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The Common Cause

The Organ of the National Union of

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

Societies.

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Notes and Comments.

More Suffrage States in America.

A cable which reached Mr. Snowden on Friday, and of which he communicated the substance to *The Manchester Guardian*, brought the good news that the State referendum in Michigan, Kansas and Arizona was strongly in favour of Women's Suffrage. The result in Oregon was still doubtful when the cable was dispatched, but there were hopes of a victory there also. Two years ago the referendum in Oregon was heavily adverse to the enfranchisement of women, owing to the opposition, it is understood, of the liquor interest. In Wisconsin women's suffrage has been defeated, and cannot be brought up again for another two years. The significant feature of the three successes is, as *The Manchester Guardian* notes, that they occur in States adjoining those in which the women's vote already exists. Mr. Snowden found, during his visit to America last year, that "the opinion of everyone qualified to judge of the working of woman's suffrage in the States where it had been obtained was extremely favourable to its extension." It is fairly clear that the electors of neighbouring States, who should be in a position to judge, also think favourably of the women voters, since the extension spreads, on the whole, from centres where women are already voting.

The Nature of the American Opposition.

Mr. Snowden adds that the American campaign is fought much less on grounds of general principles than is the case here. "The chief opposition comes from the interests which consider that they will be injured by the reforming zeal of the women." It is well known that the fear of women as probable advocates of temperance actuates much of the American opposition, but opposition based upon the belief that women will hold views other than those of the opponent is not unknown on this side of the ocean. The Conservative who dislikes women's suffrage because "all women will vote Liberal," and the Liberal who dislikes it because "all women will vote Conservative" are familiar figures. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that a man who is an "anti" enunciates his view of women's political tendencies, it is safe to rank him in the opposite fold. Considerations of this kind cannot be regarded as "grounds of general principle."

Possibilities.

In her speech at the Albert Hall—of which the report was almost entirely crowded out last week—Miss Royden made a point which it would be well to remember. It was that no one knows nor can know what women may become when oppor-

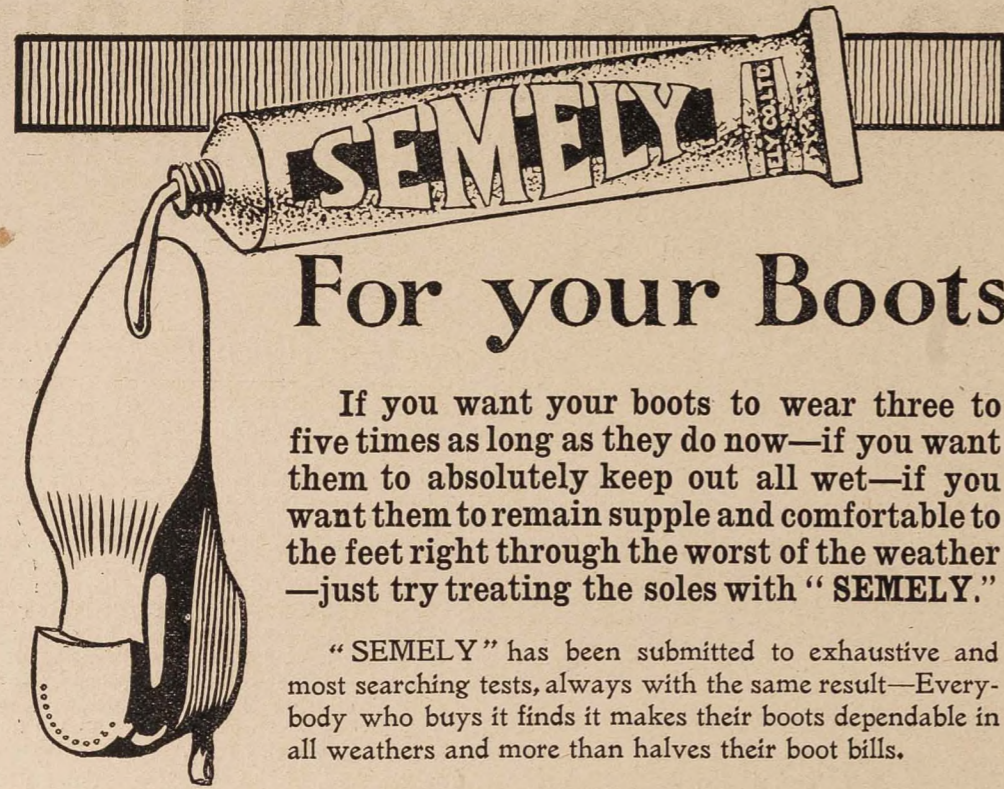
tunities hitherto closed to them are open. The gifts that may be brought to public life by women are being rejected uncounted and unmeasured; their services to local politics have—few as are the numbers engaged—been great; men who beforehand dreaded their advent would now never consent to lose their help; as officials, under orders from men, they have known themselves as serviceable as men, but always with a difference—the woman inspector sees from another angle—and even where initiative has been denied them this difference has brought in fresh life to the work. Who knows how far the deadness of modern politics, the fighting in the air, the quibbles over mere words might be swept away by the influx of a new wave of voters in touch with the realities of life and not yet stupefied by the mere forms of the Parliamentary game? But of course it is precisely that influx of vitality which many players of the game dread.

At the Head of the Poll.

The Standard, of November 9th, printed a most interesting interview with Miss Mary Beeton, M.A., who stood as an independent candidate for the Paddington Borough Council, and headed the poll for the Harrow Road Ward. In her election address she made no definite promises and abused no party; she told the electors that she had worked for ten years in the district, that she believed women were wanted on councils, and that she had leisure to devote to the work. Very few questions were asked her as to her policy, and she believes that the 1,579 votes cast for her were given by the electors in the conviction that she desired to serve them and had no axe to grind. "Many of my helpers were women, and how they did work!" But clearly the work that told most was that done during ten devoted years by Miss Beeton herself. The inhabitants of the depressing districts that make up the Harrow Road Ward knew what she had been doing, and trusted her to continue on the same path. The electors deserved the representative whom they have got; and Miss Beeton had earned the confidence that they showed in her. We note that she ranks herself as suffragist, although it was not on suffrage grounds that she fought the election. Such women are preachers of suffrage, even when with their lips they oppose it; but we are glad that we may count Miss Beeton on our side.

Mr. W. A. Coote on Women's Suffrage.

Miss Gladys Pott has done a great service to the cause of Women's Suffrage. She quoted in public (in the full belief that she was authorised to do so) an observation of Mr. W. A. Coote's that he personally had never known an instance of a young woman being directly driven to immorality by low wages. From this remark she seems to have inferred that Mr. Coote was an anti-Suffragist. Mr. Coote thereupon wrote to the "Standard" a letter containing the following paragraph:—"As an official of the National Vigilance Association, I am not allowed to give expression to my own political opinions, and up to the present time I have been able to keep clear of political controversies. I am compelled to put on record my personal opinion of what I think would be the result of granting the Suffrage to women—namely, that it would be a great advantage if women possessed the vote, from a wage point of view, as well as from every other, and would result in the social advancement of working women. Further, I am firmly convinced that not only would the work of this association be greatly simplified, but that it would probably lead to the solution of the moral problem with which we deal."



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Cause, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. The Editor, however, accepts
no responsibility for unsolicited matter, and no manuscripts will be
returned unless accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope.

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

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

The Debate on Mr. Snowden's Amendment.

On Tuesday, November 5th, Clause 9 of the Home Rule Bill was under consideration. It runs: “The Irish House of Commons shall consist of one hundred and sixty-four members, returned by the constituencies in Ireland named in the First Part of the First Schedule to this Act in accordance with that Schedule, and elected by the same electors and in the same manner as members returned by constituencies in Ireland to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom.” To this Mr. Philip Snowden (Lab., Blackburn) moved to leave out the words “same electors and,” and to insert instead thereof the words “local government electors but otherwise.”

WOMEN'S CLAIM.

In what Mr. Birrell afterwards described as a “well-knitted and closely-reasoned speech,” Mr. SNOWDEN explained that the effect of this amendment would be to give women votes for the Irish Parliament on the same terms as men. He did not move it in a spirit hostile to Home Rule (an assertion which was cordially endorsed by several Nationalist and Liberal speakers subsequently), but he held that when the demand of women for enfranchisement was so widespread and urgent it was a surprise to see them excluded from a new representative body. The Irish Parliament would not deal with Imperial affairs, nor with the Army and Navy; therefore some of the chief anti-suffrage objections fell to the ground. The London County Council, on which women were represented, dealt with a population 50 per cent. larger than the population of Ireland, and local bodies dealt with revenues amounting to £100,000,000 a year, about 60 per cent. of which is raised by taxation. The Irish Parliament would deal with matters vitally affecting the industrial population, in which women were very deeply and vitally interested.

A PRECEDENT.

Mr. Snowden reminded the House that women were in Mr. Birrell's Councils Bill of 1907, and that Mr. Churchill and Lord Haldane had both indicated their belief that women should have votes for local parliaments. They were setting a precedent in setting up this first local parliament, and he urged the House not to force women to make the same struggle over each parliament in turn. While admitting that the demand of Irishwomen had not been as widespread as that of Englishwomen, he advanced a considerable body of proof, fourteen suffrage societies, twelve local delegates, the organised Labour movement in Ireland, four County Councils, and four City Councils having declared in favour. The amendment would enfranchise about 100,000 women to 600,000 men, and of these women about 70,000 were owning and managing their own farms. The Suffrage movement had united women of all creeds and parties in Ireland. They were setting up a Constitution for Ireland, and it was their duty to see that every interest was represented;

Men and Women Teachers in Ireland.

A question asked last week of Mr. Birrell brought into the open a most scandalous condition of affairs. Mr. Hugh Barrie asked whether the medical officer of Marlborough Street Training College, Dublin, had submitted a report as long ago as August, 1911, about Talbot House, in which a number of women students of the college were residing, and in which, owing to the state of the building, cases of diphtheria and other diseases had arisen, and why no steps had been taken to provide a new residence. Mr. Birrell replied that he was quite aware of the unsatisfactory nature of the accommodation provided for the female students, and had visited the house himself.

The difficulty, however, is that a grant of £50,000 was made to the Commissioners of National Education from the Irish Development Grant for erection of residences for the men and women students, but they spent the whole of the money on a residence for the men only. In these circumstances I have been unable to obtain a further grant to them for the purpose.

As the law courts seem to furnish the best platform for protests, perhaps some parent of a student had better bring an action against the Commissioners of National Education. It seems clear that there has been a direct breach of duty on the part of some particular official or officials, and we hope that those Suffragist members of the Irish Party who voted the other night against the enfranchisement of their countrywomen will feel themselves doubly bound to bring to book the people who have spent upon Irishmen money which was allotted by the State to Irishwomen, and in consequence of whose breach of trust these women students have been, for more than a year, exposed to daily risk of their lives.

Motor Omnibus Drivers and “Trips.”

Mr. McKenna, in answer to a request that he would make inquiries “as to whether the pay of London motor omnibus drivers to some extent depends on the number of trips completed or miles run, instead of their being paid a fixed wage,” replied that, as he had previously stated, “the men receive a fixed daily wage, but I am informed that they are required to do a given number of trips.” He did not, however, explain what happened to men who failed to make the required number, nor did he say that he had investigated the rates of speed necessary to make up the full tale of trips.

Upon Mr. Kellaway further asking him to inform “the omnibus trusts” that it was undesirable that the pay of the men should depend upon the number of trips, Mr. McKenna said that he had twice explained that the pay of the men does not depend on the number of trips they make. With all respect to Mr. McKenna, we beg to protest that he has not done so. To say that their pay does not depend upon their making up the required number of trips, if they are liable to be discharged for not making it up, is a quibble of which we will not believe that a responsible Minister would be guilty. It is, therefore, to be supposed that the Home Secretary failed to apprehend the true inwardness of Mr. Kellaway's questions. Home Secretaries doubtless are seldom passengers—or would-be passengers—on motor omnibuses. They do not, therefore, know by experience how frequently drivers refuse to see persons who desire to enter their vehicles, and how evidently they dread to lose a single instant of time. No person of intelligence who travels habitually in these vehicles can seriously doubt that the men are virtually compelled to perform their journeys with a degree of rapidity that is really contrary to the interest not only of travellers and of pedestrians, but even of the companies which they serve. We hope some member of Parliament will devote his spare hours to cultivating the personal acquaintance of two or three drivers, and will subsequently give the Home Secretary and the House of Commons the benefit of his better knowledge.

The Youngest Women's Suffrage Newspaper.

The first women's suffrage journal has made its appearance in South Africa. This is *The Woman's Outlook*, which is the organ of the Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union of South Africa. Its objects are to record suffrage activities, to observe the work of women especially in South Africa, to serve as a medium for the interchange of ideas upon questions concerning women's interests, and to encourage women to fit themselves to take part in public affairs. The leading article speaks of the way in which, four years ago, a suffrage petition, with 7,000 signatures, was “counterchecked” by an anti-suffrage petition, with 10,000 signatures. The latter was signed by many women who believed that it merely asked for a delay in the date of enfranchisement. In April of the present year a petition asking for the enfranchisement of women “on similar terms as it is or may be granted to men” was presented in the Union Parliament, and no counter petition appeared. We heartily welcome this latest recruit to the ranks of women's suffrage journals, and wish it—we were about to say a long life, but, course, we mean a short one.

they were introducing "safeguards" for men and none for women; they were treating women as a "transferred service," like drainage and the Congested District Board. By settling the constitution of the Irish Senate they had taken away the last shred of justification for not settling women's suffrage. Moreover, the Franchise Bill to come before Imperial Parliament shortly would alter the Irish franchise, and they were actually proposing to make the Irish party settle their own franchise and the franchise for the United Kingdom as well. If it had not been for the Nationalist vote on the Conciliation Bill this session we should probably have had votes for women in the United Kingdom. The new Irish Parliament would have its hands very full with social reform, and they would find a great deal of feeling among women on these questions; to have already enfranchised them would relieve the Irish Parliament of much anxiety for the next three years. "This Bill should be a democratic Bill, and every section of Ireland should be represented. If my amendment be not incorporated in the Bill, then it is not a Home Rule Bill."

MR. BIRRELL'S SENSIBLE VIEWS.

Mr. Birrell (L., Bristol) again declared himself as desirous of seeing the principle of Woman Suffrage "cautiously introduced," and he hoped very soon to have an opportunity of giving effect to his "moderate and sensible views on this subject." There was a large body of opinion in Ireland in favour of the principle of Woman Suffrage, and when the Franchise Bill came before the House anything they introduced by way of extending the suffrage to women would be the prerogative of Irishwomen as well as of those who were in England, Scotland and Wales; even if the women's amendments to the Franchise Bill were defeated, the Irish Parliament could, after three years, add women to the electoral roll. The vote on the Franchise Bill would be "free from party ties or any other obligations," and he urged members to allow this question to remain over till then. As to the Irish Council Bill of 1907, to which reference had been made, that Bill gave only administrative functions to the Council, and therefore was different in kind from this Bill, which gave to the Irish Parliament legislative powers.

AN APPEAL TO MR. REDMOND.

Mr. David Mason (L., Coventry), in supporting the amendment, appealed to Mr. John Redmond to say that on the Franchise Bill the Irish Party should approach the question quite unfettered. If the Irish Party by their votes defeated not only this amendment, but the amendment to the Franchise Bill, they would be doing what would retard their great ideal and great hope more than they knew.

Mr. William Redmond (N., Clare) declared that threats were "the very last argument to appeal to Irishmen." He had never wavered for a moment in the support he had consistently given all through his life to women's enfranchisement (Mr. W. Redmond abstained from voting for the Conciliation Bill on March 28th last), but this question should be left to the Irish people; yet he went on to say that on the Franchise Bill would come the real opportunity of a "full and free vote upon the merits of the question." That evening's vote would not be on the merits. When Mr. Birrell had said the vote would be "free and unfettered," the statement had been met by some derision. "I really do not know why." In reply to several pertinent inquiries interjected by Mr. Chancellor (L., Haggerston), Mr. W. Redmond replied: "As far as I know, there has never been any pressure put upon Irish members in this matter. I do not know from what direction the pressure is supposed to come, but I can assure the hon. member with absolute frankness that this question of the franchise for women has never within my recollection been made a party question with the Irish Party." He was "quite devoted" to this cause; he appealed to the House to trust the Irish "people," and not press for a division.

Mr. W. F. Roch (L., Pembroke) pressed Mr. W. Redmond to explain why he and other Irish suffragists had abstained from voting, or voted against their principles, on the Conciliation Bill if that had been "a free vote." Irish members, at least, could not have been offended by broken windows. Why did they say "one thing in the lobby or the smoking-room," and another in the House. The Irish members had "played a selfish game," and such games react on the people who play them.

MR. REDMOND REPLIES.

Mr. John Redmond (N. Waterford) replied to the personal appeals of Mr. Mason and Mr. Roch, that this being "a purely domestic question," should be left to the Irish Parliament. With regard to the vote on the Franchise Bill, "the Prime Minister has declared that it shall be a free vote for the Liberal Party, and the Government Whips shall not be put on. I have

no hesitation in saying that it will be a free vote on the merits of the general question by the members of the Irish Party." Questioned by Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Redmond added, "The members of the Irish Party will be as free to vote on the merits of this question as the members of the Liberal Party will be under the pledge of the Prime Minister." Further on he said "If the Woman Franchise amendment is carried in the Franchise Bill, automatically it applies to Ireland, whatever our views are, and if it is not put in the Franchise Bill, then it is an unfair thing to force it upon Ireland before we have had an opportunity, as we would have under Home Rule, of deciding it for ourselves."

A BRAIN WAVE.

Sir Alfred Mond (L. Swansea) maintained that the two lines of argument (that Women's Suffrage should be settled in the Franchise Bill and should be left to the Irish Parliament) were mutually destructive. He also said that the Irish Parliament would not have power to enfranchise women after three years (a contention declared unsound by Mr. Asquith and others). He, as well as Lord Robert Cecil (U., Hitchin), who followed him, enquired in vain as to why this amendment should be supposed to wreck the Bill, and Lord Robert proceeded to speculate on the nature of the "curious brain wave" which had turned the "free" vote of suffragist Nationalist into an anti-suffrage vote. Mr. Redmond said the Irish members would be "as free" as the Liberals. Lord Robert no secret influence would be put on the Liberals, too. He hoped made a warm appeal for straightforward treatment of the women.

A CONSISTENT ANTI.

Mr. Munro Ferguson (L., Leith Burghs) declared that although he was opposed to women voting for Imperial Parliament, he thought they should vote for local parliaments and as this was not a Federal Bill, he held that the Imperial Parliament was entitled to decide the matter, and he should accordingly vote for the amendment. Mr. Lansbury (Lab., Bow and Bromley) urged the House to be honest with the women, and declared that the Nationalists had more than once stretched his allegiance to Home Rule already.

MR. BALFOUR AND MR. ASQUITH.

Mr. Balfour (U., City of London) re-asserted his life-long conviction that there should be a moderate measure of enfranchisement for women, and declared that he could not see how those who called the proposed parliament a local parliament, and who believed in women voting for local parliaments could evade the logical result of these two beliefs. Mr. Asquith (L., E. Fife) declared that he opposed women having votes for the Irish Parliament, not because it was a sovereign body but because it was a legislative body. It would be "unprecedented" to give women the vote in this way. He was not going to be "rash enough to prophecy" what would happen on the Franchise Bill.

THE LABOUR LEADER.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald made a very strong speech in favour, declaring that he would be only too delighted to establish a new precedent and urging that the House should remove any doubt women might have of its honesty.

SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Mr. Chaplin and Mr. Gladstone spoke against the amendment, the latter declaring that the Bill was designed to give Ireland "self-government" and that the amendment was "a flat contradiction of that essential principle of Home Rule!"

In the division that followed 314 voted against the amendment and 141 for it; the majority against 173.

CONCLUSION.

A careful study of the debate reveals that the high tone of Mr. Snowden's speech at the outset set the tone throughout. Never has a debate on Women's Suffrage been so remarkably free from offence. The warm pleading of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald was of the best augury for the future; the close questioning of Mr. Mason and Mr. Roch and the irony of Lord Robert Cecil brought into relief the unenviable position of Nationalists who voted against their principles on the Conciliation Bill, and whose excuses were fully revealed for what they are. It became amply clear that the root objection to this amendment was the Irishmen's dislike for a franchise peculiar to Ireland (unless it were one of their own making). Mr. Birrell showed that he was unlikely to tolerate any unwarrantable interference with the Franchise Bill, so in spite of the adverse vote (a foregone conclusion in view of the fact that the Government put on its Whips) it seems that Mr. Snowden's intervention did good to the cause and distinctly improved the situation.

H. M. S.

The Vote on Mr. Snowden's Amendment.

At the time of going to press last week the division list on Mr. Snowden's amendment to the Home Rule Bill had not been published, and it was only possible to give a brief review of the principal features of the debate. An analysis has since appeared in the press, but it is a matter of so much importance to Suffragists that we commend it once more to their attention.

The amendment was lost by a majority of 173—141 voting in its favour and 314 against it.

The lists are made up as follows:—For the amendment: Labour, 27; Liberal, 29; Unionist, 80; Independent Nationalist, 5. To which should be added the tellers—1 Labour and 1 Liberal vote.

Against the amendment:—Labour, 5; Liberal, 173; Unionist, 64; Nationalist, 72. And in addition the tellers—2 Liberal votes.

Abstentions:—Labour, 8; Liberal, 56; Unionist, 136; Nationalists, 4.

These figures are principally of interest to Suffragists, in so far as they reveal the attitude of the Labour Party, and indicate the number of Liberals who are prepared to adhere to their principles in the face of party pressure.

As regards the Labour Party, it was a matter for grave disappointment that the party did not see their way officially to support the amendment; but granted a free vote, and considering the number of cross currents which complicated the issue, Suffragists have, on the whole, reason to be satisfied with the way the party voted. Twenty-eight supported the amendment:—W. Adamson, G. N. Barnes, C. W. Bowerman, W. Brace, J. R. Clynes, W. Crooks, C. Duncan, A. H. Gill, F. Goldstone, J. G. Hancock, J. Keir Hardie, A. Henderson, J. Hodge, W. Hudson, F. W. Jowett, G. Lansbury, J. Ramsay Macdonald, J. Parker, J. Pointer, T. Richardson, A. Smith, J. W. Taylor, J. H. Thomas, W. Thorne, G. J. Wardle, A. Wilkie, J. Williams.

Five voted against it:—F. Hall, W. E. Harvey, J. Wadsworth, S. Walsh, W. T. Wilson.

And the following eight abstained:—Rt. Hon. W. Abraham, J. Haslam, W. Johnson, J. O'Grady, T. Richards, G. H. Roberts, A. Stanley, J. E. Sutton.

Of those who abstained we are informed that five are ill, two were kept away by Trade Union business, while one, Mr. O'Grady, having regard to the Irish point of view, felt unable to support the amendment.

The National Union looks to the Labour Party to see that the reactionary element, represented by the five who voted against the amendment, is converted to the view of the majority; in the meantime these five cannot be regarded as supporters of the principle of Women's Suffrage. With regard to the eight who abstained, the Union will not, of course, extend support to them unless it is convinced of their inability to be present or to pair for the amendment.

Liberal Suffragists found themselves in a difficult position, and we believe that many of those who voted against the amendment did so with considerable reluctance. It is satisfactory that no less than thirty Liberals were sufficiently convinced of the importance of the amendment to go into the Lobby against the Government and so rendered a service to the cause of Women's Suffrage which suffragists will not be slow to appreciate. The Liberal abstentions, too, were a significant feature of the division.

We are informed that a larger number of Liberals would have voted for the amendment but for Mr. Redmond's declaration that he intends to leave his party free on the Women's Suffrage amendments to the Franchise Bill. If this is so, it is of great importance to them to make sure that the promised freedom is not of the same quality as that which prevailed on the occasion of the second reading of the Conciliation Bill.

The following is a list of the Liberals who voted for the amendment and of those who abstained.

Voted for:—Joseph A. Baker, Sir William Beale, Sir J. H. Bethell, Harold T. Cawley, Henry G. Chancellor, Dr. William Chapple, Rt. Hon. Charles Fenwick, Edward Hemmerde, Edward T. John, J. King, Sir W. Lawson, C. A. McCurdy, Hon. H. D. McLaren, Hon. F. W. S. McLaren, Sir Arthur Basil Markham, David Mason, Rt. Hon. R. E. Munro-Ferguson, Sir Henry Norman, Hon. Weetman Pearson, C. E. Price, Walter Roch, Arnold Rowntree, Arthur James Sherwell, Theodore Taylor, Sir Joseph Walton, Henry Watt, Sir Luke White, A. F. Whyte, W. H. Dickinson.

Abstentions: Sir W. R. Adkins, J. S. Ainsworth, Percy Alden, S. Arnold, Llewellyn Atherley Jones, N. Buxton, Robert Cameron, Sir C. J. Cory, Bart., W. H. Cowan, Sir H. Dalziel, D. Davies, Baron De Forest, Sir John Dewar, J. H. Edwards,

Sir Harold Elverston, Rt. Hon. Thomas Ferens, S. Furness, H. Greenwood, C. Harmsworth, T. E. Harvey, G. Harwood, Major-General Sir J. I. Herbert, J. Hinds, Rt. Hon. C. E. H. Hobhouse, J. M. Hogge, J. D. Hope, Leif Jones, C. Leach, J. W. Logan, D. Maclean, A. H. Marshall, W. Middlebrook, J. Duncan Millar, Hon. E. S. Montagu, G. Hay Morgan, H. Morison, A. C. Morton, Sir C. Nicholson, Col. Ivor Phillips, Sir George Pollard, A. A. W. H. Ponsoby, Hon. Neil Primrose, Sir G. Scott Robertson, J. Rowlands, E. Shortt, J. W. Summers, Rt. Hon. Alexander Ure, Sir Harry Verney, Dudley Ward, J. C. Wedgwood, J. H. Whitehouse, Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas Whittaker, P. Williams, W. Llewellyn Williams, J. Wilson, Sir James Henry Yoxall.

The Unionist vote on the amendment is of less interest than that of the other parties, as party pressure was not in their case a serious factor, and the division was simply between Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists. Eighty Unionist Suffragists voted for the amendment, while 64 Unionist Anti-Suffragists went into the lobby with the Government, and their vote forms no small proportion of the Government majority.

The determination of the Anti-Suffragists to strike a blow at Women's Suffrage by means of Mr. Snowden's amendment should not be overlooked by our friends in the House of Commons. It is another evidence of the fact that the Anti-Suffragists are incomparably better organised than they were two years ago. Incidentally it may be remarked that Anti-Suffragists in the House of Commons do not reflect the opinions of the Anti-Suffrage League, which endeavours to conciliate public opinion by supporting the enfranchisement of women for local bodies.

The Nationalist vote calls for no remark, except that the Irish voted against the amendment on the clear understanding that they were to be free to vote as they pleased on the Women Suffrage amendments to the Franchise Bill.

Five Independent Nationalists supported the amendment, and of those who abstained we are informed that two were in Ireland at the time.

There can be little doubt of the excellent effect of the debate and division upon the prospects of the Woman Suffrage amendments to the Franchise Bill. Mr. Redmond has given a public pledge that his followers are to be free on that occasion. The House showed that they were well aware that the freedom must not be the same as the "freedom" on the Conciliation Bill. Some eighty Liberals showed their independence of the party Whips, and only five of the Labour Party were found to support the Government.

The amendment was defeated, but its defeat is full of good omen for the success on the Women's Suffrage amendments to the Franchise Bill.

Mrs. Perkins Gilman on Feelings.

We reprint from the *Woman's Journal*, of Boston, U.S.A., the following account of a lecture given by Mrs. Perkins Gilman at Portage, Wisconsin:—

All progress requires new ideas, not new things; new thoughts, followed by new feelings. Facts are stubborn things, but feelings are far more so, and far more difficult to alter. For example, America has got away from the facts of kings and of royalty, but see how it acts when a Duke visits the country! The fact of royalty is changed; the feeling remains.

The older a feeling is, the harder it is to change, and the oldest feelings we have are the feelings about women. But do our feelings about women agree with the facts?

We have a feeling of reverence for women. What we really reverence is motherhood. We do not reverence their judgment enough to make them citizens. We really believe in the inferiority of women, and class them with children, idiots, criminals, and other disfranchised classes.

We have thought of life as a building of many rooms containing war, commerce, industry, art and science, all things done by men. Then away out at one side, across a bridge, was an annex, and there was our thought of home, child, mother, fireside, cradle, comfort, beauty, and all the home ideas, and also the ideas of shame connected with women. When women crossed the bridge and appeared in the other building, the building of human life, we were shocked. We felt that all of life was masculine except the home.

Government is a human, not a sex function. It belongs to the male and to the female.

How, then, do we come to feel that it is wrong for women to share in government? Why do we think that it is wrong for them to vote? Because we have the old feelings about government, carried over from the times when government was despotic; and we don't want women to boss any more than they

do now. But government to-day is not despotic. It is not an authority handed down from above. It is service. Nobody objects to women servants!

Women will be better to live with when they are more human. The greatest need of the world to-day is for more humanness in its women, so that they can help make men more human, and help make children more human; for the purpose of all the age-long development of the race is the attainment of humanhood.

An Anti-Suffrage Leaflet.

There has been put into our hands an anti-suffrage leaflet headed "Woman Suffrage and the Factory Acts," which is full of errors and of misrepresentations, the latter being, we hope, the results not of intention but of ignorance.

It begins with a statement about the Factory Acts which is in the main true, although somewhat too sweeping, and goes on to a paragraph erroneous almost in every point.

1. It talks about a "Women's Party," although, of course, no such party exists or ever has existed in this country.

2. It attributes all opposition to the Factory Acts (on the part of men apparently as well as of women) to the harbouring of "such a jealous mistrust of men that they suppose even their evidently disinterested actions to be prompted by insidious and harmful motives." This, of course, is simply absurd. Did John Bright, who was opposed to many of the Factory Act regulations, harbour a jealous mistrust of men? There are many people, men and women, suffragists and anti-suffragists, who honestly believe that the Factory Acts rather injure women by hindering them from getting work than protect them by preventing them from being overworked. It does not in the least follow that they attribute evil intentions to the promoters of those Acts. There is, it may be safely said, no suffragist on the globe who suspects Lord Shaftesbury of having been "prompted by insidious and harmful motives." But as a well-known proverb tells us, good intentions do not always lead heavenward.

3. It is true that Mrs. Fawcett has expressed many doubts of the beneficial effects of Factory Acts that apply to women only, and it is certain that Mrs. Paterson, who was the founder of trade unions for women in this country, was strongly opposed to them. These doubts are common to many highly intelligent people whose opinions were formed under the influence of the elder school of Liberal thought. They are shared by many Conservatives—probably, for example, by Sir Frederick Banbury. Such opinions have no relation at all to any jealousy of men; and they are in themselves in no way discreditable. Evidence appears, later on, that they are also shared by the writer of the leaflet himself.

4. The later school of political thought, one of whose tendencies is to enlarge the scope of legal regulation, numbers among its adherents very many suffragists: for example, Miss Mary MacArthur, the successor to Mrs. Paterson's post and work, who is an adult suffragist. The Women's Industrial Council, the great majority of whose members are suffragists, has frequently supported extensions of the Factory Acts and, on the whole, tends decidedly to be in favour of the Acts. The present acting editor of THE COMMON CAUSE is actually President of that Council. In short, suffragists, like anti-suffragists, are divided upon this subject as upon many other matters of opinion. It is to be presumed that anti-suffragists are also of a divided mind, and that individualists are to be found in their camp. It is quite certain that a large number of women who have for many years concerned themselves especially with the industrial interests of women will by no means incline "to work for the repeal of all legislation restricting women's work." Unlike the writer of the anti-suffrage leaflet, they consider such legislation not as restrictive, but as protective. He, like the suffragists whom he reproaches, really believes the Acts to be economically injurious to the persons whom they affect; for what does he go on to say? . . . "and, if they cannot attain that, then to try to get men subjected to the same restrictions as themselves." And why not, pray, if the restrictions are so beneficial?

5. As these differences exist, it is quite clear that the "Woman Suffrage Party" do not intend, "if they get votes to work for the repeal" of factory legislation. At least half the whole body of suffragists approve of such legislation.

6. Of course, the author does not really believe that such restrictions are economically beneficial to those who are subjected to them. If he did he would not use the word "restriction," which indicates disapproval, at all, but would talk of "regulation" or "protection." He is evidently unaware that many men's trade unions are constantly agitating to obtain just such "restriction" of their own labour. In his judgment, it is a sin for suffragists either to resist restriction for women or to demand it for men.

7. The figures about infant mortality are absolutely misleading, and it is difficult to suppose that they are not wilfully so. The high death rate of Burnley, where many mothers work for wages, is compared with the low rate of Burton, where few mothers work; but there is no hint that the highest infantile death rates of all belong to an agricultural district where practically no mothers work at all. The anti-suffragist author has evidently not kept himself up to date, and does not know that the latest inquirers are discovering that poverty is a worse enemy of infants than is the employment of mothers. Dundee, which our author quotes as a town of undersized men, is not only a town in which women work; it is also a town in which both men and women are very poorly paid, and it is reasonable to suppose that early privation is at least a contributory factor in that stunting of stature which is noted.

8. Women who oppose proposals for the extension of the period during which married women are to be kept from work before and after their confinement do so not because they think it no evil that new-made mothers should be obliged to work, but because they think it a greater evil still that new-made mothers should starve for lack of work; they also believe the second evil to be even more injurious to the infant than the first. Those of them, moreover, who are familiar with working-class life think that there is a good deal of hypocrisy in trying to prevent poor mothers from doing work for pay while no effort is made to keep them from doing the family work—as injurious an occupation to a new-made mother that could well be selected. But probably the author of this leaflet, like most of our legislators, is unaware that numbers of married women pride themselves upon missing but one of their weekly washing days at the birth of each of their children.

9. It is interesting to note the admission—made, perhaps, unconsciously—that suffragists are the leaders of working women: "Whether working women approve of the attitude taken up by their leaders," etc., says the anonymous author. Of course, suffragists have long known how strong is the adherence of working women to the suffrage cause, but our enemies have been reluctant to admit any such adherence, and the tacit acknowledgment here is therefore worth noting.

On the whole, this leaflet—of whose authorship a shrewd guess could be made—is not only ignorant itself, but addressed to equally ignorant readers. It is a little depressing that at this period of England's industrial history any association of people, some at least of whom are educated, should be found capable of believing that such a document could carry weight with English readers.

Lord Curzon in Glasgow.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ANTI-SUFFRAGISM.

A Scotch Suffragist sends us the following interesting impression of Lord Curzon's Glasgow meeting:—

On Friday evening 6,000 people crowded St. Andrew's Halls, in Glasgow, to take part in an anti-suffrage demonstration and hear Lord Curzon. The flower of Scottish aristocracy adorned the platform; especially noticeable to the right and left of the speaker being the Duchess of Montrose and the Marchioness of Tullibardine. Women composed about two-thirds of the audience, which was strikingly apathetic. Looking up from the Press table one was struck by the typically Scotch expression of the women—particularly the elderly women—and it was evident that most of them were "sitting on the hedge even though it was an uncomfortable position"—a phrase that Lord Curzon made use of.

The only ringing cheers of the evening were those given during some *persiflage* by the speaker at the expense of Mrs. Pankhurst. It gave one an insight into the psychology of most of those who were nominally supposed to be anti-suffragists but who were really at the bottom merely anti-Mrs. Pankhurst and the dragooning of Ministers.

What havoc emotionalism can work on even anti-suffragists was well illustrated by the cheering which greeted the pro-Consol's statement: "If the vote was extended to women I believe our hold upon India would be sensibly weakened, and if the crisis came when we had to fight for that which we had won, what part would women play in the struggle? Would women hold India? No! By men was India won and by men alone can it be retained." This remarkable assertion was cheered by the male anti-suffragists to the echo—the women were strangely silent. In these two factors it seems to me—disgust and indignation at militant tactics and the feeling that masculine predominance is threatened—we have the real driving force behind such a meeting as Lord Curzon addressed.

The Marchioness of Tullibardine, who followed, raised the subject to a higher level by appealing to women to devote their energies rather to philanthropic and social work than to the barren field of Party politics.

When the resolution was put it appeared to those at the Press table that the numbers for and against were about equal, but the chairman declared it carried by a large majority.

DAVID A. PEAT.

In Parliament.

MARRIED WOMEN'S INCOME-TAX.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in reply to Mr. Walter Guinness, admitted that abatements on the income-tax of married women are only allowed by the Inland Revenue to the husband even in cases where the latter has no income of his own. He refused to undertake any amendment in the law, on the grounds that "it would involve very considerable changes and adjustments in the income-tax law." In other words, Mr. Lloyd George deliberately elects to go on paying the money of women to men, who have no right to it, because it would be troublesome to his Department to have their habits and regulations disturbed. Perhaps some wife will sue the Inland Revenue for the debt it owes her, and so call public attention to this piece of dishonesty—for dishonesty it is—on the part of a Department of the State.

MORE INCOME-TAX ILLEGALITIES.—An instructive contrast was furnished, a few nights later, when Mr. Cassel asked whether the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been called to a recent decision in the High Court (*Bowles v. Bank of England*) that the deduction of income-tax without the sanction of an Act of Parliament is illegal and a contravention of the Bill of Rights, and whether, in view of this decision, it was proposed to reimburse taxpayers from whom income-tax had been illegally deducted between April 5th and August 7th of this year. Mr. Lloyd George replied that his attention had been called to the decision; that he did not propose to reimburse taxpayers; and that he proposed to introduce legislation, in the form, apparently, of a clause in the Budget. The nature of such legislation was not specified, but rather appeared to be a legalising of the practice of deducting—or, as Mr. Cassel picturesquely expresses it, of "repealing the Bill of Rights." The readiness with which new legislation can be contemplated that brings money into the Department's coffers, and the impossibility of introducing any that merely restores money to private citizens who have no votes is remarkable and interesting.

NO MORE DEER HUNTING.—Many readers will be relieved to hear of Mr. Wedgwood Benn's assurance that "the First Commissioner has issued instructions that no deer are to be sold in future for the purpose of any kind of sport."

TELEPHONE ACCOUNTS.—Telephone users who suspect their accounts of exceeding the real total will be glad to know that although the Postmaster-General (very reasonably) declines to send weekly statements to all his customers, he has promised that any subscriber who chooses to apply shall have his account furnished to him in as full a condition as possible. It will, therefore, be possible in future to check one's telephone bill, which has hitherto been practically impossible.

TRUCK ACTS.—Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck brought up a very important matter by his question to the Home Secretary about the recommendation sent by the International Association for Labour Legislation from its conference at Zurich, that "legislation should be introduced to abolish the whole system

of fines and deductions from wages, and to prohibit employers from charging either factory workers or home workers for materials used in the process of manufacture. Mr. McKenna said that he hoped to be able to introduce a Truck Bill next session, but gave no indication as to the character of his intended measure. The principle upon which any Truck Act ought to be drafted is simple enough. It ought to be illegal for any employer to make it a condition of employment that the worker should make any expenditure of money. The washing of waitresses' caps and aprons, the buying of cottons or sewing silks, the weekly charge for cleaning rooms, the compulsory deduction for a sick club, or summer outing, or the "hospital penny," which is so often compulsory in effect if not in name, would all be swept away and there would be an end to the quibbling about whether this or that fine or charge was "reasonable." It is never either reasonable or equitable that because one man is employing another to do work for him he should be allowed to dictate how that other shall spend money.

AUTOMATIC GAS-METERS.—To thieve from automatic gas-meters has become in some districts quite a profitable industry, while the fact that the gas companies compel their customers to make up the deficit renders it a disastrous one to these poor people. Mr. Ellis Griffith, on behalf of the Home Secretary, reported a conference held in July between the Home Office and representatives of the London gas companies; these gentlemen came to the sapient conclusion that "these larcenies are facilitated by the use of flimsy boxes," and could be partly checked by the provision of stronger boxes fitted with better locks, and "so placed as not to be readily accessible to any person save the occupier and his family." In tenement buildings the meters will henceforward be placed "wherever possible" inside the tenement or room instead of on the general stairway. The companies have also undertaken "to bear in mind the importance of making frequent collections in the districts where the larcenies most frequently occur. It does strike the mind of a woman as she reads these observations that if there had been women among the officials of the gas companies these contingencies would probably have been foreseen. There is a sort of domestic imagination in which—doubtless from having habitually directed their attention another way—men are singularly lacking.

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.—The debate has proceeded a little further during the last week, and on the whole wisely. An amendment which had been drafted with the idea of throwing more responsibility upon persons who were letting their premises for purposes of systematic prostitution was withdrawn after a debate that indicated a probability of its bearing hardly upon the solitary prostitute. There was a very proper feeling shown that while the way of the procurer should be made hard, the prostitute living alone must not be deprived of shelter and so driven to adopt as a nominal husband some man who would live upon her earnings. Some very sound things were said, especially by Mr. Wedgwood, who reminded the House that "our business, as legislators, is to do away with those social conditions which create prostitution." How different is such a view from that of the men who talk glibly of "necessary evils!"

REPORT OF ALBERT HALL MEETING.

We have to put right some errors in last week's report. Mr. W. C. Anderson was described as Secretary of the Labour Party; he is Chairman of the Independent Labour Party. In Miss Robertson's speech the word "took" is a misprint for "lost." The Government, of course, lost a seat, not "took" a seat at two of the bye-elections in which the National Union took part. Miss Robertson also wishes to point out that she did not say that the Labour Party increased its numerical strength, but that it strengthened its position by these elections.

Nationalists, who voted against the amendment, and the *Daily News and Leader* makes it increasingly obvious that, on the grounds of pure expediency alone, it considers it to be to the advantage of the Liberal Party to endeavour to secure the adhesion, and not the opposition, of Constitutional Suffragists.

The *Manchester Guardian* for November 11th publishes at length some extracts from the excellent article contributed to the *Christian Commonwealth* by Mr. Philip Snowden, in which he says:—

In my opinion—and I say it in all sincerity—the debate and division

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on the women's franchise amendment last Tuesday have distinctly improved the chances of success on the Reform Bill three months hence. The great majority of votes were cast against the amendment, but they were not given against Woman Suffrage.

The debate made the attitude of the Irish Nationalists who follow Mr. Redmond more clear than it was before, though it is no doubt true, as the Irish members have repeatedly said, that no instructions were given to them to vote against the Conciliation Bill, yet the fact remains that some influence was operating which induced the bulk of them to vote against the Bill, and many others who had been consistent supporters of the Suffrage to abstain from voting. What that influence was is now well known. It was the intrigue of a bitter Anti-Suffrage member of the Cabinet, who gave the Irish members to understand that if the Conciliation Bill was carried, certain members of the Government would resign, the Government would break up, and Home Rule would be destroyed in the catastrophe. That unprincipled and dishonest action served its intended purpose for that occasion, but it cannot be repeated with the same effect. After the declarations of Mr. John Redmond and other Nationalist members made in the debate last week, the Irish members cannot give a solid vote against the Woman Suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill. There can be no excuse whatever for those members who consistently supported Woman Suffrage before last March withholding their votes on the Reform Bill amendment.

The *Daily Citizen*, on November 7th, condemns the opposition of the Government to Mr. Snowden's amendment in the strongest terms:—

If great causes are not served by petty Parliamentary manoeuvres, neither are they lost by them, and the circumstances that brought about Tuesday's decisive rejection of Mr. Philip Snowden's suffrage amendment, must be regarded as injurious only to those who contrive these circumstances. If anything could be less edifying than the behaviour of the many Liberals who pledged to support Women's Suffrage, still voted against the Snowden amendment, it would be the desperate and unconvincing effort of the same gentleman to find some plausible excuse for their back-sliding. We yield to no Liberal in sincere devotion to the cause of Home Rule; but we are not going to imitate the Liberal apologists in the House and in the press in pretending that that devotion justifies desertion of a cause just as vital, the cause of Women's Enfranchisement. It would be bad enough to sacrifice such an interest for merely tactical reasons, but it is humiliating as well as indefensible to make the sacrifice for tactical reasons that are not even sound. The Home Rule Bill is not made more secure by the frustration of the attempt to give Irish women the vote. On the contrary, it will lose some at any rate of the active goodwill on which it might otherwise have counted. The very purpose and sanction of Home Rule are thwarted when what is the largest part of the people of Ireland is deliberately denied the right to help in "the management of purely Irish affairs." In our opinion, the Liberal party have cut a very sorry figure in this business, and the independence of the Labour party could not have been better demonstrated than in the solid support which the party gave to the principle from which the Liberals so ignominiously ran away. The Labour party have shown that theirs at least is not lip-service to the cause, which they have been proud to make their own, and that whoever else may be inclined to play and palter with the issue, they are in dead earnest about it.

The November number of the *Commonwealth* says:—

The proposal to omit the word "male," which now limits the action of the new Franchise Bill, ought to be done by a decisive vote. The stage will then be clear. Mrs. Fawcett has marshalled her forces with great judgment and deliberation. She has got behind her the whole bulk and weight of the movement. She has re-established confidence, after the hour of panic and reaction. She has shown where the true fighting force really lies. Our chance of victory depends wholly, now, on the consistency and the steadiness with which her policy is felt to hold the field. If men are but left to judge the issue in itself, they cannot have the face to add enormously to their own voting power, without any recognition whatever of the women's claim.

EMILY M. LEAF.

Literature Department.

My notes this week must be a renewed appeal to members to make good account of our new publications—especially of the beautiful poster, which it is much hoped will be shown all over the country.

Of the new pamphlets, Miss Royden's "True End of Government," and Miss Robertson's "Working Men and Women Suffrage" bear special references to the Reform Bill and are particularly suitable for propaganda among men. They are being sold at a penny each and should have a large general sale at all kinds of meetings.

Mrs. Fawcett's "Joan of Arc" will appeal to many who are not yet Suffragists as well as to all who are. Its attractive white and gold cover should make it suitable for Christmas distribution. Its price is 4d.

I hope to say something next week about Christmas publications by the Societies.

MEN'S LEAGUE HANDBOOK.—The National Union is stocking the excellent handbook on Women's Suffrage, published by the "Men's League." Most of the different aspects of the Suffrage question are treated in it. Among the contributors are Mrs.

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Fawcett, Lord Lytton, Lord Robert Cecil, Lady Selborne, Mr. Snowden, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Brailsford, Mr. Malcolm Mitchell and other leading Suffragists. Its publication is really an event in the Suffrage movement, and all Suffragists will be grateful to the Hon. Secretary of the Men's League, Dr. Drysdale, for this as well as for all his other work. The price of the handbook is 6d.

PAMPHLETS.—"Joan of Arc," by Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., 4d. "The True End of Government," by A. M. Royden, 1d. "Working Men and Women's Suffrage," by Margaret Robertson, B.A., 1d. "Mary Carpenter," by Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., 1d. "Women and the Reform Bill," by H. N. Brailsford, 3d.

LEAFLETS.—"Women's Suffrage Amendments to the Reform Bill," by E. F. Rathbone, 1s. per 100. "Taxes and Votes," 6d. per 100.

PICTURE POSTER: "Justice at the Door," 6d.

Election Fighting Fund.

All supporters of the Election Fighting Fund were anxiously watching for the result of the vote on Mr. Snowden's amendment to the Home Rule Bill. On the whole the result is satisfactory to those who believe that the policy of supporting the Labour Party in the constituencies is a sound policy from the Suffrage point of view. A report of the debate and an analysis of the division list appear on another page. We need only comment here on the result as it affects our E.F.F. policy.

The vote of the five Labour members who opposed the amendment was frankly, a very great disappointment to us. They have broken the fine record of the Labour Party with regard to Women's Suffrage, and have made it necessary for us to strike off five constituencies from the list of those where we hoped to employ our Fighting Fund at the next election. Five of the eight Labour abstentions are accounted for by illness. Two were due to urgent claims of Trade Union business, and the remaining one (Mr. O'Grady) to special circumstances. With these exceptions the Labour Party threw its whole force into the support of the amendment—speaking for it, voting for it, and working hard to get others to vote for it. Eight of its members voted afterwards against the Clause as a whole as a protest against the exclusion of women.

So much for the part played by the Labour Party. What of the Government's attitude?

Once again a Liberal Government has prevented the passage of a practicable measure of Women's Suffrage, this time not merely by evasion and delay, but by open official opposition. Party pressure was used to the full against the amendment. But the fact that 30 Liberal members voted for it notwithstanding, and 40 more abstained, shows that things are moving with the rank and file of the Liberal Party. This is the strongest line that Liberals have ever taken in support of Women's Suffrage. Its significance will not be lost upon those who have never believed that there were more than a handful of men in the House who were really prepared to risk anything on behalf of Women's Suffrage. We are grateful, and we shall not forget.

Treasurer's Note (Fighting Fund).

The collection at the Albert Hall Meeting on November 5th, has brought in £1,355 1s. to the Election Fighting Fund, and a sum of £869 1s. 6d. transferable to that fund at the discretion of Mrs. Fawcett and the Executive Committee.

Treasurer's Notes.

Our new financial year commences with the magnificent collection of last week's Albert Hall meeting. Surely of good omen this, and a thing that should fill us with thanksgiving and encouragement. Belated contributions are still coming in, but so far the total now reaches £5,348 7s. 9d., which will be divided as follows:—£3,124 5s. 3d. for the General Funds of the Union; £1,355 1s. to the Election Fighting Fund; while the remainder, amounting in all to £869 1s. 6d., consists of sums which may be given either to the General Funds or to the Election Fighting Fund, according as Mrs. Fawcett or the Executive Committee may hereafter determine. Money so given will therefore be called our "Transferable Fund," and it should prove an extremely valuable possession. Several sums had been sent us in this way previous to the Albert Hall meeting, so that we now have altogether a Transferable Fund of £1,163 11s. 6d. Whether this money is finally appropriated to the general purposes of the National Union or to the Election Fighting Fund will, of course, largely depend upon future political circumstances.

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Albert Hall, November 5th.

FIRST LIST.

Table listing names and amounts for the first list at Albert Hall, November 5th. Includes names like Mrs. Ellen Holme, Miss F. Davenport-Hill, Mrs. Bernheim, etc.

Table listing names and amounts for the second list at Albert Hall, November 5th. Includes names like Miss Lucy Metcalfe, Anonymous, Miss Alice Clark, etc.

Table listing names and amounts for the third list at Albert Hall, November 5th. Includes names like Miss G. E. Moseley, Mrs. Sprigge, Mrs. Hugh Rathbone, etc.

London Society.

Table listing names and amounts for the London Society. Includes names like BRISTON—Under the auspices of the St. Matthew's Literary and Debating Society, etc.

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Further information may be obtained from the Bazaar Secretary, 58, Victoria Street, S.W.

SYBIL TAWSE

is Showing her Prints, Calendars, and Christmas Cards at THE ENGLISHWOMAN EXHIBITION, MADDOX STREET GALLERIES, W. STALL No. 29, NOVEMBER 6-16, 1912. And at 19, GLOUCESTER ROAD, KENSINGTON, S.W.

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MENTAL AND SPIRITUAL HEALING.

Mrs. MARY SEATON is forming CLASSES at The Higher Thought Centre, 10, Cheniston Gardens, W. (Two minutes from KENSINGTON Underground) In SELF-HEALING—Healing others and How to gain Complete Self-Mastery. Commencing Tuesday, October 15th. Course of Seven Sessions, 1 Guinea. Same course, private pupils, 5 Guineas. Patients treated and Consultations given from 11 to 1 daily. 5s. each. LECTURES every WEDNESDAY in November, at 3 p.m., at 10, Cheniston Gardens, Kensington, W. Admission free, voluntary collection. (Will give Lectures in Clubs or Private Drawing-Rooms by arrangement.)

A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CLUB, FOR MEN AND WOMEN

interested in the Suffrage Movement, has been formed and premises have been taken at 3, YORK STREET, ST. JAMES', S.W. There are 40 vacancies only for Members at £1 1 0 and no Entrance Fee. EARLY APPLICATION ADVISABLE. Letters only for the present. OPENING DATE will be announced in next week's issue.

THE NATIONAL UNION

is the great Non-Party, Non-Militant Women's Suffrage Society. If you approve of our methods and objects, please fill in the accompanying Form and send it to the Secretary.

I approve of the objects and methods of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and desire to be enrolled as a member of the affiliated Society in my district.

I herewith enclose cheque postal order for £ s. d., the amount of my annual subscription.

Name (Mrs., Miss Esq., or other title.)

Address (in full.)

To the Secretary Society for Women's Suffrage Or the Secretary National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

volumes that would be an ornament to any library. Needlework, weaving and woollen goods are well represented. Miss Elizabeth Yeats has some children's frocks in original designs, and some dainty silk blouses, all hand-worked and most attractive. The Fine Needlework Association are showing articles for trousseaux and layettes at reasonable prices, and Miss Phyllis Squire, from Liberty's, also has children's frocks for all occasions. Miss Mary C. Greene (the Cambridge School of Weaving) exhibits weaving in process at a hand-loom and some handsome finished articles. The Scottish Home Industries Association shows Harris, Sutherland and Shetland tweeds, and other woollen goods. Lace of several beautiful kinds is shown by Miss J. Copp, the Diss Lace Association, Miss Norah Wright, Miss Bouverie and Miss Annie Lowndes, who exhibits Irish lace, and wishes it to be understood that it comes direct from the workers and everything will be on sale for their benefit. At the jewellery stall of Miss Alice Woodward we saw the design of a cross which is being worked in enamel, at her studio, for the church of St. Peter, in Norwich. Other stalls showing beautiful jewellery are those of Miss Florence Rimington, Miss Elizabeth Newton, Miss R. A. Isaac, and Miss Constance M. Duckham. Stained glass is shown in an effective manner with light behind it, by Miss Barbara Forbes, from the studio of Miss Lowndes and herself, and Miss Nella Casella exhibits enamelled glass, some of it in 15th and 16th Century Venetian and Moorish designs, and admirably executed. Miss Sybil Tawse and Miss Pamela Colman Smith are both showing calendars, Christmas cards and hand-coloured prints. Their exhibits are being sought after for their imaginative colouring and treatment, and both stalls afford much pleasure to most visitors. The International Suffrage Shop has a stall of characteristic literature. Unfortunately space does not permit of our mentioning many other fascinating things we saw. We cannot resist a final comment on the stall of Miss Helen Colt, where there are three models of town or suburban gardens, showing how it is possible to adapt the unfruitful soil of sunless places to very delightful arrangements of rockery and grass plot. A general tone of good humour and courtesy pervades, and the short conversations we were privileged to hold with the stall-holders did almost as much as their exhibits to make our visit delightful and the whole Exhibition a pleasant memory.

Irish Notes.

The first annual meeting of the Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation was held at 33, Molesworth Street on Saturday, October 26th. Delegates from Belfast, Cork, Waterford, Lisburn, Newry and Warrenpoint attended, and there was a large representation of the Irishwomen's Reform League. After an interesting discussion of plans for increasing the work of the Federation in the country, short speeches were made by Miss Day, Miss Mollone, Mrs. Duff, Dr. Mary Strangman and Mrs. Richardson, showing how the cause of woman's suffrage was growing in country districts. Membership of every Society has largely increased and new branches have been formed, whilst others are in process of formation. The Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation shows every promise of becoming a powerful organisation. After tea Miss Una O'Connor (Abbey Theatre) gave a series of delightful suffrage recitations. At a meeting of the Committee earlier in the day it was decided to send a letter to Mr. Asquith, Mr. McKenna, and all the Irish Members of Parliament, urging the speedy passage into law of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill in its original form, and pointing out the importance of including Ireland in the Bill. Plans were also discussed for instituting a Press campaign; and strenuous efforts will be made to secure recognition from all the Irish newspapers. A fund has been started to be devoted to suffrage work in country districts in Ireland, a work which has been considerably hampered hitherto for lack of funds. The Treasurer of the Federation appeals now to Irishwomen everywhere to support this fund, and to do all in their power to promote the Chairman's demand that £5,000 be raised during the coming year. All must agree that at the present moment no more valuable work can be done for woman's suffrage in Ireland than the awakening of public opinion upon this question in country districts. We beg that Irishwomen living out of Ireland will pay a tribute to their native land by subscribing to this special fund

of ours, so that Ireland may show as fine a record of work as England when the history of this movement is written. Our sisters in England have already helped us in many ways: we hope and believe they will once more come forward and respond to this fresh plea. Subscriptions may be addressed to Miss Moser, Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, 29, South Ann Street, Dublin.

Foreign News.

United States.

November 5 was not merely a fateful day as that of the Presidential election, but it also decided whether a suffrage amendment should be submitted to the electors in five different states. The results are now to hand and are on the whole, satisfactory. In Wisconsin alone has the proposal been decisively defeated. The Oregon result does not yet seem known in this country. In Michigan, Kansas and Arizona the necessary majority has been obtained. Campaigns will therefore be begun in these states, for the next step is a referendum to the whole male population. The recent successes in Washington and California will give our American sisters good heart for the work that lies before them.

The result of the Presidential election is not, unfortunately, of good omen, since Dr. Woodrow Wilson is a decided opponent, and in a recent interview declared that he should not announce any change of views before the election. Let us hope that when in office he may be convinced by the force of facts.

Germany.

The suffrage petitions recently presented to the Prussian Diet have met with an untoward fate. They dealt with only the modest demand for the municipal vote and were, it may be said, of different degrees of strength. The most advanced asked for a democratic franchise for both sexes, another asked that women might have the municipal vote "on the same terms as men" have it now, and a third submitted the modest request that those women owners of large estates who are already entitled to a vote should be allowed to exercise it in person and not by proxy. All suffered the same fate, for none obtained sufficient support to have the petition presented to the notice of the Government. Of course, it must be remembered that in matters which concern women Prussia is the most reactionary of the German states, and—that in some of the smaller ones and in certain towns women do exercise some measure of municipal suffrage.

A German correspondent has sent a special report of a discussion on Women's Suffrage, which took place at the Congress of the Progressive People's Party (Fortschrittliche Volkspartei), held at Mannheim in October, 1912.

The Party Committee brought forward a resolution to the effect that the party programme should not be altered to include Women's Suffrage having regard to the difference of opinion still prevailing in the party on this subject.

Dr. Gertrud Bäumer, the head of the United German Women's Associations, moved an alternative resolution, appealing to the members of the Progressive Party to support women in their efforts to obtain complete political enfranchisement. Dr. Bäumer, in an inspiring speech, showed that the women's question is fundamentally allied with true Liberalism, which should have the power to comprehend and appreciate women's desire for independence, and pointed out that though the natural development of the women's cause could not be influenced by the decision of that Congress, Liberalism ought to take care that it be the gainer and not the loser by it.

Dr. Bäumer's speech was received with enthusiastic cheers, and sympathetic speeches in support of the resolution were made by various members of the Progressive Party. Helene Lange pointed out in an admirable speech that the desire for the vote was only one part of the women's movement, and that women are anxious to see the feminine as well as the masculine point of view represented in order that the development of the race may not be a sex development, but a human development, the work of both men and women. Eventually the resolution proposed by the Party Committee was withdrawn, and Dr. Gertrud Bäumer's resolution was carried with a slight alteration, proposed by Dr. Müller-Meiningen, M.P.

SILESIA

On October 27th, 1912, the election took place of certain officials for Imperial Insurance. In

these elections women can vote, and are also eligible as candidates. Thanks to the zealous work of the Suffragists and other Societies the names of three women were placed on the list of candidates in Liegnitz (Silesia). Women employees voted in large numbers, and in spite of much opposition, one woman candidate was successful. It is to be hoped that this example will be followed in other parts of Silesia, where women are working for the same object.

Denmark.

The following letter has been received by Mrs. Fawcett:—

Danish Women's Union of Suffrage Societies. Dear Madame,—I thank you very much for the amiable congratulations you have sent to me, on the introduction into our Parliament of the Bill which will give to women in Denmark political suffrage and eligibility. All the Suffragists in our country are very, very happy over this Bill. It seems as if it would be carried. . . . It is our hope that what opposition there is will be overcome. Should the Bill be carried in this Parliament we must yet have another election of both our Houses before the Bill can become law, because it is an amendment to the Constitution. [These must be passed in two successive Parliaments.—Ed.] But if the Liberals, Radicals, and the Social Democrats stand together again, as they now stand, in a fight for equal Suffrage, and they say that they will, we ought to get a good majority in the new Parliament. Then the Bill will become law to the great rejoicing of the Suffragists in Denmark.

It is a great satisfaction to us that all parties are in favour of our suffrage and eligibility. That fact in itself shows great progress. Also that all the speakers in Parliament have given our cause their full approbation. No one has said a word against this question in the Bill. And what is also a great pleasure, is that the Bill gives the franchise to women in the same measure as to men. That fact is delightful to a Radical woman, as I am. With all my heart I wish that we may reach our goal, and also that English Suffragists, working earnestly for the same cause, may soon reach the same goal. With this heartiest wish I am,

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) LOUISE NORLUND.
4th November, 1912.

Italy.

Reference has already been made in this column to the case of Teresa Labriola, who has actually been practising as an advocate, though according to the law this is impossible for a woman. She was admitted on July 11 of this year by the Consiglio dell' Ordine degli Avvocati, and has practised for three months with great ability and success. Senator Vacca, the Procurator-General, has now appealed against the decision of the Consiglio to admit a woman, and the case was recently argued before the Court of Appeal. The discussion was based on the interpretation of the law of 1874, which does not mention women, but gives certain rights to all advocates. Senator Vacca won his appeal, but Teresa Labriola will carry it to the Court of Cassation. Strange that the one element which does not seem to enter into consideration is whether the lady is competent for the work. If, as appears to be the case, she is more than usually fitted for it, wherein lies the logic of trying to prevent good work from being done?

THE WOMEN'S TEA COMPANY.

The Women's Tea Company have sent us a price-list of their chocolates, sweets and five-o'clock-tea cakes. The names, which include "Freedom," "Franchise," and "Parliament," inspire curiosity; the prices are moderate, and the enterprise is one carried on by women only.

THE TEMPLAR PRINTING WORKS.

We would remind our readers that the Templar Printing Works, Birmingham, are prepared to furnish not only large supplies of stationery but also the personal requirements of individual customers. Any suffragists dealing with the firm are asked to mention the COMMON CAUSE.

A BOOK OF FANCY DRESSES.

Messrs. Debenham and Freebody have issued a coloured picture-book of handsome and original fancy dresses prepared in part for the demand expected in connection with the Christmas Pantomime Ball to be given at the Albert Hall on December 4th in aid of the University College Hospital. Readers who require fancy dresses should write for this book at once.

AN AUTUMN SALE.

The old-established firm of John Wilson's Successors, 68, New Bond Street, will hold their usual autumn sale of table linen for a fortnight, beginning on November 11th. Some oddments from other departments, handkerchiefs, curtains, lace, lingerie, etc. will be included at prices reduced from 10 to 50 per cent. An illustrated Sale Book can be had on application.

WOMEN'S LABOUR LEAGUE.

The MARLBORNE Branch of the Women's Labour League, 175, Marlborough Road, will hold a meeting on Friday next at 8.30 p.m. There will be a debate on the question of Women's Suffrage. Mr. Merivale Mayer will open the debate "to prove that the inclusion of women to adult suffrage is essential to the success of Labour." An Anti-Suffragist has been invited to oppose Mr. Mayer. Visitors will be most welcome.

BRITISH WOMEN COMPOSERS.

An interesting musical evening was given at Chingford last week by Mrs. Reston Malloch and Miss Helen Mathieson, the programme being made up entirely of the work of living British women composers. Compositions by Ethel Bains, Alice Verne Brett, Dora Bright, Mary Carmichael, Katherine E. Eggar, Cecil Hartog, Dorothea Hollins, Amy Elise Horrocks, Clara Angela Macrone, May Mukle, Mabel Saumarez Smith, Edith

Sweetstone and Emily Josephine Troup were performed; and Miss Mathieson in a preliminary address traced the progress of women in music from the earliest times. An entertainment of a similar kind might commend itself to suffrage societies.

PIONEER PLAYERS.

The performance last Sunday of Heijermans' play, "The Good Hope," was interesting though depressing. Strictly speaking, there is no plot, but merely an accumulation of miseries, all of the same sort, on the heads of the poor to the profit of the rich. Miss Ellen Terry (although sadly unfamiliar with the words of her very long part) was admirable as the widow and mother of drowned men. The action of the hands—so restrained yet so expressive—with which she indicated the loss of a life at sea, haunts the memory; and Mr. Harcourt Williams was successful in a singularly ungrateful part, in which most other English actors would have failed. The translation, by Christopher St. John, runs easily.

SELLERS FOR THE COMMON CAUSE.

Some of our readers may not, perhaps, have realised the great need there is for voluntary help in selling the COMMON CAUSE. Some ladies sell it for us in the streets, but there is plenty of room for those whose courage does not go quite so far. At every public meeting—especially at every suffrage meeting—ladies are needed to sell the paper, and any who can give some time to this really useful work are invited to write to Miss Allen, 12, Frognaal Mansions, Hampstead, N.W., telling her (a) whether they can give some regular time every week, (b) whether they will help on any special occasions. Almost as useful as either are helpers who will every Monday send a postcard to Miss Allen, naming any time in the coming week at which they may be called upon for help. The reason for this request is that Miss Allen sorts out from the *Times* announcements on Saturday the meetings at which sellers will be needed, and much time and trouble is saved if she can learn on Monday morning what force she can command, and when. Mrs. F.H.C. Miss Allen and the Director of the COMMON CAUSE desire to express their gratitude to the ladies who have so often helped in this rather thankless, but necessary work.

ALTERATION IN DATE OF ISSUE.

Subscribers to "The Common Cause" should take notice that in future the paper will appear on

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Lorton (Cockermouth)—Yew Tree Hall—Miss Norma Smith 8.0
Coniston—Hawes Bank—Mrs. Renton, Miss Broatch, Mrs. Cunliffe and others 4.0
Bristol—Bethesda Schoolroom, Redfield—Miss M. Robertson, Councillor W. G. Pope (chair) 8.0

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NOVEMBER 22. Letchworth—Pikmore Institute—Dramatic entertainment 8.0
Clevedon—Public Hall—Miss Helen Fraser, Miss Gladys Pott, Dr. Visger (chair) 8.0
Bexhill—Victoria Hall—Miss Nora O'Shea, Henry D. Harben, Esq. 8.0

NOVEMBER 23. Buntingford—Technical Institute—Mrs. Cooper, Mr. J. M. Mirreles, Mr. Wolverley Fordham (chair) 7.30
Bristol—Annual Meeting of the West of England Federation—Queen's Hall, Clifton—Miss Courtney, Miss Helen Fraser, Miss Ranner (chair) 2.30

NOVEMBER 25. New Milton—Pagoda Tea Rooms—Meeting for members and friends—Mrs. Bonwick (chair) 3.0-5.0
Letchworth—Pikmore Institute—Mrs. Cooper, Mrs. W. Hogg, L.L.B., Dr. Marion Gilford (chair) 8.0

NOVEMBER 26. Bradford—Mechanics' Hall—Miss Robertson 7.30
Lymington—Literary Institute—Mrs. Bonwick 3.0
Ashwell—Club-room, Gardeners Lane—Mrs. Cooper, Miss M. Sugden (chair) 3.0

NOVEMBER 27. Stockton—Public meeting—Mrs. Rackham 3.15
Leeds—9, Park Lane—Mrs. Grosvenor Talbot, paper on "The Poor Law" 7.30
Sowerby Bridge—Public Hall—Miss I. O. Ford 7.30

NOVEMBER 28. Dewsbury—Exchange Hall—Miss Robertson, Rev. C. H. Hayman (chair) 7.30
Edenbridge—Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Miss Helga Gill 8.0
Ringwood—Lecture Hall—Mrs. Bonwick 8.0

NOVEMBER 29. North London Reception—Y.M.C.A., 17, Camden Road—Speaker, Mrs. Stanbury 3.30
S. Paddington—75, Hereford Road—Sewing Meeting for the London Society's Bazaar—Members and friends from all constituencies welcome 2.30

NOVEMBER 30. Hampstead—Working party—Hostess, Mrs. Fortescue Fox, 15, Belzisa Park Gardens 3.0-6.0
Kensington, N. and S.—Working party—8, Queen's Gate Terrace 3.0

NOVEMBER 15. Camberwell—Members' meeting—Hostess, Mrs. Harvey, 46, The Gardens, E. Dulwich 7.0-9.0
NOVEMBER 16. Ewell—Suffrage Jumble Sale—Mary Wallis Hall 2.30
NOVEMBER 18. N. Paddington—47a, Clifton Gardens, Maida Vale, W. Sewing Meeting for the London Society's Bazaar. Members and friends from all constituencies welcome 2.30

Forest Hill—Congregational Church, Queen's Road Sisterhood School Hall, Queen's Road, London Road, Forest Hill—Speaker, Mrs. Rackham 3.0
Highgate—Working party—3, Holly Terrace—Hostess, Mrs. Rand 3.0-5.0
C. and S. Hackney—Working party for London Society's Bazaar—All members and friends are invited to attend 3.0-6.0

Hampstead—Working party—Hostess, Mrs. Dryhurst, 6, Keat's Grove, Downshire Hill 3.0-6.0
NOVEMBER 19. North Hackney—Drawing-room meeting—Hostess, Mrs. Bishop, 117, Mount Pleasant Lane, Clapton, N. Speaker, Miss J. Hamilton Thomson 3.0-6.0
Islington—Crouch Hill Debating Society, Church Hall, Speakers, Miss C. Corbett and Miss Mabel Smith 8.0

NOVEMBER 20. Highgate—Working women's meeting—Spears Memorial Hall, Highgate Road—Chair, Miss Violet Withall, Speakers, Mrs. Garnett, Mrs. Holyoake Marsh, Music and recitations arranged by Miss Hadriell 2.45-4.0
Ealing—Drawing-room meeting—Hostess, Miss Debae, 37, Uxbridge Road, Speaker, Miss P. Fawcett 7.30

NOVEMBER 21. Islington—Congregational Chapel, Caledonian Road—Speaker, Mrs. Rackham, "How the Vote will Affect Wages" 8.0
N. Lambeth—Archbishop Temple Schools, 202, Lambeth Road—Public meeting. Chair, Alderman George Hinds. Speakers, Miss A. Maude Royden, Dr. Drysdale, Councillor Wood 8.0

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Finsbury—"Young Mothers," Claremont Central Mission, Pentonville—Speaker, Mrs. Garrett Jones 2.45
Kensington, N. and S.—Working party—8, Queen's Gate Terrace 3.0
Hampstead—Working party—Hostess, Mrs. Fortescue Fox, 15, Belzisa Park Gardens, Hampstead 3.0-6.0

MEETINGS ADDRESSED BY MEMBERS OF THE UNION. NOVEMBER 18. Birmingham—Sparkhill Women's Co-operative Guild—Mrs. Ring 2.45
Bristol—Counterslip Chapel Schoolroom, Victoria Street—Liberal women's meeting—Mrs. W. C. H. Cross 8.0

NOVEMBER 14. Edinburgh—Bathgate Co-operation Hall—Miss A. Maude Royden, Miss Alice Low, Provost Robertson (chair) 8.0
NOVEMBER 15. Edinburgh—Town Hall, Musselburgh—Public meeting—Miss A. Maude Royden, Dr. Elsie M. Inglis 8.0

NOVEMBER 16. Edinburgh—Livingstone—Members' meeting—Mrs. Turnbull, Miss Alice Low 3.0
NOVEMBER 18. Edinburgh—British Women's Temperance Association—Mrs. Guyer—speaker 7.30
NOVEMBER 19. Glasgow—Mrs. Rankin, The Manse, 8, Craigpark, Denistown, Miss Mildred Watson—Afternoon 8.0

NOVEMBER 20. Glasgow—Mrs. Nelson, 26, Huntley Gardens—Miss Mildred Watson 3.30
NOVEMBER 21. Edinburgh—Dalkoth—Small hall—Miss Alice Low, Miss Gordon 7.30
Glasgow—Mrs. Watson, 11, London Terrace—Drawing-room meeting—Miss Mildred Watson 3.0

NOVEMBER 22. Glasgow—"At Home"—202, Hope Street—Mrs. Ballantyne—Mrs. J. T. Hunter: "The Work of the National Vigilance Association of Scotland" 4.0
NOVEMBER 23. Edinburgh—Livingstone School (public)—Miss Alice Low, Miss Lisa M. Gordon 3.30
Glasgow—20, Montgomerie Street, Kelvinside—Miss Mildred Watson 3.30

NOVEMBER 25. Glasgow—Women's Co-operative Guild—Mansfield Street Hall—Miss Mildred Watson 7.30
NOVEMBER 26. Glasgow—Mrs. Nelson, 26, Huntley Gardens—Miss Mildred Watson 3.0

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TWO SUFFRAGE DIALOGUES, 3d. each. Comedy, 6d.—"S," Fordel, Glenfarg. SURREY, SUSSEX, HANTS.—Hon. Secretaries in this Federation are invited to communicate with Miss O'Shea if they require an Organiser during Christmas holidays.

WILL the Lady who corresponded with Cicely Corbett about an evening meeting at Purely, November 29th, please communicate with her at 51, York Street, Westminster?

EDUCATIONAL AND PROFESSIONAL. AN EXHIBITION of Hand-wrought Leather by Roberta Mills, at 263, Oxford Street, November 9th to 23rd. All Members cordially invited.

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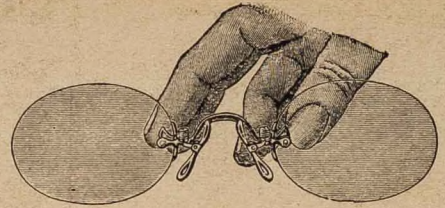


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