

# The Common Cause.

The Organ of the Women's Movement for Reform.

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ONE PENNY.

## The News of the Week.

### Julia Ward Howe.

Full of years, full of hope and faith, having left the world a more beautiful and a better place than she found it, Julia Ward Howe has died, and we are glad that she lived.

### Welsh Women and the Suffrage.

We published an announcement last week of the conference on Women's Suffrage to be held by Welsh Liberal Women at the Cory Hall, Cardiff, on Thursday, November 3rd. It is an admirable idea, and we hope that all Suffragists in Wales, whether party or non-party, will do their utmost to join the conference and help it to a right conclusion. As far as the chances of Suffrage from the Liberal Party are concerned, Wales may be regarded as the crux of the situation.

A correspondent writes that the following comprehensive resolution was passed by the Splott branch of the Cardiff Women's Liberal Association on Wednesday, October 12, 1910, Mrs. Alfred Thomas in the chair:—"This meeting enthusiastically urges the Government to give time for the Representation of the People Bill, 1910, to pass into law this year. They recognise that the Bill (1) gives women a voice in the laws that govern women; (2) is democratic, giving rich and poor women householders a vote equally; (3) removes the stigma imposed on womanhood and marriage; (4) does not give property a vote; (5) is the will of the people."

### Mr. Asquith's Pledge.

We are glad to publish the letters of Mr. and Mrs. F. D. Acland, but we must confess that they do not throw any light on the question which is still the question for us—How can Women's Suffrage be most speedily attained? It is our complaint that Mr. Asquith's "pledges" always relate to contingencies that do not arise. It was in the Second Reading debate that Mr. Snowden offered to "recommit the Bill in respect of its title," and it seems to us clear that if the Government had been sincere in desiring that the House should have "an opportunity of dealing effectively with the whole

question," they would have met that offer with an offer of time. The second reading was taken on July 12, and it is notorious that time could have been made either before the end of that session or at the beginning of the autumn session. In fact, still, nothing but the lack of goodwill on the part of the Government can prevent this time from being given. Mr. Acland shows his inability to view the question from any but the party politician point of view when he says "Governments do not usually allow longer time for short autumn sessions than they want for their own business." We think it is the business of the Government to repair the damage caused by its own hesitation and procrastination. Not to do so is to show a lamentable lack of statesmanship.

We think there is little doubt that if the Government accepted Mr. Snowden's offer, even at this late hour, Suffragists all over the country would be willing to abide the result.

### Is the Bill Shelved?

With regard to the point made by Mrs. Acland. It is perfectly true that, before the debate, we wrote and spoke to the effect that a vote for sending the Bill to a Committee of the whole House would be regarded as a hostile vote; but Mr. Haldane's speech and the recognition of the meaning of the Conservative vote changed our opinion. Lord Hugh Cecil, on July 29, protested against Mr. Asquith's interpretation of the vote, and stated that Mr. Balfour had not intended to shelve the Bill. Unionists are opposed on principle to the use of Grand Committees for Franchise Bills. As Mr. Brailsford says in his pamphlet: "Three of them made the best speeches delivered on our side, a fourth is a member of the Conciliation Committee, and a fifth was speaking five days later from our platform in Hyde Park."

Mrs. Acland advises us to "organise the pressing forces." That is precisely what we are engaged in doing. If the pressure for this Bill is slight (in which we do not agree) it is curious that she cannot recognise that the pressure for the Bill she advocates is almost negligible. We have to remember, too, that Mr. Lloyd George distinctly stated in the course of the debate that "if the promoters of this Bill say that they regard the second reading merely as an affirmation of the principal of Woman

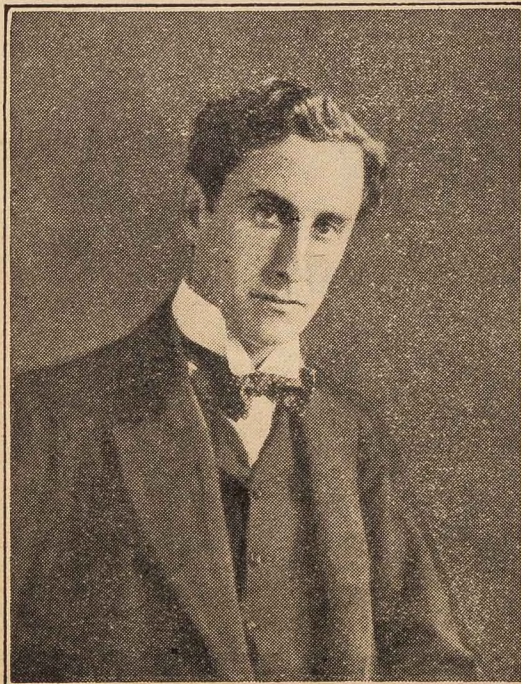


Photo., Ernest H. Mills.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF LYTTON,  
Chairman, Conciliation Committee.

Suffrage" he would vote for it; and Mr. Churchill said the vote on the second reading meant "I want this Bill passed into law this session, regardless of all other consequences. I want it as it is, and I want it now." We have taken the interpretation that Members themselves have put on their votes; what gloss can Mrs. Acland find for the Home Secretary and the Chancellor?

#### "A Monstrous and Impudent Claim."

Mr. F. E. Smith, speaking at Abingdon, said (in reference to the Osborne judgment) that "the campaign of the Labour party in the country was in favour of forcing men who hated their political views to finance them in the House of Commons. If that claim was admitted, England would cease to be a free country. Why should those who considered their views distasteful and dangerous be compelled against their wishes to maintain them in the House of Commons? He . . . would die in the last political ditch before he would concede that monstrous and impudent claim."

Now Mr. Smith has declared for the payment of Members out of taxes. Also, Mr. Smith must know that the whole machinery of Parliament and Government is paid for out of taxes. Women pay these taxes like men. Is it not a "monstrous and impudent claim" that women should have to pay for Mr. F. E. Smith?

#### Councillor Mrs. Jane Redford.

We are glad to know that, after all, owing to the enforced absence from Manchester of the Liberal candidate who was to oppose Mrs. Redford in Chorlton-cum-Hardy, his candidature was withdrawn and Mrs. Redford was returned unopposed. Miss Ashton will now have a woman colleague on the City Council.

#### Anti-Suffrage in Manchester.

Mr. A. Maconachie has been debating again, this time with the Women's Union of the Manchester University. The vote showed only three Anti-Suffragists present, yet we read Mr. Maconachie in the "Anti-Suffrage Review" saying of a tour he made this summer that the vote was "invariably and strongly against the Suffrage." "I have learned so to take this for granted that I almost forgot to mention it." One wonders if he will "forget to mention" his fate in Manchester.

#### Proposed Liverpool Memorial to Florence Nightingale.

Two proposals for a memorial to Florence Nightingale came before a public meeting in Liverpool Town Hall one day last week. One was to add, at an estimated expenditure of £5,000, another district nursing home to the six already existing. The alternative was to establish a home for retired nurses, but this, to cost some £10,000, was considered too expensive, and the first scheme was adopted. One is sorry the money could not be found, for while so much has been done of late years for nursing, not nearly enough is done yet for nurses, who wear themselves out at their exacting and selfless toil.

#### Assaults on Women.

In the course of a letter dealing with a controversy into which we cannot go, Mr. Churchill, Home Secretary, makes the welcome statement that "brutal assaults on women are far too common in this district, and in my judgment call for severe punishment."

#### Portuguese Women and the Revolution.

The President of the new Portuguese Republic is said to be "a strong believer in the emancipation of women, but thinks that the gift of the Suffrage would be premature at present." It is to be hoped that the new régime may bring about better education for the women and fit them for responsibility.

#### Women Sanitary Inspectors.

In the course of an address to the North-Western Centre of the Sanitary Inspectors' Association, Dr. Francis Vacher is reported to have said it was very pleasing that the women sanitary inspectors had been well

received in all the districts where such appointments had been made. The inspection of common lodging-houses used by women was only possible and satisfactory where there was a female sanitary inspector. Women inspectors were necessary also in districts where prompt notification of births was required, and they alone could give advice and instruction to young or ignorant mothers as to the care of their children. As time went on other duties would gradually be found for these most useful public officers.

#### The People's Suffrage Federation.

We are sorry to have to report that the secretary writes that the support given by the Federation to the Conciliation Bill when it was introduced was due to the exceptional political circumstances and limited to the second reading. The exceptional political circumstances having come to an end, the People's Suffrage Federation will officially neither support nor oppose the Bill, but will continue its agitation for a Government Bill based on Adult Suffrage.

#### Election Law Reform.

In the "Morning Post" of October 11th appeared a long letter from Mr. Ellis Powell on "Election Law Reform." It recommends a large number of drastic changes, and concludes: "It will be seen that the joining of civic duty to civic privilege for registration purposes, in the manner outlined above must, if carried to its logical conclusion, involve the admission of the rate and tax paying woman to the Parliamentary franchise. The scheme, however, is perfectly feasible in application to a male franchise only, though I have no desire whatever to conceal my own opinion that if a woman is fit to pay rates and taxes she is fit to vote."

#### Pains and Penalties.

Mr. Laurence Housman is giving a reading of his censored play, "Pains and Penalties," at the Bechstein Hall at 8 p.m., on Saturday, October 29th. Prices 10s. 6d., 5s., and 2s. 6d. Proceeds will go to the Men's League for Women's Suffrage. Suffragists will find the play of particular interest, and can get tickets at the hall, or from the Men's League, 40, Museum Street, W.C.

#### John Stuart Mill and the Suffrage.

A questioning spirit may be a scientific spirit, but one doubts whether there is anything but prejudice and misunderstanding in the speculations of a writer in the "Anti-Suffrage Review," who "questions whether" John Stuart Mill would have remained a Suffragist if he were living now. When the same author remarks that "with the widening education of women has come the recognition of their right to manage their own lives and to speak with authority on the education of their children" we rub our eyes, for that is what *we* say! Only this recognition of rights must pass from the theoretical to the practical before we can be satisfied. Second readings have "recognised" women's right to manage their own lives, but still Mr. Burns threatens, and Mr. George taxes, and Mr. Runciman educates, without our consent.

#### Huddersfield Town Council.

In Huddersfield the Women's Liberal Association is running Mrs. Julia R. Glaisyer for a ward which has for eighteen years been represented by a publican; this gentleman has been returned unopposed six times, so the lady would seem to be likely to have a hard fight. Councillor Beaumont is a good friend within the pale, and we hear that on the day of his nomination this year he delayed appearing to the last available moment in order to be present at the Suffrage debate in Leeds.

#### Last Week's Cartoon.

We regret that, by an oversight, acknowledgment was not made in last week's issue to the Record Press for the photograph of the Bishop of Lincoln, and to the "Manchester Guardian" for their kind permission to print from their block.

## Beginners' Column.

### The Common Cause.

What is the Common Cause? It is the cause of the enfranchisement of women. It is the cause of men as well as of women, because to give women political power is to give them power to help men to make the conditions under which we live better for us all. It is the cause of the children above all, because they need the care of women in the State just as they need the care of women—their mothers and nurses—in their own homes.

This paper records the work done by women and by men towards freeing the women of the nation. It is the organ of the great Union of over 200 non-party and non-militant Suffrage Societies known as the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, which works in every possible peaceful way to get the Parliamentary vote for all those women who have the qualification (householder, occupier, etc.) which would give them the vote if they happened to be men.

### "Meddling" Women.

"Women should not meddle with politics," a Lancashire woman was once told. "I never meddled with politics till politics meddled with me," was her prompt reply. Do politics, then, interfere with the lives of women as well as with the lives of men? Politics, we are sometimes told, have to do with wars; and it is the men who have to fight. Yes, but don't hundreds of women go with them, succouring the wounded under fire, nursing them back to life, and fighting against that great foe, disease, which often destroys far more soldiers, in a great war, than fall in battle? And even the women who stop at home—doesn't the war matter to them? Just picture them, day after day scanning the newspapers to see if the name of husband, brother, or son is amongst the casualties; just think of them watching their children starve whilst the breadwinner is away; remember, too, that the millions of money spent on a great war they take their share in paying: that they are still paying *to-day*, in their taxes, for the South African war, and they are *always* paying for the training and maintenance of the Army.

### When Women Vote.

"Women couldn't do anything with their votes if they had them," some people say. "What difference could it possibly make?" Well, a good way of judging is to see what women have done when they *had* got votes, and what difference it *did* make. For it is only the Parliamentary vote which the woman isn't supposed to be able to use. She votes for Guardians, and for Town and County Councillors. Has she ever found that it made a difference having a vote? A friend tells us of a certain town where new swimming baths were being erected, and it was decided that there should be a bath for men and one for women. So when the building was in progress some women municipal voters went to see how it was getting on. And they asked the builders, "Which is the women's bath?" "Oh!" they replied, "don't you know? There is not to be a women's bath. The Council decided that it would be more useful to have a first-class men's bath, and a second-class men's bath." What did the women do? They were voters, and therefore powerful. So they went to some of the Councillors and said, "What is this we hear about you having decided not to have a women's bath? What is the reason of it?" And the Councillors made various excuses; but the women were not satisfied, and they said, "Very well, do as you like, but we women voters will take good care that you don't get elected again." And they built the women's bath!

### Visible Means.

The following story is from "Throne and Country":—  
Magistrate: "Have you any visible means of support?"  
Prisoner: "Yes, yer wushup." (To his wife, a landress): "Hemmar, stand up so's the court can see yer."

### This Week's Motto.

The wearer of the shoe knows where it pinches.

ALL BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS should be addressed to The Manager, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester.

ADVERTISEMENTS should reach the office by first post on Tuesday.

LONDON AGENT.—Communications referring to advertisements may now be addressed to our London agent, Mrs. H. A. Evans, 10, Adelphi Terrace, London, W.C. Friends in London desirous of helping to get advertisements will kindly communicate with her.

THE PAPER WILL BE POSTED to any address in England or abroad for the following prepaid payments:—

3 MONTHS	...	1	9
6 MONTHS	...	3	3
12 MONTHS	...	6	6

LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS should be addressed to the Editor, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester, 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 possible day, not as the one upon which all news should arrive.

NOTICE.—This paper should be obtainable at newsagents and bookstalls by mid-day on Thursday. If people have any difficulty in getting it locally they should write to the Manager, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester, giving the name and address of the newsagent or bookstall from which they wish to be supplied.

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## Woman—Bond or Free?

*In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,  
With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me;  
As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,  
While God is marching on.*

JULIA WARD HOWE.

On page 446 will be found a description of the proceedings which took place at Lincoln with regard to the National Union of Women Workers and the question of the Suffrage.

It must be recognized that the National Union of Women Workers has a difficult question to settle in the near future, and we hope that everyone concerned will work for the solution of that question on lines which shall lead to a furtherance of the best interests of women and girls, for which the Union exists. The opening declaration of its constitution states that it is organized "in the interests of no one policy." This declaration strikes us as a little vague, and in practice it appears not to have been acted upon. There is a "legislation sectional committee" and the N.U.W.W. has supported many definite pieces of legislation about which opinion is not unanimous. At every Council meeting three resolutions are brought forward, often making representations to Government, and one of these, which was re-affirmed last year at Southsea, stated that "without the firm foundation of the Parliamentary franchise for women, there is no permanence for any advance gained by them."

It would seem, then, that the N.U.W.W. has passed and confirmed, in Council assembled, resolutions in the interests of the policy of the enfranchisement rather than the continued subjection of women, and unless it is held

desirable to rescind these resolutions, it would seem that it is the plain duty of the Executive to act upon them. The N.U.W.W. exists to further the interests of women and girls and necessarily to endeavour to make permanent any advance gained by them. Further, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies has one object and one object only—"to obtain the Parliamentary vote for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men,"—and it is affiliated to the Women Workers. Now plainly, if the subject of Women's Suffrage is not to be discussed, if Suffrage literature is not to be on the same footing as that of other affiliated societies, and if Suffrage resolutions are allowed to become a dead letter, the object of having Suffrage Societies affiliated ceases altogether and their representation becomes a mockery.

The questions that the Special Council which has been requisitioned will have to deal with, then, concern the relations between the Union as a whole and its various affiliated societies: how much responsibility the Union should take for the objects of its affiliated societies and what general principles should regulate its conduct with regard to public advocacy of such objects. It is possible, of course, to have a Union which only exists as the machinery for conferences, and for the dissemination of information, and which never takes corporate action, or only takes corporate action upon a unanimous vote; but hitherto the Women Workers' has not been such a Union. If, on the other hand, it is to be left to the Executive to decide whether or no to take action upon resolutions passed in Council, that again is an alternative which should receive consideration; but we greatly doubt whether many societies would care to be affiliated under such conditions.

The powers and duties of the Executive are, as will be seen, at present somewhat indeterminate, and this lays upon them in time of stress and difficulty a responsibility which, as it seems to us, ought to be shared by the whole body. It is the whole body of Women Workers, through their elected representatives, who ought to speak out at this crisis in the affairs of women and to instruct their Executive as to the wish of the majority. The majority of the Women Workers are Suffragists; no one denies that. Out of a most generous regard for the minority, and with a laudable desire not to precipitate dissension, there are some who think that when a question becomes a burning question, the Union should step aside and take no line, and this question of Women's Suffrage is "burning" enough.

We wish to state what, in our view, are the broad and patriotic considerations upon which the decision should be made. First, it is notoriously difficult to get at the opinion of the majority of women on any great subject. Where, therefore, machinery exists for getting at the majority of women banded together for any purpose, this is a precious opportunity not to be missed. The "Women Workers among women and girls" have a peculiar claim to speak, in virtue of their experience and knowledge, and that claim brings with it the deep and pressing duty to speak out of the fulness of that knowledge and experience. It is all very well to say, "The Suffrage Societies exist for this purpose. We have other things to do. Let the Suffrage Societies speak for Suffrage." It must be remembered that the Suffrage Societies put Suffrage first and act independently of all parties. Is it really desired that the need for enfranchisement should be expressed by such alone? Is it not incumbent upon all bodies of women banded together for good work to express their belief in freedom and their distrust of subjection? A leaflet was recently circulated in Trafalgar Square wherein it was stated that "the Suffragist propaganda is mainly based on an appeal to the vanity of uneducated and impressionable girls"; that these "silly girls" are "misled by designing elder women"; that Suffragists are teaching them "to despise home duties and to shun domestic service"; that they are "deliberately and of set intention bringing about sex antagonism," and much more of the same poisonous and silly stuff. Can anyone deny that if great bodies of home and duty-loving women like the National Union of Women Workers, the British Women's Temperance Association, and the Women's Co-operative Guild frankly and fearlessly state that, as corporate

bodies, and because of their interest in temperance, the home, and morality, they believe their objects will be furthered by the enfranchisement of women, this cause would receive great help and the false statement that a few professional agitators alone desire it would receive its death-blow?

By all the good work they have done, by their record for moderation and sanity, by the roll of names of women eager in single-hearted service of humanity, their intervention would have an influence other than that of Suffrage Societies. Is it really desired to drive out into blank opposition all women who wish for enfranchisement? Must all women really drop all else and work only for the Suffrage before they can get it? Are not the Women Workers the very women who can best answer the objections that women must not vote because they are ignorant; that votes for women mean the subjection of men; that women don't want the vote?

And lastly, are the Women Workers not concerned to combat the barbarous and iniquitous theory that physical force, undirected by spiritual force, rules and must rule the world? Whether they like it or not (and we have more than once heard members pride themselves on the title) they have been called the Women's Parliament. Power and numbers bring responsibility. This is not a party question; it is the fundamental human question of Woman, bond or free? They cannot evade it. The choice must be made. And if no clear lead is given by the National Union of Women Workers in this matter, it will be concluded that in the opinion of that Union the "interests of women and girls" can be as well served in subjection as in liberty.

### Truth and Justice.

"The Life of Mrs. Norton," by Miss Jane Gray Perkins. (John Murray. Pp. 312. 12s. net.)

To us the overwhelming interest in the life of Caroline Norton is not that she wrote novels and poems, nor that she was a daughter of Sheridan and a brilliant woman of society, nor even that she was, in part at least, the inspiration of a novel by George Meredith. The interest of "Diana of the Crossways" does not lie in its being a literal attempt to reconstruct Caroline Norton, as a paleontologist will reconstruct you the Plesiosaurus from a jaw-bone, but in its being a vital creation with a life breathed into it by the artist; and the interest of this biography is quite remote from the romance of Diana and Dacier. The interest to us is to trace the effect of Norton's outrageous abuse of his legal marital rights upon legislation, and to marvel and admire at the nobleness of soul which made the injured woman turn her private sorrow into a shield for the women who were to come after her.

Her three pamphlets remain on record as the most eloquent statement of the hideous slavery of a wife who was also a mother; one, circulated privately in 1836, was entitled "The Natural Claim of a Mother to the Custody of her Children as affected by the Common Law Right of the Father"; another, written in 1854, was called "English Laws for Women of the Nineteenth Century"; and the third was the noble "Letter to the Queen on Lord Cranworth's Marriage and Divorce Bill," published in 1855 by Longman, Brown, Green and Longman. The Custody of Infants Bill was passed into law in 1839, not without many forebodings on the part of noble Lords and others as to the astounding change which was to come over virtuous and affectionate wives and mothers as soon as you loosened even a little the galling ties which bound them. "You cannot get Peers," writes Mrs. Norton, "to sit up till three in the morning listening to the wrongs of separated wives. They are disturbed at the preposterous importance set by women on the society of their infant children, and doubtful as to the effect of such a claim on the authority of heads of families." Lord Holland writes indignantly, about the same time, of the tenour of Lord Brougham's speech, which was that "several legal hardships being of necessity inflicted on women, therefore we should not relieve them from those which are not necessary, although repugnant to the feelings of our nature and indeed to nature itself."

On the chivalry of men to right the wrongs of women she was forced to have few delusions, and on the failure of the House of Lords to grapple with the acknowledged tyranny of women, "acknowledged again I say, not by wailing, angry, despairing women, but by Chancellors, ex-Chancellors, legal reformers, and members of both Houses of Parliament," she has the following caustic comment:

"It drops, and is given up; the Chancellor, like the Runic sorceress, exclaims:—

'Leave me, leave me to repose,'

and all go away home, like a party of miners who have given up the attempt to dig out persons buried in the superincumbent earth. They would be very glad to do something towards amending the laws for women, but really 'the subject is so surrounded with difficulty.'"

What living Suffragist does not recognize all these types, these excuses and these delusions among those who have the power to-day and who do not use it to right the wrong?

Nothing could be more noble than the passionate eloquence with which she pleads the cause of women:

"I write in the hope that the law may be amended; and that those who are at present so ill-provided as to have only 'Truth and Justice' on their side, may hereafter have the benefit of 'Law and Lawyers.'"

"I know all that can be said on my interference with such a subject—all the prejudices and contempt with which men will receive arguments from a woman, and a woman personally interested. But it is of more importance that the law should be altered than that I should be approved. Many a woman may live to thank heaven that I had courage and energy left to attempt the task; and since no one can foretell the future, even men may pause ere they fling down my pamphlet with masculine scorn; for the day may come, however improbable, to some one of my readers, when he would give his right hand for the sake of sister, daughter, or friend, that the law were in such a condition as to afford a chance of justice, without the pain of a protracted struggle, or the disgrace of a public brawl."

Hark to the throbbing passion which informs her appeal:—

"I really wept and suffered in my early youth for wrong done, not by me, but to me, and the ghost of whose scandal is raised against me this day. I really suffered the extremity of earthly shame without deserving it (whatever chastisement my other faults may have deserved from heaven). I really lost my young children, craved for them, struggled for them, was barred from them, and came too late to see one who had died a painful and convulsive death, except in his coffin. I really have gone through much that, if it were invented, would move you, but being of your everyday world, you are willing it should sweep past like a heap of dead leaves on the stream of time, and take its place with other things that have gone drifting down.

'Ou va la feuille de rose  
Et la feuille du laurier.'

"Will none of you aid the cause I advocate, and forget that it was advocated by me? Think what it must be to spend all one's youth, as I have spent mine, in a series of vain struggles to obtain any legal justice. Or do not think at all about me; forget by whose story this appeal was illustrated. I can bring you others, from your own English law books; and let my part in this be only as a voice borne by the wind, as a cry coming over the waves from a shipwreck, to where you stand safe on the shore, and which you turn and listen to, not for the sake of those who call—you do not know them,—but because it is a cry for help."

And this magnificent dedication of herself in her letter to the Queen:—

"He (Norton) has made me dream that it was meant for a higher and stronger purpose, that gift which came not from man, but from God! It was meant to enable me to rouse the hearts of others to examine into all the gross injustice of these laws, to ask the nation of gallant gentlemen whose countrywoman I am, for once to hear a woman's pleading on the subject. Not because I deserve more at their hands than other women. Well I know, on the contrary, how many hundreds, infinitely better than I—more pious, more patient, and less rash under injury,—have watered their bread with tears! My plea to attention is, that in pleading for myself I am able to plead for all these others. Not that my sufferings or my deserts are greater than theirs, but that I combine with the fact of having suffered wrong, the power to comment on and explain the cause of that wrong, which few women are able to do.

"For this I believe God gave me the power of writing. To this I devote that power. I abjure all other writing till I see these laws altered. I care not what ridicule or abuse may be result of that declaration. They who cannot bear

ridicule and abuse are unfit and unable to advance any cause; and once more I deny that this is my personal cause—it is the cause of all the women of England. If I could be justified and happy to-morrow, I would still strive and labour in it; and if I were to die to-morrow, it would still be a satisfaction to me that I had so striven. Meanwhile my husband has a legal lien on the copyright of my works. Let him claim the copyright of this!"

### The Work of Press Secretaries.

The editor has asked me to write about the resolution moved by the North-Western Federation at the Provincial Council last week. This was the resolution:—"That it be part of the duty of each Federation to keep in touch with all the local newspapers in its area."

By "keeping in touch" is meant the appointment of responsible persons (a) to make the acquaintance of the editors and read the papers every week; (b) to watch the correspondence columns and get suitable people to write letters for them when occasion offers; (c) to note and report any mention of Women's Suffrage in the editorial columns, or in speeches of members and candidates and other prominent local persons (the omission of Women's Suffrage from any important speech of a professedly favourable candidate should also be noted); (d) to read carefully all reports of Suffrage and anti-Suffrage activities, either local or general, and any matter communicated by the Federation or by the local society, and report at once any inaccuracies or misrepresentations.

These suggestions make no claim to originality; probably all of them have been put into practice to a greater or less extent by our Societies in different parts of the country. The object of bringing them before the Provincial Council was twofold: Firstly, to get the Federations to undertake responsibility for the work and carry it out thoroughly and systematically; and secondly, to emphasize the fact that the establishment of good relations with the Press is not only desirable, but possible, and enormously important. So often a piece of really good work fails to have its full effect for want of the little extra trouble—or organisation—necessary to put it right through. This is true not only of individual societies, but also, if I may venture to say so, of the National Union as a whole. This is exactly where the Federations ought to step in, and when they are all in working order we ought to be able to ensure that no gaps are left, that all the work being done throughout the country shall be synthesised, and recorded in some permanent form easily accessible for reference. This Press work can be organised more efficiently and more economically on the basis of the Federation than when each Society is doing its own little bit in ignorance of what other societies are doing. In every Federation there should be one person responsible for this part of the work, and that person should, when possible, be the secretary, I think, as she will be more closely in touch with current events in the National Union than anyone else. I am not proposing that she should do the work herself. It will be best to apportion that out among different people, and when letters have to be written to the papers it is not wise for the same person to write too often. But it is important, I think, that one person shall be ultimately responsible for the working of the system throughout the whole of the Federation area. She should see that every local paper is put under the eye of a local Press Secretary (one person can probably undertake two or three papers), appointed by herself in consultation with the local Society. It is very important to appoint people who have tact and discretion and can be relied upon to be regular and conscientious in reading the papers under their charge.

But all this means a great deal of work. Is it worth while? Will the results justify the expenditure of so much time and labour?

It does mean a great deal of work. I do not deny that for a moment. I have been doing it myself, though with nothing like thoroughness, in connection with twenty local papers, and it has made very great demands on my time. But the results have more than repaid the cost. Of these twenty papers not one is now hostile; not one ever misrepresents us (that alone is an immense gain);

most of them give excellent—almost verbatim—reports of all our meetings, and several support us actively in their editorial columns, and reprint Women's Suffrage articles of their own accord from the "Manchester Guardian" and other sources. Some of the editors needed educating, but one of our chief tasks is to educate public opinion, and the local papers have an important influence on public opinion in country districts. Educate their editors, and you are educating public opinion at its fountain-head. The difference which a favourable local Press makes to the success of our propaganda work is simply incalculable. The effect of every meeting is increased a hundredfold, because for every person who was present and heard the speeches at least one hundred read the reports of them. Several of the editors of papers in distant parts of the country have got into the way now of sending me copies of their paper whenever they think it contains something that will interest me. This morning I have received a copy of the "Kendal Mercury and Times," with an admirable report of a speech by Lady Betty Balfour at a meeting last Monday, organised by the Kendal Society. I am ordering two dozen copies of it, as a token of appreciation, to distribute among the members of our Keswick Committee. . . . I have written at some length about our own experiences, because I find people are often sceptical as to the possibility of winning over the Press, and a few results are more encouraging than any number of prophecies. Our experience has been entirely in country districts. I recognise, of course, that in big towns the problem is a far more difficult one. But even there I believe a great deal can be done by organised and patient effort. Our chief foes are ignorance and prejudice, and they lurk behind the editor's desk as well as in other places. It is largely a matter of taking trouble—taking enough trouble.

A few hints, in conclusion, to those who have not tried this kind of work before:—

1. Make a table of the names of the newspapers, the addresses of their offices, their editors' names, their day of issue, price, area in which they circulate, politics, and attitude on Women's Suffrage.
2. Make the editors' acquaintance personally as soon as possible.
3. When you want them to publish notices for you (e.g., biographical notes of speakers who are coming to the neighbourhood) write a different notice for each paper, bearing in mind their respective politics and general style.
4. Send in notices, letters, etc., in good time, not at the last moment.
5. However pressed for time you may be, never economise in politeness.
6. If at first you don't succeed, don't stop trying till you do.

C. E. MARSHALL.

### The National Union of Women Workers and the Suffrage Societies.

We think it necessary to give the plain unvarnished tale of the proceedings at Lincoln with regard to the Suffrage question, because the "tuppence coloured" of the daily Press, though possibly more amusing, was, as a matter of dry fact, grossly misleading. A Lincoln paper flooded the town with the poster, "Suffragette Scene," and had a headline stating "suffragette scene averted." Now mark how plain a tale shall put them down. There was no "scene" at all. This is what happened.

The National Union of Women Workers consists of: (1) individual members; (2) branches in different towns; (3) affiliated societies. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies is one of the societies affiliated to the Women Workers; the Women's Anti-Suffrage League is not. When, therefore, the Suffrage Societies found themselves for the first time refused a place on the book-stall at the Women Workers' Conference they naturally wished to know the reasons for such exclusion, and Miss Margaret Ashton, as a delegate to the Council, asked for the reasons. It appeared from the statement read by

the President, Lady Laura Ridding, that (in the unavoidable absence of the Organizing Secretary, Miss Janes) she had decided to refuse admission to Suffrage literature on the ground that "we ought to be careful this time not to seem to give facilities to one side or the other to spread their literature." She reminded her hearers that "this Union is organized in the interests of no one policy," and urged that "our religion and politics should be placed beyond the scope of our collective energies." This course was asked for by the minority, and she feared the introduction of discord if it were not maintained. The Executive had received a request from Mrs. Humphry Ward to introduce an urgency resolution with regard to the action to be pursued in the matter of Suffrage Demonstrations, and the Executive had decided not to grant urgency, but would consider the question at its next sitting. In view of this, she had thought it better to exclude Suffrage literature.

Miss Ashton expressed herself as dissatisfied with the explanation, and asked why an affiliated society should be refused representation on the book-stall at the request of a non-affiliated society. Mrs. Allan Bright stated that the whole thing had been a mistake and would not occur again, and practically asked the Council to pass it over as a slip, which had occurred only through the regrettable absence of Miss Janes. But unfortunately this had not been the line taken by Lady Laura, who had in her statement justified the proceeding, and Miss Ashton therefore insisted that the Council should have some clear statement of policy. Again, most unfortunately, the proceedings were thrown on to personal lines by the proposal of a vote of confidence in Lady Laura Ridding. The great mass of the delegates were entirely opposed to anything that could be interpreted as a vote of censure on their honoured President, and the vote was passed with only sixteen dissentients; these stood up against the motion, with the single intention of recording disagreement with Lady Laura's statement, and she, with great and admirable courtesy and humour, saved the situation by saying she herself "might have been one of the sixteen."

That the feeling of the meeting was in accord with Miss Ashton's purpose was shown by the hearty approval which greeted a later announcement that, a special Executive Committee having met, it had been unanimously resolved "That in view of the fact that the National Union of Women's Suffrage is an affiliated society to the National Union of Women Workers, and that the Anti-Suffrage Society is not, they accept the literature of the former Society for sale in the book-room," and laughter and applause greeted the further statement that if the Anti-Suffrage League were affiliated their literature also would be accepted.

So ended the "incident" described so luridly in the Press. But there was a very general feeling that the exigencies of the situation required not only the careful consideration by the Executive but also an opportunity for full and free discussion by the Council, and therefore a requisition was drawn up and will be entertained by the Executive at a suitable date, calling for a Special Council meeting to consider:

- (1) The relations between the National Union of Women Workers and its affiliated societies.
- (2) The policy to be pursued in regard to taking part in deputations and demonstrations in support of objects upon which the Council has not been unanimous.

It will be noted that, though the Press and others alluded to this requisition as being a "Suffrage" one, it was drawn up in general terms in order that resolutions defining the whole position of the Union with regard to its affiliated societies and their policy might be in order and receive due consideration.

#### "The Common Cause."

As soon as the Executive had withdrawn the ban upon us, we wired for copies of "The Common Cause" which, speedily arriving, sold "like hot cakes."

(A brief report of the Conference will be found on Page 450.)

## 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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*Telegrams:* "Voiceless, London." *Secretary:* Miss T. G. WHITEHEAD, M.A. *Telephone:* 1900 Victoria.  
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### Executive Committee.

With regard to the two by-elections in progress, it is not yet at all certain that any of the candidates will come up to the Council's requirements of those who are to be supported by the N.U. We have been giving the matter our serious consideration during the week, and have decided that neither contest is suitable for running a candidate of our own.

*Walthamstow.*—Sir John Simon (Liberal) voted for the Conciliation Bill in the first division, but afterwards voted for it to be referred to a Committee of the whole House. He has not, so far, replied to our inquiries at Walthamstow. He will be questioned in public as to his present position. If he would really help us he would be worth supporting, because his position in the Cabinet will give him unique opportunities.

Mr. L. Stanley Johnson (Conservative) told us at the general election that he was in favour of a limited Bill, and he has told us now, in answer to our question, that he would vote for the Conciliation Bill; but he does not promise any other support to it, and will not undertake to mention Women's Suffrage in his speeches. Mrs. Mayer, our organiser, will be in charge at Walthamstow, and our London workers are begged to go down and give all the help they can. We want this election at least to result in a Walthamstow N.U. Society.

*South Shields.*—The North-Eastern Federation is in charge of this election, has opened a committee-room, and is hard at work there. They have not yet, however, sent us sufficient information about the candidates' present position with regard to Women's Suffrage to enable a decision to be made.

### Suffrage Week.

Arrangements for Suffrage Week are going on apace. On Wednesday we held the first meeting of the joint committee of representatives from the different Societies, and settled all the main points. The list of meetings has been altered and augmented a good deal since last week, and will probably be altered still further, but at present they are as follows:—

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 7th.—Evening meeting, Women's Freedom League, and possibly Artists' Suffrage League.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 8th.—Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, at St. James' Theatre, at 3 p.m.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9th.—National Union and London Society (afternoon).

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 10th (afternoon).—The younger Suffragists will organise a meeting to see and hear Miss Mason's lantern lecture.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 11th (afternoon).—The Church League and the Forward Suffrage Union are organising a reception, and Miss Roper has changed the date of the meeting of the National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society from Wednesday evening to Friday evening. The New Constitutional Society is joining with them in this meeting.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 12th.—Afternoon, Merr's League demonstration in Trafalgar Square; evening, joint mass meeting in the Albert Hall, at 7.30 p.m.

Notices of Suffrage Week are already posted all over London.

We hear that some of the Societies are sending the accounts of the meetings they have held to Mr. Brailsford direct. If the Societies remember, Mr. Brailsford specially asked that they should all be sent to the N.U.

office—not to him. It will greatly facilitate the labour of giving him a complete and concise list of meetings (which is what he has asked for) if each Society will itself keep a list of all its meetings, starting those at which a resolution in support of the Conciliation Bill has been passed and forwarded to the Prime Minister and to the local member of Parliament, sending in this list to the National Union Office *without fail on November 5th*.

Those who are carrying out a municipal women electors' petition can give Mr. Brailsford some further assistance. He would very much like to have statistics regarding three different kinds of districts—namely, industrial, residential, and rural. The statistics he would like to have are:—

1. What proportion of the electors are householders, and what proportion joint householders?
2. What proportion are £10 occupiers?
3. What proportion widows and spinsters?
4. The social status of the electors. (a) Proportion of women employed in house without a servant. (b) Proportion who are wage-earners. (c) Proportion who are professional and business women. (d) Proportion not employed outside home who keep a servant or servants.

Mr. Brailsford is also anxious that wherever there are friendly Cabinet Ministers, deputations should, if possible, be arranged to interview them; and that all the Societies should keep the members of Parliament in their constituencies fully alive to all that is going on, sending them the resolutions passed at their meetings, and so on. He thinks, also, that more Town Councils could be got to pass resolutions in favour of the Conciliation Bill if local efforts were made to bring the matter before them.

I would remind all the societies that Mr. Brailsford's new pamphlet, "The Conciliation Bill: An Explanation and Defence," is now on sale at the National Union Office. Price one penny each, with the usual discount of threepence in the shilling. All speakers and workers will find it most useful. EDITH DIMOCK.

October 16, 1910.

### Mr. Brailsford's Pamphlet.

We reviewed this last week, and we earnestly recommend all secretaries to lay in stocks of it. The title is "The 'Conciliation' Bill: An Explanation and Defence." It can be procured from The Garden City Press, Limited, Letchworth, Herts. Prices: For 2,000 copies, with full-page advertisement, £5 10s.; for 1,000 copies, with half-page advertisement, £2 17s. 6d.; for 500 copies, with quarter-page advertisement, £1 10s.; 9d. per dozen (13 to the dozen); carriage paid on all lots over 10 dozen.

### "Common Cause" Shares.

Applications for shares in "The Common Cause" Publishing Co. are coming in well, but we remind our readers that it is hoped to raise £1,000 before the middle of November. Shares are £1 each, and the sum may be paid either at once or in instalments of 5s. per share, payable at intervals as determined by the directors. No liability is incurred beyond the full amount of the shares applied for.

Mrs. Uniacke offers to take £5 worth of shares if 99 other persons will do so by November 10th. Another lady writes to say she is selling out £20 worth of stock in a remunerative investment in order to take twenty shares in this. Applications for shares should be made to the Secretary, "The Common Cause" Publishing Co., 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester.











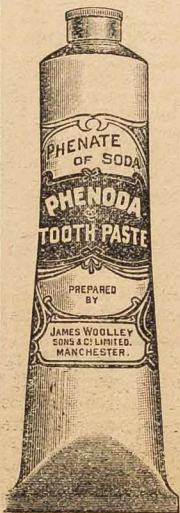
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