

The Common Cause

THE ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF

Aug. 15th,
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Women's Suffrage

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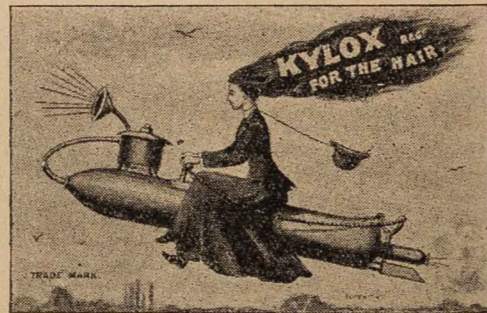
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All Business Communications to be addressed to The Manager,
The Common Cause, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Advertisements must reach the Office not later than first post on
Tuesday.

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 Holidays.**

Miss Clementina Black has kindly consented to edit the paper
for the next four weeks.

Mr. Roosevelt Declares for Women's Suffrage.

On August 7th Mr. Theodore Roosevelt was nominated for
the Presidency at Chicago by the Progressive Convention. Judge Lindsey,
of Colorado, seconded the nomination, and it was also supported by another
great social reformer, Jane Addams, of Hull House, Chicago. Mr. Roosevelt
declared for a programme of drastic social reform, including equal suffrage
for women, "if for no other reason than to enable working women to
combine for their own protection by the use of the ballot." The following
cable has been sent from Parliament Chambers to Mr. Roosevelt:—"Fawcett, President National Union of
Suffrage Societies sends heartiest congratulations on grand declaration for
equal suffrage." It is good to hear that at this Convention the "Battle
hymn of the Republic" was sung—that glorious spiritual clarion call of
Julia Ward Howe, abolitionist and suffragist, whose soul goes marching on
indeed, here as in America.

Ignorance—or Worse.

We strongly urge suffragists to buy the verbatim report of the
debate on the second reading of the Trade Unions Bill, which took place
on August 6th. They will there observe that the Government, responsible
for the introduction of a Franchise Bill which re-enacts the "legal
incapacity" of women—a Government which actually put up Mr. Pease
and Mr. Lewis Harcourt to defend this anachronism—now, through the
mouth of Sir Rufus Isaacs, declares that it is "impossible by any
definition to draw the line between what is industrial and what is
political." In order that there might be no possible mistake, Sir Rufus
Isaacs went on, "We have all arrived at the same conclusion, and I am
quite certain that it will be unanimous, that you cannot say that at a
particular point a thing ceases to be industrial and becomes political." So
we may take it from Sir Rufus Isaacs that Mr. Harcourt has recanted and
abandoned the absurd attitude he took up in the Albert Hall, when he
told the Anti's that the vote would not help women in industry. Even
Mr. Harcourt must see that it is impossible at one and the same time
to maintain that political representation helps men in industry, and that
it does not help women in industry. Either Mr. Harcourt cannot understand
this, and then he really is too stupid to be a minister, or he will not admit
it, although he knows it, and in that case—we leave it to our readers to
find the proper adjective to describe his conduct.

Grandiloquent Nonsense.

Whatever one may think of the Trade Union Bill or of the policy of the
Labour Party in the House, suffragists will feel that Mr. Ramsay
Macdonald expressed the true philosophic theory of representative
government when he laughed at the notion that the House of Commons
was composed of little gods dealing out even-handed justice, and
declared that they were there to represent the experience, interests
and ideals of various sections of the community. Further, when he said that this

representation was necessary for the "enlightenment and wisdom" required
for all good legislation, he put into a nutshell the case for civilised
government as against the rule of brute physical force. It is because
you cannot legislate wisely without knowledge, and because you cannot
know without representation, that we women demand a share in the
representation which will surely bring wise and humane legislation,
and without which it is impossible.

The Liberal Whip.

It was announced on August 8th that the Master of Elibank had
been created a Baron, and would retire from his office of Chief Liberal
Whip, and that Mr. Percy Illingworth would succeed him. We cannot
regret the change. The Master of Elibank either could not or would
not prevent the discreditable party machinations with Irish
suffragists in the House over the Conciliation Bill, and we prefer to
have for the future a man whose past record is clear.

The Dublin Outrages.

On August 7th Mr. Justice Madden passed sentence on Mrs. Leigh
and Mrs. Evans of five years' penal servitude for attempted arson,
and on Mrs. Baines (called Baker in the daily papers) of seven
months' hard labour.

Scottish Miners as Moralists.

The Scottish Miners' Federation last week passed a resolution
protesting against the action of the Government in refusing to
abolish female labour on pit banks, and characterised it as dirty,
dangerous and unsuitable. When Mr. Henderson came to speak
about the new Labour paper, one delegate asked if "sporting news"
would be published.

Mr. Henderson said he would not say that no sporting news
whatever should be published, but he did not think the paper would
have space enough to assist in the demoralisation of the workmen.

The delegate said that meant killing the paper at the start.

Mr. Henderson replied that the paper would be a clean one,
and if it could only be made a commercial success by descending to
the filth of many papers, he would prefer that it should not be done.

An Insulting Magistrate.

On August 3rd, at Bow Street Police Court, Miss Mary Blake was
charged with "insulting behaviour, whereby a breach of the peace
might have been caused," and she was bound over in £5 "to be of
good behaviour for six months." The "insulting behaviour" consisted
in Miss Blake insisting upon her right to be present in court when a
charge was being heard against a woman. The magistrate (Sir A. de
Rutzen) ordered all ladies out of the court, leaving men to stay if
they liked; but Miss Blake decided that the prisoner should have a
fellow woman in court, and not be left on such a charge to men only.
If anyone was guilty of "insulting behaviour" it was the magistrate,
who actually addressed Miss Blake in these terms: "If you had any
self-respect or decency you would not have returned into court when
you knew the nature of the evidence being given, and had heard my
request for ladies to withdraw." Men are too fond of deciding what
is "decent" and "self-respecting" for women. It is not "decent," we
think, for a woman to be tried by men only in a court full of men
only under laws made by men only, and especially for offences in
which men are their partners. Mary Blake has a truer, more womanly
instinct of what is decent and self-respecting than Sir A. de Rutzen,
and we tender her our respectful homage for her difficult and dignified
protest.

Women's Right to Work.

There was a capital article in last week's *Labour Leader* on
"Women in the Civil Service," pointing out that as individual Civil
Servants men may wish to hound women out of the Civil Service;
but "as fathers with daughters" they cannot wish to deprive girls of
one of the few openings they have for honest work. It is lamentable
that it should be necessary to appeal to men on such hideously
selfish grounds—that they cannot see that girls must either be
given the right to earn an honest living or be smothered, since no
State can afford to keep its women in idleness, and no self-respecting
women wish to be so kept. The article concludes: "The rank and file
in the Civil Service must do some clear thinking on this subject. Women
are now used to force down the wages of the men and to worsen their
conditions. For men to pretend that they can keep women out of the
world's work is ridiculous. What, then, must their attitude be? To
insist on 'equal pay and equal work,' and to demand the extension of
the franchise to women."

Our Supplement.

We give away this week a reproduction of a water colour sketch
by Mrs. Flora Annie Steel in illustration of her poem on pages 323
and 324.

The A.B.C. of Women's Suffrage.

THE QUESTION OF THE MOMENT.

THE REAL ISSUE OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

The Government Franchise Bill has been introduced in the House of Commons. It proposes to add about 2,000,000 male voters to the Electorate.

It is true that an Adult Suffrage Amendment will be moved to this Bill, and that if this were passed by the House of Commons its effect would be to give votes to a large number of women. But other amendments will also be moved—one giving votes to women householders and the wives of house-holders, and one giving votes to women householders alone.

Surely if the Bill is to pass at all, it should include **some** women.

The question is not whether all women shall have votes, but whether when all men are given votes all women shall still be shut out.

Do you think it is just that the vote should be given to 9,400,000 men and not given to one single woman?

Are you prepared to let every young man of 21 have a voice in governing the Empire and to shut out all the mothers?

Women are just as important a part of the Empire as men. On the mothers of the country largely depends the moral and physical welfare of their sons.

Do you think it fair that women who pay a large share of Imperial and local taxes should have no voice in deciding how this money is to be spent?

Do you think that Parliament which makes laws about children, education, the home, the regulation of men and women's labour, the price of food, and other matters which closely concern women as well as men, should be solely elected by men?

The municipal bodies which some women help to elect, administer laws; but if the law is bad, or not as good as it might be, the most excellent administration will not do much good.

Women want the Parliamentary Vote, in order that they may be consulted about the laws under which they and their children live.

What suffragists ask is that men and women should be allowed to work together for the good of the state.

If you care for the good of your country and of all the men and women and children in it **support Women's Suffrage**, and join the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. Headquarters: 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster.

The above can be had as a leaflet (4d. per 100, 2/6 per 1,000) from the National Union.

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OUR WORK AT CREWE.

An echo of the Crewe by-election reaches us this week in the following letter, which has been received by Miss Robertson, the Organiser for the Election Fighting Fund, from Mr. Wake, who acted as Mr. Holmes' agent at the election:—

"I want to express to you on behalf of Mr. Holmes, as agent in this contest for the National Party, and also on my own personal behalf, our deep sense of appreciation of your efforts and gratitude for the ready and excellent services you and your colleagues rendered us in this strenuous and historic fight. Protracted as it was, fought at such high tension throughout, against such great odds and difficulties, our impossible task was rendered much lighter, and our work made more effective by the way in which you co-operated with us, strengthening our weak spots, acting as pioneers for our meetings, recruiting our outposts, and penetrating spheres where our forces were of no avail. After many election campaigns, I can say that at Crewe our women allies rendered more effective and valuable service than at any election with which I have been associated. * *

* * * * Mr. Holmes associates himself entirely with these expressions, and for my part I must say that your co-operation was the most pleasant and stimulating feature of the election to me."

THE THREE-CORNERED FIGHT IN MIDLOTHIAN.

The results of the by-elections at Holmfirth and Crewe, and particularly the latter, are bringing home to Liberals the unpleasantness of three-cornered contests, which split the progressive vote.

With Home Rule and other important measures looming in the near future, the party managers do not appreciate the sight of a Unionist taking a Government seat, because the votes of Home Rulers and Welsh Disestablishers are divided between two progressive candidates, instead of being concentrated on the Liberal. The by-election in Midlothian, caused by the retirement of the Master of Elibank, is a source of further discomfort to supporters of the Government, lest the result should be a repetition of that at Crewe, and on August 10th there appeared in the Press the following significant telegram from the retired Chief Whip to the Liberal Association of Midlothian.

"I hear a rumour to-night (Friday) that the Midlothian miners may desire to put forward the name of their agent, Mr. Robert Brown, Provost of Dalkeith. Should this report be well-founded I am prepared to ask my friend, whose name will be presented for the consideration of the Midlothian Liberal Executive to-morrow (Saturday) afternoon, to hold himself in reserve for another Scottish constituency that is anxious to secure his services, and earnestly to advise my old Liberal supporters to concentrate on the Provost of Dalkeith. While it is true that Mr. Robert Brown has been principally identified with

the cause and interest of the Lothian miners, he is a thoroughly experienced politician of wide sympathies, sound common sense, and strong progressive views. He is a fine type of Scot, deservedly held in high popular estimation and respect, and possessing the confidence of all sections of the community, as his election to the Provost chair amply testifies. I may frankly state that had Mr. Robert Brown been desirous of coming forward as candidate for Midlothian on the resignation of Lord Dalmeny, I would certainly have re-contested Peebles and Selkirk in the January, 1910, election, and left the field clear for him. Please emphasise the fact that in no manner do I desire to interfere with the discretion of the members of the Midlothian Liberal Executive. I merely express my opinion. They alone can be the judges of the course best suited to the circumstances."

There appears, nevertheless, to be every prospect of a three-cornered election in Midlothian.

THE FIGHTING FUND.

It became evident from the first moment of the Election Fighting Fund's existence that it would be necessary to keep the Fund continually under the public eye, but also that there were those who would find the perpetual appeal to the purse a trial to their nerves. To have given generously one week, and then to find the same appeal, in very nearly the same words, confronting one the next, and the next is, to a great many persons, an extreme aggravation. May one point out that this sense of annoyance can be smoothed away by a little imagination. The appeals cannot stop. But there is no need for anyone to drag the shoe on if it will not fit. Fortunately we write in *THE COMMON CAUSE* for an ever-increasing public. We want to reach the eye of those who have never yet seen a copy of the paper, and of those who read us casually and intermittently, so there must be repetition. Let those who are aggrieved by this imagine our position. No one better knows how much is just now being said in this paper about that hateful thing money. We are a little aghast at its hydra-headed appearance. It would be so much more entertaining to write about something else, if indeed, anyone wants to write about anything at this time of year! But if we stop? We may just that week miss someone who has some effective sympathy to give away. We too, who write and beg, are probably woefully lacking in imagination from another point of view. There are perhaps alternative methods of getting the rest of the £10,000 we want by October, if only they would occur to us. It would be the greatest help if our friendly critics would send their ideas and suggestions; we will promise to use them as fully as is in our power. In the meantime we must go on as best we can insisting on the critical situation of the moment—a great parliamentary opportunity that may not arise again in a generation, a great risk that must be averted at all cost. One of our

sincerest friends thinks there is a danger of our calling "Wolf!" once too often. But here is no pretended cry. "Wolf" is actually upon us. It would be difficult to imagine a bigger one than the Reform Bill unamended. To meet the danger there is literally no day to lose. Those who in the spring gave so generously, and gave so quickly, filled us with courage. If as a community we had their social imagination and their public spirit there would be no need to say more. Picture the situation to them, and the wherewithal to meet it would be there. But the people in the van must not wonder if all are not like them. What chance have most of the women in the country—and for the matter of that, most of the men—of developing political foresight and a social conscience? For them the strife is an individual strife, and the appeal to them must be largely an individual and reiterated appeal.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

A RECORD OF GROWTH.

Some years ago, in a depressing collection of essays entitled "The Condition of England," Mr. Masterman commented on the fact that amidst the general lack of vigour and enthusiasm which he discovered in almost every department of national life, the Socialist and the Suffragist movements alone displayed vitality. Mr. Masterman wrote in a prophetic vein; in 1908, it was indeed true that the suffrage movement (already from the least imaginative point of view, forty years old) was manifesting an astonishing degree of energy and adaptability, but we doubt whether Mr. Masterman, or anyone else, realised the latent resources which were to be developed in the ensuing five years. Every Suffrage Society will obviously view the events of those years from a different angle; it is the object of this article to consider the progress of the National Union, and the spirit in which it has met both victory and apparent defeat.

It is not my purpose to dwell on the earlier phases of the suffrage movement, though they form a fine record of courageous effort and achievement; it is sufficient to recall the fact that in 1868 five Women's Suffrage Societies—London, Manchester, Edinburgh, Birmingham, and Bristol—constituted themselves the National Society for Women's Suffrage, which in 1895, when numerous other societies had been formed, took the title of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. Since then the Union has continued to grow steadily, and of late years, at an ever-increasing rate. Figures may mean much or little; much, certainly, if, as in this case, it can be shown that an increase in numbers has always been accompanied by an increase in effectiveness; the figures for the National Union are remarkable. At the end of 1909 it included 140 societies, two years later the number was 312, and in July 1912 it had grown to 370, besides 65 lesser branches. The actual membership of the Union is difficult to calculate, especially as only those members are reckoned at headquarters upon whom an annual capitation fee is paid by the Societies. In 1910, these numbered 21,571; in 1911 they had grown to 30,408; in July, 1912, an increase of 4,000 during the six months had already been reported, but as this figure only includes returns from a limited number of societies, it is certainly no exaggeration to say that the Union is adding new members at the rate of 1,000 a month. The fact that each new society forms a new centre for active propaganda is proved by the returns from the literature department. Three times as much literature was sold in June, 1912, as in June, 1911, the average sales per month amounting approximately to £100. As the majority of leaflets are sold at 2s. 6d. per thousand, some idea may be formed of the extent to which literature is being distributed in the country.

As regards the income of the Union; in the report for 1911 it was shown that during that year over £21,000 had been available for promoting the work. In 1912 this figure will be exceeded; over £7,000 was raised at a meeting in the Albert Hall in February, and large sums have been subscribed in other ways, including £4,180 to the Election Fighting Fund. In addition to these subscriptions and donations collected at headquarters, many societies and groups of societies raise the money for expenses in their own district, thus relieving the central fund.

NINTH LIST (TO JULY 22ND).			
Already acknowledged	£2,716 2 4	Mrs. Cobden Sanderson	£1 1 0
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Mrs. Leslie Thomson	1 1 0	Miss Helen Adair	1 0 0
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Miss C. Durham	0 5 0	Miss M. Ashworth	0 10 6
Miss A. Lamont	5 0 0	Mrs. S. Bamber	0 2 6
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Mrs. Walter Carey	1 0 0	Miss Dalby	5 0 0
Miss B. A. Clough	25 0 0	Miss Charlotte Spicer	1 0 0
Mrs. Bernard Shaw	100 0 0	Wallasey and Wirral W.S.S.	3 0 0
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But the ever-increasing activity of the Union is not reflected merely in a growth in members, or in the amount subscribed to its funds, significant as these figures undoubtedly are. More important is the ability which the Union has shewn to adapt both its organisation and its policy to meet on the one hand the need of increased efficiency, and on the other the changes in the political situation. The N.U.W.S.S. is essentially a democratic organisation, and every modification, both of the policy and the constitution must be passed by the General Council, which consists of delegates elected by the affiliated societies. Democratic methods are notoriously apt to be slow and cumbersome, especially when applied to large organisations, and the National Union cannot claim to be immune from these dangers. But whatever may be occasionally lost in speed is more than compensated for by the sense of responsibility which is stimulated in every society in the Union, and by all the advantages of self-government which are necessarily familiar to suffragists. Nor, indeed, has the National Union shewn itself slow to meet the emergencies which have so constantly arisen during the past few years. In 1909, it was clear that the rapid growth of the Union rendered some system of decentralising the work essential, if efficiency was to be maintained, and at the same time it was realised that the formation of a society in every constituency would be achieved more rapidly if every part of the country was in the charge of some local organisation. It was therefore decided to group the Societies into Federations, and 17 of these Federations have now been formed, covering every county in England, Scotland, and Wales. Each Federation has its own Hon. Secretary, Treasurer and Press Secretary, and makes itself responsible for the work in the constituencies in its area. This arrangement has resulted in a remarkable development of the work, even in the remote and inaccessible parts of the country. Several Federations have already succeeded in forming at least one Women's Suffrage Society in every constituency in their areas, and others will have done so before Christmas.

The greater part of this work is carried on by voluntary workers, but it naturally makes heavy demands on those who have other calls on their time, and the National Union now employs a large staff of organisers and assistant organisers. Several of the Federations make their own arrangements about organisers, but in cases where this is not possible, an organiser, with one or two assistants, is provided for each Federation by headquarters.

But organisation alone, though it may achieve much, will not go far unless it has behind it the enthusiasm and devotion which inspire life into the dry bones of machinery. It is this spirit upon which the National Union depends, and which it has not looked for in vain amongst its members. During all the vicissitudes of the past twelve months, the National Union has risen to every occasion, ready to adapt itself to a changed situation and prepared to work with renewed energy. It was believed by anti-suffragists that the defeat of the Conciliation Bill would inflict a crushing blow upon the Women's Suffrage movement. The National Union replied with an adaptation of its election policy, calculated to make the Government realise the advantage of the speedy passage of a measure of Women's Suffrage; and at the same time inaugurated the "Friends of Women's Suffrage" scheme, by which it will enormously extend the range of its propaganda. Both these new developments have been pushed with the greatest vigour, and are already proving themselves effective weapons.

A movement which is thus capable of extending and developing its activities, which is able to shape its policy to meet every new situation, and which carries on its work by means of the energy and devotion of its supporters—such a movement may indeed be said not only to be in touch with the vitality which marks great causes, but to be *the* most vital movement of the present day.

K. D. COURTNEY.

"Me Posuerunt Custodem."

Through the green gloom of a pine wood
—Shafted with sunshine, barr'd with shade—
Where heath with its tall white plumes stood
Sentinel over the cistus' shade,
Out on the *col* where the rocks rise up
Holding the distant sea in their cup,
And trodden thyme scent hastens to stir
Perfume of rosemary, lavender.
Where blue dog violets mock blue skies
And sun-awakened asphodels rise;
Green swords guarding the flow'r they bring
From Grave of Winter to Cradle of Spring.

While downwards, seawards, in combs and dells
The sward of the pine-tops dips and swells;
Blue in its shadows, gold in its lights
(Never a bole or brown branch in sight)
Only the grey of the rock ridge
Spanning the world like a magic bridge
To further seas of heaven, unstirred
Save by the keel of a white-winged bird.
The trees stand lonelier; through their spines
The blue, blue depths of the salt sea shines.
Are those great ships with their broad sails set?
Or gulls adrift on the sleepy sway
Of dreaming waves that linger to fret
The lips of the land with an idle kiss?

Oh! listen! listen! I must not miss
The myriad voices the sunshine brings,
The symphony secret the shadow sings;
The lizards rustle, the locusts clang,
The black bees hum, and the grey gnats twang,
The chink of pine needles as they slip
Under a footstep; the rasping nip
Of grubs at work on the scented leaves,
The flutter of gay-winged honey thieves.

The ridge has narrowed; it scarce holds place
For a path to find on its rocky face;
Yet on it leads me, until I stand
On the rearing scarp that ends the land,
Where, buttressed by crags, upheld by a wall
Finding fair foothold where goats might fall,
Clear on the sky, rises, square and hard,
The shrine of our Lady of the Guard.

Over twelve hundred sheer feet below
The tides of the ocean ebb and flow.
Here and there, where the cliff crannies back
The lace-foam shows they leave in their track.
Here and there, as the eye travels down
The blue is blocked by a green-gold crown.
Some pine has quarried the heart of rock
Finding safe anchorage whence to mock
The storms that shatter the strongest ships;
And, just on the edge where yon shale slope slips,
A white sea-mallow is blossoming
—So frail!—so pale!—the tenderest thing!
—Broad moon-petals, a central sun!
By craning over, I gather one
—Diaphenous almost!—as offering meet
For pilgrim to lay at the holy feet
Of the slender girl in her garish dress
All faded and stained by storm and stress
—The hem of her garment is frayed and torn,
Her crown of stars so tarnished and worn—
Who stands unsheltered, uncanopied,
Facing the sea with her bended head.
A star or two from her crown is missed,
One outstretched hand is gone at the wrist

While under her feet, nigh half-effaced
By rain and hail, and salt spray's fall,
"Me posuerunt custodem" traced
In rude black lettering on the wall.
Me posuerunt custodem!—"They
Set me as guard!"—
Blest Mary! say!
—Thou who are mother of God and man—
Is this why thy face is pale and wan?
Art weary of watch in wind and storm?
Art tired of always calming the waves?
Does thy body long for a shelter warm?
Is it comfort, rest, thy lone heart craves?

There comes no sound but the distant hiss
Of the idle waves in their idle kiss.
But—softly passing—a breeze has blown
The sea-mallow's petals from their throne
Of curved gold stamens, where sits secure
The seed of Life in its jewelled ewer.
What matter? oh! Virgin, a mother's eyes
See far beyond lust and harlotries.
The coffer of Immortality
Comes naked and unashamed to Thee,
Immaculate Mary! Mother of all!
For love of children answer my call!
Thou who has suckled both God and man,
Why is thy face so pale, so wan?

No sound! The circle of seas and skies
Blend to each other. The warm mists rise
From swaying waves where the hot sun lies
Breeding sea-haar. Is it white or blue
That vaporous veil which hides from view
Water and ether? How fast it creeps
Over all things—the heights and the deeps!
The pine trees vanish; the mallow leaves
Show like shadows the sunshine weaves.
The petals dim and the golden throne
Shines for a second and so is gone.
Swiftly, surely, the whole wide world
Melts to the nebulous cloud that whirled
Long ages since to order and form.
It kisses my cheek, damp, soft, and warm,
It closes around my outstretched arm,
It sweeps athwart me up the wall,
Virgin and Mother are lost in its pall!
I stand alone—the end of it all!—
In the uttermost void of nothingness
Wondering whether to curse or bless
The desire of Life that created me
Out of the mists of infinity!
The mist of the germ that was to be
Which dream't—perchance!—of a future life
Un-marred by sex, and its limitless strife!
Bitter awakening! to find that Birth
And Death were one in this Scheme of Earth!
To find that Joy had passed with the Cloud
Leaving Life hapless in a dead man's shroud,
God! was there no other way to make
A soul like Thine Own save to bruise and break
Thy beautiful world with man's mad mistake?

Out of the mist for a second's space,
Back to the mist with wings a-race
And bodies mingling, two butterflies
Light Life's torch ere their brief flame dies.
Come and gone, like a breeze at dawn
Leaving no trace of their swift embrace
Save the hand Immortal at Life's dim portal.
Oh, Mary! Mother! Was passion born
Pure, undefiled, without "ought" or "must"
Ere man made Love to cover his Lust?
Hist! through the mist comes at last a sigh.
"Yea! I am weary! I stand so high,
Yet my hands must still the tempest's storm
My body be given to keep men's warm.
The stars are woven to be my crown,
The world is filled with my great renown,
Blessed am I, the Woman who keeps
Watch and ward over Man as he sleeps
Sodden with sex! Oh, God! I am tired
Of being no more than a servant hired;

Let me go down, dear God! to his side
As he steers his ship through the wind and tide.
Let his eyes be fixed—not on my face,
Not on my wishes, my body's grace—
But on the Compass that shows the pole
Of thoughts and actions; the distant goal
Where sex shall vanish and each glad soul
Be man and woman—the Perfect Whole!
Me posuerunt custodem! No!
I wait no more for a kiss or a prayer—
I come! I come! In my hands I bear
The Casket of Life! Oh, men, beware!
For the Temple veil is rent in twain
The Holiest Holy is yours again!
Fathers in truth of the men to come
Priests of new souls in the shrine of home!
I come! The Serpent has bruised my heel,
I will bruise his head. I will bring you weal
Husband and lover! We two shall stand
Shoulder to shoulder and hand to hand
Nos posuerunt custodes! They
—The dim, dread powers that hold and sway
This wandering world on its unknown way—
Set us as guard, have bidden us show
True Man, true Woman, that all may know
The narrow Path of the Perfect Love."

Silence sank softly. The mist above
Trembled white like a hovering dove.
Cool on my cheek, a breeze from the west
Caught it, swept it, away to rest—
A soft, broad-bosomed, merciful shroud—
Hiding hard Heaven, clear, cold, low-bowed
Over the toiling world at my feet;
The work-a-day world so fair, so sweet!
The scent of rosemary, lavender,
The spring-waked asphodel, gold-green fir,
The myriad voices the sunshine brings,
The symphony secret the shadow sings
Grew to vast harmony as I lay
Feeling Life's stir in the glad, warm Earth
Thanking the gods for both Death and Birth.
But a cloud-crown flushed with rosy ray
From the sunset gold-and-purple-barred,
Had hidden Our Lady of the Guard.
And the only sound was the distant hiss
Of the idle waves in their idle kiss.

F. A. STEEL.

"Votes and Wages"

(Continued.)

II.

Miss Pott goes on to criticise my statement that for domestic service women "can get little or no scientific training." By way of confuting me, she states that a large number of classes are given in domestic economy. She apparently mistakes these for a training for domestic service. The error is pardonable, even if it raises a smile: after all, the word "domestic" occurs in both. After this, any Suffragist who says that women are not trained to do the work of political agents must be ready for Miss Pott's swift riposte that they had classes in political economy. The analogy is indeed close; for a knowledge of political economy would undoubtedly be useful to political agents; and domestic economy does sometimes touch the sphere of the domestic servant. But to regard this study in the light of a technical training is an error of the most naive description. I have myself taught "domestic economy" in a County Council class, and, carefully following the lines of the "recommended" book, my students and I devoted much time to the study of food-stuffs, and the correct proportions of albumen, proteids, etc., to be desired in them. We learnt also how many cubic feet of air should be allowed to each occupant of a bedroom, and a variety of things that might possibly be useful to a working-man's wife, but had nothing to do with the duties of waitress, housemaid, and nurse. A little—a very little—that might be useful to them, we did learn; but to call this technical training for domestic service is laughable. Nor can the blame be laid on the teacher, since in that part of the country—where nearly all the girls go into service as a matter of course—no other was provided. There were evening classes for the boys, of course. For the girls, nothing but my (voluntary) service. And indeed

anyone can see for herself by studying either the domestic economy text-books, or the average domestic servant, that technical training is conspicuously absent. It requires, in my opinion, a very high degree of intelligence to make a really good servant: it is the oldest industry for women, and it employs more persons than any other single industry in the country, yet no one who has any knowledge of the facts will deny that in all cases "little," and in most "nothing" has been done to give a good and systematic training to those who desire to enter it.

Miss Pott objects to my quotation from Mr. Cadbury about laundry-work as incomplete. I quoted him in support of my contention that technical training for this, as for most women's industries, is generally lacking. I will give here the whole of the paragraph:—

"There were nearly 3,600 laundry workers in Birmingham in 1901. Of these a large proportion (63 per cent.) were married women; in fact, in many laundries, they include nearly all the ironers. Shirt ironers can earn about 16s. a week, but otherwise laundry workers do not earn more than the average unskilled factory hands, and in some departments the average is distinctly lower. There are no arrangements for training, and the work is "picked up," or rather, *washing is one of the things which most women are supposed to do by nature.*" I italicise the phrase I quoted in "Votes and Wages," and I submit that it does contain a general statement of the general attitude towards laundry work, which we all know to be true. Miss Pott goes on to say that Mr. Cadbury "makes the same complaints against shop assistants." If this were true it would hardly improve her case. But, in fact, I can find no word of the sort in the passages concerning shop assistants.

Now with regard to the more general question of technical education. My readers will understand that the question is by no means a simple one when I inform them that one of the greatest authorities in England, whom I consulted on this subject, could only reply that it was "a very thorny one," and that it would be better to make "no public pronouncement on it." As a consequence of careful investigation, I feel that the point as put in "Votes and Wages" requires elucidation, though in substance it is perfectly correct. I said there that in order to remove restrictions placed on admission to technical classes, direct legislative enactment is required. That this is true is proved by the facts. It is not enough (*the restriction having once been made*) that the Act of 1902 should be silent about them. It was necessary that the restrictions should be definitely removed, and that this was not done was undoubtedly due to the pressure of men provided with votes. In consequence many classes are closed to women, among them (in various parts of the country) the most skilled kinds of tailoring, cabinet-making, plumbing, silversmiths' work, some branches of the textile trades, and bookbinding. These are not trades for which women are fundamentally unsuited, and the denial to them of technical training is a serious consideration. The last census gives 10,404 women bookbinders in London alone. Miss Pott challenges me to produce proof that the technical classes are closed to them. I subjoin it, and I invite her to observe the date:—

London County Council,
Central School of Arts and Crafts,
26th July, 1912.

Dear Madam,—In reply to your letter of the 25th instant, I have to say that the classes in bookbinding are restricted to male students, who are actually engaged in the practical branches of the trade.

I can perceive only two ways out of this difficulty, and both are dependent upon *direct legislative enactment, i.e., the vote.* One is that the restrictions should be expressly forbidden by law; and this I hold to be essential to fair working.

The other is one which I admit I should have considered in "Votes and Wages," and it is here that Miss Pott scores a point against me. She points out that certain "trade schools" have been established for girls in London, and it is true that these schools give a technical and business training—not a merely general one. Miss Pott does not mention this, as she has apparently not grasped the distinction, but it is a fact, and should have been mentioned in my pamphlet. To make this difference clear once and for all, I will quote from the article in the *Englishwoman*, March, 1910, on L.C.C. Technical Schools for Girls:—"The technical schools must by no means be confounded with the evening classes. To begin with, they are day schools, and the principle of teaching is entirely different. The evening classes only aspire to help the home-worker to make the most of things: *the technical schools teach their pupils to work for the trades—the result is the wide and far-reaching difference between the amateur and the professional*" (these classes do not include the industries I have quoted as practically closed to women).

It must be borne in mind, however, that in "Votes and Wages," I was comparing the advantages of men with women as wage-earners. I therefore point out:—

- (1) That the expenditure per head on the education of boys is still very greatly in excess of that on the education of girls, whether elementary, secondary, or technical; and this inevitably affects their respective value as wage-earners.
- (2) That this is especially true of technical education, the inception of the trade schools for girls being due to the discovery by the L.C.C. that "the hundreds of girls then passing through the public elementary schools, all hoping by means of their education to make a future for themselves, had but two paths open to them. They must either qualify as teachers or enter the Civil Service, with the result that both markets were hopelessly overstocked." (*Englishwoman*, March 10, 1910, L.C.C. Technical Schools for Girls. The italics are mine.)
- (3) That even here, the training is not equal to that for boys. "The trade preparatory school for boys provides a two and in some cases three years' course of technical instruction, involving principles of science applicable to particular trades or industries. *The course of training is intended to lead up to rather than supersede apprenticeship, and to provide instruction supplementary to workshop practice. It is anticipated that boys who complete this course satisfactorily before entering workshops, will be better fitted to fill higher positions than those who enter workshops immediately on leaving school. The course of training for girls is intended to be an apprenticeship, and it is hoped that the pupils who have satisfactorily taken a course of two years' instruction will be able to obtain good positions at least as improvers.*" The italics are mine. They emphasise the difference between the training given to boys and girls.
- (4) That such schools only exist, so far as I am able to discover, in London, and are at present training 736 girls. Compare the magnificent polytechnics for men and boys, all over the kingdom.
- (5) That this small beginning, fine as it is and full of promise for the future, is due almost entirely to the splendid work of Miss Nettie Adler. The schools were started in 1905, but to her is due their development. It is safe to say that the future of this work will depend on the number of women who will be able to serve on City and County Councils, and this again depends upon *direct legislative enactment.* It is the law which, as a writer in the *Anti-Suffrage Review* pointed out (last month, I think), prevents more women from serving. Miss Pott does not dwell on this fact. Can it be because the voteless agitation which courtesy compels us to assume has been carried on by the Anti-Suffrage League in favour of an amendment to the law, has so far only had as its regrettable result the introduction of a Bill which put women in a worse position than before. Finally, I submit:—

I. That the technical education and training of girls with a view to wage-earning is conspicuously deficient and far behind that offered to boys.

II. That this deficiency depends (a) on restrictions which were imposed, and must be expressly forbidden, by law, and (b) on the inferior position of women to men in local government, also remediable only by law.

A. MAUDE ROYDEN.

The Vote and Wages in Australia.

Equal Pay for Equal Work.—The Renmark Judgment.

BY GERTRUDE LUCIE BURKE.

An Australian judge has definitely laid down the principle of "Equal pay for equal work" towards which Australia has been advancing ever since Woman Suffrage was gained. The "Melbourne Age" of June 25th quotes part of Mr. Justice Higgins' decision in the Arbitration Court on the dispute between fruit growers of Mildura, Victoria, and of Renmark, South Australia, on the one side, and the Rural Workers' Union of Australia and the South Australian United Labourers on the other side. Dealing with the problem of the women employed in fruit picking and packing, his Honour said: "This is the first time that this Court has had to deal directly with the problem of female labour. The Union here insists on equal pay for equal work. This phrase seems to carry justice on its face; for, obviously, where a woman produces as good results as a man in the same

kind of work, she ought not to get less remuneration." Then he goes on to show that the principle should apply both to piecework and to the minimum wage given for day work. The employer is not bound to retain a woman in his employ if her work is not up to his standard; but, if he does retain her he practically admits that it is."

He then combats the old argument that a man's wages should be higher. "If a man has a wife and children he is under an obligation—even a legal obligation—to maintain them. . . . How is such a minimum applicable in the case of a woman picker? She is not, perhaps, under any such obligation. The minimum cannot be based on exceptional cases. . . . The State cannot ask that an employer shall, in addition to all his other anxieties, make himself familiar with the domestic necessities of every employee; nor can it afford to let a girl with a comfortable home pull down the standard of wages to be paid to less fortunate girls who have to maintain themselves. . . . There has been observed for a long time a tendency to substitute women for men in industries, even in occupations which are more suited to men; and in such occupations it is often the result of women being paid lower wages than men. The women are not all dragged from their homes while the men work at home, and in this case the majority even of the fruit pickers are men. As a result I come to the conclusion that in the case of the pickers, men and women, being on a substantial level, should be paid on the same level of wages; and the employer will then be at liberty to select freely whichever sex and whichever person he prefers for the work. All this tends to greater efficiency in work, and to true and healthy competition; not competition as in a Dutch auction by taking lower remuneration, but competition by making oneself more useful to the employer."

The far-reaching importance of this decision has been instantly recognised in Australia. The "Age" of June 26th has a leading article which voices the opinion of the normal citizen. It begins, "Fairminded people will thoroughly approve of the principles on which Mr. Justice Higgins has based his decision. Natural justice is mirrored and embodied in that sentence. . . . We can all agree to the proposition, and indeed we must, because it is morally sound and logically irrefutable. . . . The woman entered late into the industrial arena, and she still suffers the consequence of her erst-while political inferiority. A new era is however now opening up before her. She has been given the franchise, and is on the same political plane as man. There only remains to assert her title to social and industrial parity."

"The Renmark judgment is not, of course, a law. But it is a precedent, and a precedent that will surely stand and will, most assuredly, soon or late, bend the law to its conformity. Henceforth 'equal pay for equal work' will possess the force of an authoritatively accepted principle of national ethics." Then the "Age" enlarges on the magnificent encouragement to strive for absolute success that the Renmark judgment gives to other women workers, and bids them distrust the opponents of this principle. "Already it is being whispered to them in a certain quarter that they should beware of the equal pay principle. They should beware, in short, of enormously improving their condition. They are told that 'equal pay for equal work' will 'drive women out of employment,' and in the same breath their Tory Mentor foolishly tells the men that equal pay for equal work will make the competition of women in men's trades infinitely more keen than it is at present."

In conclusion the "Age" says "The truth is . . . employers have been able to exploit female labour, and to get the bulk of the work done at low average rate. When this grave abuse is given its quietus, the condition of both male and female workers will be tremendously ameliorated. More men will find more natural employment. . . . And more women will find employment, too, at proper living wages and in proper spheres of work. The worst any woman has to apprehend is a change in her occupation from unnatural to natural employment. . . . The rewards offering to women—i.e., under the system of equal pay, are social uplifting, financial enlargement and a notable increase in the facilities for marriage."

Such is the verdict of Australian popular opinion on the great principle of "equal pay for equal work," which is the logical and inevitable result of Woman Suffrage.

Local and National Politics.

BY MRS. JAMES WARD.

Mrs. Humphry Ward's article in the *Standard* of August 6th, concerning the formation of a "Local Government Advancement Committee," is, like all that she writes, interesting read-

ing, and not least so to her opponents on the Suffrage question. Suffragists will find themselves in profound agreement with all that she urges in regard to the importance, the necessity even to the State of women's intervention in public affairs, and over such a wide field as "Primary education, a great deal of higher education, the care of the sick, the insane, the feeble-minded; the conditions bearing on infant mortality and epidemic disease; the care of women in child-birth, and urgent moral questions." These, and other matters, industrial and economic, intimately connected with them, we Suffragists consider to be the primary concern of legislation and politics; we think they lie at the very root of the national well-being and the prosperity of the Empire; and we think further—nay, *we know*—that very many of the worst evils which, as Mrs. Ward says, are "crying out" for women to come and mend them, are largely the product of the foolish, ignorant, careless legislation which has resulted from exclusive control by one sex of the entire framework of society.

To ask women to labour on municipal bodies for the reduction and abolition of some of these evils is often to ask them to pour water into a sieve; it is asking them to spend their energies in patching up rotten garments, and in shoving along worn-out, cranky machines. Surely, if women are to engage in all this public work they should have something to say to the tools and machinery they have to use. May they not claim the power, which the vote alone gives, to make their work more effectual through alteration of the laws and conditions which handicap it; and which, indeed, in many cases actually create the need for it?

With Mrs. Humphry Ward's deep sense of the value of women's labour in the political sphere and her solemn insistence upon the duty to supply it, it is indeed difficult to see why she wishes them to do it with their hands shackled, more especially since the shackling which votelessness means is at present the chief bar to women's participation (on any terms) in the work of local government. Mrs. Ward greatly depletes, as all Suffragists do, the scarcity of women on town and county councils and on boards of guardians; but she chides and reproaches women, as we Suffragists do not, for failing to appear in large numbers. What astonishes us is that there are so many. For we doubt if even a single man would have worked his way on to these boards and councils if his candidature for election were trammelled in the way a woman's is.

Over and over again it has been pointed out in these columns and elsewhere—and the fact must be obvious to the practical working of municipal government—that a person without a Parliamentary vote must stand a very poor chance of election to any important office. The game of party is fought out in the town and county councils before it is fought out at the Parliamentary elections, and a local government candidate who cannot as voter, and as a member of some influential local political organisation, give good support to this party or to that, is not, whatever his qualifications for administering local affairs, a persona grata to the municipal electors. The voteless woman can command neither the support of the strong party man nor the invaluable help of the party organisations. Neither has she, like the prominent townsman, the backing of business friends and acquaintances, of employees and dependents—no, nor has she the inducement to seek election which he has in the private advantage a position on the town council will bring to him in his business or profession. She has to stand on her individual merits and rely on her own energies and abilities in canvassing for votes; and on her private purse (generally slender as compared with the man's) for the expenses of her candidature—and that, with her election almost a "forlorn hope."

Besides, since according to the really ingenious inconsistency and muddledness on the registration laws, married women are virtually debarred from serving on town or county councils, women candidates can only be drawn from widows and spinsters, that is, from about only one-tenth of the female occupiers and residents.

These things are well known to Mrs. Humphry Ward; in fact, it is the recognition of the peculiar obstacles that stand in women's way in local government that has led to the formation of this Local Government Advancement Committee. All success to it, say we—only the Parliamentary vote would do vastly more for the case. And Mrs. Humphry Ward's article forms one of the most powerful pleas for the enfranchisement of women we have come across. It strengthens our faith and cheers our spirits; but if we are not greatly mistaken it will strike something of a chill to the majority of the Anti-Suffrage breasts. Anti-Suffragists take as their motto "Woman's sphere is the home," and usually translate it into the easy and comfortable doctrine that a woman's sole concern is with her private and personal affairs, and that she has no duty beyond that of adorning, superintending, and enjoying the domestic

hearth. What! are these women to be spared the burden and responsibility of the Parliamentary vote only to be forced to share in the far more fatiguing, absorbing and difficult work of poor law guardians, of mayors, of members of town and county, rural, urban and district councils? And is the demand upon them even likely to stop here? Will not such participation in local government lead naturally to the occupation by women of the magistrate's bench and to service on jury panels? Moreover, elsewhere, Mrs. Humphry Ward has urged also upon women the importance of taking part in the exhausting work of Parliamentary elections. Pray, what is to become of these women's homes? Where will be their pure and sheltered lives, "far from the madding crowd"—their leisure to cultivate "the individual life," and their opportunity to form clear and sober (though practically inoperative) judgments upon affairs in general, "unbiassed by political strife," by "personal ambitions," unsoiled by "jobbery and corruption"? Will they not cry "Rather the burden for us of twenty Parliamentary votes apiece than the intolerable mental, moral, and even physical, strain, the unsexing effects of all this fearful activity in the local government domain"?

Some of them, we know, were (with prophetic vision) originally more opposed even to the Acts enabling women to serve on local government bodies than they were to the Suffrage. And the fact that the great majority of the women who have come forward in local government are Suffragists seems to indicate that the Antis are of the same mind still, and therefore sadly at variance with their leader, Mrs. Humphry Ward.

The Housing of a New Working Class.

Among the myriad worrying problems clamouring for solution, economic, social, political, which confront to-day those who have at least the grace to worry, none lies deeper at the root of things than the housing problem. For, since the days when man, perhaps unfortunately, took refuge under a roof, what question has affected more fundamentally his peace, his health, his most intimate well-being than this very roof question with all its incidental needs and difficulties? The housing problem is indeed the deepest national problem that any nation can have to face, and until the people of a nation from the poorest wage-earner to the king on his throne are healthily and beautifully housed, that nation has taken but very elementary steps along the narrow hard road that leads to true progress. How many millions of our poorest wage-earners are unhealthily housed, and how many thousands of our earn-nothing rich unhealthily? Yet health and beauty are essentials of a people's life, and the birds of the air can teach man a lesson in both even now. Compare the home of a bird, exquisite in symmetry, faultless in ventilation, harmonious in colour to—a herding-room of an indiscriminate family in an East-end slum, a suburban villa, "modern and ornamented," or even an early Victorian mansion haunted still by its early Victorian ugliness. It is an ugly prospect all-round; the British mind, alas! is not pained by ugliness; but in the case of the slums it is criminal. Until we as a nation destroy root and branch this festering evil at the very heart of our industrial life, we may as well stop talking about righteousness, or progress, or peace. What have we to do with these?

A NEW WORKING CLASS.

But apart from that crying question, the housing of the poorest poor, to which by County Councils and other bodies, considerable though not enough attention is and has been given, another and quite a "crying" question confronts us to-day. It is part of a subject not without its controversial and even tragic aspects with which the nation as a nation has to deal. For there has arisen among us an element in the nation's life which, whatever our views about it and whether we like it or not, is a permanent element, an element which can by no possibility cease to be. We have here and now, permanently and of necessity established, a new working-class, a class of educated, trained, efficient women, working shoulder to shoulder with men in nearly all the departments of business, art, and science, employed by men, recognised by them as useful co-workers, equals in all respects as regards work done. And with this new working-class has arisen, of necessity, that fundamental problem which confronts all workers, the Housing Problem. Now this working-class is not one which desires or would accept "charity," the dearest possession of it members and that which they are out in the world to support being a sturdy, self-respecting, hard-won

and hardly-kept independence. They are not "decayed gentlewomen." Gentlewomen they often are, but who have taken the very admirable and obvious precaution against decay by training themselves to participate honestly in the honest work of the world. Among them are women frequently earning not more than 25s. a week. We can build for the artisan "working-classes" sanitary, well-lighted, well-ventilated, if ugly, dwellings with rents of 3s. 6d. or 4s. a week for a completely equipped home, including a bath, which not one artisan in ten uses—as a bath. But for these undecayed "working" gentlewomen, earning often less than an artisan's wages, we can build nothing. Such workers must perforce huddle-mugger in other people's cheap and often nasty houses; share, or more usually refuse to share, the doubtful, common bath; share willy-nilly the noises, smells, cats, dogs and kippers in which the proprietor of cheap rooms appears invariably to find his *joie-de-vivre*. Or they must resort to boarding-houses with no private quiet corner to call their own save a cubicle bedroom, or endure the dismal gentility and often abhorrent equipment of "furnished apartments."

A PRACTICAL SUGGESTION.

The case could be easily altered, and a company which formed itself for the carrying out of a practical building scheme to meet the needs of this new working class would be sure of a fair return on money invested, not an extortionate return, but a return of 5 or 5½ per cent. Let us suppose a block of 230 flats erected in some accessible locality where rents are comparatively cheap, containing one-room, two-room, three-room flats to house, say, 400 inmates, each flat to be a home in miniature, with bath, small scullery, gas stove. The rents not to exceed 5s. 6d., 9s., 13s. 6d., according to size of flat. Annual receipts from these, with rent paid by a caterer for kitchen premises, would amount to £5,500. Allowing for all necessary annual expenditure and a 5 per cent. dividend, an annual profit, exclusive of 5 per cent. returned to shareholders, of over £1,000 can be shown. Such a building could be erected for £40,000, though smaller buildings, costing, say, £10,000 and housing 100 inmates each, would be preferable. A common dining-hall where cheap and wholesome meals could be procured would be a necessity, together with some organised system of room-cleaning for an additional charge. Such miniature homes should be suitable for any professional woman's occupancy, affording a simple, plain, harmonious environment for her cherished household gods. No money need be wasted in superfluous ornamentation; "smartness" is not an essential that need be considered—absolute simplicity and plain neutral colouring is ever the best background for a beautiful home. The domestic fittings would be of the very simplest, simpler even than that of an artisan's kitchen-premises, since less would be required.

In such homes loneliness would be lost in a sense of happy community-life; friendships would have opportunity for growth; at the same time privacy and peace would be always obtainable. Woman is essentially a home-maker. All the best instincts of her nature are called out and her mind rested and refreshed after contact with the hard outside world where lies her work, by the scope for her individualism, the realisation of harmonious surroundings and honestly-won independence which her own small ménage can give her. If fate fore-ordans her to be wife and mother she will be better in both capacities for the experience in planning and spending thus gained; if not, she is at least not cut off from one of the rightful sources of contentment belonging to her womanhood. A worker earning as little as 25s. a week cannot afford more than 5s. 6d. for rent, nor ought she to be asked to pay more. In a scheme such as the one outlined, tenancy for such women as well as for those earning higher salaries is made possible. In the two-room flats the rooms should be of equal size so as to allow of two friends sharing expenses. In the Garden Suburb at Golder's Green admirable artisan flats are being erected at rentals of 4s. to 7s. contained in buildings which are no eye-sore to the beholder. Why are all efforts to house the "working-classes" confined to one section of that class?

WHY NOT?

Why is not a company formed in which educated working women are invited to take up minimum £1 shares, the necessary additional capital being subscribed by wealthier individuals willing to help forward an absolutely-needed reform by investing in a safe 5 per cent. business undertaking?

M. DANIEL.

Mr. Churchill's Rhetoric.

In a letter to Sir George Ritchie, published in Monday's papers, Mr. Winston Churchill has the following passages which, we would remind him, are of interest to both halves of the British race (the italics are ours):—

In a constitutionally governed country, where Governments depend entirely upon Parliamentary majorities elected at short intervals by millions of voters, there is no need and no excuse for violence. It has long been the boast and glory of the British people that they manage to settle the fiercest disputes of class and party warfare without any of the horrible catastrophes of bloodshed and ruin which have overtaken so many Continental States. We have plumed ourselves on our superiority to these foreigners.

Some reverence for the laws ourselves have made,
Some patient force to change them when we will.

We are a constitutional country. But we are more than that. We are the head and governing centre of a vast Empire, largely acquired by conquest, within whose bounds are many races and many sovereignties profoundly different from our own. With patience, with tolerance, with skill, by the discipline of self-government, by shrewd or firm strokes of policy, we have in this generation and the last pursued, and are now pursuing, a mighty work of consolidation and of reconciliation which has continually tended to make a home within the Empire for all its peoples, so that their rights may be established and their creeds respected, and their traditions honoured, and so that we all may stand together in the high comradeship of freedom, unbroken in the hour of trial.

Our policy is benevolent, our consciences are clear. We are striving all we can to make the Constitutional and Parliamentary machinery, which is the only substitute for anarchy or despotism, meet the needs of the time and the cry of the people; to shield them from violence from within and from without, to give them some bulwark against sickness and unemployment, to reclaim for them some share of the land which they have lost, to guard the cheapened food which they have won, and to bring them forward peacefully and safely into the great inheritance here and beyond the seas which is theirs to enjoy and to bequeath.

If law is to be respected because one has helped make it, what respect is due from women? If patience should be shown by those who have power to change the law, by what right does Mr. Churchill expect patience from women? When a man magistrate fines a good and pure woman for acting according to her high standard of purity, as happened last week at Bow Street, how can he say a woman's "creed is respected, her traditions honoured"? What "comradeship of freedom" does Mr. Churchill offer to women? How can he bring even his lips to repeat the contemptible pretence that the Government Franchise Bill is a response to the "cry of the people"? He knows—no one better—that the only "cry" has been from the half of the nation whose "legal incapacity" the Government Bill proposes to perpetuate.

In Parliament.

TRADE UNIONS BILL.

On Tuesday, August 6th, the Attorney-General (Sir Rufus Isaacs) moved the Second Reading of the Trade Unions Bill, which, he said, was the same as was introduced last year, with the omission of the provision for payment of Members of Parliament. He said the Government was of opinion that trade unions ought not to be confined "merely to the sphere of industrial activity. We think that combinations of men, of working people, joined together for the purpose of ameliorating the conditions of labour are entitled as a necessary consequence to take some part in political life, and more particularly that in some senses it is necessary they should have a Member of Parliament." He went on to say "I find it quite impossible by any definition to draw the line between what is industrial and what is political We have all (meaning the Government) arrived at the same conclusion, and I am quite certain that it will be unanimous, that you cannot say that at a particular point a thing ceases to be industrial and becomes political."

Mr. Clavell Salter, in opposing the Bill, made a strong point of the fact that the ballots in trade-unions were notoriously small in proportion to the membership, and that the recent elections in Hanley and Crewe proved that Trade-Unionists did not desire a Labour representative in Parliament. He and Mr. Atherley Jones later made the point that the dangers of this Bill were greatly increased by the immunity the Trade Unions now enjoyed. He declared they were not fighting Trade Unions, but "the Socialist minority who have captured and boss the trade unions." Mr. Clynes, in replying, said the Labour members represented "that class of man who is above the average, and twitted their opponents with cowardice in seeking to defeat them not only at the poll but also in the law courts. Lord Wolmer declared that "majority rule is an institution in

this country," but in the case of trade-unions, men were often forced unwillingly into the ranks and therefore it was not right to use their money for a purpose they might disapprove. The analogy of payment of Members out of taxes payable by all was not a true analogy: he thought it reasonable to ask the electorate to contribute to the salaries of Members of Parliament.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald derided the pretension that Members had no personal, no class interests to serve; "that we are simply like gods looking down upon the strife in which men are engaged; that we are standing apart, dealing out even-handed justice." He characterised this as "grandiloquent non-

sense," and declared that the House represented various interests and should represent them adequately; they needed representation of "labour experience, labour interests, labour ideals" and this for the "enlightenment of the country and for wisdom on the occasions for which this House may make itself responsible."

ADJOURNMENT.

On Wednesday, August 7th, the House adjourned until Monday, October 7th. There were evidences both in debates and divisions of considerable "staleness," the Government majority on the Appropriation Bill falling, on August 5th, to 29.

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.

PRESIDENT:

Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Hon. Secretaries:

MISS EMILY M. LEAF (Press).

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

Hon. Treasurer:

Mrs. AUERBACH.

Secretary:

MISS GERALDINE COOK.

Telephone: 1960 Victoria.

MISS K. D. COURTNEY.
 MISS EDITH PALISER
 MISS CATHERINE MARSHALL

Telegrams: "Voiceless, London."

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

Treasurer's Notes.

It is mid-August—the month when even the busiest men and women are mostly taking a holiday—so, possibly, many will imagine that the National Union can also "knock off" and take a rest. Many circumstances combine, however, to make this impossible. In the first place, we have now to make all the preparations for our great Autumn campaign, the object of which will be to obtain the inclusion of women in the Government's Franchise Reform Bill. This campaign will be more general, more extensive and more impressive than any that has yet been recorded in support of Women's Suffrage, and will show clearly the strength and progress of our movement throughout the country.

We are also kept busy with the special work that has been planned for the summer months and which we are trying to carry out in spite of a serious difference of opinion between ourselves and the Clerk of the Weather as to what is suitable weather for the time of year.

But, besides this, we have the East-Carmarthen by-election now in progress, making unexpected and unusually heavy calls upon our staff of organisers and workers, and, above all, upon our funds. Owing to the insuperable difficulties of communication, organisers have had to be stationed at five different centres of the Constituency, and separate Committee Rooms have been opened in the three principal towns. These expenses have been going on for three weeks already, and as there is no chance of an early polling day we must face the cost of all this for at least another fortnight.

Members of the South Wales Federation will, I know, send us all the financial help they can, and I therefore appeal to our friends in other parts of the country to come to our support also, and give whatever they can spare to meet the exceptionally heavy cost of this by-election.

Miss Waring, the organiser in charge, sends us urgent appeals for permission to hire a motor-car for the last fortnight of the campaign, but in view of the expenses already incurred we feel unable to sanction this extra item of £12 or £15 per week unless some of our generous friends will give us special donations for this purpose. Of course, a motor car would make all the difference and add considerably to the success of our campaign, by facilitating the conveyance of speakers to and fro in the constituency, and so almost doubling the number of meetings which it is possible to hold—not to mention the saving a car would be in wear and tear and strain to our devoted workers.

I hope that everyone who is enjoying a pleasant holiday will remember our brave little army now engaged in keeping the Women's Suffrage flag flying in South Wales.

HELENA AUERBACH.

Literature Department.

MISS MARGARET ROBERTSON'S NEW LEAFLET ON WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Mrs. Humphry Ward's pathetic appeal to the public to support Anti-Suffrage women as candidates for local government posts has aroused a good deal of correspondence in the Press. It is one of those strange "accidents" which distress the Anti-Suffragist mind that the women who devote themselves to the public service in local government, like the women who carry on the higher education of girls, are mostly Suffragists. The fact that there are not more of them is attributed by Mrs. Ward partly (or alternately) to the weakness and perversity of women in neglecting "the more excellent way," and partly to the prejudice created in the public mind by the more extreme Suffragists. That there are more substantial obstacles has been pointed out in a number of excellent letters to the Press, and is more fully demonstrated in a valuable leaflet by Miss Margaret Robertson, which we have pleasure in publishing at this moment. It will be of service not only to those who have been interested by the recent correspondence, but also to all those who have heard or read Miss Violet Markham's Albert Hall speech, and who do not realise the two salient facts of the situation, namely, that there are serious legal limitations to the number of women who may vote, and the kind of women who may stand for municipal posts, and that the women who have had the courage to overcome all obstacles, and devote themselves to this laborious form of public work are mostly Suffragists. Both these points are well set forth by Miss Robertson in her leaflet. It concludes with two fine quotations from Joseph Mazzini, from whom Miss Markham had "the temerity" to quote. Mr. Maconachie thinks that if Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury had been alive now they would have changed their opinions about Women's Suffrage; perhaps Miss Markham thinks that Mazzini would have changed his. In the meantime we have only those gentlemen's own statements of their opinions to go by, and we can wish Anti-Suffragist women no better education than to read Mazzini and to work for local government. Miss Robertson's leaflet will encourage them to do both.

B. 80. Is this Equality? By Margaret Robertson, 1s. 6d. per 100.

NATIONAL UNION POLICY.

As it is very important that our policy should be generally understood, and that people should realise that the National Union has not departed from its non-party attitude, several members have asked us to republish Mrs. Fawcett's letter to Miss Geraldine Hodgson on this subject, which originally appeared in the *Standard*. It can now be had as a one-page leaflet, and is called "The Best Friends of Women's Suffrage." 4d. per 100. 2s. 6d. per 1,000.

"MANY MASTERS."

All those who are doing propaganda work will be glad to know that we have republished Miss Lowndes' stirring article with this title, which first appeared in the *COMMON CAUSE*. It is an earnest appeal to women of all classes, and parties to realise the intolerable position in which they would be placed, if the Reform Bill passed without a Women's Suffrage amendment, and to come forward and join Suffrage societies. It ought to be distributed all over the country, and will probably prove particularly useful to those who are working the Friends of Women's Suffrage scheme. It has been published as a two-sided leaflet, and costs 6d. per 100; 4s. 6d. per 1,000.

I. B. O'MALLEY.

Press Department.

One of our best friends among the provincial newspapers is the *Macclesfield Courier*. It is one of the oldest and best conducted county papers. The editor, Councillor Robert Brown, is a prominent figure in the local Conservative Party and a member of the Macclesfield W. S. S. He seconded the resolution in favour of the Conciliation Bill, which was proposed by Mr. H. G. Barclay last year, and carried unanimously.

In the issue of the *Courier* dated August 3rd there is an admirable letter from Mr. Barclay, setting forth very clearly the election policy of the National Union, and the events which rendered its adoption necessary. Liberals will do well to read it, and take to heart the concluding paragraphs:—

"Liberals have only to thank their own treachery to the cause of Women's Suffrage if they find the question increasingly embarrassing. After passing resolutions in favour of Women's Suffrage at meetings of the National Liberal Federation, after carrying the second reading of Women's Suffrage Bills by overwhelming majorities, they now want the question shelved and their pledges cancelled.

"They are losing supporters every day on account of the question, and they are not, just at present, in a position to lose supporters. The Liberal party has won the deep distrust of suffragists. It has lost a great opportunity of doing justice to women, to which the party managers are indifferent, and of winning votes at the next election, to which they appear to be giving great attention with little prospect of success."

Friends of Women's Suffrage.

The London Society reports that so far 1,520 names and addresses of Friends of Women's Suffrage have been sent in to the Society's head office to be sorted into constituencies. These are all names collected at the Earls Court stall, or at meetings, and do not include those gained by local workers by house to house canvass. Many of the Friends who have signed at Earls Court live out of London. About 260 names of Friends

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

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

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

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

Address _____ (in full.)

To the Secretary _____ Society for Women's Suffrage

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

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

have been sent by London to other National Union Societies and Federations and about twenty to the Irish Women's Reform League. These Friends will doubtless be looked up and come into the scheme, but some of those who have filled in cards at the stall are rather out of reach of visits. Many of them have noted on their cards that they come from Colonies where women already have the vote, others give addresses in France, Spain, Holland, Switzerland, Sweden, Canada, South and East Africa, India, the United States, and Brazil! Among the "Friends" nearer home who have signed are Mr. and Mrs. Forbes Robertson.

The North-Eastern Federation has officially adopted the scheme. Many of its societies, including Newcastle and Durham, are already working it, and others are preparing to do so in the autumn.

The Brighton Society has also begun work. The Haslemere Society collected 390 "Friends" during its Suffrage Week, so that the numbers must be swelling rapidly in the Surrey, Sussex and Hants Federation. A very large number of "Friends" were also collected at Crewe during the by-election. Altogether there is reason for satisfaction with the good beginning that has been made in working the scheme in the first three months since it was adopted by the Council. The autumn and winter ought to see it thoroughly organised all over the country.

I. B. O'MALLEY (Hon. Sec. to F. W. S. Committee).

By-Elections.

NORTH WEST MANCHESTER.

Result:—Sir John Randles 5,573
 Mr. Gordon Hewart 4,371

Conservative Majority 1,202

Polling took place on August 8th, and Sir John Randles was elected Member for North-West Manchester by a majority of 1,202.

Sir John Randles has always been a supporter of Women's Suffrage, and he has promised to vote for a Women's Suffrage Amendment to the Franchise Reform Bill.

As all the Political Committee Rooms were closed from Saturday till Tuesday, over the Bank Holiday, only two days were left for work.

A large number of meetings were held throughout the constituency on Tuesday and Wednesday. All the speakers have reported how remarkably sympathetic the audiences have been at all the open-air meetings; large crowds listened with the greatest interest and attention. But the dinner-hour meetings which were held at the Committee Rooms in St. Ann's Square, have been the most remarkable.

Day after day the meeting was packed, chiefly by business men, and on all sides we have been congratulated on the success of our work in this election. Several men who came in daily to these meetings, remarked that they spent what time they could in the dinner hour, listening to the Suffrage speakers in preference to attending the Party Meetings. On polling day several members, Mrs. d'Auguier, Mrs. Barnes, Miss Schuster and Miss Smith sold the *COMMON CAUSE* in the streets with very satisfactory results.

Though the majority of the members are away on holidays those who were in Manchester and able to help, worked splendidly.

Miss Woolley, Miss Blyton, Mrs. Bradwell and Mrs. Norbury came daily and gave most valuable help in the committee rooms; while Miss Ashton, Mrs. Robinson, Mrs. Cooper, Mrs. Chew, Mrs. Wilson, Miss Cox, Mrs. Earp, Mr. Neville Smith and several other members roused much enthusiasm by their able and eloquent speeches.

EAST CARMARTHENSHIRE.

(Dr. J. H. Williams (Labour). Rev. Towyn Jones (Liberal). Mr. Mervyn Peel (Conservative). National Union Organiser: Miss Waring, Aclybryn, Crescent Road, Llandilo. The constituency has been divided into five districts as follows:—

Contributions to the General Fund.

Table with columns for names and amounts (£ s. d.). Includes entries like 'Miss F. Sterling', 'Miss E. D. Bertram', 'Miss M. Booth Scott', etc.

National Van Tour.

The miller of Little Walsingham, who allowed us to encamp in his orchard, and his family were most kind and good to us. We stayed there from Saturday to Thursday morning.

but in all the towns and villages of North Norfolk.

On August 1st, Miss Clarkson and Mrs. Streeter went away and Miss Collum and I left for Grimsdon. The tour in the Eastern Counties was over, and we started on our journey across England to the West Lancashire Federation.

(Provost Brown (Labour). Candidates: Mr. Alexander Shaw (Liberal). (Major Hope (Unionist). National Union Committee Rooms: 4, Shandwick Place, Edinburgh. National Union Organiser: Miss Alice Low.

Although the Labour candidate is not officially adopted, it seems pretty certain that the Provost of Dalkeith will stand. When it was first known that this was likely the late member, the Master of Elibank, wrote urging the local Liberals not to run a candidate, but to support the Labour man.

week. Bingham was our next stopping place. Mrs. Gerard Dowson's preparations resulted in a splendid meeting, according to the coachman the best and largest that has been held during the tour.

The previous meetings were held on May 31st, June 29th, and July 13th, when the speakers included Mr. Malcolm Mitchell, Dr. Drysdale, Miss Rinder, Miss Bisset Smith, Miss Agnes Dawson, Miss Wade Robinson and Mr. Walter Hogg.

London Society.

WINDSOR.—DEATH OF MISS E. K. THOMAS, F.L.A.A.—By the sudden death on August 9, from meningitis, of this ardent suffragist, the Windsor and Eton Branch of the London Society for Women Suffrage sustains a terrible loss.

Great though the loss of her experience will be, her spirit lives on in those who lean upon her strength, and who were inspired by her zeal, and it is hoped that many of her plans may be brought to fruition.

FAMILIAR INITIALS AND THEIR MEANINGS.

N. U. W. S. S.—(National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies).—Objects.—to obtain the Parliamentary Vote for Women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men. Methods.—Constitutional. W. S. P. U.—(Women's Social and Political Union). Objects.—Same as above. Methods.—Militant. T. P. W. B.—(Temple Printing Works, Birmingham.) Printers for both above great Organizations (and many others) Objects.—To obtain by trading, Funds to be used exclusively for the extension of the Cause of Temperance—no personal profit-getters or shareholders. Methods.—For our employees—Trade Union Conditions For our customers.—Best work at lowest remunerative prices.

MAY WE SERVE YOU?

BLACKHEATH.—A successful open-air meeting (the last of the series) was held at the corner of Stockwell Street, Greenwich, on July 31st. Speakers: Mrs. Rackham and Miss M. Hodge. Leaflets were distributed and a large number of copies of the Common Cause sold.

HAMPTON-ON-THAMES.—On July 27th a garden meeting was held at JESSAMINE House by invitation of Mrs. Clare. Nearly 100 residents of the surrounding district were present.

MUSWELL HILL.—A series of very successful open-air meetings was brought to a close on July 27th, when the speakers were Miss J. H. Thomson, M.A., and Miss H. Rinder. There was a large audience and much interest was shown in the subject.

WALWORTH.—An open-air meeting was held on July 31st at the corner of Walworth Road. Speakers: Dr. Drysdale and Miss Rinder. Twenty-three Friends of Suffrage were made, and the following resolution was passed by a crowd of between 300 and 400, mostly men.

Federation Notes.

SCOTLAND.—ORGANISATION IN ELGIN BURGHS AND BANFESHIRE. I. In addition to Banff and Macduff, Miss Bisset and I attacked a third of the Elgin Burghs. Cullen, a charming little seaside town, full of fisherfolk, and at this season of visitors.

GREENOCK.—This society reports on the interest which was aroused by Miss Watson's address at Mrs. Laurie's Drawing-room Meeting, and regrets that holiday time prevented a larger attendance, so many being out of town.

ALICE CROMPTON.—A considerable amount of organising work has been reported along with that of the Societies for the month. This is particularly the case with the reports from Dundee and Edinburgh.

The Rev. Dr. Walsh took the chair for the National Union, his fine oratory and deep sincerity at once drawing the crowd, and afterwards held by the speeches from—among others of local talent—Miss Stuart Paterson from Glasgow and Dr. Mabel Ramsay, Plymouth. Mr. Crompton, closing with a vigorous speech. The platforms of the Trades Union and the Women's Freedom League—presided over, respectively, by Mr. Stirling and Mr. Carnegie—held also large audiences.

GLASGOW.—The Glasgow Women's Suffrage Society was very successful in their efforts to secure the support of the public. A large number of copies of the Common Cause were sold, and a large number of leaflets distributed.

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chair. Mr. Bruce has accepted the presidency of the society, and many of its members are men. The F.W.S. movement is to be taken up in Alva also. Miss Stuart Paterson reports "the action of the militants has been very harmful in these country constituencies, and has kept a number of women from joining who were otherwise sympathetic. The Liberal women are particularly angry at the Dublin outbreaks, while the Conservative women have been greatly shocked at the outrage on property. Possibly these were somewhat weak-kneed supporters, still their alienation is to be deplored."

WEST LANCOS, WEST CHESHIRE AND NORTH WALES. THE LIVERPOOL SOCIETY held a series of open-air meetings in the West Toxteth Division at the end of July. All were well attended and at one of them over eighty postcards calling upon the Member to vote for a Women's Suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill were signed.

OXFORD, BUCKS AND BERKS. At a meeting of the Federation Committee at Oxford on June 29th, all the societies that had not already appointed Press secretaries and Common Cause or literature secretaries were urged to do so as soon as possible.

MRS. ROBIE UNIACKO presided at meetings held by the MAIDENHEAD SOCIETY at Cookham, July 18th, the BRACKLEY SOCIETY, July 24th, and the ASCOT SOCIETY, July 31st. The speakers were Mrs. Arthur Rackham and Mr. Cameron Grant.

MISS LEWIS (Oxford) fully explained the new extension of the N.U. policy. The Reform Bill was discussed and she urged members to bring all possible pressure on their member of Parliament to support a W.S. amendment. Two new members joined.

WOMEN OF ENGLAND!

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Read what a correspondent of the "Common Cause" writes on page 333. See article "How to Reduce Boot Bill."



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