

The Common Cause

THE ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF

Oct. 17th,
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Women's Suffrage

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Literary Contributions should be addressed to the Editor, The Common 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.

Notes and Comments.

Men's International Alliance.

On page 484 will be found an interesting account, by the secretary of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, of the Men's International Alliance, which will be holding meetings in London from the 23rd to the 29th of the present month. This seemed so important and interesting at this time that it has been allowed to occupy space that would otherwise have been filled by the usual "In Parliament" news; and the doings of Parliament—not extremely vital for the most part during last week to the interests of women—have been left to be dealt with in notes. It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the great effect which these international meetings of men may have for the progress of the movement in Great Britain, nor to urge upon all suffragists the desirability of rendering the gathering a conspicuous success.

The Wild Statements of Some Antis.

An anti-suffrage lecturer, speaking in the district of one of the National Union Societies, has been saying in public that Mrs. Fawcett is a militant "at heart," and only pretending, for diplomatic reasons, to disapprove of recent militant actions. We do earnestly submit to the respectable and honourable people who are connected with the Anti-Suffrage League that speeches of this kind are not only discreditable but damaging to the cause which they profess to advocate. It is easy to imagine the clamour that would go up if any suffrage lecturer were to say that Mrs. Humphrey Ward was "at heart" an adult-suffragist, and only concealed her real opinions for diplomatic reasons. But statements of such a character from any authorised representative of the National Union or its component Societies are, we hope, quite impossible, primarily because our speakers try to avoid saying what they have no reason to believe true, and, secondly, because they know that stupidities of the kind recoil upon the heads of those who commit them.

Pure Milk.

On the day of Parliament's opening Mr. Burns said, in answer to a question, that he hoped soon to introduce the Milk and Dairies Bill; but could give no definite answer to a further question as to where he proposed "to wedge this measure into an already overcrowded curriculum." In the absence of women electors the Milk and Dairies Bill will probably be kept waiting for the next session—if not, indeed, for the next Cabinet.

Celluloid.

Mr. McKenna stated, on the 9th, that he had appointed a Committee to enquire into the dangers of celluloid in ordinary use and in manufacture.

Temperance (Scotland) Bill.

In support of this Bill, which has occupied most of the House's time this week, Sir John McCallum presented a petition from the British Women's Temperance Association, signed by 23,452 Scottish women. It does not require much argument to show that if these signatures had represented from twenty-three to twenty-four thousand electors they would have indicated a political force able to turn several Scotch elections.

Charwomen and Insurance.

Mr. Masterman explained that "women employed casually as charwomen are exempt from compulsory insurance unless their employment is 'for the purpose of the employer's trade or business.'" This answer does not seem quite decisive as to the case of a woman employed "casually" as an office cleaner. "All persons who would otherwise require to be insured are entitled," as Mr. Masterman reminded the House, "to exemption (for themselves but not for their employer) if they can show that they are ordinarily and mainly dependent for their livelihood upon some other person." Charwomen engaged for a regular day or days each week are, of course, not regarded as "casually" employed.

Handbills.

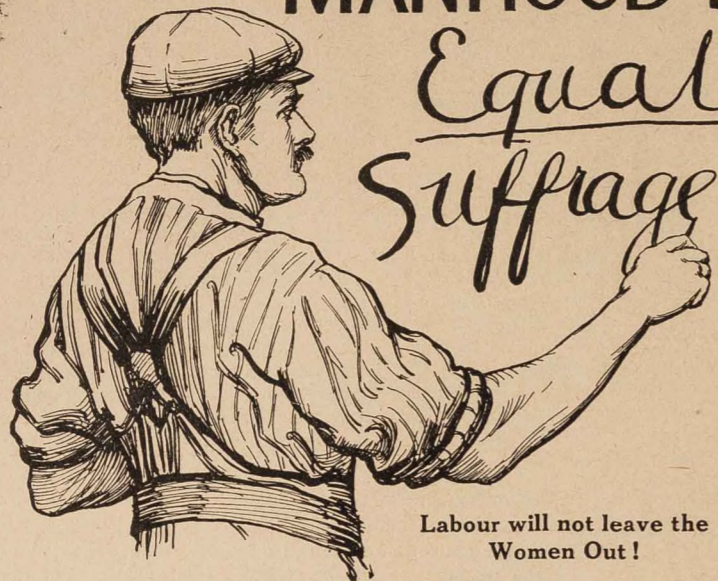
Some uneasiness has naturally been felt as to the enforcement by the police in London of a long dormant regulation forbidding the distribution in the streets of "leaflets." The giving away of handbills is one of the methods of propaganda found useful by all Suffrage societies, and the prospect of its being stopped was, to say the least, discouraging. Mr. McKenna, however, on the 14th, gave Mr. Wedgwood the reassuring information that the prohibition "will not apply ordinarily to political or social tracts. . . . As a matter of practice, the Commissioner of Police proposes to instruct his officers not to interfere with any advertisements except those distributed for purposes of trade or profit, and with these only when the distribution leads either to the obstruction or annoyance of passengers or to the streets being littered with papers."

Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

Mr. McKenna reaffirmed the Government's intention to move on the Report stage to restore Clause I. to its original form (under which an ordinary police constable would have power to arrest any person whom he suspected of being engaged, or on the brink of engaging, in the removal of any girl or woman for immoral purposes). The amendment of Clause I. was agreed to, said Mr. McKenna, with reluctance, "because several members felt hesitation in giving increased powers to the police; but it appeared, as the Bill progressed in Committee and from subsequent manifestations of opinion in the country, that the original form of Clause I. was to be preferred, a view which, in my opinion, was right." While unable to fix a date for the introduction of the Bill, Mr. McKenna replied by an unqualified affirmative to the question whether it would come on before Christmas.

The Proposed Hunger Strike.

A number of letters have been sent to THE COMMON CAUSE upon the subject of Miss Gawthorpe's proposal—all disapproving it. One correspondent suggests a strike of a different kind. She thinks that "effective pressure" might be applied to "indifferent or hostile electors," if suffragists refused their services to such men, "in the home, the shop, the restaurant, the telephone exchange, the office." She thinks the "anti" who found that nobody would cook his bacon, put his room in order or typewrite his letters would begin to reconsider the question. Probably he would; but the organisation necessary to bring so many women into line might be better applied in some other direction. The form of strike presented in that most diverting in farces: "How the Vote was Won" would for instance be more effective. There, as many delighted spectators may remember, every woman who was working for herself ceased to do so, and threw herself upon the hands of her nearest male relative or of the Guardians of the Poor. But the attractive dream invented by two lively playwrights can never be realised. The great axiom that rules concerning strikes is this: "You can only strike effectually when you can call out the whole, or very nearly the whole, of the labour supply." Does anyone really believe that an overwhelming majority of the women of this country could be so organised as to throw the whole machinery of domestic life out of gear at the same moment? It is certain that no person who has ever seen the business of organising a trade union among

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE

Labour will not leave the
Women Out!

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

ELECTION FIGHTING FUND.**Chairman:**

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MR. ISRAEL ZANGWILL.

THE MANCHESTER COUNCIL AND THE ELECTION FIGHTING FUND POLICY

The decisions of the Manchester Council meeting with regard to the Election Fighting Fund policy are likely to have an important effect on political developments in the future. The policy was discussed from all points of view. It was obvious that the significance of Crewe and Midlothian had been fully appreciated by the Societies and that the Fighting Fund scheme had made great progress in popularity since its adoption five months ago.

GENERAL REPORT.

Miss Marshall explained some of the complete problems with which the E.F.F. Committee is constantly confronted. A gain in one direction has sometimes to be weighed against a loss in another direction. The decision in any particular case has to be guided by the political situation at the moment. The E.F.F. Committee reports fully to the N.U. Executive every fortnight.

MISS ROBERTSON'S REPORT.

Miss Margaret Robertson, who has been appointed Special Organiser to the E.F.F. Committee, gave a most interesting and stimulating report of the work at Crewe and Midlothian. She described the new policy as the most politically effective move we have ever made, and gave striking evidence of its effectiveness. She appealed for a certain amount of elasticity in its application, and the Council responded generously by passing all the resolutions which were down on the agenda to extend its scope. The freedom allowed to the Executive will greatly facilitate future negotiations with both friends and enemies.

EXTENSION OF THE E. F. F. POLICY.

The Election Fighting Fund is now available for work in constituencies at present held by Labour Members who have taken a strong line on Women's Suffrage, and who are threatened by attack from the Liberals at the next election. This means that preliminary organisation can be undertaken at once in such constituencies. We must see to it that our friends shall not be the losers by their loyalty to our cause. A detailed plan of campaign will be submitted to the Executive this week, the most effective feature of which is the grouping of constituencies in pairs, so that one organiser can be in charge of a campaign defending a Suffragist Labour Member in one constituency and attacking an anti-Suffragist Liberal Member in another.

The Fund is also available now for continuing work in view of the next Election in those constituencies where we have already supported a Labour candidate—i.e., if Mr. Lunn and Mr. Holmes stand again for Holmfirth and Midlothian we shall be

free to help them with their preliminary organisation as well as when the fight comes.

A resolution was also passed making it clear that where the Labour Party has been definitely led to count on our support at the next Election we should not leave them in the lurch if the Liberals put forward a "tried friend" to contest the seat at the last moment.

THE LABOUR PARTY'S INTENTIONS.

At the end of the E.F.F. report Miss Marshall read a letter from Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, written for the Council meeting. Referring to a paragraph which had appeared in the "Dundee Advertiser," and was copied in the "Standard" and other papers, stating that Women's Suffrage amendments to the Reform Bill would not now have the united support of the Labour Party, Mr. MacDonald said:—"The interview which you showed me in the *Standard* bears in its very face evidence that it is manufactured. It does not represent the views of the party, and I do not believe that it ever emanated from a member of the party." (An absolute repudiation appeared also in the *Daily Citizen*.)

The rest of Mr. MacDonald's letter was private, but this much may be said: it contained an emphatic assurance that he and his party are doing everything that can be done for us in the House of Commons.

Mr. MacDonald recognises as we all do, that the Nationalist vote is the cause of the whole situation. That vote was given against the Conciliation Bill because Mr. Redmond feared that the passage of the Bill might endanger the unity of the Coalition forces on which he and his party are dependent for the safe piloting of the Home Rule Bill. Now there are several ways in which the Nationalists vote can be influenced at this moment. Mr. MacDonald is an able and experienced Parliamentarian, and if he and his party are doing *all that can be done* to ensure the inclusion of women in the Reform Bill, success will not be long delayed. The Labour Party has a powerful weapon in its hands, a weapon it has obtained by means of the women's help, and the opportunity has come for using that weapon to help the women.

EIGHTEENTH LIST TO OCTOBER 9TH.

Already acknowledged...	£4,036 13 3	Per Norwich W.S.S.—	
Mr. E. H. Smith (2nd donation)	3 0 0	Miss B. Duff	£0 2 6
Miss Sylvia Drew	2 0 0	Miss Lucy Finch	0 5 0
Miss R. Christy	2 2 0	Miss Mary Willis	0 5 0
		Mrs. Metham	0 1 0
		Anonymous	0 0 6
TOTAL	£4,064 9 3		

What to Do Now.

The report of the National Union's Political Secretary at the Council Meeting last week contained some valuable advice as to the work necessary to be done at once by the various federations and societies. Of course, the holding of meetings, large and small, the collection of funds and the dissemination of literature are always useful; but at the present juncture there are activities more useful still. Our battle is now to be fought rather at the centre—that is, in the House of Commons—than in the country at large; and we must now bring that force of public opinion which is behind us to bear directly upon the members of that House. Every member should be asked to receive a deputation—and the *personnel* of the deputation should be arranged and ready before the request is sent. Rumour whispers that there has been an occasion on which a member consented to see a deputation and none was forthcoming.

The elected representatives of one-half of the nation fall into three groups as regards Women's Suffrage. There are friends, enemies, and hesitators; and each of these classes merges imperceptibly into one of the others. To some of our societies it has seemed useless to make deputations to an enemy, because we know he will vote against us; or to a friend, because we know he will vote for us. But these arguments are inadequate, and one result of them is that we leave the enemy able to declare that none of his constituents have either asked him to vote for the enfranchisement of women or complained of his having voted against it. On the other hand, we leave our constant supporter exposed to the steady expostulations of any anti-suffragist electors who may happen to be of his party, and we do not offer him any assurance of our gratitude or of the sympathy of the suffragist electors. There are anti-suffragist M.P.'s whose steadiness would be seriously shaken if a deputation of important local electors urged upon them the desirability of altering their minds. There are also men who honestly believe that women ought to be enfranchised but who may be induced by continual clamour to believe that the majority of their constituents desire them to abstain from voting for any of the Women's Suffrage amendments to the Reform Bill. It is for us to collect the equally important—often more important—local men who earnestly desire our enfranchisement in order that these may counter-balance the adverse pressure by their own. It may be taken as an axiom that every member of the House of Commons is somewhat impressed by a deputation of important persons from his constituency who take the trouble to come and see him at Westminster. Moreover, few men (even of whichever party may be different from the reader's) are entirely impervious to reason; as we well know, all the good reasons are on our side, and the tradition still subsists—though some of the present Cabinet have broken through it rather roughly—that a deputation must be heard in silent attention.

As to the hesitators, everybody agrees that they are the natural target of deputations, a circumstance which one might suppose likely to hasten their decisions.

Again, the officials of some societies are alarmed at the idea of arranging a deputation, and think themselves incapable of planning or participating in one. But they can obtain from the offices of the National Union a leaflet which maps out their whole course, and explains what questions should be urged on a Conservative, what upon a Liberal, and what upon a Labour member. The business is really neither difficult nor alarming.

Petitions of the ordinary sort are not, at the present juncture, very helpful. But there is a kind of petition marked not by quantity but by quality of signatures which does carry weight. Such a petition should include the names of municipal representatives, ministers of religion of all denominations, magistrates, doctors, and other professional men of the district, philanthropic persons, and lastly, women belonging to political associations or well known socially. An analysis of the signatures, such as was appended by Miss Rathbone to the petition which she prepared, is a valuable addition.

Finally, we must be ready to put into the field at any suitable

by-election that may arise a band of trained and competent organisers whose help will be felt by our allies to be invaluable and who can show, as they showed at Midlothian, that the electors care more to hear them than to hear any man who stands in opposition to them. Such a spectacle as the crowd deserting Mr. Outhwaite for the Suffragists teaches not only Mr. Outhwaite, but every man of his party, that there is danger in having the Suffragists against him. The lesson of Midlothian has gone home, and while the little anti-suffrage party with its few Cabinet Ministers are straining every nerve to break the alliance of the Labour Party with the Suffragists, the bulk of the Liberals are already saying to one another that it would be wiser for the Party to make terms with the Suffragists. Meanwhile they must be praying that no more by-elections may occur.

The Incautious Anti-Suffragists.

The *Banbury Guardian* of September 19th contained an account of a drawing-room meeting held on the previous day at the house of the Hon. Mrs. Molyneux, at Bodicote, Oxon, for the purpose of inaugurating a branch of what the *Banbury Guardian* appropriately calls the Anti-Suffragist League.

Mrs. Molyneux used some surprising expressions, pardonable only on the supposition that she was entirely ignorant of all the facts of the suffrage movement. She is reported as speaking of "a great danger now existing in the suffragist movement in the extremely pernicious literature they were disseminating . . . the pestilential doctrines the Suffragists were advocating and the literature they now employed to serve their ends." This "danger" had led her to "declare herself rather more avowedly" on the anti-suffrage side. It appears—although not from the published report—that she instanced by name only one publication which she considered as "pernicious" and "pestilential," and that the publication in question, far from being an organ of the suffrage movement is an avowedly anti-suffragist one.

The attention of Mrs. Fawcett having been called to this speech, she communicated at once with Mrs. Molyneux—in time, one would have supposed, for that lady's apology to appear at an earlier date than three weeks after the meeting. On October 10th the following letter appeared in the *Banbury Guardian*:

SIR,—I beg to withdraw certain statements made by me under a misapprehension, at a meeting held at my house, reported in the *Banbury Guardian* of September 10th, that the Suffrage Societies were responsible for the dissemination of pernicious literature. I referred in my speech solely to a certain review, which I named, and, as a result of a correspondence on the subject with Mrs. H. Fawcett, President of the National Union Women's Suffrage Societies, I understand there is no foundation for these charges, and therefore regret having made them, and wish to withdraw them.

October 8th, 1912.

I remain, yours faithfully,
C. E. MOLYNEUX.

We would call attention to the word "solely" in this letter. It was one periodical which Mrs. Molyneux considered so "pernicious" and so "pestilential" that its advocacy of woman's suffrage "made her anxious to declare herself rather more avowedly an anti-suffragist." But since it now appears that the publication in question is not an advocate but an opponent of women's suffrage, Mrs. Molyneux will, of course, abandon the cause which is supported by that dangerous organ and declare herself against the anti-suffrage movement. For our own part, we will not follow her example and declare the Anti-Suffrage League responsible for all the offensive nonsense that is uttered and printed by some of its less intelligent supporters. We will only beg our readers to remark how wholly inadequate were the reasons assigned by this lady for her anti-suffrage opinions, and how extremely incautious she showed herself in making statements without first investigating the facts. Let us, who have a better cause, and more solid foundations, be careful to avoid a similar rashness.

At the same meeting Miss Cameron, described as "a lady who has been down specially in connection with the formation of a branch of the movement," expounded what "votes for women" really meant.

It meant that women would be placed on a level with men in everything, and that, in her opinion, would do away with womanhood altogether. (Hear, hear.) That would be a blow to family life, which,

LONDON SOCIETY OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

58, Victoria Street, S.W.

PUBLIC RECEPTION ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 22nd, 3.30 to 6.15.

WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

Chair: MISS A. MAUDE ROYDEN (Ex. Com. N.U.W.S.S. and L.S.W.S.).

Speakers: Mrs. F. T. Swanwick, M.A. (Ex. Com. N.U.W.S.S.), Mr. P. Whitwell Wilson ("P. W. W." of "The Daily News").

Discussion Invited.

Tea.

as they all knew, had such a great effect upon the government of the country.

It would be interesting to know what would be Miss Cameron's definition of a womanhood which could possibly be done away with by the possession of a Parliamentary vote. Most of us have seen a considerable number of women who have voted in their various countries, states, or colonies, and we solemnly protest that if twelve of these were ranged indiscriminately with twelve unfranchised women, neither Miss Cameron nor any other expert could pick out the voters from the non-voters. But these anti-suffrage ladies and gentlemen are so dreadfully weak in their own faith. They believe a certain relation of men and women to be ordained by nature, and yet believe that an alteration in the comparatively trivial systems of human society is capable of altogether overthrowing it. They believe that women are incapable of dominion, and yet declare that unless women are kept in an artificial subordination they will overrule the world of men. Assuredly the womanhood that can be done away with by a participation in the transient human invention of parliamentary government must, even without such participation, be already very near the vanishing point. But Miss Cameron is alarming herself at a vain shadow. Womanhood will survive, not only the possession of a vote, but all the voting systems that humanity is capable of devising.

A Misunderstanding.

Fraulein Rosika Schwimmer, the well-known Hungarian advocate for Women's Suffrage, sends the following note:—

"Misrepresentations have been made in connection with the recent notices dealing with the position of Women's Suffrage at the present time in this country, which have appeared in various foreign public journals and women's papers.

"It has been stated inaccurately that the Feminist Society (by which is meant the Hungarian Society for Women's Suffrage) has sent a memorial to the Prime Minister asking for the grant of parliamentary voting power to various limited classes of women. We desire to emphasise that the petition in the memorial was, on the contrary, for the grant of the vote on the same terms as it will be granted to men.

"This same demand has also been addressed to the Premier by the Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

"In contradistinction to these societies, the National Council of Hungarian Women have asked for the vote provisionally for a limited number of women only.

"The realisation of the equal citizenship of men and women is not, perhaps, practicable for the moment, but the grant of a certain measure of electoral power to women on the occasion of the projected Parliamentary Reform should be confidently expected.

"While welcoming this first step as a decided advance, we

THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

Non-Party. Non-Militant.

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

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From Headquarters.

The half-yearly meeting of the Council of the N.U.W.S.S., which took place in Manchester on October 9 and 10, was this year of more than usual interest.

The Women's Suffrage movement is now a political question of first-rate importance, and the state of parties in the House of Commons renders the position extremely critical. In addition to this, the Council was meeting for the first time since it adopted an important development of its election policy, and discussion naturally took place upon the efficacy of the policy as shown at the important by-elections which have occurred

wish to make it clear that the work of our society will in nowise be complete until, following the example of Norway, whose women received at first only a limited right to vote, we attain to a position of full citizenship.

"Asking for the courtesy of your columns for this rectification,
Yours, etc.,
(Signed) ROSIKA SCHWIMMER.
(Hungarian Society for Women's Suffrage.)

A Law that Needs Amendment.

At Doddington (Oxon) Petty Sessions on Friday, September 13th, before Messrs. Ogle and Churchley, Colonel Murray and Captain Cottrell-Dormer, a young woman applied for an affiliation order against Charles Bason, a labourer, of Milton, who was represented by a solicitor. The facts were that in April, 1911, a child was born in the Banbury Union Workhouse, and in December of the same year, while the mother was still an inmate, the Guardians obtained an order that Bason should contribute 2s. a week. In August of the present year the mother, having then left the workhouse, laid an information against Bason in order to obtain an order before the Bench. Now the law allows a woman to apply for an affiliation order in cases where there has been a payment made to her on the child's behalf within twelve months from its birth, but Baron Pollock decided in a previous case that payments to the Guardians could not be reckoned as payment to the mother; this precedent was quoted by Bason's solicitor and the application was dismissed by the Doddington justices.

Now the whole ground of the provision about payment within twelve months is that such a payment is an evidence of paternity, and it is quite as much evidence when paid to the Guardians as when paid to the mother. Whether or no Baron Pollock's decision was good law it was certainly not good sense and ought to have been questioned immediately it was made.

At a meeting of the Banbury Board of Guardians, on September 26th, Mrs. Gillett quoted the case and moved the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this Board legislation is required to enable a single woman to obtain an order against the father of her child after twelve months from its birth when the Guardians have within twelve months from its birth obtained an order under the Bastardy Amendment Act 1872, and the said father has paid money thereunder." The resolution was carried and Mrs. Gillett asked that copies of it should be sent to Mr. John Burns, President of the Local Government Board, the Prime Minister and the local members of Parliament.

We would urge upon all readers of the COMMON CAUSE who may be Guardians that they should bring this point to the attention of their Boards and endeavour to get a similar resolution passed and sent up.

during the past few months, and upon the wisdom of a further development of the policy of supporting Labour members who have taken a strong line on Women's Suffrage.

Mrs. Fawcett, who was received with warm applause, in her presidential address dwelt on the new development in the election policy of the National Union. She said they had nothing up their sleeves and nothing to conceal. They acted as a non-party association, consisting of members of all political parties or of no party, on the simple principle of supporting in elections the man or the party who had shown themselves to be the best friends of Women's Suffrage. Formerly they had applied this principle to individuals only, but henceforth they would apply it to parties also; because experience had proved that a member

of Parliament pledged to support Suffrage was more to be relied upon to fulfil his pledges if his party had made Suffrage one of its objects, than a member of Parliament also pledged to Suffrage whose party pulled him the other way. The new development in the policy of the National Union was quite simple and quite straightforward. To take no note of the attitude of the various parties on their questions would be uncommonly stupid, it would be neglecting an obvious fact of first-rate importance governing the whole situation, namely, the enormous practical influence of party loyalty and party discipline on all votes taken in the House of Commons. She referred to the fact that in March one of the causes of the defeat of the Conciliation Bill (by 14 votes) was that some 25 to 30 avowed Suffragists in the House of Commons had voted against the Bill, as a protest against the window-smashing which had taken place earlier in the month. She hoped that all these votes would come back, and perhaps even that some anti-suffragists would vote for Suffrage, as a protest against the far more serious and cruel and equally premeditated violence perpetrated in the supposed interests of anti-suffrage by a gang of ruffians at Llanystumdy on September 21. It was a shameful and disgusting scene, a disgrace to manhood and to Wales, and, more serious still, to the even-handed administration of justice, because not a single arrest was made and consequently not a single malefactor punished. "Let us hear no more," she said, "of the horror caused by the events of March 1 and 4, unless at least an equal horror is awakened by the far worse crimes committed in the supposed interests of anti-suffrage on September 21." Mrs. Fawcett also spoke of the Women's Suffrage amendments which will be moved to the Government Franchise Bill, and counselled the utmost activity and discretion on the part of all members and societies in securing for these amendments the largest possible measure of Parliamentary support.

The following are the resolutions passed dealing with the present political situation:—

"That all friends of Women's Suffrage in the House of Commons, whatever form of franchise they prefer, be urged to vote for the amendment deleting the word 'Male' from Clause 1, Subsection 1, which alone makes possible subsequent amendments enfranchising women."

"That this Council looks to the Parliamentary Labour Party to give effect to the resolution passed by the Annual Conference of the Labour Party at Birmingham on January 26, 1912, by refusing to accept any measure of Franchise Reform which leaves women entirely unrepresented."

"That all friends of Women's Suffrage in the House of Commons be urged to support the inclusion of women in the Irish electorate under the Home Rule Bill."

After Miss Marshall, Hon. Secretary of the Election Fighting Fund Committee, had given an account of the policy of the Committee since it was appointed in May, and Miss M. Robertson, Fighting Fund Organiser, had reported on the elections in Crewe and Midlothian, at both of which she had been in charge of the work, the election policy was further developed in the following resolutions, the significance of which is discussed under the Fighting Fund news on page 476.

"That the E.F. Fund be available at the discretion of the N.U. Executive."

"(a) for work in the constituencies of Labour Members who have taken a strong line on Women's Suffrage, and who are threatened by attack from the Liberals at the next election, provided that the work be carried out after consultation with the local Women's Suffrage Society."

"(b) for continuing work, in view of a future election, in constituencies where a Labour candidate has been supported at an election."

"That in constituencies where the E.F.F. Committee has definitely undertaken work with the intention of supporting a Labour candidate at the next election this intention shall not be necessarily given up if the Liberals put forward a 'tried friend' to contest the seat."

It was made quite clear that in matters connected with the Fighting Fund policy, the Council remains the ultimate authority as it does in all questions of the policy of the Union.

It was clear from the discussion on election policy that the Union is heartily in favour of the development adopted in May. A resolution to oppose all Government candidates at by-elections was ably put forward by two of the delegates, but obtained no support; on the other hand, resolutions whose effect would have been considerably to limit the operations of the Election Fighting Fund were rejected by an equally large majority.

The Council showed unmistakably that it was satisfied with the way the policy had been put into effect at Holmfirth, Hanley,



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Crewe, and Midlothian, and desired that work should be carried on on similar lines at future by-elections.

The general work of the Union was discussed with no less interest than that of its election policy.

Mrs. Auerbach was able to report that although full returns could not be made up until the end of year, it was clear that during the current year the Union had handled altogether at the lowest estimate over £30,000; there were now 398 societies in the Union, besides nearly 100 branch societies, and the membership stands at 35,563.

Miss Courtney dwelt upon the need for decentralisation, which is the more felt as the Union grows, and emphasised the importance of the Federation system in this connection. She also reminded the Council of the importance of voluntary workers, on whom the efficiency of the Union ultimately depends.

Miss Marshall read a letter from Miss Palliser regretting her absence from the Council meeting, owing to the illness of a friend, which would also prevent her from carrying on her work for the next two months. She felt, however, that she could confidently leave it in the hands of Miss Catherine Marshall and the Parliamentary sub-committee.

Miss Marshall then gave a very full report of the parliamentary work of the N.U., and urged upon societies the paramount importance of bringing all possible pressure to bear upon M.P.'s in support, not only of a Women's Suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill, but also of Mr. Snowden's amendment to include women in the Irish electorate under the Home Rule Bill.

Resolutions referring to THE COMMON CAUSE occupied some space in the agenda. Miss Clementina Black made an interesting speech on her experiences during the short time she had been Acting Editor, and pointed out that the progress of the paper was dependent upon an increase in its circulation, for which the societies ought to make themselves responsible. The following resolution, moved by Miss Rosamund Smith, on behalf of the London Society, and seconded by Mrs. Schuster, for Manchester, was passed with enthusiasm:—

"That this Council desire to express their gratitude to Mrs. Swanwick for her devoted labours in raising THE COMMON CAUSE to its present position, and their appreciation of the great services thereby rendered to the cause of Women's Suffrage."

Later on it was resolved:—

"That inquiries be made with a view to submitting a scheme to the Council at the annual meeting in February with regard to the acquisition by the National Union of THE COMMON CAUSE, and that full information be then given as to the proposed character and management of the organ."

Miss Leaf's report of the work of the Press Committee was a remarkable record of development, not only at headquarters, but in all parts of the country. In particular she called attention to the excellent schemes of work in operation in the West Midlands and Scottish Federation.

Miss O'Malley reported that since the adoption of the Friends of Women's Suffrage scheme at the Council meeting in May, a special sub-committee had been formed to carry out the work, which was being undertaken with much enthusiasm both in town and country districts. Altogether 93 societies had now an organisation of Friends, and it was hoped that by the end of the year every society would have taken up the scheme.

Several other resolutions were passed on general subjects, and a complete list is being forwarded at once to secretaries of societies.

At the close of the Council two important meetings were held, one for the Executive Committee, Organisers, and Federation Secretaries, to discuss details of organisation, and the other for Press Secretaries and others to consider the organisation of press work in relation to by-elections and the best arrangements for the distribution; and certainly these smaller conferences, as well as the many opportunities afforded for conversation between delegates from all parts of the country, are not the least valuable part of the Council meetings.

No report of the Council would be complete which did not express the cordial thanks of the delegates for the delightful hospitality extended by the Manchester Society, and their appre-

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ciation of the excellence of the arrangements made. Manchester is fortunate in possessing a suite of rooms such as that which was placed at the disposal of the Council in the Midland Hotel; but the success of the meeting was due to the forethought which had provided for every detail and for the excellence of organisation for which we are accustomed to look in everything undertaken by the Manchester Society.

In supporting the vote of thanks, which was carried with enthusiasm, Mrs. Swanwick spoke of Miss Ashton as in herself a hostess to the whole National Union, and reminded the Council of the work of Miss Darlington, the Secretary of the Society, and of Mrs. Hiller, Mrs. D'Anquier, and Mrs. Mütter Wilson, who bear the brunt of everything undertaken by the Manchester Women's Suffrage Society.

The most cordial appreciation was expressed of the delightful reception on the evening of October 9, when the committee and members of the Manchester Society for Women's Suffrage entertained the delegates in the Midland Hotel. After a day of strenuous work and discussion, this opportunity for relaxation, for listening to the music so kindly provided, and for meeting the many friends present, was most welcome.

Press Department.

October 14th, 1912.

The importance of the autumn campaign and of the half-yearly meeting of the Council has been widely appreciated by the Press. The session opens with a fine leader in the *Manchester Guardian*, and a full report of the admirable speeches at the Joint Demonstration in Manchester on October 10th.

"The clear and resolute note struck by Mr. Snowden, perhaps the ablest and stoutest of the Labour leaders, was timely as it was interesting. Nor is it by accident that the Labour Party in Parliament, and in the country, is found in close alliance with the Women's Suffrage movement. Both have had to fight for their position and influence in the State. That of Labour has been already partly won; that of Women's Enfranchisement is as yet wholly to be won—but the principle at the back of both is the same."

The *Manchester Guardian* points out that of the pledged Suffragists who reversed the vote on the Conciliation Bill, the most conspicuous were the Nationalists, several of whom were members of the Conciliation Committee.

"That those who stand for the liberties of Ireland should be seen to use their disciplined force in order to deny the liberties of Englishwomen, and to set back an emancipating movement as deeply founded as their own, would be to strike a deadly blow at the moral basis of the Irish cause, and to array against them forces of opinion in this country which they can ill afford to alienate." Amongst these forces, Mr. Snowden pointed out, may be found that of the Labour movement. "Irishmen are mistaken if they suppose that the stability of the Government will be secured by breaches of faith, or falseness to principle, either on the part of the Government or their own."

Mr. Snowden, in an article in the *Christian Commonwealth* this week, says further:—

"The women who have accepted the opportunity offered by the Reform Bill and the Government's offer to leave the Woman Suffrage amendment an open question are relying upon the Parliamentary Labour Party to stand fast by the policy of the party on this matter, and to carry out the decisions of its conference. That policy is that the party will do all in its power to get women the Parliamentary vote by an amendment to the Reform Bill, and, in the event of failure to do that, then to vote against the Bill in its final form. I cannot conceive the Labour Party taking any other course. This is the policy for which the Labour candidates have stood at recent by-elections; this is the deliberate decision of the Labour Party Conference, which is the supreme authority in the party; it is the recorded decision of the conference of the I.L.P., which represents the views of the most active section of the Labour Party; and it is in accord with the declaration made at the Albert Hall meeting that the Labour Party attached so much importance to the enfranchisement of women that they would use their vote to turn out the Government if women were excluded from the Reform Bill in its final form."

The *Daily Citizen* has an important article on October 14th, which should be specially noted by all Press Secretaries.

"It is beyond question the woman's movement which has forced to the front every phase of electoral reform, and yet Women's Suffrage is precisely the issue which the Government shirks. The Labour Party must stand firmly by the women's cause, but the fighting must be real fighting—not stage lightning and thunder. The big battle will arise on the Reform Bill; but before the struggle comes the Labour Party must, by whatever method it thinks best, make it plain both to the Government and the Irish members that, in the terms of the resolution carried at the Birmingham Conference, no Bill from which women are left out will be acceptable to Labour. The matter is one of fundamental principle. The Labour movement and the woman's movement are the two most hopeful signs of our times. The woman's movement will grow steadily in the future, attaining fresh power and enthusiasm, and any party which proves false to that movement will pronounce upon itself the sentence of its own doom."

EMILY M. LEAF.

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Literature Department.

WHY MEN SHOULD WORK FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. The National Union is stocking the excellent pamphlet with this title, published by the Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

THE AMERICAN ABOLITIONISTS. We are glad to be able to announce that the second pamphlet in the series called "Some Eminent Women of our Time," by Mrs. Fawcett, will be issued on November 1.

WELSH POSTCARDS FOR WELSH ELECTORS. I am asked to state that the postcards for canvassing M.P.'s can be had translated into Welsh from

Mrs. H. O. Hughes, 5, Plaslyd Terrace, Bangor, North Wales. I. B. O'MALLEY.

Friends of Women's Suffrage.

The following societies have adopted the Friends of Women's Suffrage scheme since my last note in THE COMMON CAUSE:- Cirencester Shanklin And the Orcadian Women's Suffrage Society. Not all the Federation Secretaries have yet let me know

Contributions to the General Fund.

Table listing names and amounts contributed to the General Fund, including Miss A. Bateson, Miss Ethel Mathieson, Mrs. Marshall, etc.

£773 4 4

National Union Van Tour.

(concluded.) Our entry into the West Lanes, West Cheshire and North Wales Federation was heralded by rain, accompanied by rain, and followed by more rain. Up here the campaign was conducted differently from the July operations in East Anglia.

under Miss Ekgrigg's energetic leadership, in spite of the rain, than it could have achieved elsewhere without either. One of our very worst weather experiences, as our worst human one, happened in this Welsh borderland. It was here that we were really flooded, our field being largely under water, while a fickle tent defied our tent staking, and poured the rain down on top of us, and sluiced it in under our mattresses, until our beds had pools in, under, and on top of them.

Miss Gill was in command during the Cheltenham operations, with Miss Franklin as lieutenant, and the Coachman as orderly. Miss Swiney, the President, helped her out with the speaking on two occasions, a great relief, as neither Miss Franklin nor I were speakers.

London Society.

CITY.—On October 11th a meeting specially arranged for the printing and allied trades was held at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, Miss Helen Ward in the chair. The attendance was unfavourably affected by the dense fog prevalent that evening, but those present were roused to enthusiasm by the eloquent speeches from Miss Margaret Robertson, Mr. Bowerman, M.P., President of the London Printers' Federation, and Mr. Naylor (Secretary of the London Society of Compositors), and the resolution was carried unanimously.

MUSWELL HILL.—A very successful open-air meeting was held at the Exchange on the 5th inst. The speaker was Miss Phillippa Fawcett, and Miss H. D. Cocker, Mr. Cuddick, of the Men's League, presiding.

Federation Notes.

North Eastern. DEPUTATION TO MR. HAMAR GREENWOOD, M.P. On Saturday, October 5th, Mr. Greenwood consented to receive a deputation arranged by Sunderland Society. Fortunately, this date coincided with a visit to the district from Miss Royden, and we were able to secure her as spokeswoman.

their hearers that our most earnest need at present is that the women who do really sympathise with us should shake off their lethargy and take some active share in the Society's work. The result was a long list of new members and many encouraging offers of help.

On September 18th a very important meeting was held at the Church Institute—important because Miss G. Ford, of Leeds, came and took the chair. Mrs. Renton also spoke, and both had the sympathy and interest of all the large audience, with the exception of the lady from the anti-Suffrage shop, evidently one of those who, "convinced against the will."

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West Lanes, West Cheshire and North Wales. I have spent several days during September in visiting delegates appointed by their local Committees to attend the annual meeting of the Merionethshire Liberal Association, seeking their support for a resolution which, our good friend, Mr. Hugh Jones, of Blaenau-Festiniog, had consented to move.

During September Miss Violet Enstice, hon. sec. of the Wokingham Society, has very kindly acted as hon. Press secretary at Reading, with most excellent results. BARNURST.—The organiser, Miss Dora Mason, arrived in the district on September 7th, and for a week she was most energetically employed in canvassing and holding open-air meetings in the villages of Aynho, Charlton, and King's Sutton, all in the Hon. E. A. Fitzroy's constituency.

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North and East Ridings. MARGRAVE.—Mrs. Renton's campaign here in September has resulted in a wonderfully increased interest in the cause among the general public. Proceedings opened with a drawing-room meeting at 23, York Place, where a large gathering responded to the kind invitation of Mrs. Laura Veale. Mrs. Slingby was in the chair, and Dr. Renton and Dr. Veale both spoke. They reminded

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Oxford, Bucks and Berks. The majority of societies in the Federation are beginning their active autumn and winter campaign this month, and are busy with preparations, but have not, of course, much to report as yet. Some of their plans for the future are most interesting lines, as at Lechlade, where a series of monthly lectures on social questions in relation to Women's Suffrage has been arranged. A postcard campaign has been begun by their society, and also by the W. Heris Society. I am very glad to report W. Heris may now be added to the societies in our Federation which are working the F. W. S. scheme.

READING.—A successful campaign was carried on by Miss Dora Mason and Miss Clarkson, with the assistance of the Reading Society and other societies in the Federation, during September. Several open-air meetings were held, and Miss Mason attended an open-air meeting of the Anti-Suffragists, at the conclusion of which she addressed the audience. A remark was overheard on this occasion, in the crowd, to the effect that "the suffragists have it all their own way."

The first annual meeting of the Federation took place at 3 p.m. on September 27th, in the Palmer Hall. Mrs. Robie Uniacke presided, and the attendance included delegates from twelve of the fifteen societies in the Federation, besides a good many other members of the Reading Society. Miss Courtney was fortunately able to be present also. Reports were read by Mrs. Haverfield, of Oxford, the retiring hon. sec. of the Federation; Miss Dunneal, hon. sec.; Miss C. Lewis, hon. Press sec.; and Miss L. C. Jones, hon. Federation Common Cause sec. The following officers were elected:—As president, Mrs. Cross (N. Berke); as treasurer, Mrs. Beuney (High Wycombe); and as secretary, Miss Dunneal (Banbury). An address was read and presented to Mrs. Uniacke on behalf of the societies in the Federation, expressing gratitude for her work and help in the past year and regretting her resignation from the presidency owing to her approaching departure. The proceedings ended with a very interesting address from Miss A. Maude Royden, calculated to stimulate interest in the organisation of Federations and to encourage an appreciation of their importance as a necessary complement and assistance to the somewhat overwhelming amount of work at the headquarters of the N.U.

As a result of a members' meeting on September 12th, reported last month, a certain number of members volunteered to canvass different parts of the town with notices of the public meeting on the 27th. An enormous amount of leafletting was done by Miss Uniacke and the organisers, the outcome of which was a splendidly managed and very successful meeting at the Small Town Hall. Councillor Edith Sutton presided, and read a letter from Sir Rufus Isaacs re-affirming the position he has always taken up as a supporter of Women's Suffrage who will vote for the Norwegian Amendment to the Reform Bill. Speeches were made by Miss Royden and Mr. Malcolm Mitchell. They were followed with intense interest and appreciation, rising to enthusiasm at times, by the crowded audience, and the resolution thanking Sir R. Isaacs for his promise and calling upon the Government to enfranchise women by an amendment to the Reform Bill was carried with only seven dissentients, although a good number of those present did not vote. The Town Council was well represented on the platform, and, as well as many of the educational, social and political bodies in the town. More than four dozen copies of the COMMON CAUSE were sold. This meeting was fully reported by the Reading Standard, and good accounts also appeared in the Mercury and two other papers.

Copies of the resolution have been sent to Sir Rufus Isaacs, to the political agents and party whips. During September Miss Violet Enstice, hon. sec. of the Wokingham Society, has very kindly acted as hon. Press secretary at Reading, with most excellent results. BARNURST.—The organiser, Miss Dora Mason, arrived in the district on September 7th, and for a week she was most energetically employed in canvassing and holding open-air meetings in the villages of Aynho, Charlton, and King's Sutton, all in the Hon. E. A. Fitzroy's constituency. The audience in each case was most satisfactory, the one at King's Sutton being so large that it was doubtful if those on the outside fringe could hear all Miss Mason had to tell them. On every occasion she was asked "to come again soon." On Friday afternoon, September 20th, the campaign was wound up by a public meeting in King's Sutton Schools, when the Rev. A. C. Higgins, vicar of Claydon, took the chair, and Miss A. Maude Royden spoke to an enthralled audience on "Women's Suffrage and Village Life." A resolution urging Parliament to pass a Women's Suffrage amendment to the Government Franchise Bill was seconded by Miss Mason, and carried unanimously. A new society has been started in King's Sutton, and will shortly be affiliated to the National Union. This most excellent piece of work could not have been accomplished without the great help given by Mrs. and Mrs. Browne and Miss Huckwell, of Greycoart Astrop, who all did so much in helping to get up the outdoor meetings, and who by their work and influence assured the success of the public meeting.

Miss Mason came to Banbury on September 14th, and worked very hard in preparation of the public meeting held in the Town Hall on Friday evening, September 20th, at which Lady Knizlatler, of Fawsley, took the chair and Miss Royden moved the whole audience into keen enthusiasm by her eloquence. The resolution

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WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 23rd, 7.30 p.m.

SIR JOHN COCKBURN, K.C.M.G., WILL PRESIDE.

ERNST BECKMAN (Sweden).

ISRAEL ZANGWILL, Esq., H. N. BRAILSFORD, Esq.,

Mrs. DESPARD, Mrs. F. T. SWANWICK,

AND OTHERS, WILL SPEAK.

TICKETS 6/- Men's League for Women's Suffrage, 136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster, & other Women's Suffrage Societies.

PUBLIC MEETING IN THE PORTMAN ROOMS.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 24th, 8 p.m.

SPEAKERS: **THE EARL RUSSELL** (IN THE CHAIR),

Sir ALFRED MOND, Bart., M.P., PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.,

AND OTHERS.

TICKETS 2/6, 1/-, and 6d., to be obtained as above.

SPEECHES BY DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES FROM EUROPE AND AMERICA.

For Meetings arranged by the National Union, the Women's Freedom League, and other Societies in connection with the Congress, see Special Bills.

All keen Suffragists should be present to protest against a Reform Bill which excludes Women.

Full Programme from the Men's League, 136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
ORDER YOUR TICKETS TO-DAY.

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Care of Gardens from 5/- per day. Gardens designed & laid out.

ADVISORY WORK.

SPECIALITY made of Pruning; the laying out of herbaceous borders; rock and wall gardens, etc., etc.

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THE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE CLUB

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

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

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

THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Monthly Paper, 1d.

CONTENTS OF OCTOBER NUMBER:

Women's Vote and National Temperance: Miss BERTHA MASON.

Sex Dominion and Genesis: Rev. G. H. DAVIS.

Great Women of History: Miss EMILY C. GROWSE.

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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 for £ s. d., the amount of my annual subscription.

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To the Secretary

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