Where Working Women Live.

The Common Cause.

The Organ of the Women's Movement for Reform.

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SEPTEMBER 15, 1910.

ONE PENNY.

The News of the Week.

Industrial War and its Victims.

The week has been marked by industrial disquiet and threats of disorganisation in many quarters. The Northern shipbuilding industry, and through it, the whole trade of the country, is in danger of severe loss

through the action of the Boilermakers Society. There are threats of a strike on the Great Nor-thern Railway and of a big lockout in the cotton trade. From all sides come rumours of war. It is not always easy to see where justice lies in these struggles, but one thing is certain, in this as in other wars, the actual combatants will not be the only ones to suffer, nor those who suffer most. All readers of "The Common Cause" must feel deep sympathy with women who are fighting so valiantly at Cradley Heath. But at least they are fighting, and they are less to be pitied than the women who have to sit hungry and helpless because the men have decided on war. Those who have seen or read Mr. Gals worthy's Strife will not easily forget his picture of women's sufferings during a strike of men; suffering which derives its peculiar horror from the fact that the sufferers have no choice and no voice in the struggle that

written an account of the position of affairs, which we reprint from "The Vote" by kind permission of the editor.

The Chainmakers' Strike.

At Cradley Heath last Saturday, over 400 Unionist and non-unionist women received their third week's

strike strike pay. The Unionists were each paid 6s. from the funds of the Federation, and the nonunionists 45.
from the special fund, which now over fund, which amounts to over £1,600. Much sympathy has been hown for the Arthur strikers. Mr. Arthur Chamberlain, amongst others, in £50, sending £50, expressed deep regret that his bad health prevented him from offering his personal services to the women. At the Conference between members of the Employers' Association and representatives of the workers, the employers undertook recommend members of their Association to give notice to the Board of Trade that they were prepared to pay the new rates. But they did this only on condition that the strike should continue, and that the women who refused to work for less than the minimum should be supported. Their promise to pay the higher rates holds good only so long as this is done. therefore essential

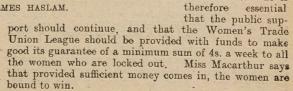




Photo., Elliott and Fry.
MR. AND MRS. JAMES HASLAM.

has caused it.

Women in the Printing Trade.

The dispute in the Edinburgh printing trade is a peculiarly glaring instance of the hostility too often shown by men in the industrial world towards women who have to earn their living in the same trades. Miss M'Lean, organiser of the Women's Trade Union, has

Women's Work for Public Health.

Great interest attaches to the Conference on "Women in Public Health Work" recently held in London. It was organised by the London members of the Women's Sanitary Inspectors' Association, and a number of London and provincial Inspectors and Health Visitors were invited to give their views. Miss Carey and Miss Charlesworth called attention to the growing tendency to appoint Women Health Visitors only, and to keep the posts of Sanitary Inspectors for men. This is much to be deprecated, as though the Health Visitors have influence they have no statutory authority. Many of the visitors are duly qualified as inspectors, but have not been appointed in that capacity, and while their work gives them unique opportunities of discovering sanitary defects in ordinary dwelling-houses, they have no direct power to see that they are remedied. Time and energy are thus wasted, and the slum landlord cannot be dealt with in a satisfactory manner.

County Council Scholarships.

A letter has been published by the "Manchester Guardian," calling attention to the fact that of the more valuable of the Lancashire County Council Scholarships for proficiency in secondary school subjects, fourteen have been awarded to boys and one to girls, or thirteen to boys and two to girls each year since 1904. The writer asserts that girls and boys enter for these scholarships in about the same numbers, and as in other examinations of about equal difficulty there is no such extraordinary difference in success attained, these results seem rather extraordinary. The facts as stated do suggest-" a preference for boys," which, if it exists, must seem to women unfair. In view of the fact that some people still argue that women may, and must be underpaid "because they have no family to support," we suppose that this giving of larger opportunities to boys will be defended. It is certainly in line, logically, with the other theory, and not one whit more dishonest.

Necessity Makes Strange Bedfellows.

Lord Halifax, President of the English Church Union, three-quarters of whose members are women, finds it logical to join the Anti-Suffrage League, so that those on whose support, labour, and money the Anglican Church so largely depends, may be excluded from sharing in the government of the State by which the Church is "established" (and may be disestablished). Canon Hensley Henson agrees with him in this, though in nothing else. He has recently published in pamphlet form the evidence given by him before the Royal Commission on Divorce. It contains a strong attack on the inequality of the law as between men and women. How does Canon Henson propose to get that inequality removed? By joining the Anti-Suffrage League?

Mary Wollstonecraft.

Representatives of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies took part with the other principal Suffrage Societies in the Mary Wollstonecraft commemoration meeting which was held at Bournemouth on Saturday, September 10th, the 113th anniversary of her A procession was formed in the Central Square and led by Mrs. Despard went to lay wreaths on Mary Wollstonecraft's tomb. The wreaths were in the colours of the Societies that presented them. In the evening a meeting was held in St. Peter's Hall under the auspices of the Women's Freedom League and the Bournemouth branch of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

Mary Wollstonecraft was one of those pioneers who seem condemned to suffer from the strength and clearsightedness which places them so far ahead of their contemporaries. From her childhood she saw examples of the evils wrought by the false position of the sexes to each other, and the denial of education and other means of strength to the one which was often called on to bear the heaviest burdens. She herself bore many burdens. In her own family she was called on again and again to support the weak and to oppose the tyrannous. The only person who gave instead of demanding help was the

woman friend to whom she felt that she owed everything, and whose early death left her desolate. Her "Vindication of the Rights of Women" was published in 1792.

Interesting Conferences.

The Trades Union Congress, which has been in progress at Sheffield this week, is of interest to Suffragists, especially as showing the relation of labour to representation. Readers of "The Common Cause" are also advised to look out for the proceedings of the Congress on Unemployment to be held in Paris from the 18th to 21st instant, and in October for the International Prison Congress in Washington, and the Conference on Women's Lodging Houses in London.

Woman and the Law.

A correspondent sends us the following from the "Manchester Guardian" as an illustration of Mr. Winston Churchill's argument that women are the favoured sex of English law :-

Separation not Desertion. A Magistrate on Wife Maintenance.

The Manchester Stipendiary Magistrate made some interesting comments recently in connection with a wife desertion case, in which a woman named Catherine Euston, of Pearl Street, claimed £2 arrears from her husband, John Euston, Blossom Street, Ancoats, under a maintenance order of 5s. a week granted twenty-one

years ago.

The defendant said he could no longer pay the money, as he was getting too old to work at his trade as a fustian cutter, and he only earned 12s. a week. He had several times asked his wife to take him back, and he wanted now

The Stipendiary Magistrate said that if defendant's statement were true the complainant could not enforce the order. The order was a "desertion" not a "separation" order. Such orders were not granted now, but he hoped to see them granted again in the future. The complainant had no right to prevent her husband going back. As long as he stopped away he had to pay, but the wife could not both make him stay away and make him pay. The order ought to have been discharged a long time ago. It was not a separation order.

The complainant said they had not lived together for twenty-one years, and that it was very hard to have to go back to a man who would sell up the home, but the Stipendiary Magistrate said the husband had not committed any acts that disentitled him to the discharge of the order. The case was adjourned for a fortnight to allow the husband to apply that the order be discharged.

Our portrait this week is of Mr. and Mrs. Haslam, who have been associated with the women's movement for over forty years.

Mrs. Haslam's name first appeared in connection with Women's Suffrage on the petition of 1866; in 1872 she became honorary secretary to the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association, of which she is honorary secretary to this day. Few indeed are the Suffragists who can show such a record of consistent work as this. Mrs. Haslam is one of the many workers whom the Society of Friends has furnished to the movement. She has always taken a deep interest in the question of the higher education and employment of women, and has been instrumental in obtaining for Irish women the position they occupy in local government.

Throughout all the years of her work, Mr. Haslam has been her most helpful and sympathetic coadjutor, and is the author of an excellent pamphlet on "Women's Suffrage from a Masculine Standpoint," an address delivered in several large towns in Ireland.

In response to inquiries we are pleased to state that the statue reproduced in our issue of September 8th with this title is the work of Mr. Alec Millar, of Chipping Camden. Gloucestershire.

ALL BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS should be addressed to The Manager, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester. Advertisements should reach the office by first post on Tuesday. ADVERTISEMENTS should reach the office by first post on Tuesday.

London Agent.—Communications referring to advertisements may now be addressed to our London agent, Mrs. H. A.

Evans, 10, Adelphi Terrace, London, W.C. Friends in London desirous of helping to get advertisements will kindly communicate with her.

The Paper will be Posted to any address in England or abroad for the following prepaid payments:

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SEPTEMBER 15, 1910.

LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS should be addressed to the Editor, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester, accompanied by a stamped envelope addressed if it is desired that they should be returned. The Editor accepts no responsibility, however, for matter which is offered unsolicited.

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

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

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The Underlying Principle.

" To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite; To endure wrongs darker than death or night; To defy power which seems omnipotent; To love and bear; to hope till hope creates, From its own wreck, the thing it contemplates; Neither to change, to falter, nor repent; This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be Good, great, and joyous, beautiful, and free; This is alone Life, Power, Empire, and Victory!"

The correspondence which has filled our columns for some weeks criticizing or defending the policy of the N.U.W.S.S. has been interesting and enlightening: interesting because we may quite possibly be called upon very shortly to decide on a policy suited to the needs of a changed situation; enlightening because it reveals certain differences among constitutional Suffragists as to what that policy should be. These differences are, of course, natural, and until the Council of the Union has decided the policy we shall all be bound loyally to support, criticism is helpful and suggestive.

But while our policy must be shaped to the course of events, our principles remain the same. And it is well, at this moment, when the Suffrage movement is on the eve of a crisis, when the autumn campaign is opening, and we shall soon be called upon as a body either to celebrate our victory, or to plan new measures for the future, to realise once more what are the great principles of conduct to which constitutional Suffragists are bound.

Our policy has been, and must always be, based on the conviction that justice, truth, reason, are great, and must prevail. If we are not convinced of this, if we are not certain that in spite of much obvious cruelty, many injustices, and well-nigh unbearable indifference, men and women are at bottom desirous to be just and reasonable, then our constitutional suffragism is meaningless.

We rely, therefore, on the weapons of reason, and we refuse those of violence and compulsion, even so far (and we believe it is very far) as women are able to use them. Our movement is a further evolution of the spiritual force in man, and to use other than spiritual weapons is to stultify our whole position. We claim that government is not, and ought not to be, based upon physical force, and we will not seek to prove this by using physical force.

We recognize, indeed, that physical force is more important and impressive the more savage and lawless the condition of the race. We realise that it would be a useless mockery to give political freedom to the physically weak before the more brutal elements in human nature had been subdued. And if (for example) Mr. Belloc really believes that men would prevent women with violence from registering their votes, we should agree with him that, for the present, it would be useless to ask for nominal rights from savages incapable of understanding them. But at the same time we realise, with confident hope, that as long as our race has been human, spiritual force has ruled every step of its upward progress, and we look with passionate desire to a yet nobler race of the future.

Each upward step has been along the path of spiritual evolution, each a seeming miracle, and each the ground for further advance. But none has been won without suffering and sacrifice. Those who fought for progress have suffered, and those who fought to withstand it (let this be remembered always) suffered, too, and suffered blindly, full of terror and bitter resentment.

We also suffer, and to us there comes the fierce desire to bring an end to suffering by some final act, no matter It is an almost irresistible impulse. Let us do something, break something, attack something, and put an end to an intolerable situation. All honour to those who feel it thus intolerable, to those who feel-"if we must fail, let us go down fighting.'

But we are not going to fail. And all the care of conquerors should be that they never give way, in an hour of unbearable bitterness, to the desire, so comprehensible and pardonable, to break, to hurt, or to destroy.

Is it not possible that some—we do not, of course, say all—of those who wish the N.U. to adopt an anti-government policy are moved by this feeling? They behold, with just indignation, a Government which bars the progress of a Women's Suffrage Bill, and their natural instinct is to say, "Let us attack the Government." adopt this course without looking to our next step is the act of the politician rather than the statesman. It means either that we intend to put the Conservatives in, in which case we shall be (to say the least) no better off when we have succeeded; or that we intend to frighten the Liberals, without going further, which is an un-worthy policy of bluff. The way to move this or any Government is through the electorate.

In the same spirit of uncontrollable impatience some Suffragists have turned to tactics of violence. These, more than the other, are repudiated by constitutionalists. On what grounds?

Do we condemn violence always as unjustifiable? No; but to those who feel it to be the last resort, the admission that it may sometimes be justifiable does not prove it justifiable now. It can never be justifiable till every other means has been tried and tried in vain.

In our cause it is even well to ask if it could ever be justified. Why do women seek to enter political life? To raise the standard? To emphasize the dominance of spiritual over physical force? How will they do this if they effect an entrance by violence themselves?

We will win our freedom by the conviction of the mass of the people that it is just, and reasonable, and necessary that we should be free. We do not aim (except incidentally) at converting individual politicians. aim at the conversion of the public conscience; we seek to show men that—once they have admitted an injustice, perceived the necessity of a reform—delay becomes a crime and apathy a sin. Those, therefore, who dare to believe this possible have a right to call themselves constitutional Suffragists.

We do not deny that Women's Suffrage might be won by violence. We hold that men have most gravely underestimated the power of women, helped by modern invention, to inflict bodily injury. But we do deny that it would be well to win Women's Suffrage so. There is bitterness between the sexes now; how would it be then? Let the wrong, if wrong must be, be their doing rather than ours. We are not patient, for patience has become a sin. There is not a Suffragist alive but she is straining against the limits of endurance when she beholds the sufferings of her sisters and the wrongs of all who are weak; but we want the Suffrage to put an end to sex bitterness, not to create it. In all the relations of life in which women suffer as women to-day, we perceive there can be no fundamental improvement unless men, giving us freedom, do so with a full and sincere recog-nition of the fact that it is our right, and they cannot, without injury to their own moral sense, withhold it.

Patience has become a crime; but resentment and bitterness are not therefore virtues. The world is full of such, and we, who have suffered much and long, are we to fail in teaching the world the lesson we have learnt in pain, that bitterness always evokes bitterness, and anger creates anger? To what purpose, then, has been

our suffering? A burning sense of the wrongs of other women, sacrificed in the name of society, must indeed keep us from rest, must urge us on to unremitting toil, and inspire us to never-satisfied devotion; but the sense of it nust nerve the spirit to an austere virtue to which the luxury of anger and violence is denied. No wrongs must passion-blind our eyes to the fact that the only way to remedy wrongs is to burn into the hearts of those that wrought them the conviction they were very grievous, and must be set right. And unless this be done with conviction, the soreness on one side will only be replaced by soreness on the other. Let not us, who come into the political world for peace, with the desire to be just and wise, begin with anger and with cruelty. Let us be proud to think that, so far as in us lay, these sins were all upon

Wherefore should ill ever flow from ill, And pain still keener pain for ever breed? We all are brethren

To avenge misdeed
On the misdoer, doth but misery feed With her own broken heart."

"Where Shall She Live."

One of the most illuminating books that has appeared during this century is "Where Shall She Live?" by Mrs. Higgs, of Oldham, and Mr. E. E. Hayward, joint secretaries of the National Association for Women's Lodging Homes.

This book throws a positively lurid light on certain phases of social life affecting large numbers of women workers, who, being without homes, and with no friends, are kicked about like footballs, the sport of a cruel social system. The book appals by its truth, told in sober language, with revolting details left to be filled in by the imagination of the reader. It is still more appalling to think that these horrors occur in England, supposed to be a highly civilised, sensitive, Christian country. "Is it?" one asks after putting the book down. Where does the "mind which was in Christ" manifest itself when the atrocious things which happen to women and girls (and children) are absolutely unknown to the comfortable classes, and are treated and taken as a matter of course by many men who do know about them-men with votes!

The problem is this: Almost every girl on leaving the elementary school becomes a wage-earner as a matter of course. With women's wages averaging 7s. 6d. a week it is clear women cannot exist on this sum without professional prostitution or without help from relations or from charity.

What does the unemployed woman do? What does she do in the slack season, when even the infinitesimal weekly wage ceases? Where does she live?

The housing question has long been a burning one in towns where working families live on the top of each other, like a rabbit warren. But the problem of "Where shall the woman worker live?" gets more and more acute and painful every day in a very special sense. "Throughout England there is hardly any proper provision for

Perhaps those who are so fond of saying "Women's place is the home" will forthwith turn their attention to this question, and will endeavour to help provide

Mrs. Higgs and Mr. Hayward truly say: "With the common bedroom shared by growing lads with their sisters, and often the same bed shared by a parent with elder children, what chances are there that the decencies of life will be observed? . . . It says much for the innate goodness and respectability of the great mass of the people that such conditions do not breed more moral evil than they do."

With the cases of women who are compelled to take advantage of the hated Poor Law, and go into the casual wards with their special horrors and demoralisation, I cannot deal in the space of this article; nor with the many admirable charity organisations which are enumerated in the appendices of "Where Shall She

This article deals solely with common lodging-houses, or "doss-houses," as they are colloquially termed. common lodging-house is a low-class lodging-house licensed by the local sanitary authorities, and is open to all-comers, even though dirty and likely to be diseased."

By the by-laws of the Local Government Board, the

sexes are supposed to be lodged in separate rooms except in the case of married (?) couples, who are often herded together in one room, with partitions faulty to a degree and often non-existent.

But it is well known that the separation of single men and women is by no means absolute in many low lodginghouses. Many other by-laws deal with sanitation, ventilation, washing accommodation, lavatories, water supply, occupation of beds, etc., all of which rules are admirably framed but constantly evaded or broken, or never even attempted to be carried out.

The common lodging-house is the sole refuge of unknown migratory workers—navvies, fruit and hop pickers, work seekers, servants out of place, casual workers, etc. A lady calls these lodging-houses "The Alley of Anguish," where often young girls from the country are trapped into an evil life. "They exert suction for evil on the young girl and the young boy'' (often forgotten). "Here is focussed all that the sanitarian, the humanitarian, and the social reformer have to fight. We do not think of herding together the sexes in the tramp ward; yet throughout the country conditions are allowed in common lodging-houses which denote a state of barbarism.

And who cares?

The National Association for Women's Lodging Homes

The Corporation of Manchester (the only one in England so far) cares. The Corporation of Glasgow (the only one in Scotland) cares. These two cities have Municipal Lodging Homes for Women, of good construction, with rules making for respectable life, with the amenities of civilization, cleanliness, and comfort. These are places of heavenly rest compared with the hells on earth—the common "doss-house

Mrs. Higgs, disguised as a poor woman, slept in many of these places, where vermin of every kind swarmed, where frequently the kitchen was shared by men, and where every drop of water had to be fetched from the men's part. The presence of vermin to an awful degree is testified to also by ladies in Liverpool (see the "Liverpool Daily Post" of June 25, 1910), Mr. G. R. Sims, Mr. Macereth (of the National Association), and others. In Cardiff, to which many outcasts drift, seeking work, it was discovered that many of the keepers of common lodging-houses were living with women not their wives."

Young girls are not the only sufferers, by a long way, in these awful houses. Deserted wives with young chil-

dren, unmarried mothers, widows, spinsters, prostitutes, thieves, the drunken, all mixed up together, are to be found in the same horrible environment. It is the young we wish to save from perdition; but women of all ages

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require rescuing from such misery.

Also it must be remembered it is not only for the downtrodden that there is insufficient accommodation; the authors of "Where Shall She Live?" point out very emphatically that there is not sufficient accommodation for any grade of working women-teachers, typists clerks, shop girls, servants, and many others find it hard to get a respectable place to live in.

In wealthy London—a huge province of houses—there is not a single Municipal Women's Lodging Home. The police actually lock girls up in prison sometimes as the only safe place.

Can't you take me in? I don't mind where I sleep, as long as it's clean; but I am dead beat," says a poor woman; "and if I walk about to-night I can't go to work " (just obtained) " in the morning."

Remember, these poor suppliants are not asking for charity. They are prepared to pay 6d. a night-3s. 6d.

a week—for a bed in these places.

Mr. G. R. Sims, in his "Nether Neath," called a certain filthy canal in Wales "The Banks of the Water of Death." In a doss-house there he found bedroomsmere cupboards-where tramps-strangers to each other -sleep nightly in one horrible bed. Several married couples and children slept in the same room. Bugs dropped from the ceilings on the beds. Such mixed lodging-houses must and shall be swept out of existence.

Throughout England there is hardly any proper provision for women. Rescue homes there are plenty. Many of them could be dispensed with if there were proper accommodation for women in the first instance.

As a rule, women are not desired as private lodgers. They are more trouble in the nature of things, more in need of cleanliness and washing of clothes, and are more

in the way. Children, too, are not wanted. So it may well be asked, "Where does she live, the poor, lonely, half-starved, solitary worker, managing on her slender pittance? Where shall she live?"

Men live in the Rowton Houses. Lord Rowton declared to Mr. Alderman Fildes, of Manchester, that it was impossible to run a lodging-house for women, in spite of the fact of one being run successfully in Glasgow (for more than thirty years now). Mr. Alderman Fildes took the chair at the opening of Manchester's Municipal Lodging Home by the Lord Mayor of that city on September 1st. Manchester was inspired by its women, of whom Miss Ashton was the moving spirit. More and more women are rising up everywhere to help women. They insist that no longer shall questions affecting women be shunted.

Action, effective action, as regards Women's Lodginghouses, can solely come from the municipal authorities, and they can only be stirred up to perform their duty by women. Suitable lodging-houses cannot be built without capital. It requires the strict municipal rule of a Municipal Lodging-house, which is closed at a proper hour, and which is clean, pure, decent, comely, and which is not run for private gain, to make such places a suitable home for women workers.

In the meanwhile, each night of delay sees fresh girls and women dragged down into a hell of prostitution, filth, coarseness, drink. Every day is precious, for every day claims new victims.

All who feel will want to join this crusade, and will ask, "How can I help?" In the first place, buy the book, "Where Shall She Live?" It is published by King and Son, of Orchard House, Westminster. Price 2s. 6d. or 1s. 6d. Study the book well. Pass it on.

Lodging Homes. The subscription of membership is from 2s. 6d.

On 17th and 18th of October there is to be a Conference in London, at which the Duchess of Marlborough will preside at the opening session. Send representatives of influence and power to this Conference. All must work inclusion? Those already inside are apt to be biassed. in a Common Cause, holding collectively the right thought Mr. Butcher is, or was, I believe, a classical Professor.

and determination that the old, wicked system shall give place to a fairer, happier, holier state of being for England's women workers.

MARIANNE DALE (Mrs. Hylton Dale), Hon, Treasurer of the National Association for Women's Lodging Homes.

The Debate on the Second Reading.

VI!.-PROF. S. H. BUTCHER.

Under whatever conditions, and within whatever limits, men are admitted to the suffrage, there is not a shadow of justification for not admitting women under the same.—Mill's "Subjection of Women," iii., 2.
What, in unenlightened societies, colour, race, religion, or, in the case of a conquered country, nationality, are to some men, sex is to all women; a peremptory exclusion from almost all honourable occupations, but either such as cannot be fulfilled by others, or such as those others do not think worthy of their acceptance.—Ibid., iv., 21.

Mr. Butcher's speech in the recent debate for the most part travelled over familiar ground-Adult Suffrage and Women in Parliament; the "collective emotion" of women and its dangers (perhaps a new phrase, but not a new idea); the implication of the male voter scorning delights and living laborious days, in his attempts to keep abreast of the great problems of State and Empire with which on polling day he will have to grapple; the splendid work done by women in local affairs, and the extreme importance of keeping them at this, "the work they are best fitted to do"; the "glaring inequality" we are establishing between the wife and the spinster; and so

All this we expected, and need not dwell upon. But the most interesting part of Mr. Butcher's speech was that in which he boldly asserted that, in the case of "private and civil rights," which he said was all that "the individual" could claim, women had already got equality with men, and that "the individual" had no claim to political equality, an "obsolete survival."

As for this boasted equality, we need only cite the divorce laws, the laws of succession to property, and of the guardianship of infants, to show that it simply does not exist; while anyone who knows anything about the working of our Courts, particularly the minor Courts, need not be reminded that the comparative slackness shown in the case of "offences against the person," operates terribly against the woman. Mr. Butcher might say that this is a matter of bad administration, and so it is. But what is the use to women of these so-called "private and civil rights" if they are not properly enforced? Political power can often do more in the field of administration than in that of legislation.

Mr. Butcher's statement that the notion of political equality ought "at this time of day" to be given up, just when many of us are expecting the biggest step of our time, or perhaps of any time, towards its realization, is naive, leading us to wonder what political backwater he lives in. One asks oneself what, in his opinion, would give anybody a right to claim "political equality." Would he say that only those can claim it who have already got it? Would he, one asks, welcome a Bill "for the disfranchisement of Mr. S. H. Butcher, senior Member for Cambridge University," on the ground that the said S. H. Butcher is only an "individual," and that, since he has his "private and civil rights," he has got "all he can claim." Of course we know that he would point us to the next passage in the speech, and would suggest that it is "advisable in the interests of the State," "of the Empire" that the franchise should be retained by him. That, he would say, is the "sole ques-Secondly, join the National Association for Women's tion," and, we may add, it is one which might be codging Homes. The subscription of membership is answered in different ways. But this raises the further question, and it is the crux of the whole matter-namely, who is able enough and (still more important) disinterested enough to judge whether or not the interests of State and Empire require the proposed exclusion or

we will, therefore, take a classical illustration. In the early days of Rome the Plebeians had to struggle very hard, first, for their "private and civil rights," and then, for their "political rights." In the language of to-day, they used militant tactics, and threatened more than once a serious boycott. The result was that they gradually acquired the right to hold and leave property, the right to trade, the right to marry into the Patrician families, the right to vote, and finally the right to hold the great offices of State. Every inch of the ground was fought by the existing holders of power, the struggle lasting over two centuries. All through this time we know perfectly well that the Butchers of those days, in their familiar rôle of Mrs. Partington, used the phrases we hear now from their political descendants. As the "private and civil rights" were being acquired bit by bit, the plebeians were no doubt assured that all they could possibly claim was what they had already got. After the "private and civil rights' were obtained they were told, as Mr. Butcher tells the women now, "You have already got private and civil equality. Political equality we regard as simply an obsolete survival. The notion of abstract equality may have had great force in ancient Egypt or Assyria, but in our more enlightened times it is quite an exploded idea. The sole question is, 'Is it on the whole advisable in the interests of the State and of the Empire that you outsiders should come in." answered their own question, as those inside generally

do, in the negative. It is an old story, and no less untrue than old, that the grievances of those outside can be best redressed by those inside. It has been heard on every occasion of the extension of the franchise. It was heard on the proposal for the abolition of slavery. One would like Mr. Butcher to reconsider in the light of history whether it is not better to leave people to do their own redressing. has two grand results. The first is that the grievances really get redressed then, because for the first time knowledge, self-interest, and power are united. The second result even more important, is that those engaged in the work of redressing are developed by the process into free and responsible human beings, with all that that means. Of the second of these results, Mr. Butcher does not seem to have even the shadow of a notion. Let us take another bit of history, this time from our own country. Before 1832 the landed class said, and many thought, that it could look after the interests of the classes outside the political pale better than they could themselves. Here are one or two instances of the way in which it did it. It plundered the Poor Rate. After the Peace of 1815 it made corn artificially dear, by means of taxation, so as to keep up war prices. When the landed proprietor died, his land, unless he happened to be a trader, could not be touched by his creditors. After 1832 the Middle class began to do a little redressing on its own account, and it speedily made its mark on the Statute Book. The landlord's estates were at once made liable for his debts, and the plunder of the Poor Rate was stopped. The taxes on food were removed, and colossal manufactures sprang up in consequence. The manufacturing class became so rich that it had to develope and extend the limited liability principle, in order to find a safe place for its surplus savings. So we went on till 1867, when the working class began its innings. It saw that it must educate itself, if it was not to remain the tool and the sport of the classes above it, so it passed Elementary Education Acts. It legalised its Trade Unions, promptly restoring them in 1907, when judicial decision threatened to cripple them. It has got Workmen's Compensation on a large scale, and Old-Age Pensions. has developed so strong a sense of the fact that the land after all is our "Mother," not only in poetry, but in prose, that now the two great political parties are tumbling over each other in their efforts to induce the electorate to try their competing recipes for land reform. And in the light of all this experience we are asked to believe that a class consisting of over half the nation can safely leave its interests to be safeguarded by others, can

be, as Mr. Butcher says it is, a "well-represented class." We must, before concluding, notice Mr. Butcher's extra-ordinary suggestion, that, if Mill had lived until now,

he would probably have recognised that the redress of the more glaring grievances from which women suffered 40 years ago (a redress, by the way, for which the country is mainly indebted to Suffragists) has robbed his argument in the "Subjection of Women" of the greater part of its force. There is not a sentence in Mill's book that gives colour to this suggestion. The whole argument futes it, and it is inconsistent with Mill's other writings. Mill contended for absolute equality between the sexes in all things, as the sentences quoted above indicate. He did not lay great stress on the more glaring grievances. His main object in enumerating them was to prove his primary contention that the condition of women was, as he puts it, "primitive slavery lasting on," mitigated and modified, of course. He regarded them no doubt as the most obvious of the many vile fruits growing out of what he considered the vicious and odious principle of inequality between the sexes. But it is a complete travesty of Mill's argument to say, with Mr. Butcher, that merely lopping off the most rank of these fruits would have been likely to satisfy the man who was, at any rate in modern times, the first to lay his axe to the root of the tree. FRANK LEIGH.

The Printing-Trade Dispute.

The Women's Position Explained.

By Amelia I. M'Lean, Secretary of the Edinburgh Women Compositors' Union.

The Edinburgh women compositors are at present third parties in a dispute, the chief point of which is an attempt to deprive them of their right to earn a living in the occupation which they have hitherto followed.

It is now thirty-eight years since the women compositors entered the trade in Edinburgh. At that time the men were on strike for shorter hours, and the masters took women into the composing rooms. The men, no doubt, were greatly annoyed, but, as they were not then in a strong position financially, they were compelled to return to work after thirteen weeks, being thoroughly beaten," as they have told us. Gradually girls were brought in, until now there are between eight and nine hundred in Edinburgh. Seeing printing is the chief industry here, it is not to be wondered at that girls went into this particular branch of the trade, now that the men had, through their own behaviour, made a way for the women to enter

All these years, however, the men have made it quite clear to most of us women that they wanted us out of the trade, telling us it wasn't healthy work, that we ought to be servants, or follow some other means of livelihood for which they decided we were more suited.

Until two months ago there was no Union for the women compositors in Edinburgh, but, owing to the dispute hastening to such an acute crisis, it was found necessary that, if women were to keep their position in the trade, they must organise themselves. After holding a few meetings, the women resolved to form a Union, and to name it the "Edinburgh Women Compositors, Readers, and Monotype Operators' Union." Its aims are to keep the trade open to women, and also to better the conditions of the women presently employed.

For the last four months Mr. A. Evans, secretary of the National Printing and Kindred Trades Federation (London District), has been organising all the girls in the printing trade (including warehouse, machine-room, and stationery workers), and has also impressed upon a small section of the women compositors the benefits they will derive from joining the Union he represents, and coming out on strike with the men; in other words, to help them in enforcing their demand for the ultimate total elimination of female labour.

Fortunately, the majority of the women compositors

cannot see their way to join that Union, as they claim to be skilled workers, just as the men compositors are; and, having been refused admittance to the Edinburgh Branch of the Scottish Typographical Association, they had no alternative but to form a union of their own. The men demanded from the masters :-

positors from the trade.

(2) The manipulation by men of all new keyboards of type-setting machines.

The masters, not seeing their way to accede to these demands, offered the following counter proposals:-

(1) No new girl learners to be introduced into the trade

(2) Old keyboards to be left as at present; one-half of the new keyboards to be given to men operators; the first keyboard in a new installation in offices which has none at present to be optional to man or woman, but in offices which have already an installation the next keyboard to be given to a man, and alternately afterwards.

(3) All corrections and upmaking to be given to men. (4) No alterations in the present working conditions

to be made within five years. Failing the acceptance of the proposals, the employers are prepared to lay the whole matter before the Board of Trade, or before a Court of Arbitration, by which one arbiter will be appointed by each side, and, if necessary, these arbiters will appoint an oversman.

This offer of arbitration has been rejected on the ground that it did not provide for the ultimate total a woman, and so on alternately.—(Reprinted by kind permission of "The Vote.") ground that it did not provide for the ultimate total

(1) The ultimate total elimination of women com- insisted upon as a vital necessity to any settlement which

could be accepted by the men's representatives.

The men state they have no objections to women's labour, provided it is paid at the same rate as men's. That, we know, would be impossible—at least, in the meantime, as up till now all girl apprentices have only served an apprenticeship of three years, whereas a boy serves seven. Therefore the woman, not having had the same training as a man, cannot possibly demand the same wage; also, not being physically as strong, she cannotcompete with him where heavy lifting is required. That restrictions of Factory Acts on the employment of women render their labour less valuable to their employers than that of men, seeing that, in the printing trade, Court and Government work sometimes compels day and night working.

In Saturday's paper there appears a proposed settlement which we as a Union should be glad to hear had been accepted amicably by both parties. The first pro-posal is that no new girl learners be introduced into the trade for five years after January 1st, 1911; the second, that after a 50 per cent. basis of men and women operators at the keyboards has been established, further new keyboards shall be given first to a man and then to

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

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

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Telegrams: "Voiceless, London." Secretary: Miss T. G. Whitehead, M.A. Telephone: 1900 Victoria. Offices: Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Treasurer's Notes.

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SEPTEMBER	3	TO	SEPTEMBER	10.	1910.

Already acknowledged	2052	19	51	
E.M.C.	2	2	0	
Wallasev and Wirral S.SMinutes of Executive				
Committee	0	6	0	
Affiliation fee-Cranleigh W.S.S.	0	5	0	
	£2055	12	51	
MILLION SHILLING FUND.				
		S.	d.	

Already acknowledged

Miss Millicent Edwards—From Sale of Jam . lected by "Smut," the Suffrage dog

BERTHA MASON, Treasurer.

Federation Notes.

Midland.

Numerous meetings have been arranged for October within Numerous meetings have been arranged for October within the Federation, including important ones at Birmingham, Burton-on-Trent, Warwick and Leamington, and West Bromwich. The Birmingham Society are holding a bazaar in December, and will be very grateful to Suffragists who will send them saleable articles, drawn-thread work, home-made jams, etc. All contributions to be sent to 10, Easy Row, Birmingham. There are many hitherto untouched districts within the Federation area, and a tour of these is to be undertaken as seen as even as received.

Surrey, Sussex, and Hants.

We started work at Lyndhurst on Monday, and as it was We started work at Lyndhurst on Monday, and as it was entirely new ground a good deal of spade work was necessary, and the soil seemed most unpromising. The first day, however, closed with a kind offer from Mrs. Blatch of an opportunity of speaking to a number of women who had been invited to a jumble sale in her garden on Wednesday. This opportunity we eagerly seized, and Miss Cumberland, Miss Woodhams, and I had a very interesting talk with the women and quite a number signed their names as being in sympathy with the movement. Tuesday's work proved more productive still, Mrs. Penton kindly offering her beautiful garden for a meeting on Monday next. An open-air meeting attracted a large audience, among whom were a

number of professed "antis" and many wholehearted inquirers. The chair was taken by Mr. Newport; Dr. Stancombe and I spoke; Mrs. Welch, Miss Cumberland, and Miss Woodhams distributed literature. That the meeting was appreciated and had done useful work was evident from re-

appreciated and had done useful work was evident from remarks heard the next day.

We started at Brockenhurst on Thursday, and found a more congenial atmosphere than at Lyndhurst. Mrs. Cosens has offered her garden and tea for Wednesday next, and the vicar will take the chair. To-night we have an open-air meeting near the blacksmith's shop, and the village is full of interest about it. Miss Woodhams has been working with me all the week, giving up part of her holiday to do so, and in the wilderness of Lyndhurst her work and energy have made all the difference between success and failure.

West of England

Owing to the regretted illness of Miss Fraser, Mrs. Mayer took some meetings for us in Somersetshire, the first two being in Castle Cary on August 31st. Considering that this was unbroken ground, these meetings were very successful, a resolution in support of the Conciliation Bill being passed unanimously at both of them. As a result, an invitation hat been given to the Bristol Society to furnish a speaker for a debate in Castle Cary later on. The resolutions have been forwarded to the member for East Somerset, Mr. Jardine, who "desires an expression of opinion from his constituents" forwarded to the member for East Somerset, Mr. Jardine, who "desires an expression of opinion from his constituents upon this question." The two meetings in Glastonbury were less successful; but in spite of some organised interruption, Mrs. Mayer's fine address made an obvious impression upon the thoughtful section of the crowd on September 2nd. A resolution was also carried at a factory meeting in the street earlier in the day. There is much need of organised work in Glastonbury. On the 5th of September Mrs. Mayer gave a most charming, simple address to a "mothers' meeting" in Bath, which was immensely appreciated; and on the 6th and 7th she addressed the meetings in Winchcombe, which had been organised by the Cheltenham Society. They were a great success, the resolution being carried unanimously at the outdoor meeting, and with only two dissentients in the Assembly Rooms. Winchcombe wants more working up, as there is some good support in the neighbourhood. A series of meetings has been arranged in the Federation for Miss Abadam in November.

Energetic work has been done in the Cleveland Division (Mr. H. Sanuel's Division) during the week. Meetings have been held at Redcar, Saltbarn, New Marske, Marske-by-the-Sca, on the sands at Redcar and in the Square. Mr. Toyn (miners' agent), representing 11,000 miners, presided at the Saltburn meeting, thus showing that miners take an interest in the question of Women's Suffrage. Resolutions in favour of the Conciliation Bill were passed at all the meetings. Mrs. Cooper, who has spoken at these meetings, has made a great impression upon the people. Leaflets were distributed and received well by the people, and "Common Causes" were sold.

Mrs. Fawcett's Engagements.

September 15—Evening meeting at Mrs. James Halley's, Rolighed,
Broughty Ferry.
September 16—Evening meeting, Gilfillan Hall, Dundee, The Lord
Provest in the chair.
September 19.—St. Andrews.
September 23—Coldstream.
Between September 26 and October 1—Meetings in the Hexham
District.
October 5—Penrith, Mr. Montague Crackanthorpe in the chair.
October 8—Keswick.
October 12—Darlinston.

October 8—Keswick.

October 12—Darlington.
October 15—Harrogate.
October 17—Barnsley.
October 20—Leamington.
October 24—Sutton (Surrey).
October 25—Salisbury.
October 26—Bournementh.
October 27—Basingstoke.
October 28—Winchester.
November 2—Richmond (Surrey).
November 4—Blackheath.

A Waif.

One evening about five o'clock a young woman stood on the curb of a large manufacturing town in the North waiting for her tram. She was simply dressed, and she looked prosperous. Her hands were laden with parcels, for she had been shopping. Her face was kind, and this is, perhaps, what attracted to her another young woman—one of Life's waifs,—who stood forlornly and in doubt a few yards from her. The latter came up to her and said: "If you please, miss, d'you know the way to Longsight?"

The necessary directions were given.

"Is it far there, walking?" the other asked with anxiety.

"Yes; it will take you from three-quarters of an hour to an hour to walk there."



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Then the Waif broke out in despair: "Oh dear me! And 'ere I've bin trampin' around the whole day, ever since six, without stoppin', and every single one seems further than

SEPTEMBER 15, 1910.

the other."

"What have you been tramping after?"

"A place. And I've bin up and down to some addresses I'd got hold of, but nobody seems to want nobody; and I'm that tired I don't know how to hang together. And now I've just heard of one in Longsight, and I can't wait till to-morrow for fear someone else snaps it up. But you don't 'appen to know anybody as wants a nurse-maid, do you?"

"No. Are you a nurse-maid?" The prosperous young

I've just heard of one in Longsight, and I can't wait till to-morrow for fear someone else snaps it up. But you don't 'appen to know anybody as wants a nurse-maid, do you?'

"No. Are you a nurse-maid?" The prosperous young woman stared at the Waif in amazement. She was indeed a strange figure to undertake the care of children. She herself looked as if she were always without guidance, 'blown about by the wind and tossed." She was undergrown and underfed; and her complexion was of a curious crumbly whiteness. Dark circles under her eyes bespoke the fatigue due to the day's hunting for work; and, for the same reason, her lifeless hair presented a multitude of little ends everywhere, and fell untidily over her ears and the collar of her coat, its mode of arrangement having been copied from the photograph of some music-hall star, who appealed to her sense of the beautiful. Her appearance betokened the perfection of shiftlessness. But she had evidently tried to make it a respectable one; for, although her brown straw hat was what a middle-aged woman would wear—so that it increased her pathetic expression of worldly wisdom,—it had once been a good hat, and was probably a gift from her mistress at her last "place." The cascade of lace, too, which adorned the front of her jacket—a purple velvet object covering little more than her arms and shoulders, and probably emanating from a similar source—had been carefully washed, and dipped in tea, to make it look handsome; but the tea had been too strong, and so the lace was a dirty brown colour. The black skirt looked as if its wearer had never decided what length it should be, and the girl wore gloves that were two or three sizes too large for her. In every respect she was just a collection of things picked up in a drifting career through the world. And yet she sought to take care of, and train, the coming race!

In answer to the question the Waif said, a little shamefacedly: "Well, yes! Leastways I want to be a nurse-maid. And I've just bin to a place where the lady said I

'Have you had any training as a general? Can you cook,

"Have you had any training as a general? Can you cook, for instance?"

"No." The answer came doubtfully, as if she were not sure how far the word "cooking" could be allowed to apply to her skill in that kind. "No. But I can clean; and I'm very willing to learn."

"Have you had any training as a nurse-maid?"

The prosperous young woman was having her eyes opened, and the tones of her voice grew more and more astonished with each question. She was marvelling as much at the girl's lack of equipment in the battle for life as at the strange standard of domestic comfort which could accept her labour as in any measure satisfactory.

"No, I can't say I have—except that I've always bin used to look after our young 'uns." Raising her voice, the Waif made a bold plunge: "I haven't had any training for anything," she said; "but I'm very willing to learn." This was, apparently, her one recommendation. Then, remembering her business, she finished hastily: "But I must make a shot for Longsight, or else somebody 'll be getting there before me.

"Have you no money for a tram?"

No, miss.'

"No, miss."

"Then you'd better take the tram and let me give you the money. It'll be twopence each way. Here you are."

The Waif's face lit up with a fresh hope, and, almost without waiting to express her thanks, she sprang to the practical question, in eager and excited tones: "Where do I get the tram, miss, and where's it labelled for, and where must I get off for M—— Street?"

must I get off for M—— Street?"

The prosperous young woman indicated a stopping-place on the other side of the street; and, with a "Good luck" one one side, and on the other a "Thank you, miss; I hope I'll get the place this time; I think I shall," the Waff skipped gaily across the street and stood waiting impatiently, looking for the tram and bobbing and smiling by turns in recognition of her friend on the other side of the road. She was in such haste that she mounted the first tram that appeared, and had to be waved off because it was the wrong one; and finally she departed, still smiling back thanks and confident expectation at her benefactor on the curb.

A. M. Allen. A. M. ALLEN.

Foreign News

WOMEN WORKERS IN HOLLAND.

WOMEN WORKERS IN HOLLAND.

I have just been spending a week at the beautiful country home of one of Holland's well-known women workers, Miss Henriette Crommelin, and I think it may be of interest to readers of "The Common Cause" to hear something of her work and of social conditions in Holland. Though a convinced Suffragist and member of a Suffrage Society, her chief work is for temperance. At eighteen she came for a year to Westfield College, and it is to the influence of Miss Maynard and Miss Richardson that she attributes her entering the lists for temperance. On her return to her native town of Utrecht she collected the seven members necessary to form a branch, and thus the work began. In 1896 she spoke Maynard and Miss Richardson that she attributes her entering the lists for temperance. On her return to her native town of Utrecht she collected the seven members necessary to form a branch, and thus the work began. In 1896 she spoke for the first time in public—quite a new departure for a Dutch woman,—and her success encouraged her to continue and incited other women to follow her example. Even in those fourteen years she has seen great changes. At that time it was not considered "comme il faut" for members of the aristocracy to take part in public affairs, but now it is not uncommon for titled ladies to appear on a platform. Miss Crommelin thinks that Dutch women have, on the whole, less prejudice to contend with than we have. For instance, when, thirty years ago, Holland first opened the doors of its Universities to women, it opened them wide, and women walked in on exactly the same terms as men. The Church only is closed to them, as yet, by the decree of the Synod. They may pass the State examination in theology, but may not practice as ministers, though Miss Crommelin has herself spoken on temperance in one of the largest churches. There is a movement on foot to grant women Suffrage in Church matters; and when the subject was last before the Synod it was lost by only a very small majority. In public work there is now little opposition on the grounds of sex, though when Miss Crommelin was first suggested as a member of the Central Committee of the Temperance Society some of the members were opposed to the idea of having a woman colleague, but they have had no cause to regret the innovation. So well, indeed, did Miss Crommelin do her work that now it would be difficult to mention a Temperance Committee on which she doos not sit.

In the temperance movement in Holland women have always been to the fore, and it was to two men and a woman —Miss De Ranitz—that the total abstinence movement owed its origin in 1862. Miss De Ranitz declared that she was inspired by an English book, "Haste to the Rescue," by Mrs. Wi

liss Crommelin is treasurer.

I also had a talk with Miss Antoinette van Ewyck, a keen I also had a talk with Miss Antoinette van Ewyck, a keen Suffrage worker. She was anxious that I should understand that there are two distinct societies, the Vereenigung (Union) and the Bund (Bond), to which she belongs. The former is the older society, and works directly and politically for the vote; the latter aims chiefly at educating women in citizenship, and takes no part in polities. The Bund believes that Dutch women are not yet ripe for enfranchisement, and that much educative work must be done first. The great difficulty is to get women to attend meetings. They are diffident of coming to the fore, and do not yet take advantage of all the opportunities offered them. Speaking of our methods of attracting attention to the cause, Miss Van Ewyck smiled at the idea of a procession of Dutch women through Amsterdam. "Why, everyone would laugh at us," "So they did at us," I replied; "but we have taught them better manners." It seems that there is less opposition on the part of men than indifference on the part of women, and

that, therefore, the work of the Bund is quite as important as that of the Vereenigung. Its membership is increasing slowly, but surely. Our progress in England is keenly watched, but militant methods are strongly condemned. The question that is exciting the greatest interest and indignation at present—and here we can deeply sympathise—is a proposal to exclude married women as teachers. Vigorous protests are being organised, for the question is to come up in the autumn session. Let us hope they will be more successful than ours were. than ours were.

autumn session. Let us hope they will be more successful than ours were.

On August 31st one was strongly reminded of one of Holland's busiest women workers, the Queen herself, for it was her birthday. The day is kept as a general holiday throughout the land. Not a man, woman, or child, nor even a dog! was to be seen who was not wearing an orange favour, and hardly a house which did not hang out a large banner—red, white, and blue—plus an orange streamer. There is evidence of a deep personal loyalty to their Sovereign, and every step in the development of the baby princess is watched with eager interest. "How far can she walk?" "What did she say to her mother on her birthday?" were questions which I heard solemnly discussed. One wonders what Fate has in store for her: whether she will in time be a Queen herself, or whether a little brother will come, who, though a later arrival, will take precedence of his sister.

I was told that the Queen never signs a document without a thorough knowledge of its contents, and that, though a Constitutional Monarch, she has very definite opinions of her own. Unfortunately, she is not interested in the Woman Suffrage question. If she were it would give the movement a very real impetus. But an example of competency and conscientiousness in one of her position is also an asset to the cause.

FRIDA ZIMMERN.

Mrs. Fawcett at Newtonmore.

Mrs. Fawcett at Newtonmore.

An interesting meeting was held in Newtonmore Public Hall on Wednesday, September 7th, when Mrs. Fawcett, LL.D., spoke on the enfranchisement of women to a large audience of inhabitants and visitors.

Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D., presided, and spoke shortly on the present position of the Women's Suffrage movement.

Mrs. Fawcett gave a brief summary of the events that led up to the recent debate on the Woman Suffrage Bill, promoted by the House of Commons Conciliation Committee. She disposed of the argument that the question was not before the country at the general election by describing the Suffrage campaign then carried on in the constituencies. With regard to the criticism that this was not a democratic Bill, Mrs. Fawcett clearly showed that the opposite was the case. Mr. Philip Snowden had stated in the House that after a careful examination of fifty constituencies, it was found that \$2 per cent. of the women to be enfranchised by this Bill would be working-class women. Besides, if the women's municipal register, the basis on which the new Bill was drafted, was an undemocratic one, why had it been adopted by Liberals ever since? Mrs. Fawcett vigorously denounced those politicians who allowed their sense of justice to become second to their party interests. She concluded her speech with an eloquent survey of the principal reasons why women, and especially industrial women, needed the vote as a protection of their interests. Trades unions without political power were ineffective. This movement was not a sex war; it was a sex alliance, and would tend to improve the relations between men and women.

A resolution urging the Government to give time during the autumn session for the further stages of the Women's Suffrage Bill was carried unanimously.

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The testimonial fund to Mrs. Elmy has now reached £115. Mrs. Martindale will be glad if all intending subscribers will forward their subscriptions at once.

"Vote Good."

The following passages from "Rogers on Elections" (Vol. I., p. 194) will be enlightening to those who doubt the intellectual capacity of women voters:—

Bridgwater (1803), I. Peck. 108, (Tucker's case).—The voter's intellect had been disordered, but he was not entirely unfit for business. His trade was for the most part carried on by his shopman, for he frequently lost his memory, his knowledge of accounts, and of the value of money. He was very eager during the election for A. and P., for whom he voted. Vote good.

eager during the election for A. and P., for whom he voted. Vote good.

Oakhampton (1791), I. Fraser, 162 (Robins' case).—The voter was 75 years old, paralytic, and much affected by the noise at the poll. He had no clear idea of the names of the candidates, but he had of the side on which he wished to vote. When ordinary questions were put to him he merely repeated them, but his answers to his wife were more rational. When undisturbed, it appeared he was capable of performing any serious act. One witness declared that after the noise ceased he heard him name the sitting members, in answer to the question, whom he voted for, which was put a second time. A proposition was made to show him the names of the candidates in writing, but objected to. He said he voted for Slasher and Lasher, and was rejected by the returning officer. Vote good.

With regard to a lunatic, who though, for the part, he may have lost the sound exercise of his reason, yet sometimes has

With regard to a lunatic, who though, for the pare, he may have lost the sound exercise of his reason, yet sometimes has lucid intervals, it seems that the returning officer has only to decide whether, at the moment of voting, the person offering himself is sufficiently compos mentis to discriminate between the candidates, and to answer the questions and take the oath (if required) in an intelligible manner.

P. 191. Women are not entitled to vote either for a borough or for a county as freeholders.

A "Democratic" Bill.

Lloyd George and Winston Churchill are our faithful friends,

we know;
We did not notice it ourselves, they kindly told us so;
And we have many other friends as trusty, true, and tried,
Who mean to help us "by and by" in ways not specified,
When all their favourite measures have passed safely into law,
And we produce a Suffrage Bill without a single flaw.
They cannot give "the wife" a vote; they would not think it

wise;
The husband represents her, and dissensions might arise.
But any Bill which favours, upon the other hand,
The spinster or the widow must be absolutely banned!
Why should mere girls be set above the mother and the wife,
With her knowledge, and experience, and broader views of

life?

A vote that's based on property they utterly condemn;
A thorough democratic Bill's the only Bill for them.

Well! offer each adult a vote? No, no, indeed! For then,
Since women are so numerous, they might outvote the men!
Then let us form a compromise, which we can all promote;
Let the head of every household, rich or poor, possess a vote.
The Labour party like the scheme; the women press their claim.

claim, But our friends are too superior, of course, to do the same. It is not democratic; that's the strongest point they make; If the Labour men support it, that is merely their mistake. It's unfair to married women (who are strong in its support). So they cannot help the Bill to pass—they do not think they

ought!
Now, I have often wondered, and I often wonder still,
What sort of measure they would call "a democratic Bill";
And I've come to the conclusion that perhaps a Bill might do
Which gave each Liber I woman one vote, or even two,
But stated, if she changed her views (as some might do,

perhaps),
That then of course her right to vote would naturally lapse!
When some such Bill is introduced by just, fair-minded men,
I think the friends of whom I speak will rally round us then,
But, till that happy time arrives, let's think no more about

them,
But work away from day to day, and do our best without
G. M. George.

Reviews.

LEGALLY DEAD. By Marcia Hamiltar. (Published John Ouseley. Pp. 367.)

Ouseley. Pp. 367.)
Miss Marcia Hamilcar's "Legally Dead" is a book which should make us think. Among all sentient creatures the most suffering and the most helpless are the insane. Children are helpless and too often suffering, but though the frequency of their pain is a shame to our civilisation, we have at least

the comfort of knowing that the instinct and sentiment of every normal person is on the side of the child. The feeling in favour of animals is less universal, but it exists (at any rate among Teutonic races) in the case of the higher and more sensitive animals, and we can hope that most animals do not "look before and after" as much, and consequently do not suffer as much as human beings. Some forms of insanity reduce those who suffer from them to an animal state, but others produce increased and morbid sensitiveness to all forms of pain. In such cases the insane person is a ready subject for suffering. He is often enduring tortures of his own so horrible that the sane mind cannot picture them if it tries, and would not dare to do so if it could. These sufferings, though it often seems impossible to alleviate them, can certainly be increased by wrong treatment, and if wrong treatment is meted out to the madman, he is, by the nature of his case, helpless to resist. No one else is quite so helpless. No ordinary person would refuse to listen to the complaint of an injured child; an animal's cries for help may be heard with indifference, but no one thinks it utters them under a delusion. But the mad person is not only often unattractive and even repellant,—he is, from the nature of his case, subject to mistrust. We cannot follow the vagaries of his disease—we cannot know which of his statements represent fact and which delusion. We dare not trust him, because we know that even if he is saying what he believes to be true, his conceptions of fact may be entirely falsified by his illness. In cases in which a sane and an insane person contradict each other we are almost bound to accept the word of the sane.

This is inevitable, but it throws terrible power into the hands of those who have the care of the insane. Miss Hamilcar's plea is that the public should watch over the exercise of this power and prevent its misuse. The force of her demand does not depend on the account she gives of her own sufferings. The reader ma

book, says:—

"I in every way agree with all that the writer suggests for the amelioration of the Lunacy Law as set forth at the end of 'Legally Dead'. The lucidity of the suggestions speak for themselves."

end of 'Legally Dead.' The lucidity of the suggestions speak for themselves."

The reforms that Dr. Forbes Winslow specially endorses are that all nursing homes should be under strict supervision and inspection; that "all private asylums, inasmuch as they are financial speculations, should be managed by the State or abolished altogether"; that a compulsory study of brain diseases should form part of the ordinary medical curriculum; and that there should be hospitals for the treatment of acute but curable cases of brain disease, quite distinct from the asylums for chronic cases.

Miss Hamilear, besides supporting these suggestions, pleads that all the attendants on lunatics should have special training, and that a society should be founded with the object of studying mental diseases, and assisting not only the insane but those who are in danger of becoming insane, or who have been so and have recovered. This has already been done in America. She suggests that some of the legal disabilities from which the lunatic now suffers should be done away with, and that he should no longer be classed with the criminal.

This last claim reminds us that in one important respect he is now classed with the woman. A man who has been insane and has recovered his reason may hope to influence legislation in favour of those who are suffering as he has suffered himself. A woman has no such hope. The woman lunatic is of all creatures the most helpless, and at present her sane sisters have no power of helping her. She is not even attended by a doctor of her own sex. Suffragists will deeply sympathise with Miss Hamilear's complaints on this point, and will strongly endorse her suggestion that there should be a fully qualified woman doctor in every asylum in which women are confined, and that of the Lunacy Commissioners, whose number and power she desires to see increased, at least a third should be women.

Poems, by Frances Cornford. [Hampstead: The Priory Press. Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes. 2s. net.]

A fresh and often breezy imagination; a happy abandonment to all moods, and most happily to a blunt impatience of lack of imagination; a persevering cult of triolets,—these are something of what Miss Cornford means by "Poems." There is no monotony in her volume. Her outlook is candidly expressed in general terms:

God rearranged the world in two,
And marshalled it in two great lines,
Bohemians and Philistines,
And well I knew, O well I knew,
Which host my heart would lead me to.

To this outlook, no doubt, we owe the rather brutal felicity of the triolet, "To a fat lady seen from the train," and the pleasant petulance of the triolet called "Hospitality":

People are like walled towers.

People are like walled towers,
Built to face the winter skies;
Though you talk to them for hours,
People are like walled towers;
Dumb they are, and nothing flowers
At their close-barred window-eyes;
People are like walled towers,
Built to face the winter skies.

But there is no great difficulty in letting yourself go in satire of fat women, and of the other aspects which Philistinism most obviously and conventionally wears. Some people, like Miss Cornford, do it well, and from not too lofty a pinnacle; but after a certain apprenticeship there are no discoveries in the art. It is more difficult to adopt a convention of your own, and stand exposed to satire. There are

a pinnaele; but after a certain apprenticeship there are no discoveries in the art. It is more difficult to adopt a convention of your own, and stand exposed to satire. There are discoveries in plenty for those who will seek their own conventions—if Miss Cornford will not disclaim the word. They may find, as she may do, that—

I ran out in the morning, when the air was clean and new, And all the grass was glittering, and grey with autumn dew, is very near to affected simplicity, and may be brought still nearer to it by the printer. They may find with her, if they are equally versatile, that English epigrams have been harder to compose since Mr. William Watson set a mode and a standard, and that the eight-line elegy demands not only pathos and distinction, but absolute clearness of thought.

But Miss Cornford (who is never monotonous) has written her best in two other moods. Her country scenes have an equal felicity of humour and sadness; and her longest and most formal poem, "Pre-Existence," has a graceful simplicity which is not affected. Miss Cornford was even then the antithesis of the trading Philistines:

I have forgotten whence I came,

Or what my home might be,

Or by what strange and savage name
I called that thundering sea.

I only know the sun shone down

I only know the sun shone down
As still it shines to-day;
And in my fingers long and brown
The little pebbles lay.

H. F. CHETTLE.

IN THIS OUR WORLD. By Charlotte Perkins Stetson.
(Boston: Small, Maynard and Co. 1 dollar 25c.)
We owe it to Mrs. Gilman's work and character to respect her volume of verse; and we owe it to the American public, which is buying the third edition. If it was likely that she which is buying the third edition. If it was likely that she would write political poetry, there was nothing alarming in that. Men and women, from Tyrtseus and David to Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, had done it before. In the movements which Mrs. Gilman has expounded, persuasively enough, in prose, there is abundant inspiration for a poet; there is, unfortunately, more poetry in (let us say) one point of Lady MacLaren's "Charter" than Mrs. Gilman has expressed under a hundred and fifty titles.

Occasionally a human need, and more frequently a thought of the Western States, has given her a moment's inspiration. "Here"—sabove San Francisco—

of the Western States, has given not a find of the Western States, has given not a find there?"—above San Francisco—
Here, like a noble lady of lost state, Still calmly smiling at encroaching fate, Amidst the squalor, rises Russian Hill—Proud, isolated, lonely, lovely still. So on you glide.
Till the blue straits lie wide
Before you; purple mountains loom across,
And islands green as moss;
With soft white fog-wreaths drifting, drifting through

And islands green as hard,
With soft white fog-wreaths drifting, drifting through
To comfort you;
And light, low-singing waves that tell you reach
The end—North Beach.
There is no need to quote from the uninspired pages. They
give us fluent and lucid eloquence, passages that would make
admirable speeches—and in some cases Mrs. Gilman's contempt for technique would leave very little to alter. They
plead, and they even argue, for all that is best in political
reform. They are full of unpolished humour and tactless
pathos, and under it all there is a sincerity which is the first
essential. But when we have read page after page and verse
after verse of intensely personal and dogmatic criticism of
life, and comparative after absolute culogy of Californian
weather—then we know that the writing of political poetry
is harder now than it was, even if we are not sure why. Our
thoughts, as may be, run too much in terms of economics;
and so it may be true that Catullus makes mouths at our
speech.

H. F. Chettle.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

Woman's Fight for the Vote. By F. D. Pethick Lawrence.

(Published by the Woman's Press. Pp. 142. Price 6d.)

Mr. Pethick Lawrence's admirably clear little book consists of an introduction and sixteen chapters. Six chapters are devoted to the case for Women's Suffrage, ten to a defence of militant methods, and one to the "truce" and the Conciliation Bill. This division marks the disproportion which, as we believe, has arisen in the mind of the militant Suffragists between the cause for which we all labour and the methods by which they support it. Mr. Pethick Lawrence himself says: "While it is still necessary to explain to people the demand

for Votes for Women, it has also become necessary to explain the action which has been taken to enforce the demand." One, though not the chief, of the constitutional Suffragists' objections to militant methods is that they distract attention from the main question, and force many able speakers and writers to spend their time in persuading people not that Women's Suffrage itself is just and expedient, but that all the methods taken to support it have been right. Mr. Pethick Lawrence does not, however, treat militant tactics as a method of propaganda, but as direct action brought to bear on the Government, important quite apart from its effect on public opinion. He thinks that by the end of 1884 constitutional agitation had had full trial and had been proved a failure, and that the time had come for "action." To us the militant agitation does not appear to be "action" in any truer sense than the constitutional agitation. In one sense they are both action, in another action can only be taken by the powers that be, or by a force strong enough to overthrow the existing constitution altogether. We do not, however, deny that pressure should be brought to bear or the Government; we only maintain that not only the only lawful way, but also the only effective way, of bringing pressure to bear is through the electorate. We therefore regret to hear Mr. Pethick Lawrence treating of propaganda merely as rearguard action, and of the militant attack on the Government as the fundamental business of the Women's Social and Political Union. Suffragists of all shades will be grateful for his lucid exposition of their case in the earlier chapters, and for the enthusiasm for women's rights, shown afresh by this devoted supporter of their cause.

Rebel Women. By Evelyn Sharp. (Published by A. C.

Rebel Women. By Evelyn Sharp. (Published by A. C. Fifield. Pp. 122. Price 1s.)

Miss Evelyn Sharp's book consists of a series of sketches, some of which have already appeared in "The Manchester Guardian," "The Daily Chronicle," and "Votes for Women." They represent incidents in the movement for the emancipation of women—some slight and some serious. The sketch called "The Person Who Cannot Escape," relating how a cottage wife and mother, her day full of unpaid toil, seasoned by rebukes from the lady of the manor, wished that her last baby had not been a girl, because "she did not want to bring another woman into it," is serious enough, while over the pains they have themselves endured standing in the gutter, and being told to go home and mind the baby, Suffragists can, at least in the retrospect, afford to smile.

Two Pamphlets.—The Church League for Women's Suffrage has issued two pamphlets (price 2d. each), one containing the Speches of Miss A. Maude Royden at the May Mission, and the other called From East to West, an excellent paper on Women's Suffrage in relation to foreign missions, by Dr. Helen Hanson, who has worked for some time as a medical missionary at the Kinnaird Hospital,

Lucknow.

The Endowment of Motherhood. By H. D. Harben. (Published by the Fabian Society, 3, Clement's Inn. Pp. 23. Price 2d.)

This pamphlet is a little misleading in its title, as it does not advocate that mothers should be paid for their service to the State as soldiers are paid, but merely that such a scheme of State pensions should be provided as would save poor women and their infants from the ill effects of starvation endured by the mothers during the actual period of maternity. Mr Harben calculates that pensions of 10s. a week for eight weeks, supplemented by free medical attendance, nursing, and milk, would do this, and could be provided by the State at the expense of about £5,500,000 per annum. Women would only be given the pension on condition that they abstained from industrial labour while receiving it. Low as are the present wages of women, 10s. a week hardly seems enough to provide extra comforts for the mother besides compensating her not only for the actual loss of her earnings, but for the risk of losing her employment altogether, which such a long abstention from work as eight weeks would entail.

The Spirit of Punishment. By John Galsworthy. (Published by the Humanitarian League, 53, Chancery Lane. Pp. 7. Price 1d.)

In this pamphlet Mr. Galsworthy maintains, in the lucid and penetrating style of which he is a master, that though the only true object of punishment is the protection of society and the reformation of the offenders, our penal system is at present still tainted with the desire for revenge, and must be purged from it before we can hope for true justice.

The Humanitarian League also sends us a pamphlet on The Cost of Sport, price 2d.; and from the Connecticut Society for Mental Hygiene comes a paper on The Value of Social Service as an Agency in the Prevention of Mental and Nervous Disorders.

New Edition.

Lady Chance's little book on the Suffrage has reached its second edition, and corrections and additions have been made which add to its usefulness. Municipal canvassers will find it most useful. It may be had from Lady Chance, Orchards, Sussex, price 6d.

Correspondence.

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

ADULT SUFFRAGE AND THE EXCESS OF WOMEN OVER MEN.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—There is one objection to Women's Suffrage that I have never yet seen adequately dealt with—viz., the preponderance of women voters, and the vast increase of the uneducated vote when—as Liberals and Conservatives both seem to think we shall—we arrive at Adult Suffrage. Mankind is at present much given to talking about the good of the State when he means the electorate; but even when he doesn't mean that, this is what in effect he says to women: "We possess all political power and most physical power, yet your interests are safe with us; yet we are afraid that though we shall always retain physical supremacy, if we give you a little more than half our political power, our interests will not be safe with you." Now to whom does he thus speak? To some cruel barbarian race? No; but to the very woman whom day after day he woos with words of devotion, and marries with promises of everlasting love, reverence, and worldly goods! If these same women were fiends, does not man's very act in so honouring them prove him too foolish to rule? But, on the contrary, who is a by-word of unselfish devotion all over the world? The mother! Of what sex is she? Is it not the aunt more often than the uncle who is devoted to her nephews and nieces, the daughter rather than devoted to her nephews and nieces, the daughter rather than the son who is the support of the parents in their declining years, and the sister who saves from her scanty earnings to give her brother a career, rather than vice versâ?

give her brother a career, rather than vice versâ?

Yet suddenly at the sound of the magic word "Vote" these women are to become monsters of selfishness, who, undeterred by their physical force, and deaf to their beseechings, are to legislate against mankind and ruin the Empire! Can it be, Mr. Anti-Suffragist, that you are judging us by your own self? But surely we are not too sceptical if we ask one little proof—one place where Women's Suffrage has done harm. We are more modest than he, and would take a little country. Yes, even one like New Zealand, even though in some mysterious meteorological way the excess of square miles per woman vitiates the evidence still further. But nowhere has Women's Suffrage made decent men miserable, or harmed Imperial interests. Imperial interests.

Imperial interests.

Then as to the bogey of emotionalism. If by women's greater emotion is meant women's greater self-sacrificing love, it might be true, though they base their claim to the vote on no such superiority; but if they mean destructive emotion, what is the evidence? Men commit five times the crimes women do (violent and otherwise), drink more (the cause of so many unconvicted offences), and swear more. Every day or two lately in the papers has been the report of some man murdering his sweetheart. The emotion of jealousy certainly seems stronger in men; and as regards exuberant spirits, look at the Universities. £100 damage done in one night because a boat-race has been won. Yet not a stick of furniture was broken at Girton or Newnham when Philippa Fawcett vindicated that much-traduced and long-repressed "female mind" by becoming Senior Wrangler!

Men's strikes show far more violence than women's. At

Men's strikes show far more violence than women's. At election times broken windows are a frequent feature, and while in a ninety-five years' struggle, Suffragists have not done £100 damage between them, men in one night at Bristol did £11,000 worth.

did £11,000 worth.

Then as to religious emotion. Superficially men seem often less religious than women, but should there be a chance of a religious riot they embrace it far more eagerly. In fact, their deep zeal seems almost to prefer manifesting itself in these violent ways! In fact, men's passions seem altogether more dangerous than women's emotions, and if we are to proceed smoothly along the path of social reform it would seem wiser to call the women to our aid. Coming daily into contact with poor parents in the L.C.C. schools, I feel this strongly. There are some bad lots among the women, of course, but as a rule one is lost in admiration of the skill, courage, devotion, and decency of these working-class mothers. As a Birmingham doctor has said, here one finds the greatest heroism. They continually overwork, they continually go short that husband and children may have enough. Now in Adult Suffrage the preponderance of working-class women voters will be these women. There are comparatively few frivolous factory girls.

In over 50 per cent. in some districts the mother supports the family; yet she takes the child to see the doctor and to the hospital afterwards. The father, out of work and so idle, does not, she says, consider it his duty.

Quite recently one of the senior County Council doctors, speaking anent quite a different matter, declared how much more interest the mothers took in their children than the

NOW READY FOR INSPECTION.



MAY WE SEND YOU A FULL RANGE?



fathers, and that the latter even if they brought the children as far as the school would turn off to the nearest house of refreshment rather than wait. Nor did any school doctor present dissent, and the experience of the L.C.C. head masters and mistresses—most reliable people usually—also agrees as far as I know it. Now, expert government is not carried on by individual voters. The only danger of an uneducated voter is that he may be exploited by some rascal, and thus made to bring undesirable pressure to bear on M.P.s for foolish measures. His vote gives him a driving power, and surely it does not require much courage to maintain that the drinking man is more liable to sell his vote for a pot of beer than the responsible, shrewd, capable mother.

After all, what, among other things, do Conservatives

a pot of beer than the responsible, shrewd, capable mother.

After all, what, among other things, do Conservatives desire? A certain order and decorum. Well, women are more peacful and law-abiding than men. What do Liberals and Labourites say they want? More compassion—a better chance for the oppressed. Well, as Keir Hardie says, women are more unselfish and philanthropically disposed than men. By some miracle of righteousness, both sides stand to gain by the enfranchisement of women, and manhood Suffrage will be robbed of half the terrors it may possess when there is womanhood as well.—Yours, etc.,

H. B. HANSON, M.D., B.S. (London).

16, Mowbray Road, Brondesbury.

ELECTORAL POLICY.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—There was in your correspondence last week a reference to my views on the electoral policy of the Suffrage Societies. I wish neither to obtrude them nor conceal them, but I do not like them to be a subject of conjecture. It is true (as your correspondent guesses) that admiration for the courage and devotion of the militants is my chief personal motive in working for Woman Suffrage to the exclusion of other questions which interest me. It is also true (as you stated) that I have been impressed by the success of the National Union in dealing with private Members of Parliament. Your policy is well adapted to secure their adherence as individuals. You can get them to vote pretty steadily year after year for the second reading of a Suffrage Bill, or even to sign memorials in its favour. But there I am afraid the zeal of most of them ends. With some notable exceptions, they do not work resolutely for your Bills, or force the Government to give them a real opportunity of becoming law. And why should they? Your policy leaves them perfectly

comfortable, so long as they have once performed their duty of going into the right lobby during an academic debate. Nor is that always the worst. A number of Liberal members who signed our memorial in June went privily to the Whips and declared that they had only yielded to pressure, and did not really wish to see "facilities" given to a Suffrage Bill. In that incident the limits of what can be achieved by your policy are evident. It is a policy which had to be pursued up to a point, but I think its fruits have been gathered by now.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1910.

The real problem, as the history of our Bill once more The real problem, as the history of our Bill once more illustrates, is how to put pressure not on the private member, but on the Government which controls the time of the House. In some way it must be made to suffer in its party interests for obstructing your cause. It will obey no other spur, and respond to no more exalted motive. There are only two ways by which a Liberal Government can be brought to terms. Liberal women could end the whole battle in a few weeks or months by simply deciding to confine themselves to Suffrage propaganda and declining to support any official party nominee. Failing that, it seems to me, the only course is for Suffragists to make war on the Government as the enemy, and on the party which supports it. If the party will allow Mr. Asquith to veto a Suffrage Bill which has a majority of 110, of what practical value to you are their votes and their pledges?

Asquith to veto a Suffrage Bill which has a majority of 110, of what practical value to you are their votes and their pledges?

May I add a word on the policy of running Suffrage candidates? I fail to see what it can achieve if it is done impartially. Assume that you successfully evict a Liberal Anti-Suffragist in Salford and a Conservative (say) in Croydon. What has happened? From the party standpoint nothing. The old balance has been preserved. True, you have put the fear of being opposed into the private member. Again, what happens? Once more nothing. The fellow gives you pledges, votes for you in a second reading, and then runs round to tell the Whips that he hopes the Government will perform the usual function of Governments—smother the Bill in its cradle. If the policy of Suffrage candidatures is to effect anything, it must be pursued against one party at a time, the party in power.

The root of the matter may be put in a sentence. At present you make candidates suffer for failing to pledge themselves; you have got to make members suffer for failing to pass your Bill. In other words, they must be made to suffer for the sins of the Government they support. When they realise that you will hold them responsible not merely for their votes, but for Mr. Asquith's acts, you will begin to observe a change in his acts.

I should like to say in conclusion that I value the work which the Conciliation Committee has brought me, for the opportunity it has given me of learning more in detail than I knew before of the unflagging and self-forgetful work of the Societies within your Union. I am in tactics an opportunist, and I believe that there has been ample room in the past both for your policy and for that of the militants. I have the firm conviction that victory is at hand, and to that victory both policies will have contributed. But if this forecast is wrong, if the Government can resist this autumn the united opessure on their several lines of all the Societies, I shall so ar revise my opinion as to conclude that fo

[We publish Mr. Brailsford's letter that our readers may have both the arguments for an "anti-Government" policy, and the disadvantages of cur own attitude, put in the most masterly way. We admit these disadvantages, but we are still unconvinced of the advantages of putting in a Conservative Government.—Ep. "C.C."]

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—Thanking you for publishing my letter and for your comments thereon, I ask you to allow me to add that you have described as Liberalism Tory democracy, the thing which in the present Government stops the women's way as

it stops every advance the Tory democrat does not favour. The will of the majority has never been known on any question in this country, yet through the principles of Liberalism, defined by Mr. Balfour in the Suffrage debate as "government by consent," we have advanced, and shall advance. The well-known principle of Liberalism is "Government derives its sanction from the consent of the governed." You say you cannot follow my argument from slavery, yet you have expressed it in these words: "At present the will of the people cannot be known," nor can it be till every adult gives a vote, so that the Suffrage cannot be extended till it has been completely extended. In my words, slavery cannot be abolished till every slave is free—an exact parallel.—Yours, E. Lindbar.

WOMEN AND OXFORD UNIVERSITY REFORM.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—On page 5 of the Report on University Reform at Oxford you will find that although the consideration of the admission of women to degrees has been postponed, the Hebdomadal Council is formally pledged to bring the matter before Congregation at an early date.

There is good reason for this delay. The Council has during the past year given much time and attention to a scheme for a Delegacy for the supervision of women students, and has, with the assistance of men and women who are activaly entered to the supervision of women and women who are activaly entered to the supervision of women who are activaly entered to the supervision of women who are activaly entered to the supervision of women who are activaly entered to the supervision of women who are activally entered to the supervision o

There is good reason for this delay. The Council has during the past year given much time and attention to a scheme for a Delegacy for the supervision of women students, and has, with the assistance of men and women who are actively engaged in the education of the Oxford women students, drafted a statute which will bring the students, their tutors and other teachers, and the societies to which they belong, into a definite relation to the University, thus securing them recognition and a status in some respects satisfactory. This statute has been three times before the Congregation of the University, and great efforts, which have so far been successful, have been made to secure that it shall pass and shall not be amended in such a way as to make it difficult to work. The Convocation stage has still to come. It would be unreasonable to expect the University, which has already given so much time to one important question affecting women, to deal immediately with another of a far more controversial nature, especially as it will shortly have a great mass of business before it. It would, I am sure, have been most undesirable to drop the Delegacy scheme until the Degrees question was settled. The former was under consideration for some months before the Chancellor's memorandum was issued, and it would have been impossible to proceed with it unless it was kept entirely distinct from other matters. We shall have time to adjust ourselves to the new conditions, and shall be able to estimate the chances of reform while we are waiting for the Council to redeem its pledge. We may find that a University Commission is inevitable, and that a new method of presenting our claims must be adopted. The admission of women to the degree is not so simple a matter as it appears to the world outside Oxford. An unives compromise, a want of foresight, a failure to realise what is essential, may seriously hamper our successors. We must remember that Lord Curzon is a pronounced Anti-Suffragist, and we must therefore seruitinize very carefully

[We rejoice to hear that the question of the admission of women to the degree is still "before the University," and have much pleasure in printing Miss Rogers' letter. Those who are of "the world inside Oxford" know well how great is the debt of women students to her unremitting labour in their interests.—ED. "C.C."]

PENSION-ASSURANCES FOR WOMEN.

EDUCATED WOMEN

who are enjoying independence and comfort during the active years of life SHOULD PROVIDE FOR THEIR OLD AGE. This may be done by means of a policy securing AN ANNUITY TO COMMENCE AT AGE 55 OR A LUMP SUM AT THAT AGE. The scheme also makes provision for the contingencies of death or marriage.

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Reports of Societies within the 'National Union.

Secretaries would simplify the work by sending in notices of FORTHCOMING MEBTINGS, endorsed with those words, with time, place, and speakers legibly written, on one side of the paper only, and on a sheet of paper separate from other matter.

BRISTOL.
Since the holidays the Committee have been busy with preparafons for an open-air demonstration on Durdham Down in support
of Mr. Shackleton's Bill. As far as speakers are concerned success
is ensured, for Miss Abadam, Mrs. Cooper, and Miss Royden are
coming to reinforce the local helpers on three platforms, and the
Men's League are organizing a fourth. Some of the Societies in the
newly formed West of England Federation will join, and it is hoped
that some of the Suffrage veterans from Bristol and Bath will be
able to be present.

There will be a good show of banners, bannerettes, and staves, and

There will be a good show of banners, bannerettes, and staves, and the banner-holders will walk from the shop to the place of meeting. We are counting on Queen's weather, but if the day should chance to be wet the demonstration will be held at the Victoria Rooms.

Mr. F. W. Rogers, the hon. secretary of the Men's League, is giving invaluable help in making arrangements. We are holding short preliminary open-air meetings to advertize the demonstration. The first of these was held at a street-corner by Mrs. W. C. H. Cross and Mrs. Duckham, in the dinner-hour on the 7th. On the 9th Miss J. M. Baretti and Mrs. H. T. Willis spoke at Stoke's Croft.

As soon as possible after the demonstration we move from our present shop to 111a, Whiteladies Road.

LIANDUDNO.

This week we have regretfully parted with Miss Nautet after her three weeks' campaign amongst us. The line of work adopted has been consistently the same—namely, personal interviews with friends and enemies, meeting in each case the particular phase of ignorance or prejudice which held the individual aloof from the cause. This form of work has none of the glamour and excitement of the public meeting, and is far more laborious, but experience has shown us how intensely it is needed, and how fruitful are its results. Miss Nautet has become a persona grata in many houses that began by trying to close their doors on a Suffragist. Besides this work, she has personally distributed over 2,000 leaflets, all carefully selected to suit the recipient; sold 104 copies of "The Common Cause" and many pamphlets. "The Common Cause" should be pleased with its greatly increased permanent circulation in Llandudno. She has also ret a good example to other branches in pressing the purchase of ladges on the members. The pretty brooch badges, at 6d. each, have taken very well. LLANDUDNO.

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LONDON—CAMBERWELL.
During the last fortnight we have had three open-air meetings in this district. In spite of bad weather, Miss Dora Brown and Miss Dawson held a very successful meeting in Rye Lane. Mr. Gugenheim, of the Men's League, and Mrs. Bowden Smith had held a meeting in the same place the previous week, and several new recruits for the Men's League was the result. On Thursday last Mrs. Bowden Smith, Mr. Malcolm Mitchell, and Mr. John Manson addressed a very large crowd in Camberwell, and were rewarded with many questions as well as a good deal of opposition.

At all meetings copies of "The Common Cause" were sold and Conciliation Bill leaflets distributed.

Conciliation Bill leaflets distributed.

NORTH OF ENGLAND.

The North of England Society held several successful meetings last week in support of the Conciliation Bill. On September 7th an openair meeting was held at Winsford in the Northwich Division. Miss G, Walsh, who had kindly undertaken to be responsible, organized a large and successful meeting. The crowd, which consisted mostly of men, listened attentively to Miss Ashton's able speech, and we hope shortly to have a strong Society in Winsford. On September 9th, Miss Ashton addressed another successful open-air meeting in East Manchester, and here again we hope to form a branch with a working committee.

working committee.

This week there are to be open-air meetings in Ashton and Oldham, and a dinner-hour meeting in Gorton. At all our meetings a resolution urging the Government to give facilities for the Conciliation Bill has been carried and has been forwarded to the Prime Minister and to the Member for the constituency in which the meeting is

NORTH OF ENGLAND-EAST MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT. On Friday, September 9th, a most successful open-air meeting was held. Councillor Margaret Ashton and Mrs. Müter Wilson delivered powerful speeches in support of the Bil before Parliament. Many questions were asked at the close, and Miss Ashton quite satisfied them in reply. Mr. Richard Bates was in the chair. Rev. A. C. George moved a hearty vote of thanks to all the helpers; this was seconded by Mrs. Atack.

NORTH OF ENGLAND-SALFORD.

NORTH OF ENGLAND—SALFORD.

Last week, Miss Ashton addressed a meeting of women at the Club on the subject of Municipal Lodging-houses for Women, and deeply interested her audience, who are only too keenly aware of the need. There was a fairly good attendance at the fortnightly social, and a large number of new members has joined the association.

A very successful meeting was held on Monday night in the Trafford Road Board Schools. The speeches were listened to attentively, and twenty new members joined the association, which now numbers nearly one hundred.

This week, Miss A. H. Ward has very kindly promised to speak for us, and she is to address the women's weekly meeting, as well as a dinner-hour and an evening meeting. We are most grateful for help in speaking, as the regular meetings in Salford are a tax on local speakers, and if anyone can offer us a few days we can promise to fill up their time.

NORTH OF ENGLAND—WIGAN.

A meeting of members and friends of the Wigan and District Branch was held on Wednesday evening, September 7th, in the Hope Street Schools. Mrs. Lamb was in the chair, and introduced Miss Achton, B.A., to the meeting. An excellent paper was read by her,

entitled "The Ideal Womanhood, Past and Present." Miss Ashton refuted admirably the many arguments used against the enfranchisement of women. She showed how education at the present day tended to raise the standard of womanhood, and she gave several interesting quotations from early writers, showing how women used to be taught that their principal aim and object was simply to fascinate the opposite sex and pander to their wishes in every way. Now present-day training teaches women that economic independence is the best state, whether they marry or not. Every girl should be educated in order to earn her own living. A hearty vote of thanks to Miss Ashton was moved by Miss McGibney and seconded by Mrs. Johnson. A little business concluded the meeting.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1910.

Johnson. A little business concluded the meeting.

REDHILL, REIGATE AND DISTRICT.

The Rev. W. C. Roberts, of Rugby, addressed an open-air meeting at Meadvale, convenad by our branch on Thursday, 8th inst. Owing to the shortness of Mr. Roberts' stay in this district the meeting had unfortunately to be got up at forty-eight hours' notice. The attendance was therefore rather small, and the audience, though attentive, was inclined to remain at a distance. The speaker is fortunately gifted with a powerful and pleasant voice, and at the close of the interesting and exhaustive address a resolution was put and carried, calling upon the Government to grant the necessary facilities to enable the Conciliation Committee Bill to be passed through all its stages in the autumn session.

Mr. Flügel, of Reigate, presided, and after a vote of thanks to the speakers the meeting terminated.

Other Societies.

Other Societies.

IRISH WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION.

The Committee resumed their fortnightly meetings at 35, Molesworth Street, on Thursday, the 8th inst. There was a large attendance, Miss H. Warren, and subsequently Lady Dockrell, presiding. Mrs. Henry Dockrell, Mrs. Moscardi, and Mrs. E. Hill Tickell were appointed delegates to represent the Association at the annual conference of the National Union of Women Workers, to be held at Lincoln in October, Mrs. Haslam also attending as a vice-president. It was decided to send a donation to the testimonial to be presented by all the Women Suffrage Societies to the veteran worker, Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, in recognition of her invaluable services, extending over forty years, in the cause of women.

The Committee were rejoiced to hear of the formation of the Irish Men's League for the Promotion of Women's Suffrage, and wish it every success. A strong resolution, to be forwarded to all the members of the Cabinet, was passed, urging that the Conciliation Bill shall be enacted during the autumn session of the present year.

THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. One of the features of the League's Special Effort Week will be an At Home at Steinway Hall, N.W., October 26th, at 8 p.m., when Olive Christian Malvery (Mrs. Archibald Mackirdy), will address, we hope, a large audience. Few books have been written of such



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human interest as her "Soul Market," a work which every Suffragist should read. Lady Constance Lytton will address a meeting at the Town Hall, Anerley, S.E., on Thursday, October 20th, at 8 p.m., The Hendon Branch is making arrangements for an evening meeting on Monday, September 26th, at 8 p.m., on which date the Church Congress Campaign opens in Cambridgeshire, Royston (26th), Ely (27th), Newmarket (28th), and Cambridge (29th), being the chief centres of our work. Much good work is being done in Worthing and Brighton, and October 11th is fixed for a meeting at Hove Town Hall.

Forthcoming Meetings.

SEPTEMBER 15.
Wells—Town Hall—Miss Royden, Miss Wheelwright.
London—Camberwell—Grove Lane—Open-air Meeting—Mr. J.
Stephen.
Town Hall—Miss Bateson, Miss Duncan.
North of England—Oleham Park Gates—Open-air Meeting—Miss Robertson.
North of England—Salford Club—Women's Meeting—Miss A. H.
Ward.
North of England—Salford Club—Debate—Mrs. Dickenson.
Broughty Ferry—Drawing-room Meeting—Mrs. Fawcett.
SEPTEMBER 16.
North of England—Salford Club—Women's Meeting—Miss A. H.
Ward.

3.0

Ward. North of England—Hankinson Street, Pendleton—Open-air Meet

North of England—Hankinson Street, Pendleton—Open-air Meeting—Miss Ashton.

7.30

London—Stroud Green—Station—Open-air Meeting—Mr. Dowse. 7.30

Dundee—Gilfilan Hall—The Lord Provost (Chairman), Mrs.

Fawcett.

-SEPTEMBER 17.

Bristol — Durdham Downs — Open - air Demonstration — Miss

Abadam, Mrs. Cooper, Miss Maude Royden.

4.0

Romiley—Garden Party at "The Haven" Admission 1s.

London—Highgate—Tally Ho Corner, Finchley—Open-air Meeting—Miss Thomson, Miss Rinder.

SEPTEMBER 19.

Fording—Bridge—Open-air Meeting—Miss Duncan, Miss Cum-

SEPTEMBER 19.

Fording—Bridge—Open-air Meeting—Miss Duncan, Miss Cumberland.

Bath—Church League—Drawing-room Meeting.

Bath—Church League—Holy Trinity Church Room—Rev. C.

Hinscliff, Miss Royden.

Bath—Church League—Holy Trinity Church Room—Rev. C.
SEPTEMBER 20.
Fording—Bridge—Open-air Meeting—Miss Duncan, Miss Cumberland.
London—Sydenham—L.L.P. Women's Suffrage Meeting—Miss Ruth Young.
Tunbridge Wells—Town Hall—Mrs. Stanbury, Miss Helga Gill. 8.0
Bath—Drawing-room Meeting. 3.0
Bath—Sawclose—Miss Royden. 8.0
SEPTEMBER 21.
North of England—South Salford Suffrage Club—Women's Meeting—Mrs. Norbury.
Cosham—Garden Fête—Mrs. Brownlow, P.L.G.
Bitterne—Open-air Meeting—Miss Duncan, Miss Boswell.
Wells—Church League—Town Hall—Miss Royden. 3.0
SEPTEMBER 22.
North of England—South Salford Suffrage Club—Social.
London—Camberwell—Collyer Place, Peckham—Open-air Meeting—Miss Robertson.
Sishop Waltham—Open-air Meeting—Miss Norah O'Shea, Miss Duncan.
Bishop Waltham—Open-air Meeting—Miss Norah O'Shea, Miss Duncan.
Reigate—Open-air Meeting—Mrs. Stanbury.
Dublin—Irish W.S. and Local Government Association—Committee Meeting.
Wells—Town Hall—Miss Royden. 3.0
SEPTEMBER 23.
North of England—85, Deansgate Areade—Special Meeting of Members.
Bishop Waltham—Open-air Meeting—Miss Norah O'Shea, Miss Duncan.
Reigate—Open-air Meeting—Miss Norah O'Shea, Miss Duncan.
Bishop Waltham—Open-air Meeting—Miss Norah O'Shea, Miss Duncan.
Reigate—Open-air Meeting—Miss Norah O'Shea, Miss Duncan.
Bishop Waltham—Open-air Meeting—Miss Norah O'Shea, Miss Duncan.
Reigate—Open-air Meeting—Miss Stanbury.

Duncan.

Reigate—Open-air Meeting—Mrs. Stanbury.
SEPTEMBER 24.
London—Highgate—Tally Ho Corner, Finchley—Open-air Meeting. 8.0
Woking—Dake Street—Open-air Meeting—Mrs. Stanbury, Mr.
Reginald H. Pott.
7.0
SEPTEMBER 25.
North of Ehgland—Salford Suffrage Club—Men only. 8.0
SEPTEMBER 26.
London—Highgate—Annual Meeting—Lantern Lecture—Miss
Bertha Mason. 8.0
SEPTEMBER 30.

SEPTEMBER 30.

Dublin (Irish W.S. and Local Government Association)—Miss M. B. Todd on "The Duties of Servants and Mistresses."

London — Highgate — High Road, East Finchley — Open-air Meeting.

OCTOBER 5.
Ondon—Enfield—Constitutional Club—Miss Rinder. London—Enheld—Consettutional Cuib—Miss Rinder.

OCTOBER 6.

Dublin—Irish W.S. and Local Government Association—Committee Meeting.

OCTOBER 15.

Stockport—Meeting—[Offers of help to Mrs. Wild, 23, Warwick Road, Romiley.]

Stockport—Meeting. OCTOBER 19.

York—Exhibition—Miss Margaret Ashton.

OCTOBER 20.

Dublin-Irish W.S. and Local Government Association—Committee Meeting.

Woking-Duke Street-Open-air Meeting-Miss Corbett, Miss

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