, the desire for precise information grows, and it becomes increasingly evident that the subject has passed beyond the limit of speculation and is in London and elsewhere regarded as one of the foremost political issues of the day.

The burden of the Press Department, such as it is, falls upon the Treasurer, and subscriptions for this purpose would be most welcome. We should be glad to feel that we could ease the National Union of this extra expenditure, so heavy are the demands for funds, relating to the purely political aspect of its work just now. The actual expenses for one year are estimated at about £200. This includes the salaries of the typist and Press Secretary. Miss Mackenzie is indefatigable, and often works hours overtime from love of the cause. Her services are also required by Miss Palliser for Parliamentary work. The remaining expenses include those for office requirements, printing, postage, express letters, and Press cuttings, etc.

We feel that in many directions advance has been made. The *Manchester Guardian* was the first important daily paper openly to champion our cause, when the Suffrage was not as popular as it is now, and one by one other papers have followed its lead. The *Daily News* in April promised support regarding the Conciliation Bill, and now extends it on the basis of wider enfranchisement. The *Morning Leader*, *Westminster Gazette*, *Daily Telegraph*, and many others have definitely declared their editorial policy to be favourable to Women's Suffrage, and we hope shortly to publish a list of the leading papers classified according to their attitude.

In Scotland, the *Glasgow Herald*, formerly Conservative, now Independent, advocates a wide measure of enfranchisement for women. The editor of the Conservative *North Wales Chronicle*, who was approached on the question, has lately set aside two columns weekly, entitled "Woman's World," in imitation of the "Woman's Platform." The focussing of news from the wider field of women's interests in the "Woman's Platform" of the *Standard* shows the force of demand for publication in the Press of the feminine point of view. It is difficult for those who live in London, and have the benefit of its traditional mental hospitality, to realise what such a page means to isolated women in the country, whose family and local surroundings are still hostile and reactionary. A daily paper of the kind must help as nothing else can, to relieve the weight of loneliness and disapproval, and upon such women the burden of new ideas rests.

In the eighteenth century we are told that Addison was the first secular writer whose productions formed part of the "tea equipage of the 'Virtuous Fair Lady.'" The essentially new reading he introduced vastly increased the field of English authorship by directly addressing women, and Thackeray says of Steele that all women are bound to be grateful to him, as "he was the first of our writers who seemed to admire and respect them." Swift, like some of his modern descendants, finding the *Spectator* too feminine for his taste, pushed it angrily aside, saying: "Let him fair sex it to the world's end." Nevertheless we are told that its "good effect upon the town was incredible," and moreover that the *Spectator* lost its sale when the feminine element was dropped. If there has been in the Press a revival of this element in our own day, the impetus has come, not from one or two great and commanding intellects, but from the necessity which women have experienced for expressing themselves on a vastly enlarged plane of interest. This demand has already been partially met by members of the staffs of enterprising papers, whose sense of justice has led them to face the risks of novelty and to break through conventional traditions. If women's opinions are to take a prominent place in the Press, it must be because the material they demand and produce is on as high a level as that of their best activities in other directions. It would be something achieved if an outlet could thus be made possible for a greater degree of honest expression of opinion, independent of party politics, and untrammelled by considerations which have nothing to do with principles. It would be still more, if this could in future be done in the majority of women's papers, and if it could be said of them and of that section of the Press with which they are most intimately connected, as was said of an ancient and sacred place of study in the past, that into it "no clerks may come, save those who love freedom, and freedom means honour."

E. M. LEAF.

The Enfranchisement of Married Women.

It is generally understood that the amendment to the Reform Bill upon which the main body of Suffragist supporters in the House of Commons will be concentrated will be one enfranchising women householders, with the addition of married women upon either a household, a ratepaying, or a merely residential qualification. A few Women Suffragists have shown symptoms of a disposition to resent the proposal as giving an unfair advantage to married women, "enfranchising wives not upon their own merits, but upon their husbands'" etc. This criticism is, I believe, based upon an entire misapprehension of the significance of the proposal. But even if the criticism were justified, surely the National Union will not appeal in vain to women Suffragists to do as they have done in the past, and sink their individual preferences and distastes for the sake of gaining the immense advantage of united action in favour of a practically attainable end. To many women the Conciliation Bill was very distasteful, and none of us thought it completely satisfactory. The women of the Co-operative Guild resented it because, though it did not make marriage technically a disqualification, very few wives would, in fact, have been qualified under its provisions. We of the National Union made frequent appeals to the Women's Co-operative Guild to waive their objection for the sake of securing recognition of the principle for which we were fighting. Privately, I am afraid we sometimes denounced them as selfish, narrow-minded and short-sighted because they did not yield to our appeal. Now that the case is reversed, and that the new "conciliation amendment" embodies just what

the Co-operative Women asked for, let us live up to our principles and accept it wholeheartedly. Personally, I feel sure that we lose nothing by so doing. Any form of limited franchise must leave some women out in the cold, but as between the Conciliation Bill and the new proposal, who can doubt that the latter is incomparably the better, based upon a sounder theory, more satisfactory to us as feminists, and likely to work out better in practice.

Take the simple point of numbers. The Conciliation Bill would enfranchise a million women or rather more; that is to say, the women voters would be about an eighth of the present electorate, and a tenth to a twelfth of the electorate when manhood suffrage has come into force. Which of us thinks that either proportion represents the fair share of our sex? It is impossible to estimate at all exactly what the number enfranchised under the new proposal would be, but the general guess seems to be six or seven millions—i.e., taking the male electorate at ten millions, the proportion of women voters would be about three-eighths.

Then as to the age of the voters. A woman usually becomes a sole householder upon the death of her husband, if married, or of both parents, if a spinster. Hence the majority of women enfranchised under the Conciliation Bill would be middle-aged or old. This is not the best time of life to be forming new interests and habits of mind. Under the new proposal the responsibility of full citizenship would come to most women, as it comes to most men, soon after they have settled in homes of their own, while their minds are still plastic and their outlook hopeful, and the other great permanent interests of life are taking shape.

But to my mind the great charm—the probably unintended boon of the new proposal—is that it recognises and for the first time establishes in our franchise laws the truth that the status of a married woman is in reality and in equity that of a joint-householder, even when the house is taken in the husband's name and the rent and rates paid out of his wages. Surely it is not for Suffragists to deny this truth. Even popular sentiment acknowledges that the average household is as much dependent on and owes as much to the services of the wife as to those of the husband.

The significance of the new proposal is, therefore, more than political. It would, I believe, do a great deal to raise the status of the married woman, especially in the working class. Her husband will see that the State recognises her partnership in the household and her full citizenship, and he will respect her the more for it. It is a most perverted reasoning that sees in the proposal anything invidious to the single woman. The wife is enfranchised, not in virtue of her marriage, but in virtue of her householdership. The spinster will also be enfranchised if she is a householder. It is true that one suggested form of the proposal is not "women householders and wives of householders," nor "women ratepayers and wives of ratepayers," but "women householders and wives of voters qualified by residence." I hope this form will not be adopted, because it obscures the issue and does discriminate slightly in favour of marriage, since under it a few married women would vote on a qualification which would not hold good if they were single. But the difference is more theoretic than practical, since the enormous majority of married couples are householders within the present meaning of the word. We could endure a far greater differentiation in favour of or against married women for the sake of unity.

Finally, let me point out the political advantages of the proposal to base the claim on the household or on ratepaying rather than on residence. We all know that if we are to be sure of a majority for the amendment, we must have a certain amount of Conservative support. Now the household or ratepaying qualifications, besides being thoroughly understood and appreciated by the whole country, appeal especially to the Conservative mind. They suggest stability and moderation. The householder—man or woman—is felt to have a stake in the country, an interest in law, order and economy. I believe that a good many Conservative M.P.s, alarmed at the influx into the electorate of a crowd of irresponsible young men, will welcome the married woman householder as a mature and moderating influence.

The proposed amendment is not a complete removal of the sex disability. But it is probably the most we shall get, and it is a far more substantial instalment of justice than the measure on which our hopes and our labours were bent only a short month ago.

E. F. RATHBONE.

Domestic Servants and the Insurance Bill.

A CORRECTION AND AN AMPLIFICATION.

This is to apologise for and to correct the statement in the account of the Domestic Servants' Insurance printed in the issue of November 30th, that the sick pay of domestic servants is "not payable if she is receiving full pay when she is ill." Only in the case where the mistress guarantees full pay for six weeks of illness, and is, consequently, paying the lower weekly rates of contribution, is sick pay not payable, and only during these six weeks. In the case where the mistress has not given this guarantee, and consequently is paying the full weekly contributions, the servant during illness receives her sick pay, whether her mistress continues to pay her wages or not.

A point requiring amplification is the mistress's right to stop wages. Nothing in the Bill alters the existing rights of servants, or duties of mistresses, as to the payment of wages during sickness, or the giving of notice, should the servant be ill. The right of a servant to receive wages during illness, in all probability varies in different localities. It depends largely on custom. Where it is the custom that a servant has the right to full wages and board wages for a month of illness, she still has that right. On the other hand, however, a mistress and servant have not been deprived of the right to make a special arrangement between themselves, as to whether wages are to be paid during illness, except that any such arrangement could not include a provision for the mistress taking possession of the servant's sick pay. The Bill makes any such provision in an agreement illegal and, therefore, void. The case, indicated on November 30th, where possibly, a servant might pay her mistress for board and lodging during illness, could only be possible where the mistress had fulfilled all obligations to her servant, whether those obligations were customary and legal, or under a special agreement. In practice, the case might arise where the mistress's obligations having been fulfilled, the servant was in the position of looking for lodgings.

CRYSTAL MACMILLAN.

Societies for Women under the Insurance Bill.

It is now too late to make further efforts to have included in the Insurance Bill the large number of women of the working classes for whom it makes no provision. The problem now is, how those women who are included can secure the best return for the money paid into the Insurance fund for them. Which is to be preferred, the Post Office or an approved Society? Should an existing society be chosen or a new one founded? Is it better to insure along with men or in a special woman's society? Should the basis be that of trade or locality? Are the interests of the voluntary contributor the same as those of the compulsory contributor? How can the second grade worker, who may not have good health, get the best return?

No discrimination is made between the compulsory and the voluntary contributor as to the State contribution of twopence a week. This is paid whether the contributor joins a society or goes to the Post Office.

There is no question that, in most cases, an approved society is to be preferred to the Post Office. Only the bad lives, rejected by all societies, should join the Post Office. This Post Office scheme remains in force up to January 1st, 1915. It is not insurance, but compulsory thrift, with the condition, that the money deposited may be drawn out in the form of benefits prescribed in the Act, but not otherwise. When the money is withdrawn, benefits cease, except in special cases. The depositor is empowered to leave a certain proportion of any money which may be standing at his credit at death to a nominee.

An approved society has two advantages. It is real insurance, in that the good lives help the bad. There is a pooling of risks. With respect to the other advantage, a distinction is drawn between the privileges of a compulsory, that is an employed contributor, and a voluntary contributor. Every employed contributor, of any age between sixteen and sixty-five, who joins a society within a year of the time the Act comes into operation, has paid to his credit in the society the special sum called his "reserve value," which enables the society to pay him full benefits. This privilege is given to the voluntary contributor up to the age of forty-five only. The nearer, therefore, a possible voluntary contributor is to forty-five, the more worth her while it is to join a society, because the larger will be the "reserve value" paid into the society for her. Unmarried women, who do not come compulsorily into insurance, should make special efforts to join approved societies.

The options for women, who may marry in the future, are

confined to those who are members of approved societies before marriage. It is, therefore, of great importance that women, shortly to be married and likely to give up regular wage earning after marriage, should join approved societies before marriage, otherwise they will receive little advantage from the Bill. The actuaries, in criticising the provisions for the women who marry in the future, are very evidently of opinion that these women are more favoured than those already married. They remark, "it is a matter of consideration whether spinsters and widows, marrying within a short period from the initiation of the scheme, should be allowed to take advantage of the above options." "Economise at the expense of the married woman" is apparently the guiding principle of the remark. Noting it, spinsters and widows about to marry would be well advised to postpone their marriages and not to give up regular wage earning until they have joined societies, so that they may be able to take advantage of the benefits of the Bill.

Societies, to be approved, must consist of at least 5,000 members, be self-governed, and not run for profits. Smaller societies are also possible if they associate with others so as to bring the membership up to the required number. Existing societies, if they alter their constitutions to come within the scope of the Bill, may become approved. They have powers given them to expend money they may have received for purposes similar to those of the Insurance Bill on their members in other ways, at the discretion of the members themselves. It is an advantage to join a well-managed society, and these older societies have tradition and experience behind them. They will, no doubt, produce schemes for all types of persons coming within the scope of the Bill.

The societies are given the power to keep the men's money separate from the women's. The actual estimates are largely based on statistics of male lives, so that there is less certainty as to how the women's side of the Bill will work out. Apart from the possible advantage of joining an old-established and probably safe society, there does not seem to be anything to gain in joining a mixed society of men and women. Societies are to be managed by their own members, and there is a tendency—custom is at the root of it—for the official positions to fall into the hands of men. If separate women's societies were formed it would give all the women concerned some practice in business methods and the opportunity that is now lacking of working together. The actuaries' original estimate put the number of women joining societies at 3,832,000. The working of these societies will give employment to a large number of clerks and other officials and should offer an opening for a new profession for women. Much might be said in favour of forming women's societies on a trade basis. The largest classes are the domestic servants, the textile workers and the dressmakers. Other classes having common interests are the shop girls, the sick nurses, the clerks. The textile workers are already in some districts well organised. It would not be difficult for their Unions to establish departments which might become approved societies under the Bill. The unemployment part of the Bill makes provision for the payment to workmen's societies, in certain cases, of one sixth of their expenditure in unemployment pay. Women should certainly make application for this. They are not explicitly excluded.

This necessity of joining societies gives women a great opportunity for organising themselves in a manner which might give them a lever to improve their economic position. Probably societies on a trade basis would be most effective. The same body of women, joining together to become an approved society under the Bill, might have an unemployment fund, and could draw up schemes for the additional benefits more suited to the particular trade. Bad conditions or irregular employment in any trade would quickly come to light and steps would have to be taken to improve those conditions.

Normally a first-class society would have a stiff medical test, perhaps also a wages test. Since the Societies offer a better form of insurance than the Post Office, it would be well to have established a second grade, and perhaps a third grade society for women unable to pass severe medical tests. Such societies might not be able to remain solvent if they paid the full benefits under the Bill, but it might be possible for them to pay somewhat lower benefits.

CRYSTAL MACMILLAN.

Mr. Brailsford at the Council.

Mr. Brailsford attended at the Council not as a delegate, but as an invited guest, and he was not present at the deliberations, merely appearing to give an address, and departing after he had answered questions.

He gave an extremely interesting and enlightening review of the situation. Comparing the prospects of the Conciliation Bill

with the prospects of an amendment to the Reform Bill, he reminded the Council that the Conciliation Bill had four difficulties to face:—

1. The difficulty of time; the Government was pledged to give a week, or possibly a little more, to its discussion, but that week might have been deliberately wasted by the organised obstruction of its opponents, led by Front Bench men.

2. The danger of wrecking amendments, a danger against which the work of the suffrage societies had been directed for the last few months.

3. The uncertainty of its subsequent fate. If it were thrown out by the Lords, a possibility if not a probability always to be reckoned with, it would have to compete for time with Government and other Bills in the same position; the Conciliation Committee and the W.S. Societies would then be obliged on two more occasions to go through the same struggle to secure time for the Bill in the House of Commons, and to defend it there in the Committee stage.

4. Lastly, the question might be still further delayed by Mr. Churchill's proposal to submit our Bill to a Referendum.

Taking these difficulties in the reverse order, Mr. Brailsford pointed out that, if Women's Suffrage were introduced by means of an amendment to the Reform Bill:—

1. The question of the referendum and consequent delay immediately vanished.

2. Any danger from its rejection by the House of Lords was removed, as the Government was pledged to regard any Women's Suffrage amendments carried as part of the Reform Bill, and the Bill itself would be passed again in the House of Commons in two successive sessions without any effort on our part.

3. The difficulty of time also disappeared, as an amendment to a Government Bill would have adequate time supplied for its consideration by the Government.

4. Finally, the great danger of wrecking amendments was averted; amendments to include women in the Government Reform Bill *must be taken in descending order*, the widest possible amendment first, and so on. It would thus be impossible to employ against them the device of the opponents of the Conciliation Bill—an attempt to wreck it by means of ordinary amendments which would destroy the Bill on third reading.

With regard to amendments to the Reform Bill, Mr. Brailsford said that no doubt an amendment to include women on the same terms as men would be moved, but its chances of success were small; next would come what might be called the Norwegian amendment; its exact terms could not be defined, as the Reform Bill was itself not yet drafted, but it would enfranchise women on the general lines of the Conciliation Bill, with some large addition of married women; if this failed, an amendment on the basis of the Conciliation Bill would be put forward.

He had, however, very little doubt that the "Norwegian" amendments would be carried; it was the amendment which we had reason to believe would be supported by Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey had definitely declared for it. If the voting followed party lines, which was the worst that could be predicted for it, the amendment would be lost by 16 votes. But the voting would not follow party lines, as there was not the slightest doubt that the Suffrage Societies could easily obtain not merely the nine Unionist votes required to turn a minority into a bare majority (nearly nine had, indeed, already been secured), but twenty or even forty Unionist votes, which would give a substantial majority, and this without reckoning the neutralising effect of Mr. Lloyd George's advocacy upon Liberal Anti-Suffragists. The Norwegian amendment was, therefore, certain of success; but even if, by some extraordinary mischance, it should fail, there still remained an amendment on the lines of the Conciliation Bill, or the Conciliation Bill itself. This was a modest measure, but it would enfranchise a number of women large enough to make a force to be reckoned with; the number of Irish Nationalists scattered up and down England and Scotland was much smaller than the number of women who would vote under the Conciliation Bill, and it is universally recognised that they constituted a body whose views had a powerful influence upon elections. Mr. Brailsford dwelt upon the wisdom of accepting Mr. Lloyd George's offer to conduct a campaign in the country in support of an amendment to the Reform Bill, and ended his address with an appeal to Suffragists to do all in their power by avoiding wounding and censorious criticism to restore the unity amongst the Suffrage Societies which had existed when all were supporting the Conciliation Bill.

Unionist Support for the Conciliation Bill.

The following letter has been sent to Unionist members of the House of Commons as a reply to the manifesto against Women's Suffrage signed by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Walter Long, Mr. F. E. Smith, and others:—

December 5th, 1911.

SIR,—Our attention has been called to a letter signed by six highly respected members of the Unionist party urging those Unionists who have hitherto been in favour of the Conciliation Bill to abandon their support of that measure. The principal ground on which this course is urged upon them is that the Government have announced their intention of bringing in a wide measure of electoral reform, and that Mr. Lloyd George has advocated the inclusion in that measure of a very extensive enfranchisement of women.

Some of us have long thought that the continued resistance of moderate men to the reasonable demands of women in this respect would lead to some such result. To us it seems that recent developments only make it more imperative to press forward the Conciliation Bill. If that were abandoned there is grave danger that the whole force of the women who desire votes would be devoted to the support of a suffrage amendment to the Franchise Bill acceptable to Mr. Lloyd George. In any case one of two consequences must almost certainly follow such abandonment. Either the Franchise Bill will become law, with an extension of the suffrage to women so wide as more than to double the existing electorate—a result which no moderate reformer can approve—or else it will fail and no woman will get the vote, exposing Parliament to the not unjust reproach of having again "tricked" the women.

We therefore trust that all moderate supporters of women's suffrage will continue their advocacy of a Bill framed not in the interest of one party or of the other, but designed to give the vote to those women of every political opinion who have a direct and personal interest in national affairs.

ALFRED LYTTELTON
W. MITCHELL-THOMSON.
GEORGE WYNDHAM.
GEO. CAVE.

HUGH CECIL.
ROBT. CECIL.
W. ORMSBY-GORE.

The London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* comments on this letter:—"The purpose of the manifesto issued by several leading Conservatives in favour of the Conciliation Bill was, I am told, not so much to focus opposition against Mr. Lloyd George as to check the tendency among the weaker Unionists to desert the Suffrage camp altogether."

And he says further:—"The Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association has issued a circular to its members. While still holding to the Conciliation Bill, it expresses its willingness to consider amendments to the Reform Bill. Lady Betty Balfour, it is well known, is urging Conservative Suffragists, if possible, to accept a broad amendment."

Three Ministers on Women's Suffrage.

On December 5th, at Plymouth, in replying to a vote of thanks, Sir Edward Grey said:—

"I am not, of course, going to make a speech now, but I should like to say this: I disapprove as strongly as anyone could the violent methods used by a minority. But remember that they are a minority, and, though I am not going to argue the question, remember that there are great masses of women throughout this country who do not resort to violent methods, but who feel as earnestly and strongly on the suffrage question as anyone, and do not be prejudiced against women's suffrage because you disapprove of the methods of a minority of its supporters. I would ask you to bear in mind, further, that to people who do feel earnestly on women's suffrage it would be a most exasperating thing if the House of Commons, which has more than once sanctioned the principle of women's suffrage by a large majority, were to proceed to give a still larger measure of suffrage than they already have without doing anything to remove the bar to women having votes at all. (Hear, hear.) After an orderly meeting I thought it was due to fairplay to say as much as that on the subject. I of course, as you know, am strongly in favour of women's suffrage, and continue to be so. (Cheers.)"

On Friday, 8th December, in Manchester, Mr. Birrell answered three questions sent him by local members of the W.S.P.U. He said:—

"The first question I have a little difficulty in appreciating, but Mr. Scott has explained it to me. The question is:—

"Since, as leading Unionist suffragists have stated, Unionist support will be withdrawn from any measure wider than the Conciliation Bill, will Mr. Birrell admit the necessity that the support for a democratic proposal for votes for women must come entirely from the Coalition forces?"

Do you all follow that? (Laughter.) I understand the allegation to be that a number of Tory or Unionist suffragists will not vote for any measure wider than the Conciliation Bill. I believe that to be somewhat of a delusion, because I am informed that at least six of the Unionist supporters of the Conciliation Bill are quite prepared to support what is called the democratic proposal. I believe that the Tories who object to women's suffrage did their best to frighten the timid Unionist supporters of the Conciliation Bill by saying: 'Look here; you see this Bill is a mere subterfuge, a mere temporary measure, with a great big democratic thing behind it. Therefore you had better withdraw your support from the Conciliation Bill.' But I notice that the supporters of the Conciliation Bill have replied in a very spirited letter to that suggestion."

The other questions referred to Mr. Birrell's support of an amendment to the Reform Bill, and to his resignation in event of Manhood Suffrage being carried.

Speaking on December 4th at the National Liberal Club, Mr. J. M. Robertson, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, said

"Mr. Asquith had fully faced the situation in promising manhood suffrage, leaving it open to those who wanted to add womanhood suffrage (and he was one) to bring in an amendment. Window-breaking was not the sort of thing which would make good Liberals withhold their votes, and they must fall back upon the old maxim, 'Let justice be done though the heavens fall.' (Applause.) They had no right to visit the sins of the window-breakers upon the great mass of women outside."

Mr. Balfour on Women's Suffrage.

In view of the much debated question of the probable attitude of Unionists to a Women's Suffrage Amendment to the Reform Bill, our readers will be interested in the following quotations from Mr. Balfour's utterances in 1906.

On January 5th, 1906, he said, in answer to a question:—"If, as we are promised by some members of the present Cabinet, there is to be a Reform Bill brought forward including Manhood Suffrage, I should never assent to dealing with the problem without doing my best to make it not Manhood Suffrage alone, but Women Suffrage also. By all means, if you choose, let the matter rest where it is; I don't think a Reform Bill is ardently required for either men or women. But the idea that you can deal with the question indefinitely, raise it every decade, and leave the claims of half the human race out of account, I think really is unreasonable. There is another point. If it can be shown that in the legislation which has taken place, or which is likely to take place, there are collisions of interests between the two sexes which don't exist in other relations of life, I think it would be very hard that the women should be entirely excluded from any influence on the political machine by which the interests of the workers of both sexes are to be determined. The idea which appears to prevail in some Radical breasts that you are going to have an enormous alteration of our present electoral system, and that the change is to deal with the male sex alone, and not to include any change with regard to the relations of women to our present franchise—I don't think that will be found practicable, I don't think it ought to be found practicable, and, as far as I am concerned, it shall not be found practicable."

The second quotation is from a speech in the House of Commons on Tuesday, May 15th, 1906, on the Plural Voting Bill. He said:—"What we have to build upon as regards the franchise . . . is the historic basis on which every Statesman so far has built. . . . If you reject this historic basis, what are you going to put in its place? I heard a speech from an Hon. Member below the gangway, who seemed to think it was an obvious axiomatic principle of politics that every individual male over 21 in the community should have a vote, and that no man should have more than one vote. . . . That is approaching the question not from the historical side . . . it is approaching it from the purely theoretical aspect. If you are to be theoretical, in heaven's name let your theories be consistent, logical, and carried to their extreme issue. . . . Even from the speculative point of view, which I repudiate, but which commends itself so greatly to the majority of the House, has it the semblance of merit? In the first place, why is this suffrage to be confined to males over 21? Why not females? I speak, of course, only for myself, but I can assure the House that if we are going to deal with our Suffrage system on these theoretical lines, I certainly should not so belie the obvious logic of the situation as to refuse my assent to Female Suffrage as well as to Male Suffrage. If you are going to consider the rights of

humanity, in the abstract, then humanity includes females as well as males. It is perfect folly to ask this House to accept as a logical and symmetrical solution of the Suffrage question a principle which is to exclude more than half the adult population of these islands. I do not know what are the views of the right hon. gentleman in charge of this Bill (Mr. Lewis Harcourt). I rather think he is a violent opponent of Women's Suffrage. Then do not let him come to us and say: 'In my opinion every man, from the point of view of the Suffrage, is equal because he is a man.' 'A man's a man for a' that!' But a woman is a woman 'for a' that.' . . . Let us, in dealing with the rights of humanity, not forget that more than half of British humanity consists of the sex which the right hon. gentleman does not propose to enfranchise."

In Parliament.

THE PIT-BROW LASSES.

On December 5th, on the Report Stage of the Coal Mines Bill, Clause 92, dealing with the employment of boys, girls and women was considered. Mr. Masterman proposed to add to the provision that "no boy, girl or woman shall be employed in moving railway wagons," the words "or in lifting, carrying, or moving anything so heavy as to be likely to cause injury to the boy, girl or woman." Mr. Swift described the amendment as put forward to meet "a purely imaginary danger, invented and discussed by those who object to women working at all at the pit-brow." Mr. Masterman explained that the provision was nothing new since the words were "taken straight and bodily from existing Law, the Employment of Children Act, 1903." The amendment was carried.

Later on sub-section (8) prohibiting the work of women, was, on the motion of Mr. Masterman, rescinded. Viscount Castlereagh, Mr. Stephen Walsh, Lord Wolmer, and Mr. Neville all spoke for the women; Sir A. Markham, Mr. Brace, Mr. Atherley Jones, Sir W. Menzies, Mr. C. Edwards spoke against them. The vote was 297 to 71 for withdrawing the prohibition.

THIRD READING OF THE INSURANCE BILL.

On December 6th, on the motion for Third Reading, Mr. Forster moved an amendment that steps should be taken to enable further discussion of Part I. to be resumed next Session. He and Mr. Worthington Evans made a detailed attack on the Bill, and Mr. Lloyd George replied, not so much to them as directing his attack upon Lord Robert Cecil's election leaflets. The voting went against the amendment by 320 to 223, and, subsequently, the Bill was read a third time by 324 to 21, the Opposition walking out.

SHOPS BILL.

On Friday, a portion of the Shops Bill, providing for a weekly half-holiday and meal times and making provision for local inquiries to facilitate early closing, was read a third time without a division.

QUESTIONS.

A question asked on Tuesday by Mr. MacCallum Scott elicited the information that during the past six years there have been in British India 57 cases of torture of witnesses by police, and in 17 cases death ensued and there had not been any conviction for murder.

On the 4th, in answer to a question from Mr. Snowden, Mr. McKinnon Wood said that not only the woman commissioner but "so far as he knew" other women appointed under the Insurance Act would receive the same salary as men.

On December 6th Mr. McKenna announced the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the Jury System.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

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

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Offices: Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.
Hon. Treasurer: MRS. AUERBACH.
Hon. Secretary to Press Committee: MISS EMILY M. LEAF.

Special Council Meeting,

December 8th, 1911.

POLICY.

I. That this Council continues to support the Conciliation Bill, and regards the reiterated pledge of time for its discussion given by the Prime Minister as of the greatest importance.

II.

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

III.

METHODS.
That in view of the political situation the N.U.W.S.S. strongly asserts its conviction that the steady pursuance of the policy it has adopted will lead to the enfranchisement

of the women in 1912, and emphatically condemns the resort to methods of violence in support of the Cause of Women's Suffrage.

The above are undoubtedly the three most important resolutions passed at the Council Meeting held on Friday, December 8th. The two first define the policy of the Union, the third emphasizes its attitude towards methods.

The policy of the Union was very thoroughly discussed, for, although it was clear that there was general support for the resolutions passed, two of the Societies had sent in resolutions urging the Union to work in one case for the Conciliation Bill only, and in the other for the inclusion of Women in the Reform Bill as introduced, so that these points of view were also considered. Both were rejected as impracticable; the Union cannot confine itself to work for the Conciliation Bill only, when the prospects of the passing of a wide amendment to the Reform Bill are even more hopeful; and much as all suffragists resent the exclusion of women from the text of the Bill, it was felt that the wisest policy is to accept the concessions given by the Government, and to concentrate on getting an amendment carried, in Miss Sterling's words, "to get stitched on to the Reform Bill."

Resolution III. provoked more discussion than any other; the Council were united in their adherence to constitutional methods, but a minority wished to refrain, mainly on grounds of feeling, from condemning methods of violence.

Mrs. Fawcett, who moved the resolution, said that it was necessary in view of the misapprehension existing in the minds of many people to make it clear that the National Union had never been associated with methods of violence. "We have our duty," she said, "to those who trust to our leadership throughout the country; it will depend on us to maintain the constitutional and non-militant point of view."

Miss Courtney in seconding, emphasized the fact that the resolution condemned not persons but methods, and said that it was proposed in no spirit of hostility or of bitterness, but with a profound sense of the responsibility of the National Union towards its supporters all over the country who looked to it to vindicate constitutional methods.

The resolution was eventually carried by a very large majority. The following three resolutions were passed unanimously and without discussion:

That the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies desires to express the deep debt the Woman's Suffrage Cause owes to the untiring practical work of the Conciliation Committee, realising that without that work the recent concessions of the Government would never have been made; they recognise that the value of the firm stand taken by the Committee in holding the Government to its pledges cannot be overestimated.

That this Council, realising that a Member of Parliament who is in favour of Women's Suffrage and who at the same time approves of a further extension of the franchise to men, can most effectively use his influence for Women's Suffrage by being prepared to vote against the Reform Bill should it not include women, gratefully acknowledges the statement of the National Administrative Council of the Independent Labour Party that the proposals for franchise extension which do not confer citizenship on women should be opposed.

That this Council welcomes the declaration of the Labour Party that "no measure for the extension of the franchise will be satisfactory, which does not give votes to women" and urges the Party to enforce this declaration in the only way that will be effective, by resolving to oppose the Bill in its final stage, if it has not been amended so as to include some measure of Women's Suffrage.

The first of these resolutions was passed with acclamation; the National Union fully realises what the Women's Suffrage cause owes to the Conciliation Committee and in particular to Lord Lytton and Mr. Brailsford, and was glad at this juncture to have the opportunity of placing this resolution on record. The resolution has been sent to the Conciliation Committee, and the two others to the I. L. P. and the Labour Party respectively.

In view of the political situation, the questions to candidates at by-elections were revised and the following drafted by Miss Palliser and Miss Macmillan and subsequently amended by the Council and adopted:—

GENERAL.

1. Will you declare yourself in your election address to be in favour of Women's Suffrage?

REFORM BILL.

2. Will you support an amendment to the Reform Bill to admit women on the same terms as men?

3. Will you vote for an amendment to the Reform Bill on the lines of the Conciliation Bill with the addition of Married Women?

4. Failing the passing of the amendment suggested in Question 3 will you vote for one on the lines of the Conciliation Bill?

5. Should a Parliamentary Women's Suffrage amendment not be carried will you vote against the 3rd reading of the Reform Bill?

CONCILIATION BILL.

6. Should no Women's Suffrage Amendment to the Reform Bill be carried will you support the Conciliation Bill in all its stages and vote against any amendment to it tending seriously to divide the supporters of Women's Suffrage?

It was left to the discretion of the Executive to alter Question 3, if and when circumstances should make it necessary. Two other recommendations as to work were passed by the Council and are already in the hands of the Societies.

Mrs. Fawcett in her speech from the chair, filled the delegates with fresh courage and confidence by the hopeful view which she took of the situation. She expressed the gratitude we all feel to the Conciliation Committee for the work they have done, and reiterated her belief that woman's suffrage is a non-party question, and will be solved on non-party lines. English Suffragists are not fighting for themselves only, but for the cause of womanhood all over the world. Other nations are watching us with the greatest interest, and we must bear ourselves worthily of our position.

Miss Courtney explained the course which had been pursued by the Executive Committee since Mr. Asquith's announcement on November 7th. She emphasized the fact that the National Union had not abandoned the Conciliation Bill, and that it adhered confidently to the belief that the question of Women's Suffrage was still capable of a non-party solution, and she declared that we hoped for and expected Conservative support for an amendment to the Reform Bill. She said that although the political situation changed almost from day to day, every change rendered the position of women's enfranchisement more favourable.

The Council was extremely well attended, delegates being present from nearly every Society in the Union, as well as a number of duly accredited visitors. In opening the Council, Mrs. Fawcett reported that she had invited Sir Edward Grey to address the meeting; he replied that he was unable to do so owing to pressure of work, but recognised that the Council offered a valuable opportunity of which he would be glad to avail himself on another occasion. It was unanimously resolved to invite Sir Edward Grey to address the Annual Meeting to be held in February.

The Executive Committee had also invited Lord Lytton and Mr. Brailsford to be present. Lord Lytton was unable to come, but Mr. Brailsford was fortunately able to do so, and was given a great reception by the delegates.

A report of his speech is given elsewhere; it must have been a satisfaction to the Council to know that before he laid his views before them, they had passed the resolution resolving to work both for the Conciliation Bill and for an amendment to the Reform Bill precisely on the lines he suggested. It is fair to add that the resolution as to methods was not moved until the afternoon, Mr. Brailsford having made his speech in the morning.

The proceedings ended with a vote of thanks to Mrs. Fawcett who was in the chair nearly the whole day, only absenting herself for a short time in order to keep an important engagement. K. D. COURTNEY.

From Headquarters.

NEW SOCIETIES.

The following new Societies have joined the National Union and were formally accepted by the Executive Committee on Thursday, December 7th:—

Scottish Federation:—Innerleithen, Selkirk and Hawick.

Kent:—Deal and Walmer.

Oxford, Berks and Bucks:—Pangbourne.

East Midlands:—Grantham and Kettering.

South Western:—Budleigh Salterton.

The Holloway Old Students' Society has also affiliated to the N.U.

RESIGNATION OF MR. IVORY CRIPPS.

The Executive has regretfully accepted the resignation of Mr. Ivory Cripps, who was elected last January. During the last few months Mr. Cripps has found that his duties make it impossible for him to attend the meetings of the Executive, and he is therefore obliged with much regret to resign from the Committee.

ORGANISATION.

The Organisation Committee has accepted a new organiser, Miss Beaver, for training and is arranging that at least one organiser shall be at work in every Federation from Christmas to Easter. We hope to publish the list next week.

The South Western Federation (Cornwall and Devon) has been without an organiser for not quite three months; the generous gifts of Miss Eleanor Rathbone, and of the Younger Suffragists have now enabled us to send Miss Gertrude Davenport, who started work at Newton Abbot on December 4th, and will no doubt be able later on to follow up Miss Edwards' successful campaign in Falmouth and Truro.

BY-ELECTIONS.

Two more by-elections are in progress in Scotland. The Scottish Organiser, Miss Crompton, is at work in North Ayrshire; and the organisation Committee has sent Mrs. Cowmeadow to take charge in Govan. Reports of the work will be found elsewhere.

ALBERT HALL MEETING: FEBRUARY 23rd.

We wish again to remind Societies that the GREAT ALBERT HALL MEETING, at which Mr. Lloyd George has consented to speak will take place on Friday, February 23rd, and it is suggested that each Society should, if possible, take a box. It is hoped that the Annual Meeting may be arranged to take place approximately at the same time.

IRISH WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION.

The Executive Committee has sent the following message to Mrs. Haslam, Hon. Sec. of the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association:—

"That the Executive of the N.U.W.S.S. offers its congratulations to the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association on their success in securing for the women of Ireland equal rights of voting for and of eligibility to all the Local Councils of Ireland."

As Mrs. Haslam, to whose strenuous efforts much of the success of the Association is due, points out in her letter of November 1st, 1911, the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government will in reality stand for Women's Suffrage, the N.U.W.S.S. would be glad to have the Irish Women who are working for their common object more closely associated with them. They hope that the Societies in the Association will see their way to adopt Women's Suffrage as their sole object and title of their Association and to become affiliated Societies of the N.U.W.S.S.

CONFERENCE OF COMBINED SUFFRAGISTS.

The National Union has received an invitation to attend a Conference of Members of Parliament and organisations in favour of the enfranchisement of Women on broad and democratic lines to be held at the House of Commons on Thursday, 14th, to consider the advisability of conducting a united campaign throughout the Country.

Miss K. D. Courtney and Miss Edith Palliser will attend the Conference on behalf of the Union.

PERSIAN WOMEN'S APPEAL.

The following telegram reached the office of the London Society for Women's Suffrage, and was by them communicated to the National Union:—

"Teheran, December 5th, 1911, 10.45 a.m.

"To Women's Suffragist Committee, London.

"The Russian Government by an ultimatum demands us to surrender to her our independence. The ears of men of Europe are deaf to our cries, could you women not come to our help? Persian Women's Society Marokh Tooba Afkhamol Moluck Batool Showkat Azeizaga Akhtar Darakshandeh Soltanate Khorsheed Heshmat Balejah Tooran Sakheeneh Alam Talat Moneer Zeevar Ghodree Nekhated Dowleh Nekhates Saltaneh Regheeyeh Soghra Faranges Afsar Hosnejan Mowlood Effatzamon Vofa Khadeejeh Ateyeh Khorsheed Kola Beebee Bobabeh Aleyeh each one of us has about hundred followers."

A letter has been returned in reply stating that unhappily English women have not yet any political independence themselves.

PRESS DEPARTMENT.

A strong Suffrage article appeared in the *Nation* on December 2nd, with a very pertinent criticism of Mrs. Humphry Ward's subtle, and to

the average mind incomprehensible, distinction between the powers needed for the exercise of the municipal and the parliamentary franchises. After reading the gloomy forebodings of sex antagonism indulged in by some of our opponents, it is a relief to find the *Nation* expressing the real spirit of the Suffrage movement in saying that the interests of the sexes are not opposed, but united.

The *Blackburn Times* and the *Weekly Telegraph* have given great prominence to the recent Suffrage meetings which have been addressed in the town by Lady Frances Balfour and Lady Betty Balfour, and the *Blackburn Times* had a very sympathetic leader on the formation of a Suffrage Society in Blackburn.

We read in the *American Woman's Journal* that in California many of the Antis now declare that they always believed in Women's Suffrage. Perhaps this may provide some consolation for our friends of the N.L.O.W.S. when they contemplate the near approach of women's enfranchisement in England.

M. L. MACKENZIE.

Treasurer's Notes.

The Finance Committee has approved of a Great National Appeal for Funds, for the 1912 campaign.

The position is critical to an unprecedented degree. We have more to gain by energy, or lose by apathy, than ever before.

On looking back, it is apparent that each great advance in the Country has been accompanied by a rapid growth in the Union.

The first step forward, when Women's Suffrage passed from the academic to the practical stage was immediately preceded by the contribution of £1,400 in one year for national purposes, and signalled by the increase in the number of our Societies from thirty to ninety.

The year 1910 was marked by the formation of our two-hundredth Society and by the expenditure of over £5,000 on work directed from headquarters alone. The increasing power of the Union was shown in many ways. At the General Election in January, we collected petitions in favour of Women's Suffrage from 300,000 electors. These and the petitions from City, Borough and other local councils are perhaps the only ones which continue to have any weight with the House of Commons.

The constitution of the new Parliament and its change of tone, faithfully registering the great advance of opinion in our favour in the Constituencies, obliged the Government, for the first time, to grant two days for a "full dress" debate

on the second reading of the Women's Suffrage Bill (the Conciliation Bill), which was carried by a great majority.

Within twelve months we were faced with another General Election. In this election Women's Suffrage was one of the main issues, and often drew larger and more interested crowds than the meetings of candidates themselves. In this result the Union may claim a large share; it spent another £5,000 from the Central offices, besides collecting about £15,000 locally; meantime another hundred Societies were added to the Union, which now includes over three hundred.

The further growth of favourable opinion and another second reading of the Bill, carried by an enormous majority, have been followed, on the part of the Government by the pledges for facilities that we know.

The task before us, is greater than any previous task and unique in this respect, that, for the first time, we have a practical chance, not only of another great step forward, but of victory itself. Mr. Brailsford, in his stirring speech to our special meeting of Council last Friday, confirmed our belief that the opportunities offered us by an amendment to the Government Reform Bill and by the Conciliation Bill are far better than any we had in the last two sessions.

But chance is not certainty, and such being our position, we venture to ask all our friends to be more generous and self-sacrificing than they have ever been before. The treasury is the store-house, not only of the money, but of that accumulated power which is soon to be expressed by the various activities of the National Union all over Great Britain. However prosaic it may seem, it is a fact that our effect may be exactly measured by the size of our Funds. Contributors may rest assured that every penny will be spent with due care and economy, but we can only carry on the great campaign which is now so urgent if we have at least £10,000 to start with. I am anxious to raise this sum with as little delay as possible, but I hope that those who cannot give all they can spare now, will send me, as soon as may be, promises of gifts to be announced at our Albert Hall meeting on February 23rd.

Our President, Mrs. Fawcett, has promised £20 a month for six months. What are those going to do who cannot serve the cause as she does, in other ways?

We have had some large gifts again this week, and Lord Courtney, our old and tried friend, joins with Lady Courtney in a donation and cordial good wishes.

Who will give us the money for sending a copy of *COMMON CAUSE* for a year to the Library of Mansfield House Settlement? They receive a copy of the "Anti-Suffrage Review," and though its effect is no doubt excellent, we think it would be still better if our paper were there also.

FRANCES M. STERLING (Treasurer, *pro tem.*)

Contributions to the General Fund

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged since November 1st ...	636	11	6
From December 2nd to December 9th, 1911			
Subscriptions:—			
Mrs. W. Rudge (per Mrs. Oswald Nettelfeld)	1	1	0
Mrs. Reeve	1	0	0
Miss Awdry	1	0	0
Mrs. Edith Hinchley	2	6	
Mrs. S. E. Powell	10	0	
Donations, 1912 Campaign:—			
Miss L. A. Wilks	5	0	
Miss H. J. Gardiner	1	0	
Lord and Lady Courtney of Penwith	3	0	
Miss Aline Johnson	1	0	
Mrs. Poole	1	0	
Mrs. Robert Fox (Falmouth)	10	0	

Miss E. G. Henriques	£	1	0
Dr. Sophia Seekings	1	0	
Miss R. Hovey, B.A. Organiser's Fund	10	0	
Miss E. M. Hovey	1	0	
J. W. Browne Esq., M.A.	1	0	
Mrs. Randall Vickers (for expenses of Albert Hall Meeting)	2	0	
Miss C. B. Thresher	10	6	
The Misses Trollope	20	0	
Hastlemere W.S.S.	7	0	
Hull W.S.S. (White Elephant Sale)	6	0	
Election Fund:—			
Collection per Mrs. Cowmeadow	1	17	1
Mrs. Brewer	2	0	
Mrs. H. Bradford	1	0	
Affiliation Fees:—			
Hawick W.S.S.	5	9	

E. Berks W.S.S.	£	1	0
Grantham W.S.S.	1	5	0
Kettering W.S.S.	10	0	
Oxsted and Lingsfield W.S.S.	13	3	
Hunts W.S.S. additional	3	0	
Woking W.S.S. additional	9	9	
Chester W.S.S. additional	3	6	
	£	73	7

The Common Cause.

WEDNESDAY RALLIES.

These will be suspended for a few weeks in view of the holidays, and will be resumed in the New Year when due notice of them will be given in the paper.

THE BY-ELECTIONS.

GOVAN.

Candidates: {Mr. D. T. Holmes (L.).
{Mr. George Balfour (U.).
Polling day: Friday, December 22nd.
Committee Rooms: 826, Govan Road.
Organiser: Mrs. Cowmeadow.

A committee-room has been opened in a very prominent position, and considerable interest is taken in our display of posters and literature, and anxious enquiry is made as to which candidate we are supporting. Questions have been sent to both candidates and interviews arranged for early dates. The campaign will be a short one, and much help will be needed to make it effective. Volunteers for committee-room or outside work are asked to apply personally or by postcard to Miss K. W. Lindsey, or me at above address.

C. E. COWMEADOW.

NORTH AYRSHIRE.

Candidates: {Mr. A. M. Anderson, K.C. (Liberal).
{Captain Duncan Campbell, D.S.O. (U.).
Committee Rooms: 15, Countess Street, Saltcoats.
Organiser: Miss Alice Compton.
Polling Day: December 20th.

"The best laid schemes of mice and men gang aft a-gley."

In Ayrshire a trite quotation from Burns is paragonable, and it is in this county I find myself instead of in Montrose, as stated in last week's *COMMON CAUSE*. No more trying time of the year for an election can be imagined, and the weather is doing its worst. But more than rain and snow is needed to damp our hopes at the present political juncture. The candidates, it is true, are not encouraging, but we have faith that here, as elsewhere, the mass of the electorate is on our side. I arrived in the county on the evening of the 8th, and was fortunate enough to secure interviews next day with both candidates. Mr. Anderson, the new Solicitor-General, who has to stand for re-election on accepting paid office under the Crown, is vaguely in favour of Women's Suffrage. His election address, he states, makes no mention of political issues—not even of the Insurance Bill—and does not allude to Women's Suffrage. He declines to give any pledges without seeing the specific proposals of the Reform Bill and of its possible amendments. Captain Campbell's written replies are

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Address

Date.....

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Miss A. D. Bird, 35, Hill Rise, Richmond, writes:—"I cannot speak too highly of the good Iron 'Jelloids' did me. I had suffered from Anæmia and Indigestion for years, and nothing did me any good until I tried them. I have never had it since. I know they are of wonderful benefit to anyone suffering from anæmia or chronic indigestion."

Mrs. C. H. Cator, 126, Barkworth Road, Rotherhithe, writes:—"Having taken 'Jelloids' for anæmia and found great benefit from them, I shall endeavour to make known to all my friends the great change that takes place so quickly. They are a blessing in disguise to women."

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