

The Common Cause

THE ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF

Oct. 10th,
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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.

The Release of Mr. Wilks.

The absurd spectacle of Mr. Wilk's imprisonment has come to an end, and it seems safe to prophesy that no other husband will be permitted to undergo the unpleasant experience that has fallen to his lot. With a fine sense of dramatic effect the authorities released their hostage at a moment which allowed him to take part in a meeting that was being held outside the prison to demand his liberation. Some pertinent observations upon his case, from the columns of *The Times*, will be found on page 463.

Markswomen.

In a shooting competition at Bisley last Saturday, women are said to have done especially well. "Shooting at 100 yards with a miniature rifle against nine other ladies and 110 men," Mrs. Muirhead made 96 points out of a possible 100 (the highest score being 98), while five other women scored from 78 to 89. The total of each of these ladies would entitle her to the pay of a first-class shot if she were serving with the colours in the Army. Mrs. Muirhead took the fourth prize in this competition, and a sixth prize in another at 200 yards, in which she made 46 points out of 50. The superior physical force of men, in the contemplation of which our anti-Suffragist friends find so much satisfaction, would not much avail any of their number in the regrettable event of a personal conflict with any of these Amazons. Of course, there would always be the consolation of calling her accomplishment unwomanly.

Manchester and the Council Meeting.

By the time these pages are in the hands of our readers the Council of the National Union of Suffrage Societies will be in session at Manchester—a place of happy omen. In Manchester the first Suffrage Society was established in January, 1867; and in that city was held, on the 14th of April, 1868, the first public meeting in support of Women's Suffrage, which has been followed by so many thousands since. Miss Lydia Becker then moved the resolution which, later on, formed the basis of the National Union, and of practically all the other Suffrage Societies. After the Reform Act of 1867 no less than 5,346 women householders of Manchester claimed to be placed on the register of Parliamentary voters, in addition to 1,431 in Salford, and 857 in Broughton and Pendleton. The question of these claims was th point at issue in the historic case of *Chorlton v. Tings*, when Dr. Pankhurst, a Manchester man, was one of the counsel in support of the claimants.

Coming down to later days THE COMMON CAUSE itself was born in Manchester and fostered by a Manchester editor; and through the worst days of the Press boycott, the one newspaper which always told the truth about Suffrage matters and upheld our cause, was *The Manchester Guardian*. Moreover, it alone, or almost alone, among British dailies, published this summer the whole facts about forcible feeding, as set forth in the medical report. All these things are very encouraging, because, as every dweller in the northern metropolis is so very well aware: "What Manchester thinks to-day, England thinks to-morrow."

The Ingenious Passive Resister.

Mr. R. C. Price, of Letchworth, having received a summons to serve on the Grand Jury at the approaching Quarter Sessions, when Miss Jane Shortt, also of Letchworth, is to be tried for breaking the windows of the Baldock Post Office, has written to the Clerk of the Peace, declining to assist the course of law in regard to her case. "I hold" he declares, "that since women have no voice in making or administering the laws, it is an immoral act to try and condemn women under these man-made laws. I absolutely refuse to take any part in the processes of law until women are enfranchised." This novel method of passive resistance, forming such an "item" as pleases the more commonplace of journalists, has been largely reported, and is, so far, successful as a protest. It remains to be seen whether the authorities will be wise enough to take no action, or whether there will be an endeavour to jail Mr. Price for his contumacy.

Unpaid Workers.

At one of the meetings of the Conference of the National Union of Women Workers, Miss Dorothy Zimmern, speaking of a resolution that urged the desirability of extending the scope of the Trade Boards Acts, said that one-third of the girls under 18 employed in dressmaking trade received no payment at all, the pretence being that they were learners, although they gave more in work than they ever received in training. In the millinery trade no less than half the girls under 18 were thus working for nothing. For women over 18, the average in these trades was 13s. 7d., although 15s. was the lowest rate at which a woman in the West End of London can be properly housed, clothed and fed. As Miss Zimmern's figures were extracted from various Government Returns, their accuracy cannot be questioned, and may be safely quoted by any speaker. The tables drawn up by her and Miss Wyatt Papworth are full of valuable figures as to the rates of earnings of women in various branches of employment, and can be obtained for a few pence from the Women's Industrial Council, 7, John Street, Adelphi.

An Unfortunate Omission.

Mr. Henry Holiday sends us copies of two letters which he addressed to the *Daily News and Leader*. The first, dated September 21, complained that the actions of the Liberal Government were not in accord with the Liberal principles, and after instancing the treatment of Persia, proceeded:—

I have not mentioned the refusal of justice to half the British nation which is alienating the best Liberals—a refusal, which, if persisted in, may place the Government in a very precarious position—because I am dealing with those principles about which the whole Liberal party has been agreed for generations.

This paragraph was most unfortunately omitted. Mr. Holiday thereupon wrote a second letter (on September 24), which began thus:—

I have to thank you for giving prominence to my letter on the Persian policy, and it would be unreasonable to complain of the omission of a few lines, but the omission in this case amounts (unintentionally) to misrepresentation.

The further portion of the letter explained that Mr. Holiday would be sorry to have it supposed that he felt no disapprobation of the Government's attitude toward Women's Suffrage.

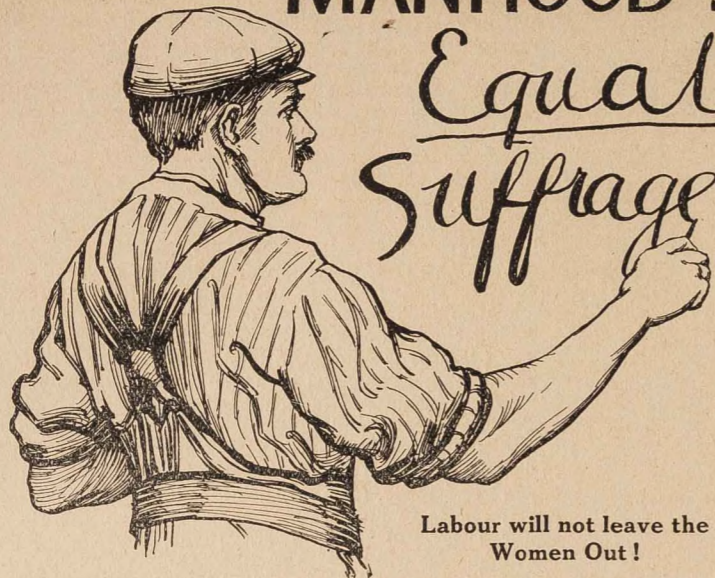
The first paragraph was omitted; in consequence of which Mr. Holiday seemed to be apologising for an omission of his own, instead of asking reparation for the false position in which he had been placed.

The incident carries one practical moral. Suffragists who write to newspapers should keep copies so that when their letters are expurgated they can send the original text to THE COMMON CAUSE. The question whether such omissions are due to careless or to careful editing we leave to the judgment of our readers.

Parliament Re-assembled.

We would remind our readers that Parliament is once more sitting, and that the time between this and next summer is the most critical that our movement has ever known. It is worth making unprecedented exertions now if we can thereby achieve our end and be saved from all need of future exertion.

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THE LABOUR PARTY AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

(MR. PHILIP SNOWDEN'S ARTICLE IN THE "ENGLISHWOMAN.")

Everyone should read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the article by Mr. Philip Snowden in the October number of the *Englishwoman*.

Mr. Snowden does not give quite an accurate version of our new policy. We do not support Labour candidates "regardless of the attitude of the other candidates." We should not oppose a proved and tried friend to our cause who answered all our questions in the affirmative. Nor is the new policy such a "radical development" of our old policy as Mr. Snowden thinks. We have always supported the "best friend of women's suffrage." We now take a new factor into consideration in deciding which is our best friend; other things being equal, we think that the man with his party united in favour of women's suffrage is likely to be a better friend to us in Parliament than a man whose party may use pressure to prevent him from fulfilling his pledges. As a matter of fact, the candidates we have supported by our Fighting Fund policy in the recent by-elections have in all cases been the candidates we should have supported by our old policy. The only difference has been that our special fund has enabled us to support them in a more effective way. Nor do we ask our members to "take sides definitely against their party whenever the official candidate of the Labour party appears in the field." We should not support any Labour candidate who was not personally satisfactory on the question of women's suffrage. And many of our members are in sympathy with the Labour policy, and are not "taking sides against their party" by supporting a Labour candidate. We make a special point of recruiting these members to work in Fighting Fund elections, just as we send our members with Conservative sympathies to work in constituencies where we are supporting a Conservative, and our members with Liberal sympathies to work in a constituency where we are supporting a Liberal. But these small inaccuracies do not affect the arguments set forth in the article.

WHAT THE LABOUR PARTY OWES TO THE WOMEN.

Mr. Snowden gives most conclusive evidence of the effectiveness of our intervention in the recent by-elections. He says: "In both Midlothian and Crewe the defeat of the Liberal candidate was due to the efforts of the woman suffragists. . . . The Liberals know that they have lost two seats lately on this question of woman suffrage. This knowledge will have its effect upon their policy. . . . This new policy of the woman suffrage societies is calculated to set up a competition between political parties for the support of the woman suffragists. The Liberal party will not be content to see the Labour party taking votes, which formerly went to the Liberals,

on this question of woman suffrage" . . . Mr. Snowden refers to the strong pledges given by the Labour candidates at all the recent by-elections, and points out that "the Labour Party cannot have one policy for its conference and its by-elections and another for the House of Commons"; its representatives in Parliament are in honour bound to carry out the policy they have stood for in the constituencies, on the strength of which "the women have given their valuable help so enthusiastically and so devotedly, in the confident belief that the Labour Party at least was true and staunch on this question, and that the party in the House of Commons would carry out the policy on which its candidates have been appealing for support in Midlothian, in Crewe, and in Holmfirth."

We know it is no small thing that we are asking the Labour Party when we ask them to refuse to accept any further measure of enfranchisement for themselves, unless women are to share in it. But the Labour Party has led us to expect great things. They have shown that to them the principle of political freedom and equality is not a mere party catch-word for use on platforms, but a vital reality—a big thing for which it is worth making big sacrifices. They know what was the position of the working man when his employer and his landlord had a monopoly of political power. They know that the case of the woman in industry to-day is worse than his was then, because she has to face, unarmed, not only her employer with political power on the one hand, but her male competitors with political power on the other hand. These things are not mere matters of academic theory to the working man—points to be made at a debating society, pious platitudes to be uttered at drawing-room meetings. They are matters which vitally concern his own women-kind—their daily life.

And the working man, by the votes of their representatives at the Annual Conference of the Labour Party, have declared that they will not accept further enfranchisement for themselves at the expense of the women.

And it would be at the expense of the women—there is no blinking that fact. The Government is not in a position to force on the Labour Party a measure which that Party refuses to accept. The fact that the Labour Party, thanks to the women's help, have caused the loss of two Liberal seats at Crewe and Midlothian, puts them in a much stronger position for making their terms with the Government than they were in three months ago.

The Manhood Suffrage Bill was introduced, as everyone admits, as the result of the Women's agitation. If men, who

have political power had done a quarter as much to obtain adult suffrage as the women have done to obtain any suffrage at all, they would have obtained it long ago. They did not care enough. Their opportunity has been made for them by the women. And we want them to make the most of that opportunity. We want them not only to ensure that a measure excluding women shall not go through, but to insist that a measure including women shall go through. We do not ask them to vote against every other Government measure until a Women's Suffrage Amendment is carried. We do not ask them to turn the Government out. Such a drastic measure are unnecessary if they will use the weapon they already have in their hands. *We do ask them to let the Government and the Irish Party know that they will have to face more Crewes and Midlothians so long as the just demands of the women and Labour remain unsatisfied, and to make it quite clear that Labour cannot be satisfied until the women are.*

REAPING WHERE OTHERS HAVE SOWN.

The fact that the Labour party is now, at the beginning of this Autumn Session, in a position to make terms with the Government and probably secure a reversal of the Osborne judgment, is due to their success in keeping the Liberal out in Crewe and Midlothian, and that success was due to the help of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, as they

freely and frankly admit. Will they reap where we have sown and leave us not even the gleanings? Rumours in the papers say yes. We can guess the source from which those rumours come. We say no; such a suggestion is an insult to the Labour Party. Having accepted the women's help to obtain a Manhood Suffrage Bill, and the power to make their own terms with the Government about the Trades Union Bill, it is unthinkable that they should throw the women over and consent to a treaty which leaves them out. To do so would be as base a betrayal as any of which the Government has been guilty.

CORRECTION.

[In last week's E.F.F. page, middle of second column, "Crewe and Hanley" should, of course, have been "Crewe and Midlothian." The sentences printed in italics should have been printed in capitals as headings, and not as part of the argument.]

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Miss Evelyn Atkinson	2 0	Mrs. Sanger	1 0 0
Mrs. Steen	1 0 0		
Miss Dorothy Stables	10 0 0		
Mrs. Bonsfield	5 0 0	Total	4,086 13 3

The One Thing Needful.

The annual meeting of the National Council of Women of Great Britain and Ireland took place this year at Oxford during the first week of October.

The number of delegates sent up by the branches and by affiliated societies was larger by some three hundred than in previous years, and not even the splendid beauty of Oxford during three glorious autumn days drew members away from the meetings, for which the spacious Town Hall itself proved none too large.

The note of this year's gathering was Personal Service, the Duty of All; its difficulties and rewards, the training and equipment for it, the absolute necessity of continuing the process of education by keeping up one's serious reading. "It is just as possible to find time to read," said Mr. St. George Heath, "as it is for lovers to find time to meet." This note is, however, a difficult one to sustain, apart from Opening and Closing Addresses (solemn occasions not unlike sermons), and urgent appeals for the appointment of more women to every department of the public service. The subject really before the meeting and in its mind was Women's Wages which, as they at present are, justify the demand for legislative interference to raise them. That a living wage for men and women alike is really needed had been brought home to the nation, said Miss Constance Smith, by the serious inconvenience caused by the three recent great upheavals of last year—the three great strikes of railwaymen, miners, and transport workers.

Even here, the want of actuality (one had almost written the unreality) which pervades all these meetings made itself felt. This is due to several causes of which the chief is that blessed word the "Vote" may not be uttered, nor the Suffrage discussed, so that even an allusion to the historic fact that "the women of Australia have the Vote," is considered a breach of this unwritten law. For instance, it is worth remarking that throughout the discussions it was assumed that everyone was capable of rendering some personal service, which meant performing definite civic duties; and, further, that it was distinctly stated that those that could not, or would not, take their share as citizens in the national life were diminishing in numbers, and would soon cease to exist. Having attended all these meetings for the last nine years, we are deeply impressed by the change in this respect effected by the Suffrage agitation, even upon such a gathering as this. A few years ago it was still possible to discuss women's questions without mentioning this political impotence, and without any sense of unreality arising from this omission. To-day that is not the case. This difficulty was, we think, felt by the whole audience, though only a small portion appeared to realise why the discussions were so perfunctory. This solid fact, that the members of the National Council of Women of Great Britain and Ireland have not got the Vote, and dare not even express a wish for it now, that the question has become practical politics, causes the doings of the National Council to resemble the *chimæra bombinans* in

vacua described by mediæval schoolmen. But—and what follows ought really to appear in small type, since it may only be whispered—there actually *was* a meeting to formulate a petition to the Executive praying for a special Council Meeting to obtain a definite expression of opinion on the Suffrage Question and power to act upon it. It received at once a very large number of signatures, far in excess of the 25 which were necessary, according to the constitution of the Council; the signatories are awaiting an answer.

The second cause of that want of actuality of which we have spoken lies in the fact that the National Council of Women of Great Britain and Ireland is in no sense whatever representative, except of the branches of the National Union and such societies as have chosen to affiliate themselves to it. Speaking generally, the delegates belong to the upper and middle-class. An occasional invitation to a working woman to take part in the discussion (there was not even one this year at Oxford) does nothing to remedy this condition of things. It is simply fatal that the important matters discussed at these meetings are the ever-growing legislative regulation of the lives of those classes from which the delegates are not drawn, and which they do not represent. The National Council has been in existence many years; it has failed to attract to itself the working women, who have now banded themselves together for various purposes in the Workers' Educational Association, the Women's Co-operative Guild, the Women's Labour League, the National Federation of Women Workers, other Trade Unions, "Approved Societies," and so on. We believe that no meeting would make more impression upon the nation, or upon the powers that be, than a Joint Conference of these Societies which would, in truth, constitute a National Council of Women of Great Britain and Ireland. Such a gathering would not spend three days listening to addresses which, however admirable, it was not worth while seriously to discuss. It would not spend just one half-day in discussing resolutions and giving expression to its opinion on matters, some of which are of overwhelming importance, affecting the lives of the whole nation. In the space of two and a-half hours three resolutions, seriously changing the constitution of the Council, a motion to extend the Trade Boards to additional trades, an amendment to establish a Trade Board for the Shirt Making industry, a resolution on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, and two resolutions on the Mental Deficiency Bill, were each separately proposed, seconded, discussed, put to the meeting, and carried or lost. The recent speeding-up of Parliamentary procedure, combined with the guillotine, has not come near the rapidity of consideration of this so-called National Council of Women.

In conclusion, we would urge upon all who have the common cause of women's freedom and welfare at heart, to capture the branches. In this way, the Union will be brought once more into the strong current of the women's movement, and into close relation with its actual problems and difficulties. This would remove the most serious obstacle to the summoning of such a Joint Congress of Women's Societies as should be indeed the National Council, the Parliament of Women.

All My Worldly Goods.

Miss Helen Fraser was speaking to a crowd at the time of a by-election, when an elderly working man, with the air of one who had a poser for her this time, demanded whether women when they married did not promise to obey their husbands. She in return asked whether she might put a question to him, and upon his consenting, enquired whether when he married he had promised to endow his wife with all his worldly goods, and whether he had carried out the promise. The laugh was, of course, turned against him, since every person present knew that no man regards that vow as intended literally.

There are men—many men—among the poorer wage-earners, who do habitually put into their wives' hands every week the main part of their total earnings. Two shillings, out of which to pay for fares, tobacco, and small personal expenses, is a very common allowance for such a man to make to himself. But the twenty-three, or twenty-eight or so shillings which he hands over are not regarded by himself, or by his wife, or by the law, as hers. There is understood to have been a legal decision in accordance with which a woman who has expended upon her household less than the total received by her can be compelled to return the balance to her husband. On the other hand, any money which she earns by some "gainful" industry is considered all round as hers, to spend as she pleases. Where what she calls "his money" is wholly inadequate, she uses hers literally as a supplement; where the man's earnings suffice for housing, clothes, and food, she generally uses hers to lighten her household labour (puts out washing, for instance), or to improve the family standard of living. Often she saves to apprentice her children, or to give them better holidays. Some of it she spends, perhaps, upon herself. No husband who is at all a decent man (and the majority of British workmen are decent men) attempts to claim for himself the wages of his wife's ultra-domestic industry. But there are men who make those wages the excuse for handing to her a less proportion of their own; and there is evidence that some husbands of wage-earning wives actually pretend to be receiving less money every week than is in fact the case.

For her domestic labour in cooking, sewing, sweeping, scrubbing and washing the working-class wife goes unpaid (as, indeed, does the wife in more prosperous households who arranges, supervises and purchases); while for her industrial labour she is almost always ill-paid, for the mere reason that she is a woman. But if that "gainful" industry takes the form of domestic services to any household other than her own, not only will she be paid, but her payment will be on a scale unusually high. These conditions are so familiar that they have come to be regarded as natural, and few people pause to consider how very strange they really are. It is surely odd that the payment for work should be measured not by the cost in human energy of the work performed, but by the sex of the person who performs it; or—odder still—by the consideration whether the persons served by the work are or are not relatives of the worker. Why should Mrs. Brown receive food plus wages when she works for Mrs. Smith, and only food when she works for Thomas Brown?

One reason is probably that the family domestic industry of a wife remains at a stage which most other forms of industry have left behind; another is that, as Miss Rathbone has lately pointed out, the wage payment of a man includes implicitly a payment for the domestic work of his wife. She is not paid; but he is paid for her—and, encouraged by the law, treats the money as his. The fact that the public pays for their work being thus concealed from observation, an idea has arisen that women do, and should, give their services in the houses of their husbands without other remuneration than their food and shelter; and this idea can hardly have failed to lower the supposed financial value of women's work in other circumstances. Moreover, the presumption that he will have a wife sets a standard of double payment for a man even before he actually has one, so that he is paid for her work as well as his own from his youth up.

The consideration of these anomalies lies at the base of many claims and many theories of reform. Mrs. Gilman thinks that the way out lies in the direction of co-operative cooking and service, and the turning of women's energy into the directly remunerative channels of labour. Both partners would then contribute from their own earnings to pay the household expenses, and the wife would no more perform the household processes personally than a man does now. This scheme does not recognise that a proportion of a man's wages at present is really payment for his wife's work.

Another school desires to snatch away not the domestic, but the industrial part of her labours, and forbids her to work for

money. It does not appear that these gentlemen propose to settle upon the wife any equivalent in money for the loss of her wages. Some people cry out for the endowment of motherhood, others demand that a wife shall have a legal claim to some part of her husband's earnings. Meanwhile the women continue to take upon their shoulders the burden of a second industry, because their first leaves them without a penny in their pockets; while men continue year after year to assure their wives that they endow them "with all my worldly goods." It is a pity the words should not drop out of the service; they were never true, and they now form a sort of curtain concealing from those who utter them the fact that society is paying them money in return for their wives' services, and that they are not paying it over to the wives.

The London Teachers' Association.

A special general meeting of the London Teachers' Association was again held at the Memorial Hall, on September 13th, to further consider the following motion: "That this meeting desires to record its conviction that it is in the best interests of education that duly qualified women teachers be granted the Parliamentary Franchise."

Several amendments had been put down, but, finally, by a majority of 62 on a vote of 1,258, it was decided that it was inexpedient for the Association to express an opinion on the matter. A further amendment, which subsequently became the substantive motion, declared that before the question of Women's Suffrage was voted upon by the Association, a plebiscite be taken upon the advisability of including such subjects within the scope of the objects of the Association.

The result of that plebiscite has now been declared, and the Association has decided against the advisability of including it by a vote of 10,691 to 2,567.

At first sight, this result may seem a great blow to the cause of Women's Suffrage, as far as teachers are concerned, but while undoubtedly these figures are a matter of great regret, yet there are several factors to be considered in accounting for this result, which do not altogether make for discouragement.

In the first place, the question as sent out to the members was so indefinite. What exactly was meant by the "scope of the objects" of the Association? Many members had visions, if the question were carried in that form, of the leading officials of the Association devoting all their energies to the cause of Women's Suffrage, and perhaps of being allied with the "militants," and even smashing windows!! Yet all that was asked of the Association by the Teacher Suffragists was a simple expression of belief in the righteousness of their cause, and the L.T.A. has no more been asked to make Suffrage one of its objects than have the various City and Town Councils who have recorded a similar belief. But a straightforward vote is what our opponents are determined we shall not have, and they have been only too successful in their efforts to sidetrack us.

As I have hinted, numbers of teachers are still unaware of the existence of a large body of constitutional Suffragists. I am convinced that if only the constitutional point of view could be adequately presented to them, the cause of Women's Suffrage would make immense strides.

The ignorance of so many in regard to the whole question makes the referendum a particularly unfair weapon in this case. Whatever one's views may be on the general question of the referendum, I think everyone will agree that people who take no interest in a cause, who know nothing about it, and make no attempt to know anything, have absolutely no right to keep back, by the weight of their prejudices, those who would go forward.

It will be seen, therefore, that not one but several questions have been voted against in those 10,000 "Noes," and that the London teachers are not quite such a hopelessly reactionary body as they appear at first sight to be. Still, when one remembers that out of its 18,000 members, about 12,000 are women, one must confess one has need of all one's optimism to keep discouragement down.

Why are teachers apparently so cribbed, cabined, and confined within the walls of prejudice and reaction? One reason undoubtedly is the atmosphere in which so many have been trained. Our training colleges are improving, but some of them have still much to learn before they turn out the broad, free, self-reliant teacher, with a noble self-esteem, a deep sense of responsibility, and a wide human sympathy, ever on the lookout for new ideas, the wisdom and goodness of which are to be tested in the strong light of reason, and not of prejudice.

A MEMBER OF THE L.T.A.

They Say—What Say They?

The *Times* commented as follows upon the attitude of the authorities in regard to the singularly ill-advised imprisonment of Mr. Mark Wilks:—

We so far agree with Dr. Elizabeth Wilks as to think that it was unfair that her husband should go to prison because she had conscientious objections to paying taxes. It is, on the whole, not very surprising that he declined to pay; and he might have remained in Brixton Prison for the rest of his days if the authorities had not, a little tardily, it is true, recognised the inexpediency of carrying out to the letter a law which, as it stands, sins against good sense. The Income-Tax Act of 1842 and the ordinary income-tax demand note may say that the income of a married woman living with her husband is to be "deemed" his income; but this official fiction is more and more in discord with facts. The justification for such a presumption, if any ever existed, is gone. In the case of married people who are wealthy or well-to-do, ante-nuptial settlements provide that the wife's income shall be for all purposes her own, and generally the deed contains provisions protecting her from the possibility of effective pressure on the part of her husband. In the absence of a settlement a series of statutes has had much the same effect; her income is not "deemed" to be his. The Married Women's Property Acts have entirely altered the position of things. The statement in the Income-Tax Act of 1842, "the profits of any married woman living with her husband shall be deemed the profits of her husband," has now no basis of truth; but the framers of the Income-Tax Acts have taken no due note of the change. We all know the official arguments, such as they are, in favour of retaining a rule which may once have had some justification. It is said that, if there were no such provision as that to the application of which Mr. and Mrs. Wilks have successfully objected, two incomes used for a common purpose might be entitled to exemption. "We must have money," it is argued. "So let us invent or continue a fiction in order to get it; the end justifies the means." Unfortunately, this sort of argument provokes retaliation. If the Exchequer has no scruples about devising fictions, many taxpayers also will have none. Fiction will be met by fiction, and in this contest the public purse is likely in the long run to suffer.

But the *Times* is not stern enough. Not only have "the framers of the Income Tax Acts" taken no due note of the change, but they have held to their indefensible position in spite of persistent protest. We earnestly hope that no husband will,

when the income tax forms are presented to him next year, include in his return an account of any separate income belonging to his wife. Property cannot be hers in one Act of Parliament and his in another, and the meekness with which men have submitted to a glaring imposition has in the course of years withdrawn thousands of pounds from the pockets of the men and women upon whom the State had, in justice, no claim.

Mr. Snowden, in the *Christian Commonwealth*, says:—

There is not likely to be any critical time on the Home Rule Bill except on the amendment to give women votes for the Irish Parliament. So far as one can judge from the promises of support which have been given for such an amendment it will probably be carried, and in such circumstances it would be wise on the part of the Government and the Irish leader to leave this an open question, so as to avoid the humiliation of an official defeat. Many English Liberal members, sore at Mr. Redmond's action in securing the defeat of the Conciliation Bill, will not sacrifice their convictions on the woman Suffrage question by putting the convenience of Mr. Redmond before their own opinions.

As to the Reform Bill, he believes the greatest danger to the Women's Suffrage amendments lies in the possibility of fresh militant outbreaks. The Labour Party, he believes, will not fail, in case the various amendments are all rejected, to vote against the Bill in its final form.

In last week's issue of *Public Opinion* is found a mention among "Some ideals worth striving for," enumerated by Sir H. H. Johnston, G.C.M.G., of the advisability of granting the Suffrage for the purposes of securing housing reform. We give his suggestion:—

One way of remedying the present rottenness in the national government will be to remove the sex-limitation in the allotment of the Parliamentary vote, so that intelligent women, unbrilliant women—mothers, hospital nurses, deaconesses, women wage-earners, Poor Law guardians, female doctors, scientists, artists, writers, farmers, artisans, travellers, and employers of labour—may throw the weight of their wholesome opinions into the scale at each General Election.

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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MISS I. B. O'MALLEY (Literature).

Hon. Treasurer:

Mrs. AUERBACH

Secretary:

MISS GERALDINE COOKE.

Telephone: 1960 Victoria.

Offices: Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

From Headquarters.

The Men's League for Women's Suffrage have invited delegates from the Men's International Alliance for Woman Suffrage to attend a conference in London, which is to be held from October 23rd till October 29th. An extremely interesting programme has been arranged, which will include a reception on October 25th, given by the National Union, for which Lady Brassey has been kind enough to lend her house, and at which she and Mrs. Fawcett will receive. It is expected that about thirty international delegates will attend the conference, including representatives from ten countries, and amongst them will be Mr. Ernst Beckman, leader of the Liberal Party in the Upper House of Sweden and President of the Men's International Alliance; Colonel Mansfeldt, of Holland, Secretary of the International Alliance; and M. Du Breuil de St. Germain. Frau Martina Kramers, editor of *Jus Suffragii*, will also be present.

The occasion will, therefore, be one of considerable importance, and nothing could be more significant of the progress of the woman's movement than this meeting of an International Men's League for promoting the enfranchisement of women.

NEW SOCIETIES.

Stockton-on-Tees . . . North Eastern Federation.
Morpeth . . . North Western.
Coniston . . .

Tynemouth is an old society, and has now divided into:—
Tynemouth . . . North Eastern Federation.
and . . .
Wansbeck . . .

The demand for tickets for the Albert Hall demonstration on November 5th is already growing apace, though as yet no public advertising has been begun. Our own members would doubtless wish to come out of loyalty to the National Union, but it is evident that so representative a list of speakers will attract all sections of Suffragists, and as soon as the general public is notified the demand for tickets will become extremely wide. It is therefore desirable that secretaries and other members of the N.U.W.S.S. should engage their seats as early as possible, especially in those cases where a large party desire to sit together. It should be noted that such groups of seats are most easily obtained in the arena, the difficulties in regard

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

58, Victoria Street, S.W.

PUBLIC RECEPTION on TUESDAY, OCTOBER 15th, 3.30 to 6.15.

WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL, VICTORIA STREET.

Chair: MISS FRANCES STURLING (Ex. Com. N.U.W.S.S.).

Speakers: Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., Mrs. Stanbury (Ex. Com. N.U.W.S.S.), and Mr. Malcolm Mitchell (Hon. Pol. Sec. Men's League.)
Discussion Invited. Tea.

to proprietary seats being greatest in the amphitheatre, stalls, and boxes. Particulars of prices, etc., have already been published in COMMON CAUSE, and application should be made to Miss P. Strachey, 58, Victoria Street, Westminster.

The Executive Committee of the London Society will hold a reception at the Westminster Palace Hotel, Victoria Street (opposite Great Smith Street), on the afternoon of the same day, from 3.30 to 6 p.m., and they desire to extend a most hearty and special welcome to all members of the N.U.W.S.S. from the country and their friends. By the generosity of a member of the society tea will be provided, and it is hoped that all will find this a convenient and restful centre. Mrs. Swanwick has kindly consented to take the chair, and among the speakers will be Miss H. D. Cockle and Mr. W. H. Dickinson, M.P., whose name is so well known to all Suffragists as the introducer of the Women's Suffrage Bills known respectively as Dickinson No. 1 and Dickinson No. 2.

Friends of Women's Suffrage.

The following societies, besides those whose names have been already announced in the COMMON CAUSE, are working, or about to work, the Friends of Women's Suffrage Scheme:—

SURREY, SUSSEX, AND HANTS FEDERATION.

- | | | |
|-----------|------------|------------|
| Bexhill | Godalming | Winchester |
| Brighton | Heathfield | Worthing |
| Camberley | Leith Hill | |
- (Also a Suffrage group at Uckfield.)

NORTH EASTERN FEDERATION.

- | | | |
|-----------|-----------|---------|
| Gateshead | Hexham | Shildon |
| | Tynemouth | |

This brings the number of societies which are working the Scheme up to 92.

The Birkenhead Society reports 47 new Friends in the month of September.

The F.W.S. Committee would be greatly obliged if societies who have not yet reported either to their Federation Secretary or to the National Union office could send a first report on or before October 30th. The essential points that should be included in the report are the number of Friends in the society's area, and the number of visitors at work; but any additional details that can be sent will be of the keenest interest to the committee.

Whether the society's report should be sent to the Federation Secretary or direct to the National Union will, of course, depend on the arrangements that have been made between the society and the Federation, but the committee consider it most important that there should be reports, and hope that all secretaries will give them their kind co-operation in this matter.

I. B. O'MALLEY,

Hon. Sec. to F.W.S. Committee.

The names and addresses of the speakers who have kindly undertaken that, other engagements permitting, they will address special meetings on the subject of the Friends of Women's Suffrage are:—Mrs. Rackham, (N.U.W.S.S. Executive), 18, Hobson Street, Cambridge; Miss Tanner (N.U.W.S.S. Executive), St. Ulrick, Downs Park West, Bristol; Mrs. Harley, Conover House, near Shrewsbury; Miss Helen Ward, Bull Farm Cottage, Beaconsfield; Miss Rosamond Smith, 12, Eaton Place, London, S.W.; Mrs. Garrett-Jones, 38, Brunswick Place, London, W.

Literature Department.

Members are earnestly invited to study our advertisement on page 472, and send for any of the publications mentioned in it that they have not yet read.

I. B. O'MALLEY.

Treasurer's Notes.

The most important event in the immediate future is the Albert Hall meeting, on November 5th, of which full particulars are given elsewhere in this paper. We have already received



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115, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.
85 & 86, CHEAPSIDE, E.C.

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promises and donations, and I appeal to every Society to give some token, as on previous occasions, of their participation in the work that lies before us. It is impossible to over-estimate the difficulties of the present situation, or the magnitude of the task which we have set ourselves to perform. If we need more money now than ever before it is because our movement is conducted on a far larger scale than at any previous moment in its history, and we are therefore able to contemplate a more extensive plan of campaign than would have been possible even a year ago, while for the full development of our election fighting policy we mean to raise another £10,000 at least. We have over a hundred more societies in our Union this year than last; we have raised about 50 per cent. more money, and have done 100 per cent. more work.

There may be times when the heart is sick with weariness at the senseless and futile delay in admitting the women's unanswerable plea for political equality, but we soon take heart again when we realise that our efforts have brought about such results of successful progress, and of increase in the strength of the suffrage cause, as have taken place in the past year. We have at least made 1912 a milestone on the road to victory!

HELENA AUERBACH.

MISS A. MAUDE ROYDEN
Will give a Series of
SPEAKERS' CLASSES
October 18th, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 28th, 31st, at 11.30 to 1 o'clock, at the Offices of the
LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,
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Terms: 7/6 the course of 7 lessons, or 2/- a single lesson.
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MISS P. STRACHEY, 58, Victoria Street, S.W.

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Propaganda cannot flourish in secrecy. We therefore appeal with confidence for the **£487 10s.** still required before the end of this year. The more speedily this sum is available the more effective will it be.

The I.S.S. is rapidly adding to its interesting Stock, and all Feminists are invited to call and see it.

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TELEPHONE: 5202 GERRARD.

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Subscriptions:—			
Miss Mary Whishaw	5	0	
Mrs. Sidney Vatcher	1	1	0
Miss E. Edmonds	1	0	
Mrs. H. C. Hull	5	5	0
Mrs. Lowe	2	6	
Donations:—			
S. H.	1	0	0
Mrs. P. Tabor	2	0	0
Anonymous	4	0	
Mrs. Marks	5	0	
Helpers and District W.S.S.	10	10	0
Mrs. Sangster	1	0	0
Affiliation Fees:—			
Wrexham W.S.S.	6	6	
Stockton-on-Tees W.S.S.	5	0	
Burnley W.S.S.	13	3	
Rhyl W.S.S.	10	6	
Chester W.S.S. (additional)	1	6	
Hockwold W.S.S.	5	0	
	27,659	1	4

National Union Van Tour.

600 MILES IN THE N.U. VAN.

I and my dog being the sole survivors, so to speak, of the complete Three Months' Van Tour, it falls to me to sum up the impressions on this 600-mile journey through England.

We started, as diligent readers of the COMMON CAUSE will remember, on July 1st, in a Parcel Delivery Van, picked up second-hand for the modest sum of £7. Upon the white tarpaulin cover of the van had been painted the full title of the National Union, in bold red and green letters, together with the legend which we so painstakingly try to associate with it—"Non-Militant": "Non-Party." (I may say in passing that these words convey little meaning to the intelligence of many English and Welsh country folk—unless they happen to misinterpret them as "Wicked-Window-Smashers" and "Red-Hot-Tory," as they frequently do. The subtle, but inevitable, connection between the two for the provincial Radical mind is all too obvious.)

Our immediate destination was Cawston, in Mr. Noel Buxton's division of North Norfolk,

and we turned the Van over to the Eastern Counties' Federation on the evening of July 4th, with just thirty minutes to spare before the first meeting of the tour. With that meeting began a very thorough campaign in the North Division of Norfolk, lasting till the 31st of the month. The plan of operations was to familiarise practically every town and village in the constituency with the franchise question as it affects women, and to try to persuade every voter to support our staunch friend Mr. Noel Buxton on the next occasion when he was approached by his rather actively anti-suffrage leading constituents, who very nearly deserted him when he refused to desert us on March 14th. We penetrated into the remotest corners of the division, our cycle scouts (phenomenally active people from Newnham College, who were supposed to be indulging in a holiday) making house-to-house canvass of such hamlets as were too small or too scattered to be worked by a formal meeting. The revelations made by Miss Evelyn Clarkson of the crying need for woman suffrage in the industrial world of the cities pierced home to the hearts and conscience of the East Anglian villagers and townfolk, and moved them to a greater show of enthusiasm than any appeals based upon the helplessness of their own women's voteless position. Although the agricultural labourer of Norfolk earns about 12s. 6d. a week and has no firewood or other privileges, he lags far behind the men of the North and the South in perceiving that he does not get a fair share of the fruits of his own hard toil. It is easier to rouse his slow wrath at city conditions which might, in given circumstances, affect his daughter, than to make him understand that his wife labours under any disabilities other than those laid by a hard fate upon all Norfolk working folk. If we may judge from the genuine friendliness of the whole countryside to the Van ladies, I think Mr. Noel Buxton will find that his constituents now know, thanks to Mrs. Kellett, the Federation's Honorary Secretary, something of Woman's Suffrage, and knowledge where this issue is concerned, almost always means sympathy and support.

After our Norfolk month there were great changes. Miss Helga Gill came to take charge (though as a matter of fact I believe her small

dog thought he had come to do so, while mine certainly felt that he had taken the whole company, including coachman, under his command. Miss M. Bury, the late Newcastle Secretary, now nursing Gateshead against future happenings, came to complete the reduced crew of three, and "Ginger" (whose real name, by the way, was Guinea-pig), the good-looking old chestnut who had made the forced march to Norfolk so gallantly, had to be sent back to London unable to manage the cruelly heavy roads with which the rain punished us. He was replaced by a much larger and stronger animal, who had just completed his three weeks' training with the Territorials in Kent, and certainly seemed to be thoroughly hardened.

The second Federation to engage the Van's services was the West Lancashire, West Cheshire and North Wales Federation, and we were due in their territory on August 14th. This gave us seventeen days in which to cross England, and we took the most direct route from King's Lynn to Nantwich, through Grantham, Nottingham, Derby and Uttoxeter. The East Midlands Federation had notified its different societies of our time-table, and several meetings were arranged at our stopping places, the Nottingham and Derby Societies, represented respectively by Mrs. Gerard Dowson and Lady Onslow, being particularly energetic.

The bad weather literally dogged our steps: we left thundery skies and record floods behind us in Norfolk; we left Lincolnshire one dismal sheet of grey water beneath a grey wet sky, showing green-grey patches here and there where a ruined potato crop lay blackened by the 24-hours fungus blight; and later on we left green and prosperous Cheshire also flooded. Almost everywhere the hay was lost—either the uncut fields were under water or the cut hay lay blackened and ruined on the sodden land, often unfit even for bedding. The oat harvest, safely reaped and stacked in Essex and Cambridgeshire at the beginning of August, was not out in the Midlands and the Severn valley till the month was nearly over, while the wheat and barley was in even worse case—beaten down or moulding if standing, rotting or sprouting if cut. Yet, in spite of the lost summer and the hard winter staring them in the face, and in spite of the almost continual rain, the farmers and vil-

lagers everywhere received as kindly and found time to spare for our meetings. More than once I have seen them courteously standing in the rain, listening to a speech begun during half an hour's respite from the monotonous downpour. Some meetings, of course, we had to give up, but it takes more than a mere shower to keep a Midlander away from a meeting if it has the remotest concern with politics or social conditions. He is the very opposite of the Southerner in this respect, whose instinct for politics and sense of citizenship seems often not to go beyond a truculent and reiterated statement of the party of which he finds himself attached. In East Anglia the people are beginning to think things out for themselves, and in Wales, of course, such matters are a luxurious emotion. If the Van tour has taught us anything, it should have taught us that in the wide-awake Midlands our Cause is safe; in slow and steady East Anglia it only requires fostering to become the men's cause; in Wales it needs watching, for there both support and opposition are matters of volcanic emotion; while in the West, and more still in the South, the movement needs pursuance work, for there it meets the deadly opposition of ignorance and prejudice, successfully played upon by anti-Suffrage influence.

(To be concluded.)

Federation Notes.

Scottish.

I have lately had the pleasure of visiting the Border Societies, accompanied by Miss Robertson, President of the Innerleithen Society, as representative members of the Finance Committee.

The Committees of the Selkirk, Melrose, Hawick, Peebles, and Innerleithen Societies received us very kindly, and I was able to lay before them the financial position of the Scottish Federation, urging each society to raise funds so that our Federation may be enabled to accomplish that part of the organised work which the separate societies are not in a position to carry out. My endeavour was to rouse that spirit of enthusiasm which leads on a good cause to success. Peebles and Innerleithen have done so well that it was only necessary to show what the Federation did with the money placed in the hands of their treasurer; also, to point out how desirable it is that the Federation should have an income which can be counted upon. This can be attained by the Societies raising a certain amount each year, a sum of £15 being named as that amount. One of our Societies has shown what can be done by enthusiastic workers, Glenfarg having raised £32 this year and £25 last.

MARGARET M. HOFF,
Hon. Treasurer, Scottish Federation.

Reports from several of our societies notify preparations for an active winter, and September has been so fully occupied with these that the list of meetings, etc., is not so long as usual. Several important and successful meetings have already been reported by the organisers—in Dundee, where members of the British Association showed their sympathy with our cause—in Aberdeen, where Lady Cowdry's garden party gathered such a brilliant assembly in speakers and audience—and during the final days of the Midlothian Election, where Suffrage speakers and workers proved themselves a notable force (without violence) in politics.

The Tiverton Society has sent, too late for the August report, a cutting from their local paper, giving a very sympathetic account of the garden fête with which they celebrated Mrs. Snowden's visit; the speech is pretty fully reported, and the article headed "Successful Garden Fête."

The INNERLEITHEN Society also secured a capital report in their local paper of a "large and enthusiastic gathering" in the Parish Church Hall, on the 4th, where Mrs. Snowden was introduced by their Parliamentary member, Mr. Donald Maclean. In a speech which must have proved as cheering to Suffragists as it was disconcerting to their opponents, Mr. Maclean declared that citizenship being the principle on which suffrage should be bestowed, women, being to his thinking undoubtedly citizens, should have the suffrage; also, that as government had been defined as a contract for the supply of human wants—two-thirds being the wants of women and children, women—who knew so much about these, should have their say in selecting the Government. Mrs. Snowden having thanked Mr. Maclean for his encouraging words, rounded the full enthusiasm of her hearers by a most eloquent and impassioned address, on the results of which the paper says: "We understand that in consequence of the great interest aroused by Mrs. Snowden's speech, a request has been made to the committee to hold a local meeting at which members could be enrolled. Mrs. Snowden's exposition of the suffrage cause so enlightened the crowded audience, that many who have looked upon votes for women with indifference, or even distaste, have apparently come to see that it is one of the most vital issues in present day politics."

The BURKESHEAD Society held a meeting in Eye-mouth, where Mrs. Snowden gave the final address of her Scottish tour—a tour which was undertaken at some personal inconvenience, attended with many difficulties of travel, and accomplished with a success of

which the Federation cannot too highly express their appreciation. A large audience gathered in the Town Hall and listened with rapt attention to the convincing argument and impressive eloquence which always gains new numbers to our ranks.

The BURNHURST Branch held a public meeting in the Mechanics' Hall on the 17th, Ex-Baillie Murray presiding. The speakers were Lady Frances Balfour and Mrs. C. C. Stopes, F.R.S.L., both of whom gave eloquent addresses, the former dealing with the futile objections of the Anti-Suffragists, the latter with the sense of protection, power, and responsibility that the vote will confer on women. A good audience keenly appreciated the addresses, and also the speech of J. Guthrie, Esq., J.P., which was strongly in favour of the Women's movement. Some interesting questions were asked and well answered by Lady Frances and Mrs. Stopes. At the close of the addresses the following resolution, "That this meeting is of the opinion that the Government should include some measure of Women's Suffrage in their Reform Bill," was put to the meeting and carried with only two dissentients. Copies of the resolution have been sent to Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt, Member for Montrose Burghs. A good collection was taken, and several new members joined the society.

North Western.

DEPUTATION TO THE RT. HON. R. D. DENMAN, M.P. FOR CARLISLE.

On Friday afternoon, Mr. Denman received a deputation of some members of the Carlisle branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and some of his constituents, including Mr. J. W. King, Mrs. Chance, and Mrs. Moran, who were protesting their inability to attend. Miss Evans, organising secretary for the North Western Federation, and Miss Norma-Smith were also present.

Miss Norma-Smith, speaking on behalf of the National Union, thanked Mr. Denman for his support of the woman's cause in the past, and said they looked on him as a staunch friend of woman's suffrage, and would like his opinion on the present political situation as affecting women and to hear what support Mr. Denman would be willing to give to the different amendments which would be proposed to the Government's Reform Bill.

Mr. Denman expressed himself in favour of adult suffrage in principle, but his desire was to support an amendment which had a practical chance of success to all the remaining stages of the Bill. While he preferred the "Dickinson" amendment to the "Conciliation" amendment in the last resort he would support the latter provided that Conservative suffragists were equally willing to give a fair chance to the former.

At the present time, Mr. Denman is working with the organised group of Suffragists in the House, of which Mr. F. D. Acland is a member.

Mr. Denman also expressed himself in favour of the principle of widening the municipal franchise for women.

After some informal discussion the suffragists expressed their satisfaction at the result of the interview, and thanking Mr. Denman, who in his further remarks showed himself a sincere and staunch supporter of the woman's cause, withdrew.

MEMORIAL PRESENTED TO SIR WILFRID LAWSON, M.P.

On Thursday last, Mrs. Holden, Divisional Secretary for the Cokermouth Constituency, and myself, presented a memorial to Sir Wilfrid Lawson, signed by a number of his chief supporters in the three towns in his constituency. Mrs. Holden collected signatures in Mayport, and Canon Pollock gave valuable help in Cokermouth. In Workington, the work was carried out by Mr. Holden.

Sir Wilfrid Lawson received us at the Liberal Club, Cokermouth. In reply to my questions about the amendments to the Government Reform Bill, Sir Wilfrid expressed his intention of voting for any of the Commons that could secure a majority in the House, but would be in favour of adult suffrage in principle, but would be willing to accept the Conciliation Amendment if it is impossible at the time to get anything wider. Sir Wilfrid will also support Mr. Philip Snowden's amendment to the Home Rule Bill, and will vote for widening the municipal franchise so as to include married women. He could not pledge himself to vote against the third reading of the Reform Bill even if women are not included.

Sir Wilfrid said he was willing to work with one of the organised groups of Suffragists in the House of Commons. He said he was glad to know his support of the woman's cause was approved and appreciated by members of the local suffrage societies and by his supporters as the memorial showed.

We thanked Sir Wilfrid for his continued loyalty to our cause and for receiving us at such a busy time.

MARGUERITE NORMA-SMITH.

KENDAL.—On September 18th, in response to an invitation from Mrs. Gaudy and Mrs. Benson, 100 ladies and gentlemen attended an "At Home" in the Town Hall, Kendal. Miss Margaret Robertson spoke very forcibly on the need of the suffrage in principle, and those who are poor and down-trodden. Her arguments were so convincing that ten new members joined the N.U.W.S. at the time, and several others promised to do so later. The Hall was beautifully decorated, and after the address an opportunity was given to many who felt difficulties to talk them over with Miss Robertson while light refreshments were handed round.

Kewick.—Four meetings were held in the district, with Miss Matters as speaker. On the 29th, in the Market Square, to a crowd of 300 people. The spell of her eloquence was even upon the children, the latter of whose wooden shoes ceased in a very short time. The crowd was largely composed of working men, who listened attentively to her explanation of the election policy, and enjoyed her wit. The resolution carried no dissentient. On September 23rd two open-air meetings were held at Kewick, with Mrs. Thorne as speaker. The speeches dealt with the economic aspect of the question. On September 24th Miss Matters spoke in the Pavilion—200 to 300 present. Her speech was listened to with

breathless attention was given to her words, and the resolution was carried with two dissentients. 2,000 leaflets have been distributed house to house in and round Kewick since June. This made a sudden arrangement of meetings more easy and profitable.

CARLISLE.—On September 19th an informal deputation from our society with the assistance of Miss Norma-Smith, approached Mr. Christopher Lowther, the prospective Conservative candidate for North Cumberland. We regret to say that he declared himself to be at present opposed to Women's Suffrage. On September 25th our annual meeting was held, at which Mr. Frank Marshall and Miss M. Matters were the chief speakers. The results were most satisfactory, including an excellent collection and a good report in the local paper. Miss Norma-Smith visited Silloth, Wigton, and also Miss Norma Matters, who were the chief speakers. Successful meetings have been held, and we hope to follow up her good work in the course of the autumn.

AMBURSIDE.—A highly successful meeting was held, by the kindness of Mrs. Cunliffe, in her garden, on September 23rd. A large number of members and friends assembled in brilliant weather, and after tea on the lawn listened to Miss Mand Royden, on the two new laws first of these is the "Friends of Women's Suffrage," which Miss Royden explained to be a systematic effort to ascertain, build up, and bring into use the great mass of opinion favourable to Women's Suffrage, which at present goes unnoticed. Miss Royden's second subject was the policy of supporting Labour candidates to Parliament, except in the case of well-tried friends to the cause, and then a few words from Colonel Mair, of hearty thanks for Miss Royden's very full and clear explanations. Mr. Boulton received the names of volunteers for the "Friends of Women's Suffrage" by Dutch auction of White Elephants, contributed by the guests, with Mrs. Cunliffe as auctioneer. It realised £13 on the spot, with more to come in later.

MILTON.—On September 26th a meeting was held in the Co-operative Hall, Milton. Miss Norma Smith presided, and Miss M. Matters addressed the meeting. Five new members joined.

PEVINGTON.—On September 27th a public meeting was held in the Parish Room, Miss Matters being the speaker, Rev. H. Eastwood, B.A., in the chair. The audience was small but appreciative.

Surrey, Sussex and Hants.

A very successful open-air meeting was held on the Front at Brighton on Tuesday afternoon, September 26th, when Miss Pickworth spoke, and Councillor Parry took the chair. Much interest was evinced, many questions were asked, and the Common Cause sold briskly. On the 26th Miss M. E. Verrall spoke to an interested audience on Brighton Front, the Rev. Vicars Boyle presiding, and himself giving a stirring address. The Speakers' Practice Class began its winter session on September 30th. It will be held every Monday at five o'clock in the Charity Organisation Offices, 11, Guildford Road, Mrs. Timpany, of 169, Preston Drive, Brighton, will give information about the class.

Mrs. Dandy Marshall held a meeting for working women at Woking, in the Goldingham district, at 3 p.m., on September 18th. Lady Chance spoke on Women's Suffrage and the White Slave Traffic, arousing considerable enthusiasm. There was tea afterwards, and six members joined, and 13 friends.

THE REDHILL AND REIGATE Society held a crowded public meeting on September 24th, at 8 p.m., during the visit of the Surrey, Sussex and Hants Federation to Redhill. Mrs. Mackie, the Chairman, Committee to Redhill, Mrs. Mackie, the Chairman, presented a moving speech on the moral question; Miss Sterling's address was forcible, eloquent and deeply interesting; and Lord Robert Cecil explained the proposed amendments to the Electoral Reform Bill for the enfranchisement of women, and also the Parliamentary situation with regard to them, with great clearness. Miss Sterling's resolution in support of the amendments was carried by a very large majority.

West Midland.

FORMATION OF A NEW SOCIETY AT STOURBRIDGE.

As a result of Miss Farnell's work in Stourbridge and District, a Society of 25 members has been formed. The first meeting of members was held at Oldswinford Castle on October 3rd, when Miss Wright spoke of the work of the National Union and the Federation. A small working committee was elected, and Mrs. Paris and Miss Downing kindly promised to act temporarily as Secretaries, and it was decided a meeting should be held early in November, and that Miss Cicely Corbett be invited to speak.

FEDERATION WORK.

Mrs. Harley and Miss Wright have, during the past month, visited a great many societies in the Federation, and have discussed work with their respective Committees. These visited were Wellington, Shropshire, Oswestry, Lichfield, Walsall, Solihull, Hereford, Malvern, Bromsgrove, and Nuneaton. As was the case last year, when such visitations were started, it has been found to be most helpful, and a great opportunity for the Federation Officers to get into touch with individual societies and learn their respective needs and difficulties. Political work and the "Friends of Women's Suffrage" scheme were the chief topics discussed, and the Federation officers were most successful in their scheme at once. The Federation Executive Committee met at Queen's College, Birmingham, on September 26th, when Miss Courtney, Hon. Sec. N.U.W.S., kindly came from London to give the members of the committee an address, which was most helpful. Miss Courtney dwelt upon the great importance of the Federation system, and what a strength this union of societies must be if each society will co-operate with the Federation and if Federal work with the societies. Miss Courtney also laid great stress upon the importance of the Election Fighting policy, and also the necessity for each member of all the societies to take the Common Cause, and so keep well-informed in suffrage work, and to be ready to represent their own societies. The committee several visitors were also present who had come to hear the address.

Mrs. Irene Meyer, Assistant Organiser, has been working for a fortnight at Ross-on-Wye, and has secured several new members, including a secretary and treasurer, but until the requisite number for forming a separate society has been gained, it is decided to make Ross a branch of the Hereford Society. In the meantime, Mrs. Thompson, who has been so successful in memorial work in other Federations, has gone to Ross for a fortnight to work up a memorial to be presented to Captain Clive. This is all the more important, as

the Antis are very active in Ross, that place being the home of Miss Gladys Pott. Mrs. Meyer has now left for the Five Towns, where she hopes to work up a meeting for Miss Sterling this month, and to start a society.

BIRMINGHAM.—September has been a month of preparations. A successful meeting was held at Tyburn, at which Mr. Ansell presided, and Miss Helen Fraser gave an eloquent address. Tyburn hopes to combine with two other large villages on the frontier of Birmingham to form a society of its own in the near future. The Postcard campaign is being worked, and deputations to M.P.'s in course of arrangement. The "Friends of Women's Suffrage" scheme is being most energetically organised by Miss Kirby, monthly meetings at private houses being held for those employed during the day, and canvassing started. So far the names of 158 "Friends" have been obtained, and these will also be instructed to send postcards to the Member of the constituency in which they live. Very slowly the Press, which in Birmingham is very hostile, is being persuaded to accept suffrage notices and articles, though some of the papers maintain their boycott.

LICHFIELD.—A well-attended drawing-room meeting was held, by the kindness of Mrs. Norman, the Hon. Sec., at the Master's House, St. John's Hospital, on September 19th. Mrs. Harley opened the meeting with an address, for which she took as her text, "Men take the tricks." The Hon. Mrs. Basil Hanbury followed, and gave a short but very telling exposition of some anti-suffrage arguments. Miss Wright then spoke, and appealed to those present to help forward the work by being the society and supporting them as far as possible. A resolution calling upon the M.P. to support Women's Suffrage in the House was passed unanimously, and forwarded to Sir Courtney Warner. Mrs. Norman, in proposing a vote of thanks to the speakers, said she had tendered her resignation as secretary, but she had been fortunate in finding another worker to take up her place. At the close of the meeting several new members

Suffragists in South Africa.

The following letters explain themselves. Both were addressed to the Editor of *The South African News*, and the first appeared last July in the columns of that paper:—

MILITANCY CONDEMNED.

SIR.—Permit me, as Superintendent of Franchise in the Federal Women's Christian Temperance Union, and also an associate member of the International Suffrage Alliance, to protest against the militancy of some of the speeches at Bloemfontein, as reported in your columns. The whole case for militancy falls to the ground if we start to threaten force before we have a Parliamentary majority. Representative government is the substitution of counting heads instead of breaking them. The English militants rest their case on the fact that Bills for enfranchising women have been repeatedly passed in Parliament and dropped owing to some quibble, rendering representative government ineffective.

That is not yet the case here, and to talk of "a fight to a finish," or threaten violence, is childish under the circumstances. "Thrice is she armed who hath her quarrel just," and it is on the justice of our cause that most of us rest our claim for enfranchisement.—I am, &c.,
(Signed) JULIA F. SOLLY.

"Jutland" Park Drive, Port Elizabeth, August 1st, 1912.

To the Editor, "South African News," Cape Town.

SIR.—My attention has been directed to a letter appearing in your columns from Mrs. Solly, who wrote "to protest against the militancy of some of the speeches at Bloemfontein" at the recent Conference of the Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union of South Africa, usually known as the W.E.A.U.

Mrs. Solly's letter makes me fear that a garbled account of the proceedings at that conference has gained currency; and I shall esteem it a favour if you will allow me through the medium of your widely circulated paper, to correct an obvious misunderstanding.

At a public meeting held in Bloemfontein during the Conference, one of the delegates, Mrs. Griffiths, representing the W.E.L. of Johannesburg, gave a detailed address on the militant movement in England. This was done at the special request of W.E.L. of Bloemfontein, who wished the methods and *raison d'être* of the movement to be better understood. . . .

Throughout the Conference emphasis was laid upon the fact that militant methods are absolutely unnecessary in South Africa, and a strong conviction was expressed that they never will be needed.

In fact, the W.E.A.U. was publicly declared to be non-partisan, non-sectarian, and non-militant. The conference revealed a wonderful store of enthusiasm and determination and a great educational campaign was planned. When in the course of the Presidential Address allusion was made to the policy of the W.E.A.U. being "a fight to a finish," all present fully understood that it was another way of stating that the W.E.A.U. regarded the enfranchisement of women as a vital, and not merely an academic question. The weapons for the "fight" were clearly understood to be not sticks or stones—or hammers—but the more peaceful ones of moral suasion, and appeals to the inherent sense of justice and patriotism of the people of South Africa.

Hoping this explanation will allay the fears of those who evidently fear an era of militancy in our country. I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,
(Signed) M. EMMA MACINTOSH,
President,
Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union of South Africa.

were enrolled. Mrs. Norman then entertained the company to tea.

OSWESTRY.—A public meeting was held on September 26th, at the Freemasons' Hall. The chair was taken by Mrs. Flora Annie Steel, the well-known authoress, who was presented by Miss Edith Drew with a bouquet of flowers composed of the National Union colours. Mrs. Steel, in accepting the bouquet, made a bright and cheery little speech, after which Miss Helen Fraser, of Glasgow, spoke, and her excellent address was much appreciated by the audience. A resolution was carried with only one dissentient, asking Mr. Bridgeman to vote for the amendment to delete the word "male," and to support one or other of the amendments to include women in the Reform Bill. A vote of thanks to speaker and chairman was proposed by Mrs. Mahler, seconded by Miss Mickleburgh, and carried very enthusiastically.

SHROPSHIRE.—Two deputations to Shropshire M.P.'s have taken place in Shrewsbury during the past month—to Mr. Beville Stanier, Member for Newport, Salop, on the 23rd, and to Sir Clement Hill, Member for Shrewsbury, on the 27th. The deputations consisted of representative constituents and two members of the local Suffrage Society. Mrs. Harley spoke on each occasion. When addressing Mr. Beville Stanier she urged him to vote for one or other of the amendments to include women in the Government Franchise Bill. He adhered to his advocacy of a limited franchise for women, but made no definite pledge. Sir Clement Hill, being a stubborn Anti, was asked to abstain from voting, as so many of his constituents were in favour of the enfranchisement of duly qualified women. He acknowledged the truth of that statement, but refused to grant the request of the deputation. Sir Clement Hill will, therefore, have to be opposed by the local suffrage society at the next election.

At a meeting at the Little Oaks and Sweet Sale took place at 8 p.m. on the 27th, when Mrs. Scott, of Desford, and the Miss Harley, the proceeds of which go to swell the collection for the Election Fighting Fund. Great pre-

The International Suffrage Shop.

We were thrilled with great pleasure the following letter:—

"Miss Sime Seruya desires most gratefully to thank the late Editor for her appeal in a recent issue of the Common Cause on behalf of the International Suffrage Shop, and to express her thanks to readers for their prompt reply thereto. The coming year's rent of the I.S.S. is now assured, and the Shop renews its lease for the first time in its little history, with what seems to be a chance of development."

Foreign News.

Germany.

We learn from the *Frauenbewegung* that since October 1st the women's prison in Berlin has been placed under separate direction, and entirely under the management of women. This is the first time that a woman has been appointed to the chief post in a Prussian prison, and certainly no such appointment has yet been made in England. It is to be hoped this precedent "made in Germany" may speedily be followed elsewhere. It appears that Switzerland, too, is moving in the same direction. The wife of the governor of a prison in the canon of Vaud, who, during her husband's illness had undertaken his duties, has since his death been appointed to succeed him.

Italy.

The name of Teresa Labriola is everywhere known for her work on behalf of Socialism, as well as her advocacy of Women's Suffrage. She also occupies a chair of Jurisprudence at the University of Rome. As a Doctor of Law, who has also practised for two years at one of the Roman Courts, she is now legally entitled to enter for the final qualifying examination. To this, however, Italian law refuses to admit women, and on two previous occasions duly qualified applicants were rejected solely on the ground of sex. Dr. Labriola, without waiting for the decision of the Court, has already undertaken a case, and her successful defence of a soldier accused before a military tribunal of insubordination procured a considerable mitigation of his sentence. In face of this accomplished fact, the prohibition must surely break down. The position, at any rate, is an anomalous one.

United States.

The attempt made by the Illinois suffragists to obtain 100,000 signatures to a petition that a proposition to grant equal suffrage under the Public Policy Act be submitted to the voters of Illinois at the November ballot has failed. Only about 70,000 were collected. In view of the frequent mis-statements as to the result of Women's Suffrage, it is of special interest to watch the work of women in the suffrage States. In Washington the enfranchised women are working for the repeal of the Corroboration of Evidence Law and the Double Standard Law, and for the enactment of a Child Labour Law, Mothers' Pensions, Equal Guardianship of Children, a minimum wage and vocational training in public schools and State institutions. Among the new laws to be proposed in California will be one providing for joint guardian-

parations are being made for the Demonstration which this Federation is to hold in Shrewsbury on October 11th, and it is hoped that it will be a huge success. WELLINGTON.—On September 3rd the Suffrage Van visited Wellington, and an outdoor meeting, which had been arranged by the local society, took place on that date evening. Miss Helga Gill and Miss Bury were the speakers, and Miss Eva Ward took the chair. There was a very good and attentive audience, and the speeches were most convincing and inspiring. The *Wellington Journal* published a good account of the meeting. On September 17th Mrs. Harley and Miss Wright met the Committee, and in the evening a members' meeting was held, when Mrs. Harley spoke on the "Friends of Women's Suffrage" scheme, and Miss Wright gave many helpful ideas for future work. This society hopes to start working the "Friends of Women's Suffrage" scheme at once.

WOLVERHAMPTON.—A drawing-room meeting was held on September 25th, by kind permission of Mrs. Major, at her residence, when she took the chair, and Miss Helen Fraser spoke. The address was much appreciated, and it is hoped will bear good fruit. Miss Helen Fraser spoke of the disabilities of women under the law, and she also pointed out that this agitation was far more than a political movement—it meant the freedom of women to stand side by side with the men for the good of the State.

West Bromwich.—Mrs. Merivale Mayer is now visiting this society, and some meetings are in prospect, details of which are not yet to hand. The Hon. Sec. reports that a satisfactory letter has been received from Lord Lewisham, Member for this constituency, in which he promises to support Women's Suffrage in the Government Franchise Bill. He will vote for the omission of the word "male" in Clause 1, for the Norwegian amendment, and will vote against third reading of the Bill if women are not included in it. He will also vote for Mr. Snowden's amendment to the Home Rule Bill.

ship of fathers and mothers over their children. The Legislature has several times failed to approve such a bill, but with the help of Women's Suffrage it is hoped that a better fate awaits it in 1913.

The August number of the *Woman's Bulletin*, published in Los Angeles, says, in its editorial, that "It is now ten months since the women of California were enfranchised, and none of the dreiful prophecies of the anti-suffragists have been fulfilled—women have not sought office, homes have not been broken up, chivalry, as men are men. . . . The greatest noticeable effect of suffrage is the increased interest in public questions manifested by both men and women."

Review.

LESS THAN THE DUST. By Mary Agnes Hamilton. 330 pp. Heinemann, 6s.

The representation of life through the eyes of another is tantalising and generally difficult to accept. Whilst admiration is due to the determined young woman in this book who annihilates herself with the humility of strength, it is not altogether possible to credit the want of discernment she betrays in her hero-worship of the stern, unbending Adam, her sister's husband, and her adoration of her sister, who deserves to be called callous, vulgar, and undiscerning, in spite of her "impulsive charm." However, love is said to be by nature unreasoning, and those who believe so may see as much justice in Delia's sacrifice for Adam and Pansy as in Pansy's resentment and attempts at self-consolation through the wastrel Tony.

Perhaps the point of the story is not so much to give a close analysis of character—none of the four chief players are consistent in their parts—as to throw into relief two very common weaknesses to which feminine affection is prone. One is the too excessive sacrifice which immortalises others on the altar of the particular god. Delia is guilty of this when she lets go her hold of Tony, whom she has really—and, we may add, touchingly—reclaimed. The other is the attachment of a too extreme importance to the personal relation. We all know the old gibe about woman's query, "Do you really love me?" Pansy is the victim of this weakness in sense of proportion, and again others are immolated in the effort to make herself sufficiently felt.

"I'm always coming up against a cold principle when I want a warm human being. . . . Some people find children do instead of husbands. . . . That won't do for me. . . . Children must mean something more than just themselves if they're to fill one's life; they must be his children, and come to one because of that. . . ." This kind of outburst calls for sympathy; but it is unavoidably felt that the husband in question was not sufficiently to blame.

So there is sacrifice—which we think the author intends us to regard as mistaken sacrifice—accepted and extorted all round.

(Continued on page 466.)

A CLUB

Is being formed and will be opened shortly for men and women interested in WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. The premises will be in a central position, and will have bedrooms (for lady members, at a REASONABLE PRICE), dining, reading, writing rooms, and lounge. RECEPTIONS AND LECTURES DEALING WITH THE SUFFRAGE QUESTION WILL BE HELD DURING THE WINTER MONTHS. The club being a proprietary one, members incur no liability whatever other than subscription and entrance if any. 200 MEMBERS HAVING BEEN ENROLLED, It has been decided to admit a further 100 at £1 1s. No entrance fee. A competent secretary has been engaged, with 8 years' experience of Club management. For further particulars, Box 1336, Common Cause, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

MENTAL AND SPIRITUAL HEALING.

Mrs. MARY SEATON is forming CLASSES at The Higher Thought Centre, 10, Cheniston Gardens, W. (Two minutes from KENSINGTON Underground) in SELF-HEALING—Healing others and How to gain Complete Self-Mastery. Commencing Tuesday, October 15th. Course of Seven Sessions, 1 Guinea. Same course, private pupils, 5 Guineas. Patients treated and Consultations given from 11 to 1 daily. 5s. each. LECTURES every TUESDAY at 3 p.m., at 30, Clanciarde Gardens, W. Admission free, voluntary collection. (Will give Lectures in Clubs or Private Drawing-Rooms by arrangement.)

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Do you want to SELL a Car? Do you want to BUY a Car? Do you want any TYRES or ACCESSORIES? Then write at once to Mr. HILLCOAT, and he will give you the best value for your money. Telephone No.: C/o ARTHUR TURNER & Co., Ltd., Gerrard 6929. 173, Piccadilly, W.

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MODERN POLITICS AND ECONOMICS. TUITION and LECTURES given in the above subjects with special reference to WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. The lessons are specially suited to PUBLIC SPEAKERS. Correspondence Coaching given. Apply to Dr. Wallis Chapman, Monksbury, Etchingam Park Road, Finchley, N.

THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. Monthly Paper, 1d. CONTENTS OF OCTOBER NUMBER: Women's Vote and National Temperance; Miss BERTHA MASON. Sex Dominion and Genesis; Rev. G. H. DAVIS. Great Women of History: Miss EMILY C. GROWSE. Leading Articles: The Honour of the Flag; A Gilbertian Situation.

Please mention "The Common Cause" when answering Advertisements. It will help us.

HENRY GLAVE

Illustrations of women's clothing: a long dress (12/9), a hat (5/11), and a coat (21/-). Text: Useful FELT HAT, trimmed cord and ribbon. Colours: Black, Sand, Saxe, Navy & Grey. "THE CONNAUGHT." A very smart GOWN in fine quality Navy Coating Serge, trimmed flat silk braid, and dainty silk pinnes in the following colours: Emerald, Cerise, Royal and Black. Pretty neckless collar with smart Quaker bow finishes this gown of irresistible charm. Can also be had in all black. Stock sizes. PRICE 12/9. Smart and Useful COAT of Reversible Tweed in Light and Dark Grey and Heather Mixtures. Well cut and tailored. Large roll collar and long revers. Length, 59 and 52 inches. SPECIAL PRICE 21/- Our Fully Illustrated Fashion Book sent post free. 80-100, NEW OXFORD STREET.

The dreary setting of the drama—certainly it is drama at moments of encounter between Delia and Adam—emphasises the aridity of mental desolation caused by a holocaust which threatens to prove fruitless. Adam's realisation of Delia's love, when her devotion has won his wife back for him, is a gleam of comfort, if not an ethical reassurance, to the reader. NORA O'SULLIVAN.

THE CHAIRMAN'S AND DEBATER'S HANDBOOK. This useful little work, written by D. M. Ransom, and published by Messrs. George Routledge and Sons, is now in its second edition. It costs one shilling net, and is small enough to find a place in any handbag.

Letters to the Editor.

Correspondents are requested to send their names and addresses, not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of good faith. The Editor is not responsible for any statement made in the correspondence column.

Correspondents are requested to write on ONE SIDE OF THE PAPER ONLY.

BADGES. I think a great opportunity is lost when members of Suffrage societies who attend conferences do not wear their badges. I am sure that a large number of the women who were present at the recent meeting of the N.U.W.W. at Oxford, which was the largest meeting the Union has ever held, were Suffragists. Canon Scott Holland's pronouncement in favour of it was well received, and the Suffrage meeting was well attended. How could women, indeed, who were working to improve the condition of other women, not realise that without the vote they were fighting with one hand tied behind them? Many women, no doubt, delight in overcoming difficulties rather than in removing them, and this may account for a certain amount of anti-suffragism; but the relation of all public work to Parliamentary government is plain to see. Was it carelessness or timidity that led Suffragists to leave their badges at home? They were worn in some cases by the speakers and also by the stewards, so there could have been no objection to their display by ordinary members. Was their absence perhaps due to the extreme ugliness of the ordinary N.U.W.S. badge? ANNIE M. A. H. ROGERS. 39, Museum Road, Oxford.

EMILY GREEN, Hon. Sec. 42, Anerley Road, Upper Norwood. [Our readers will find a full account of what happened in regard to this vote on page 462.—Ed. C.C.]

THE WOMEN'S MARCH. It has been my great desire, as organiser of the Women's March as far as possible to meet the convenience of all active supporters. This has necessitated the abandonment of plans already made, and the formation of others from time to time, but final arrangements have now been made to leave Edinburgh on Saturday, the 12th inst., and accomplish the journey by November 16th. The feature of the march will be a petition to the Government, which will be presented for signatures at every point en route, from Edinburgh to London, thus forming, in the abstract, a protest 400 miles in length. As distance from the rallying point prevents many recruits from mustering at Edinburgh, it is anticipated that the ranks, in the nature of a snowball, will gradually increase in strength as the march proceeds, and that by the time London is reached the contingent will be of imposing proportions. Suffragists in Edinburgh are giving the enterprise their warmest support, Miss A. B. Jack, of the Women's Freedom League, has been most energetic in arranging a meeting on the morning of the 12th inst., and members of all societies are combining to give the recruits a hearty send-off. It is hoped that the example set by Edinburgh will be followed by all places on the route, and that members and friends of every suffrage organisation will unite to encourage and speed the marchers by their support and sympathy. Let this peaceful protest against the exclusion of women from citizenship wing its own message to the Members of the Government, and speak to them of the great indignity inflicted on woman, should the Manhood Suffrage Bill become law. FLORENCE DE FONBLANQUE. Dunston, Petworth.

A memorial consisting of representative Liberal signatures was presented to Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M.P., for Cokermouth Division on Thursday, October 3rd, by Miss Norma Smith (N.U. Organiser) and myself as Divisional Secretary, asking him to do his utmost for the Women's Suffrage and thanking him for his help in the past. At the same time he gave us his promise to do all he could for the women's cause in the coming session except that he cannot find it possible to vote against the third reading, even if it does not embody some form of women's franchise. He wished our society every success. Questions to which Sir Wilfrid Lawson replied "Yes": 1. Will you support the omission of the word "male"? 2. Will you support amendments:—Adult: Yes. Dickinson: Yes. Conciliation: Yes. 3. Will you act with one of the organised groups of suffragists in the House of Commons? Yes. 4. Will you vote for widening the municipal franchise so as to include women? Yes. 5. Will you support Mr. Snowden's amendment to the Home Rule Bill? Yes.

VALE. Keenest regret, mingled with gratitude, were the feelings aroused in me, as doubtless in many readers of THE COMMON CAUSE, by Mrs. Swanwick's "Vale" in the last number. But specially do I wish to express my appreciation of the outspoken attitude on "militant tactics" which she has adopted throughout. While fully recognising the courage and fortitude of those who in mistaken devotion to our cause, have broken the law and suffered for it, she has never yielded one inch to what may be called Sex-Chauvinism—not "our country," but "Woman—right or wrong."

THE HUNGER STRIKE. We are on the eve of another Autumn Session of Parliament. If during the forthcoming Session the Government pledges to women are evaded, or if, in the worse event, the Women's Suffrage Cause is betrayed, I propose to initiate a Women's Great Hunger Strike throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain. The Hunger Strike would commence at midnight on December 25th next, that being the anniversary of the birthday of the Founder of the National Religion of this country—the birthday of the Master whose mightiest message, "Be ye perfect," was addressed to the women and men of this civilisation alike. There are thousands of women in all ranks of life whose repeated articulate demand has been, for many years, and with ever-increasing volume and emphasis, "We will be politically free." Many of these women have no more wish than I have of confining their future life energies to the one specialised channel of political aspirations. The tastes of women vary as the tastes of men. But from the steady purpose of immediate aim none of these women will be turned, until political justice is granted. To such women, then, as this Message makes direct and immediate appeal, let the decision come quickly! Letters will not be welcomed, nor long messages of any description. The ideal post-card will bear the pledge "I promise" at the head, followed by the volunteer's full name and address, and the distinguishing initials of the women's organisation, if any, to which the volunteer belongs, for example, W.F.L., N.U.W.S.S., W.F.L., A.F.L., W.S.P.U., W.C.G., W.L.P., C.L.F.W.S., W.T.L., B.W.T.A., C.W.F.L., N.U.W.W., P.N.E.U.,

GREAT JOINT WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE DEMONSTRATION

OF THE MANCHESTER & DISTRICT FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES; THE MANCHESTER SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE; THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE; THE MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE; THE MANCHESTER & SALFORD WOMEN'S TRADES UNION COUNCIL; THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE; THE SALE & URMSTON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY, and others, in

THE ALBERT HALL, Peter St., MANCHESTER. ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1912, AT 7-30 P.M.

MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D. PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P. LAURENCE HOUSMAN, ESQ. A. LANGDON, ESQ., K.C., AND COUNCILLOR MARGARET ASHTON, M.A.

ADMISSION FREE. A few Reserved Seats at 1s. For further particulars apply the Secretary, Grosvenor Chambers, 16, Deansgate, Manchester.

F.C.L.W.S., I.W.F.C., and so on. The post-cards should be addressed to me at Penn P.O., Bucks.

In the event of a Hunger Strike of genuine national dimensions being promised, I undertake to forward the pledges (which will be classified on arrival) to the Central Offices of the respective Societies; and I should be both willing and glad to fall into line, as one of many, if the women's organisations take up the idea.

Volunteers of special individual value in such a campaign would be as follows: Wives, friends, sisters, mothers and relatives generally of Members of Parliament and Cabinet Ministers; relatives and friends of all who sit in high places; Suffragists of title; Suffragists of reputation—literary, artistic, scientific, philanthropic; Suffragists who have held, or who do hold, public office; well-known Suffragist head mistresses, principals of colleges, and teachers; the silent, sympathetic women in the nation's homes who are not ordinarily militant, but who would bravely bear witness to their heart's belief that British womanhood has the right to full political liberty. If, then, by Parliament's continued refusal of our just political rights, the Hunger Strike becomes a necessity, it will be our women's duty to conduct the strike with determination; and in full consciousness that death may be the prize for many of us if the strike continues. It will be the duty of men, friends, sympathisers and relatives to help in the fight with tongues, brains, hearts, pens, and with all the usual weapons in the political warrior's armoury. Now let the women of Great Britain speak in readiness! MARY GAWTHORPE. Penn, Bucks, October 4th, 1912.

LONDON TEACHERS. May I call your attention to a mistake in the "Notes" of your last issue. The London Teachers' Association has not declared against Women's Suffrage; it has declared that the subject is not "one that should be included within the scope of the objects of the Association." It was to be expected that the Anti-Suffrage press would misrepresent the facts of the case; it is regrettable that the inaccuracy should be published by the organ of the N.U.W.S.S. Your comments on the matter are also much to be deplored. I am secretary of a Suffrage Society which includes amongst its members a large number of elementary teachers, many of whom are working hard in our movement, but the contemptuous tone of your paper towards elementary teachers as a class makes it impossible for them to use THE COMMON CAUSE for propaganda work among their colleagues. EMILY GREEN, Hon. Sec. 42, Anerley Road, Upper Norwood. [Our readers will find a full account of what happened in regard to this vote on page 462.—Ed. C.C.]

THE SUFFRAGE ATELIER. Mrs. Mescon Coates will be "At Home" at Glebe Studios, 55, Glebe Place, King's Road, Chelsea, on Tuesday, October 15th, from 3.30 p.m. There will be an exhibition of posters and other pictorial work of members of the Suffrage Atelier, and Mrs. Louis Fagan has kindly consented to speak. Invitation cards may be had on application to Mrs. Mescon Coates at the above address, or to the Secretary, The Suffrage Atelier, 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

CYMRIC SUFFRAGE UNION. On Monday, October 7th, at 69, Winpole Street, W., at the first committee meeting of the Cymric Suffrage Union since the summer vacation, presided over by Mrs. Mansell Moullin, vice-president, the following resolutions were passed:—The first was proposed by Mrs. J. S. Davies, and seconded by Mrs. Parkes. "This meeting of Welshwomen protests against the disgraceful treatment of suffragists at Wrexham and Llanymudry. That such brutality towards women could have occurred in Wales makes them hang their heads in shame. And further indignantly protests against the action and attitude of their countryman, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which for some time past have led up to, and are responsible for the savagery of his admirers." The second was proposed by Mrs. Mansell-Moullin, vice-president, and seconded by Mrs. M. E. Davies, hon. sec. "The Cymric Suffrage Union, which was originally formed for propaganda work only, feels its position to be changed by the treachery of the Government in bringing in a Manhood Suffrage Bill. The committee have therefore decided that should the Reform Bill pass without the inclusion of women, they will have to reconstruct their policy, as a continuation of educational methods alone would not only be useless, but a menace to the cause of woman's suffrage." This resolution was carried by 5 to 1, one member not voting, and will be submitted to a general meeting of the members on October 23rd.

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

- OCTOBER 10. Croydon—Oak Cottage, Norbury Avenue, Norbury—drawing-room meeting, by kind invitation of Mrs. Knight (Miss Crickmay) 3.30. Croydon—34a, Arcade, High Street—"At Home" for teachers—Miss T. E. Clark (chair) 8.0. Manchester—Great Joint Women's Suffrage Demonstration—Albert Hall, Peter Street, Manchester—Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D. Phillip Snowden, M.P., Laurence Housman, Esq., A. M. Langdon, Esq., K.C., etc., Councillor Margaret Ashton, M.A. (chair) 7.30. Dublin—33, Molesworth Street—Irish W.S. and Local Government Association 11.30. Barnsley—Arcade Hall—Mrs. Despard, Miss I. O. Ford 8.30. Bristol—The Coliseum—suffrage stall—the Miseses Chate 12-10. Chesterfield—Market Place—Mrs. Cowmesdow, Miss Ruthbrooke 7.0. Clydach Vale—L.L.P. Branch—Miss Helen Frazer 8.0. OCTOBER 11. Huddersfield—Collinson's Café—Miss I. O. Ford, Miss Seddon (chair) 8.0.

ALL WHO DESIRE INFORMATION ON THE
Present Position of Women
 Should send for the following Pamphlets and Leaflets to the
**NATIONAL UNION OF
 WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES,**
 14, GREAT SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER.

WOMEN AND THE REFORM BILL.

Women and the Reform Bill. By H. N. BRAILSFORD.
 6d. per doz., 2s. 6d. per 100.
 The Reform Bill and Women's Suffrage. 1s. 4d. per 100,
 12s. 6d. per 1,000.
 Many Masters. 6d. per 100, 4s. 6d. per 1,000.

WOMEN AND THE LABOUR PARTY.

To Men and Women of the Labour Party. 6d. per 100, 5s.
 per 1,000.
 The Best Friends of Women's Suffrage. By M. G. FAWCETT,
 LL.D. 4d. per 100, 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
 The New Development in N.U.W.S.S. Policy. 1s. 4d. per
 100, 12s. 6d. per 1,000.
 Our Policy. 9d. per 100.

WOMEN AND THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY.

To Men and Women of the Conservative Party. 1s. 4d.
 per 100, 12s. 6d. per 1,000.
 Mr. A. J. Balfour and Franchise Reform. 1s. 4d. per 100,
 12s. 6d. per 1,000.

WOMEN AND THE LIBERAL PARTY.

To Men and Women of the Liberal Party. 1s. 4d. per 100,
 12s. 6d. per 1,000.
 The Vital Claim by Mrs. Osler. 1s. 4d. per 100, 12s. 6d.
 per 1,000.
 Lord Haldane and Women's Suffrage. 2s. 6d. per 100.

WOMEN AS WAGE EARNERS.

Votes and Wages. By A. M. ROYDEN. 2d. each.
 The Parliamentary Vote and Wages. By GERALDINE HODGSON.
 1s. 4d. per 100, 12s. 6d. per 1,000.
 Five Points on the Economic Position of Women. 6d. per
 100, 12s. 6d. per 1,000.
 Easier to Starve. 6d. per 100, 4s. 6d. per 1,000.
 Will the Vote Help Industrial Women. 4d. per 100, 2s. 6d.
 per 1,000.

AND MANY OTHERS.

ALSO POSTERS, BADGES, RIBBONS, Etc.

WRITE FOR FREE CATALOGUE.

WOMEN AND THE HOME.

The Married Working Woman. By ANNA MARTIN. 2d. each.
 Home and State. By SELMA LAGENLOF. 1d. each.
 To Women Who Are Well Off. 1s. 4d. per 100, 12s. 6d.
 per 1,000.
 To Women Who Are Not Well Off. 1s. 4d. per 100, 12s. 6d.
 per 1,000.
 Women in the Home. 4d. per 100, 2s. 6d. per 1,000.

WOMEN AND THE LAW.

Women: Their Unfair Position from a Legal Point of View.
 By J. W. F. JACQUES. 3d. each.

WOMEN WHO VOTE.

How Women Use the Vote. By A. M. ROYDEN. 2d. each.
 What Will Happen When Women Get the Vote. 4d. per
 100, 2s. 6d. per 1,000.

WOMEN AND THE ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

Plain Answers to Tangled Statements. By A. M. ROYDEN.
 2d. each.
 Physical Force and Democracy. By A. M. ROYDEN. 2d. each.
 The Women's Anti-Suffrage Movement. By R. CHOLMELEY.
 1d. each.
 Is This Equality? By MARGARET ROBERTSON. 1s. 4d.
 per 100, 12s. 6d. per 1,000.
 Anti-Suffrage Arguments. 4d. per 100, 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
 A Blow to the Anti-Suffragists. 6d. per 100, 4s. 6d. per 1,000.
 The Question of the Moment. 4d. per 100, 2s. 6d. per 1,000.

WOMEN AND THE COMMUNITY.

Women's Suffrage: An Address by ROWLAND PROTHERO.
 3d. each.
 Men and Women Together. 4d. per 100, 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
 Suffrage or Party? 4d. per 100, 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
 What Is a Vote? 4d. per 100, 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
 Why We Are in a Hurry. 4d. per 100, 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
 A Wider World. 4d. per 100, 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
 Let the Women Help. 4d. per 100, 2s. 6d. per 1,000.

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.
 postal order

Name _____

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

Address _____

(in full.)

To the Secretary _____

Society for Women's Suffrage

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