

The Common Cause

THE ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF



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Women's Suffrage

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A NEWSPAPER

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WOMEN OF ENGLAND!

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to prove your innate common sense, your sense of economy, and your progressive spirit. We ask you to vote for us. We offer you an entirely new article, something that supplies a long-felt want, and the price of which is RIGHT. "Semely" will treble the wear of every boot in your house, it will render them all waterproof and heat-proof, and it will give you a sense of foot comfort such as you have never before experienced. The coupon in the corner explains itself.

Read what a correspondent of the "Common Cause" writes on page 351. See article "How to Reduce Boot Bill."



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WORLD-FAMOUS MAN'S OFFER TO ALL SUFFERERS FROM BREATHING TROUBLES.

How you may obtain immediate relief and ultimate cure for Catarrh, Cold in the Head, Asthma, Bronchitis, Hay Fever, Coughs, Influenza, Catarrhal Deafness, Consumption, etc., etc.

Mr. R. T. Booth, who issues the following announcement, is the world-famous temperance orator, who some years ago, in co-operation with such friends and co-workers as the late Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, Rev. F. B. Meyer, the late Rev. Newman Hall, Archdeacon Wilberforce, Lord Mount Temple, and others, led the Blue Ribbon movement, which ultimately brought a million to temperance. This glorious work was cut short by acute catarrh and threatened consumption, which sent him, by the order of the late Sir Andrew Clark, health-seeking to Australia. There he made his great discovery of Hyomee, which has since cured multitudes of similar sufferers. Hyomee is an inhalant, which, being a powerful germ killer, cures by just breathing it.

Mr. R. T. Booth's words to sufferers are: "I want you to try this remedy because it has kept me cured for over a quarter of a century, and I know it can cure you. Thirty years ago, as many of you know, I was stricken with Catarrh in so malignant a form that my life was despaired of. Sir Andrew Clark, the late Mr. W. E. Gladstone's physician, advised me to make a journey to Australia, where it was hoped that a warmer climate would bring me relief. In that country I found my cure. That was thirty years ago, and to-day, thanks to Hyomee, I have no signs of breathing troubles, despite my age."

"I want every sufferer from breathing troubles to give Hyomee a trial. That they may do so, I have put the price within the reach of all. I implicitly believe in my remedy, and that is why I am so insistent in asking you to try it. I would not attach my name to anything unless I firmly believed it would accomplish all that I claim for it. So great is my faith in Hyomee, moreover, that I guarantee to return your money if it does not benefit you. (See Coupon below).

Your nose is stopped up. If you have headaches. If your voice is dull or harsh. If your eyes often water. If you sleep with your mouth open. If crusts form in the nose. If you catch cold easily. If your hearing is affected. If you have head noises. If your throat is dry. If you have a short, hacking cough. If you are tired on rising. If you have much discharge from the nose. If your sense of smell is affected. If mucus drops into your throat.

"If, in fact, you have one or more of the above symptoms, then there is something wrong with your breathing organs, and it is now that you should get your cure, before the trouble gets worse."

CATARRH LEADS TO CONSUMPTION.

"Catarrh not only impoverishes the system, lowers the vitality, poisons the stomach, and weakens the mind, but it renders the sufferer irritable, despondent, careless, dull, and thoughtless, and in nine cases out of ten, if neglected, it leads to consumption, that dread disease which takes off thousands every year."

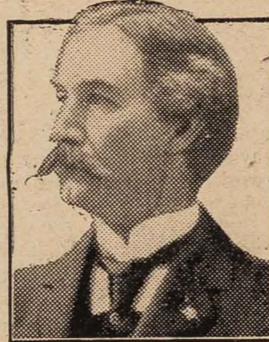
PRAISE FROM OTHERS.

"Not only am I myself convinced as to the undoubted superiority and efficacy of Hyomee, but thousands of users in this country have written me within the last few years testifying in no uncertain terms to the remarkable effect my remedy has

had in their cases. Their experience may be yours, but do not be misled by the specious advertisements of people who will apparently say anything and make any claims, however wildly absurd, to sell their nostrums.

"Remember, no cough mixture, no lozenge, no drops, indeed, no medicine taken into the stomach ever did or ever will cure, or even relieve, nasal or throat catarrh, influenza, bronchitis, or lung trouble."

"I have so devised the Hyomee Treatment that it gives you in your own home dried, clean air, filtered and impregnated with cleansing and healing balms, exactly as you would get it and breathe it if you were living as I did in Australia. That is the fact about the Hyomee Treatment; it gives you the exact counterpart of the healing Australian air in your own home. Whether your trouble is in the Head (Nose), with all the horrors of foul and dropping mucus; in the Throat, with constant hacking, soreness, phlegm, and coughing; in the Lungs, with congestion and constant threat of Consumption; or if it is Hay Fever (Summer Catarrh), there is not in the world a treatment at any price—let alone at the low price at which I offer you the Hyomee Treatment—that should be mentioned in the same world as the Hyomee Treatment for the relief and cure of the above troubles. R. T. BOOTH."



R. T. BOOTH. (Temperance Advocate, Social Reformer, Health Expert, Leader of the Blue Ribbon Movement, and Discoverer of Hyomee.)

How very effective is the Hyomee Treatment for troubles of the nose, throat, and lungs is seen from the testimony of thousands of letters from grateful sufferers, which are daily being received. Sufferers from Hay Fever, also, are finding in Hyomee a power, both for prevention and cure, hitherto unknown.

The Hyomee Pocket Outfit for giving the Hyomee Treatment contains an inhaler with supply of antiseptic gauze, a bottle of the inhalant "Hyomee," and directions how to use it for Nasal and Throat Catarrh, Head Cold, as well as for such other troubles as Coughs, Colds, Influenza, Bronchitis, Asthma, Whooping Cough, Croup, Catarrhal Deafness, Laryngitis, Consumption, Hay Fever, Throat Troubles, including, in fact, all respiratory troubles, and the price of the complete Hyomee Pocket Outfit, to place it within the reach of all, is 2s. 6d. complete.

A copy of the Booklet, giving the account of Mr. Booth's discovery, will be sent free to all who send for it, but all sufferers are advised to lose no time, but post at once coupon below with P.O. or stamps, for a complete Hyomee Pocket Outfit, seeing that delay in starting to cure such troubles is dangerous.

CUT OUT AND POST THIS TO THE R. T. BOOTH CO. THE HYOMEE INSTITUTE, 594, Museum Station Buildings, 133-136, High Holborn, London, W.C.

I enclose herewith 2s. 6d. to be refunded in full if I write you that the Hyomee Treatment has done me no good for which you will please send me a complete Hyomee Pocket Outfit, together with full directions for the application of the Hyomee Treatment (Foreign Orders is extra).

NAME (Write very plainly, stating if Rev., Mr., Mrs., or Miss.) ADDRESS

Important Note.—You are invited to write a separate letter to us, giving us full particulars of your trouble, and we will endeavour to send you a letter of special advice and guidance of how you may get rid of the same. THE R. T. BOOTH CO.

THE COMMON CAUSE.

Telephone: 1910 Gerrard.

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All Business Communications to be addressed to The Manager, The Common Cause, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Advertisements must reach the Office not later than first post on Tuesday.

Literary Contributions should be addressed to the Editor, The Common Cause, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. The Editor however, accepts no responsibility for unsolicited matter, and no manuscripts will be returned unless accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope.

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

NOTICE.—This paper is obtainable at newsagents and bookstalls by mid-day on Thursday. If people have any difficulty in getting it locally they should write to the Manager, The Common Cause, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C., giving the name and address of the newsagent or bookstall from which they wish to be supplied.

Notes and Comments.

The Apathy of the Working Woman.

In an old number of the *Methodist Times* appears an article by Mrs. Chew full of so many valuable sayings about working women that it is impossible to resist the temptation of laying them before the readers of the *COMMON CAUSE*. She relates how at a meeting a young unmarried woman pointed out that women wage-earners have always domestic duties to perform after their day's work is over. A young man "of the professional class rose, and announced that he did not see any grievance in that—why should women object to domestic work? It was 'womanly' work." Upon which the young woman replied, in the most effective manner, by giving the facts of her own case. "Well," said she, "my brother and I work the same number of hours. We even get the same pay. We both contribute the same amount to the upkeep of the home. We are both interested in self-education and culture, and in social movements, the cultivation of which is only possible in the evenings. When we come home at night my brother is free to pursue these ends, and to fit himself to become a worthy citizen. But I have to clear the table and wash up, and to darn my brother's stockings, as well as my own, and by the time my domestic jobs are done I am too tired to get full benefit from the remaining leisure time. The only alternative is to pile these jobs upon my overworked mother, and to earn the title of 'unnatural' daughter. My brother does not earn the title of 'unnatural' son, or brother, in claiming his leisure time for personal or social use."

Inevitably the brother, released from his share of household toil, grows in comprehension and in knowledge, and learns, too often, to think his sister an inferior, because of the dullness that creeps upon her fatigued mind.

Mrs. Chew quotes another case within her own knowledge of a brother and sisters, all of whom worked in a mill. The boy was ambitious, and determined that the mill should not claim all his life if hard study could get him out of it. This was quite legitimate (for him), and he had every hour out of mill time, as well as a private room, sacredly dedicated to his personal uses. But the girls? There were the bedrooms to clean, one room one night, another room the next night; there was the ironing to finish; the "house-place" to "side"; at week-ends there were windows and fire-irons, and the stone flags to swill. The boy, naturally, became keenly interested in public affairs generally, besides realising his ambition to leave an occupation which he hated. The girls, naturally, remain apathetic, and are not particularly interested in anything.

The "Life-Long Puzzle."

From the sister Mrs. Chew turns to the wife; and her picture of the woman who remains in "her sphere" and whose "life is one long puzzle how to get through" on an income of from pound to thirty shillings, is absolutely true. The puzzle can be solved—if at all—only by the practice of rigid economy, and by denial to the wife of even physical necessities. She is

necessarily and inevitably always last when there is not enough to go round. This means low vitality, and low vitality means lack of spirit and power. Also, in spite of a state of health, due to her privations, which is "a national scandal," she must perform every domestic office herself. Well or ill, whether she has a natural aptitude for, or quite as natural an antipathy against the work, she must go through the monotonous daily round; her thoughts ever revolving on how small a sum she can manage to provide dinner for to-day, consistent with the necessary filling of hungry bellies; back to speculations as to whether the rain will keep off, and permit of her drying the weekly wash outdoors, or if not, and she has perforce to use coal for drying, on what can she save, what can she manage to do without in order to make up for the extra coal? As a matter of fact, if such a woman's mind were capable of performing the gymnastic feat of turning itself from her own absorbing domestic problems to the problems of Empire, the everyday problems would suffer disaster, and this kind of disaster is just what the working-class home cannot afford. Its very existence is bound up with that gallant woman's devotion to its interests.

To reproach such women with their apathy upon larger questions is a cruelty only to be excused by ignorance. It is because they are and must be apathetic (having barely energy and vitality enough to carry on their personal hand to hand struggle) that women who have had the leisure and education ought to devote themselves to the wider impersonal struggle of which the demand for the vote is but one step.

A Strike Against War.

Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Arthur Henderson have sent to Trade Unions and other bodies of working people a letter asking for opinions upon the feasibility of preventing war by means of an international strike in countries declaring war. "If, for example . . . the miners, the railwaymen, and the transport workers generally, of these two nations, had come to a mutual understanding to cease work simultaneously in both countries on the day that war was declared . . . this fact by itself would go far towards making war impossible . . . With the possibility of this before them, our statesmen, in the event of trouble brewing between the two countries, would undoubtedly conclude that war, under these revolutionary conditions, was too great a risk to be run, and would settle the matter in dispute by saner and wiser methods." This very interesting suggestion is an instance of the extremely different angle from which public events are viewed by people who have and people who have not been brought up in the routine of Parliamentary custom. The difference is always being brought home to women, and is one among the many reasons for wishing that their view might find adequate political expression.

A "Living Wage."

Mrs. Nicholls, of Sunderland, writes to the *Standard* an account of a family consisting of a widowed mother with three daughters, of whom the eldest, sixteen or seventeen years old, cleans steps and does charring, but receives only threepence for two hours' charring, while a younger girl sells flowers after school hours. The mother suffers from chronic asthma. Mrs. Nicholls asks: "What have women to say to this 'living wage' for the literal bread-winner of a family?" Women might reasonably say that the condition of this family is largely due to an obsolete Poor Law which is not available for the prevention of destitution, but requires the utmost extreme of poverty before affording any relief. They might add that in the framing of this law women had no voice, but that they are energetic in demanding its amendment.

Women in the United States.

From *The Woman's Journal* of New York we learn that the Governor of Wisconsin has appointed Mrs. A. F. Howie a member of the Board of Agriculture, which has never before included a woman, and also that Mrs. Gertrude Atherton has gone over to California from Europe in order that she may vote in the Presidential election—pretty clear evidence that she, at least, considers a vote to be of value.

For Propaganda.

There is a considerable number of copies of last week's *COMMON CAUSE*, with Mrs. Steele's poem and coloured illustration in stock. These are available for any readers who may like to use them for purposes of propaganda at ninepence a dozen.

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

RULERS OF EARTH.

Said a man to the writer the other day: "It is

MAN'S MISSION

to govern the earth; and

WOMAN'S MISSION

to govern the home. This sounds very convincing, and people who accept their opinions ready-made, as they accept their clothing ready-made, without any thought of how or by whom they have been made, are apt to accept it unquestioningly. Especially has this been the case with women, who have been successively drilled through generation after generation in the

READY-MADE BELIEFS

of those who surrounded them. But statements which may have been true once become false as time goes on. It was once thought that it was impossible to apply steam-power to machinery; and impossible that man should be able to fly. If those whose brains and energy help on and develop natural evolution had been content to accept the primitive and ignorant doctrines and doubts of those who do not believe in progress, no progress could have been made.

Let us try to disentangle the mass of rubbish which does duty for "thought" upon this matter of woman and the home.

Let us take this suggestion that it is "woman's place to govern the home." Are we not a little out of our reckoning here? Who is it who feels it an indignity to be told that he is not

"MASTER IN HIS OWN HOUSE?"

Who is it who is the actual "head" of the home? Whose wishes and wants are paramount in the home? The wife's? The children's? Out of nine homes in every ten, you will find that the real "head," the "governor," the "master," is the man. It is the woman's part to subordinate herself to the desires and wants of her "better-half." She, in nine cases out of every ten, takes this position quite willingly, and is "governed" by consent. But what becomes of our argument that it is "woman's place to govern the home?" What is really meant when we talk like this is that it is woman's place to cook, and wash, and mend, and nurse, and to be

GENERAL HOUSEHOLD DRUDGE,

in addition to going out to help to earn the daily bread if the "master" is unable to earn enough; or in a higher state of society, where the "master's" income is large enough to pay for the domestic work being performed by other servants, it is the wife's or "the woman's" place to

DRESS NICELY

and to look pretty, and generally to do credit to

her possessor when he brings a friend home to dinner.

Sentimental people are shocked and revolted when a woman dares to examine her real position as "governor" of the home, and deny her findings hotly. Denial is the resource of the mentally poor and the wilfully blind. But changing times affect even that walled-in stoutest prejudice, the home, and the woman inside is actually

BEGINNING TO THINK

instead of taking her ideas ready-made from her male rulers! And the result is that she is actually beginning to doubt the Divine wisdom of solely masculine rule, both in home and on the "earth." And there's such an outcry! "Oh, she's going to desert the home!" She wants to be a man! "Where will she lead us to?" The air is clamorous with fears and cries.

This is very amusing to the awakened woman. That men and women, all the children of women (and a woman's children are bound to her by

CORDS FORGED BY NATURE,

stronger than anything man has ever made), should fear the actions of an awakened womanhood and motherhood is a startling commentary on the misconception which blinds the outlook of those who are prejudiced by age-long traditions.

The woman of the future—the voting woman—really

WILL GOVERN THE HOME.

She has at last realised that this—the home—is indeed her inalienable sphere, for it is here where the race—her children—are cradled. And she is horrified at the conditions of the homes of her country. Those conditions can be and are altered by those who govern "the earth" outside. So she, too, wants to take her share in making the home conditions. She wants to be more than household help to her husband and children, however much loved the helper may be. She does

NOT WANT TO BE A MAN.

And it is only the imagination which is allowed to run riot which could possibly picture the placing of a cross on a ballot paper once in four or five years changing a woman into a man. Woman has work of her own to do

IN THE HOME AND OUTSIDE;

and wants a chance to do it. Men—all of them—are the husbands and fathers and brothers and sons of women. Why should women have any animosity towards men? Why should women be feared as deadly enemies of mankind? Are they not of genus homo, too? Really, of what are we afraid? Why should women use that governing power implied in the vote more harmfully than men? Is it not more than likely that it is just the caring mother-spirit in government that the world is waiting for?

THE ELECTION FIGHTING FUND.

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MR. ISRAEL ZANGWILL.

THE FIGHTING FUND POLICY OF THE N.U.W.S.S.—FROM A LIBERAL POINT OF VIEW.

We have said a good deal in these pages about the Fighting Fund policy from the point of view of those who are engaged in carrying it out. We propose to invite some of our friends who are onlookers, and therefore see the working of the policy in a somewhat different perspective, to express their views about it. For it is a policy which has many aspects, according to the point of view from which it is regarded.

We give this week the views of Mr. Frank Marshall, who described himself as "an old-fashioned Liberal who is an equally old-fashioned Suffragist." Though Mr. Marshall has not yet taken part in any Fighting Fund election contest, he is by no means a passive onlooker. He is one of the many Liberals who are subscribing generously to our Fighting Fund. He has, we believe, withdrawn his subscriptions to several of the organisations of his own Party in order to be able to give more "Liberally" to us.

"As a voter in that constituency which has the honour of sending the speaker to Parliament, and which therefore takes part in no election contests, I am as voteless as any woman. What part can I, a Liberal, take in politics? In the election of January, 1910, I canvassed for the Liberal candidate in an adjoining constituency among simple folk of the hills. Every man knew exactly how his neighbour would vote, and how he would vote himself—had not his father and his grandfather voted the same way before? Women's Suffrage was a new idea to them, ruled by no precedent; but their minds were open, and they signed a petition for it man after man. Then came the Conciliation Bill, and the Conservative who was returned for that constituency became a member of the Conciliation Committee. I could not work against so good a Suffragist. So in the December 1910 election I looked round for work elsewhere. I found a useful opportunity for work in another constituency, not far distant, for a good Liberal and good Suffragist opposed by a hot Tory and Anti-Suffragist. In doing this, I was working on the established lines of the National Union. I am convinced that if our forces are thoroughly organised for the next general election much can be effected in this way. Any agent will welcome a score or two of canvassers well versed in present political questions—and with some experience of committee work and organisation—ready to devote their whole time to helping a good Suffragist.

That is a policy of organised individual effort. It cannot produce the same dramatic effect as the policy tried in the recent by-elections—a policy where the National Union as a body definitely supports one candidate, and that the Labour candidate, both by work and the expenditure involved in such work. The result at Crewe of the rejection of a Liberal who was less satisfactory (from the Suffrage point of view) than the Labour candidate, is even more impressive to the Liberal Whips than if a Labour man and not a Conservative had taken his place. Help at the moment of a contest is good, but work, careful and complete, in organising the work in advance is far better. Certain constituencies are already marked out for

such help, and work in them will begin almost immediately. The only question that troubles me, a Liberal in politics, is this—Ought a Liberal Suffragist to find it difficult to give help to a Labour candidate standing against a Liberal? Is he sacrificing principle to tactics? If he puts Suffrage above all other questions he makes no sacrifice of principle. If he considers it not superior, but equal to other points in the Liberal programme, does he endanger much by this course? I can appeal to no better witness than "P. W. W.," who wrote lately in the *Daily News and Leader*, "Test Liberalism and Labour on any specific issue of immediate practical politics, and they will speak with the same voice." It is not, then, in their immediate views that the two parties differ. They start from different premises, their remoter aims certainly differ, but for immediate practical purposes their action is almost united. A Liberal, therefore, in voting for or helping a Labour candidate will not hinder any great measure that he has at heart, and will certainly help the cause of the Suffrage. The Labour Party, to its everlasting credit, has made the enfranchisement of women the cardinal point of the present Reform Bill. On this question the Government have given their party no clear lead, and their indecision is threatening the cohesion of the party. They seem to think that by joggling the political kaleidoscope, things will take a shape more convenient for them—if they only wait a bit!

They are confronted by a big question which they cannot shirk, and it needs a short, sharp jerk (if it is sharp I believe it will be short) to make them realise its importance. The best thing for the party is to apply this short, sharp jerk as soon as possible. A minister absorbed in the work of his own office may be able to see no farther than the end of his nose in any other direction. He may not recognise the awakening of a political self-consciousness in working women,—the fact that women have found their place, a very considerable place, in the medical profession,—that as nurses they must know the needs and trials of the poor as well as the poor themselves, and with more understanding,—that they form much the larger part of the teaching profession, and are equal to the men in qualifications (though not in pay); that the women of leisure are slowly assuming their share in the labours of Local Government. To any detached observer is must surely be apparent that there is a great tide rising which no Mr. Harcourt can keep back with his mop though he stemmed the first ripple of the Conciliation Bill. Let us not be misled by a metaphor. This is no tide; a tide has its ebb as well as its flow. This is a great flood which rises without intermission. Its rate may be checked for a moment as it occupies a new area, but there is no going back.

It is because I am convinced of this that I, as a Liberal, want to see my party brought quickly to adopt a measure which is consistent with the foundations of their policy, which will redound to the credit of those who have the foresight to recognise its importance, and of which the longer delay will shatter the cohesion which gives my party its force.

I am, therefore, in favour of the fighting policy of the

National Union, believing that it will act as the cautery that checks the poison in the bite of a snake.

FRANK MARSHALL.

We have the pleasure this week of announcing that Mr. Israel Zangwill has consented to serve on the Committee of the Election Fighting Fund.

TENTH LIST to July 30th.

£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
Already acknowledged	2,933 19 4	Mrs. Rashleigh	1 0 0
Mrs. Druce	10 0 0	Miss E. Edwards	0 10 6
Miss Druce	10 0 0	Miss Gubbin	0 0 6
Mrs. Binks	0 2 6	Mrs. I. E. Sykes	1 1 0
Mrs. Flavelle	1 1 0	Miss Phelps	0 2 6
Mrs. Pritchard	1 0 0	Miss L. R. Bazeley	0 2 0

In Praise of Constitutionalism.

This important letter from Mrs. Fawcett is being sent to the Press. We urge all our readers to retain it for reference:—

SIR,—There is a statement sometimes openly expressed, and always implied, in the arguments of those suffragists who maintain that "militancy" is the only way to achieve the success of the Women's Suffrage movement. This statement is that constitutional agitation has been tried for nearly half a century, and has accomplished nothing. Many, especially the very young and those who have no grasp of the Women's Movement as a whole, really believe that this statement is founded on fact. Those of us who have worked for nearly half a century, and realise that the claim for political enfranchisement is part of one of the greatest movements towards a fuller human freedom which has ever taken place in the history of the world, look upon the statement referred to, not merely as untrue, but as the greatest travesty of truth which it is almost possible to conceive.

For what are the facts? Let us revert in mind to the social, political and educational position of Englishwomen half a century ago. No university had at that date even recognised the existence of women, except as benefactors; the education of girls in secondary schools (with very few exceptions, chiefly due to Quaker pioneers of sex equality) was hardly deserving of the name; the medical profession was rigidly closed; so were the municipal and all other local franchises; the idea of women being eligible for posts on local authorities was not even thought of; nursing, though Miss Nightingale had reformed military nursing, was still mainly in the hands of Sairey Gamp and Betsy Prig; there were no posts for women in the Civil Service, no women factory inspectors, no women school inspectors, no women poor law guardians; the question of women having votes for Members of Parliament had never been even raised in the House of Commons. What has been done in the fifty years since 1862? Every university in the United Kingdom has opened its educational opportunities to women; the country is covered by a network of excellent schools for girls, the medical profession is open, even the privileged Fellowships of the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons; women enjoy every local franchise, and have been elected to be mayors of important towns, and members of city, town, and county councils. The administration of the Poor Law has been reformed very largely through the influence and knowledge of more than 1,000 women acting in every part of the country as poor law guardians. These and other practical changes, all of great importance, all opening the way to greater scope for women's intelligence and women's power of work and organisation must, I contend, be regarded as by-products of the same movement, which is now chiefly concentrated on obtaining the parliamentary franchise. As proof of this it may be pointed out that the leaders in all these changes were identical with the leaders in the Suffrage movement. Mr. Jacob Bright, who succeeded Mr. Mill in the leadership of the Suffrage movement in the House, opened the municipal franchise to women. Miss Garrett (now Mrs. Anderson, M.D.), and Miss Davies, who carried the first Suffrage petition to the house of Commons in 1867, were the first women to be elected on the London School Board in 1870; Miss Becker, who led the Suffrage Movement in Manchester, Miss Stevenson in Edinburgh, were likewise the first women to be elected on the School Boards of their respective cities. The pioneers in all these educational and social movements were identical with the pioneers in the political movement. The whole of the victories they gained were the result of constitutional and law-abiding methods. The aim of the leaders was to convince the average man and woman that what certain

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Anonymous per Mrs. Auerbach	300 0 0	Mrs. Evans	1 1 0
Bournemouth W.S.S.	5 5 0	Mr. J. Forbes-Robertson	10 0 0
Mrs. C. M. Doncaster	2 2 0	Mrs. Forbes-Robertson	10 0 0
Mrs. Dryhurst	25 0 0	D. E.	0 10 0
Miss Teresa Gosse	10 0 0	Miss V. I. Mitchell	0 5 0
Miss E. M. Semple	0 5 0	Mrs. Eric Carter	1 0 0
The Lady Emily Windham-Quin	2 0 0	Miss Lilian C. Jones	5 0 0
Miss M. F. Rathbone	20 0 0	Lady Strachey	5 0 0
Mrs. Overton	5 0 0	Anonymous	50 0 0
Mrs. Hall	1 0 0	Miss Agnes Garrett	25 0 0
Miss Hartle	0 10 0	Mrs. Woodward	1 0 0
Miss Jackson	1 1 0	One-tenth of a Liberal	16 15 3
Miss I. Harvey	2 0 0	Teacher's income	1 0 0
Miss M. Holland	50 0 0	Lady Blake	0 2 6
Mrs. Percy Thompson (in memoriam)	25 0 0	Miss I. Thomas	0 5 0
Thomson Sidney Gilchrist	50 0 0	A Cambridge Member	0 5 0
Mrs. Dixon	50 0 0		
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women were asking for would be beneficial to the community at large, and injurious to no one. It never occurred to them that setting fire to houses, theatres, or the inside of letter-boxes would convince people that women were fit to be entrusted with larger powers and opportunities than they, at the moment, possessed. Their triumphs were triumphs of constitutional methods.

The militant Suffragists may, however, rejoin that all these victories were outside politics. This is not accurate. Many of the victories required legislation which could only be carried by winning the support of government and parliamentary majorities. But narrowing the issue down to the history of the struggle for Parliamentary Suffrage, what have constitutional methods achieved in fifty years? Mill, in 1867, was followed into the lobby by 73 members of Parliament, who were, of course, outvoted by a large majority. Little by little, by dint of constitutional methods educating public opinion in every possible way, a parliamentary majority for Women's Suffrage was built up in the House of Commons. Defeated again and again as we were in the earlier years (with the one exception in 1870), from 1886 onwards till 1912 Women's Suffrage was never once defeated on a straight issue by the vote of the House of Commons. Its enemies during all those 26 years could not defeat it by frontal attacks. They used every trick and stratagem to prevent divisions upon it, for many had learnt that though they could shelve it, they could not defeat it by a direct vote. This was changed for the first time for more than a quarter of a century in March, 1912, when the Conciliation Bill was defeated by 14 votes. Six years of militancy, culminating in the window smashing raids of March 1st and 4th, had their large share in bringing about this defeat; and yet the only lesson Miss Evelyn Sharp can draw from the facts is that what is required is "more militancy, and still more and more again," of what defeated us on March 28th.

I hold, therefore, that the militants totally misread the facts of the Suffrage Movement. That they are, however honest and self-devoted they may be, at this moment the chief obstacles in the way of the success of the Suffrage Movement in the House of Commons, and far more formidable opponents of it than Mr. Asquith or Mr. Harcourt. They misread the facts of their own agitation no less than they misread the facts of history, as pointed out recently by Mr. W. A. Dudley, in the *Manchester Guardian*. The riots at Bristol and Nottingham did not help to carry the Reform Bill of 1832. The almost accidental overthrow of Hyde Park railings in 1866 had no appreciable influence in passing the Reform Bill of 1867. These disorders were not fatal to the Reform Bills of those years mainly because they were the work of irresponsible mobs, in the case of Bristol and Nottingham, gathered from the lowest and most brutalised of the population. If Bentham, James Mill, Lord Grey, and other leaders of the Reform Movement of 1832 had led these outrages in person, or if they had referred to those who led them as persons "whom they loved and honoured for their noble courage," it is practically certain that the date of the success of the first Reform Bill would have been greatly deferred.

The task of the Constitutional Suffragists is more than ever to strengthen the constitutional agitation, and to point out that justice long deferred has always led to revolutionary outbursts, and that the business of those who believe in representative institutions is to prove their sincerity by admitting to their benefits the only section of the population now excluded from them. Force is no remedy. Mr. Asquith said not long ago:—"Great is the magic of free institutions." Let him try this magic now in the case of women.

Your obedient servant,
(Sd.) MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT,
President, N.U.W.S.

Political Pressure.

The question of how politicians can be affected is of extreme importance to all persons interested in any reforms that require—as most reforms do—the assistance of legislation. It becomes interesting, therefore, to examine the position and the aims of Members of Parliament in general. While they are candidates they are ground between the pressure of electors demanding from them promises of support for more measures than the most active and despotic of Governments could pass in a generation, and the pressure of their own double unwillingness either to promise or to refuse. These contending influences produce as their final resultant that style of oratory which employs a great many words and is full of sounding generalities, but carefully avoids descending to particulars. The gentlemen who employ it are not entirely to be blamed; they are compelled to talk, and they know it dangerous to say anything. They must, if possible, offend no voter, either now or in the future, and they must avoid committing their party.

After gaining a seat, a member is still exposed to the attack of all or any of the electors who gave it him—or who did their best to give it to somebody else. He is also at the orders, more or less, of the party to which he belongs. Again he has to steer between two currents.

The party in power is committed to two or three particular measures, and its leaders have more than enough to do in piloting these through all their difficulties. Any persons who hamper them by demanding something more or something else, become by that very act incipient antagonists—troublesome people whom it will possibly be necessary to pacify, but certainly pleasant to dish.

What methods, then, must these troublesome persons pursue in order to advance their ends?

If they are electors the course is fairly clear; they must worry their own representative in the first place and get him, if possible, to pass on the worrying to his fellow members and his party leaders. If a considerable body of local worthies can be gathered together, the representatives will listen with great attention; if there is any possibility that the local worthies might turn an election, the party leaders, too, will consider their wishes and probably consent to carry them out.

But how, if the troublesome persons are not electors? In that case the procedure remains the same, but several preliminary steps become necessary. The aim is still that of bringing voting power to bear. The malcontents must somehow, find or form a group of members who will staunchly support their aims in the House. The most convenient and the strongest form of group is, of course, a party already organised and disciplined; and if such a party can be won to furnish united and faithful support, it becomes worth while to strain every nerve in giving help of every possible kind to that party.

That is the position at present existing in regard to Women's Suffrage and the Labour Party; and although there are a few of our own National Union members who do not perfectly relish the Union's policy, there is no Liberal or Conservative member of the House of Commons who does not understand its meaning or its force—nor any editor of a party newspaper either. In public they may ignore it, or pooh-pooh it; in their silent thoughts they know better, and in their hearts they respect us because we are taking a hand in their game and playing it according to the rules.

The Woman's Movement in Germany.

By HELENE STOECKER, PH. D., BERLIN.

"Höchstes Glück der Erdenkinder ist doch die Persönlichkeit." This saying of Goethe's appears to me to be the most intense motive for women's emancipation. What was of import in Goethe's and the romantic period to a select class of women is demanded at the present day by a younger generation of women. Even woman feels the courage and the will "sich in die Welt zu wagen, der Erde Weh, der Erde Glück zu tragen." With training, which is often by no means easy, the strength grows on her as she goes through life to continue boldly and not to despair at the storms and conflicts which no one is spared.

Doubtless in Germany it was the individualistic view of life of Goethe and romanticism from which the women's movement grew up, which was the cause of its development and which brings about the constraint of domestic relationships. It would show a certain amount of naïveté and ignorance of historical and psychological events, to believe that it is simply a matter

of cleverly-arranged agitation to bring a women's movement into existence. Except for the powerful changes which the invention of machines brought with it, we should have stayed where we were at the beginning of the 19th century. That is to say the more refined and mentally powerful women would quietly rejoice at the excellence of their own gifts without thinking of making this excellence attainable for the other members of their sex. Even if women in their household work had had a fully satisfactory activity—i.e., inasmuch as this activity was productive, the changed conditions of industry would have completely abolished it. From a productive, rose a more administrative activity. Thereby the possibility of giving occupation to the numerous feminine powers in the house was lost. The old saying: "A woman's place is at home" had real meaning as long as the woman could do everything which belonged to the home. When the advancement of machinery took that out of her hand there was nothing else to do but to seek out of the house the work without which every person falls away physically and mentally.

In this way the women's movement became a necessity. By means of it that was made a possibility for women in poor circumstances even of the educated classes, which forms not only life itself, but the foundations of life—viz., economic dependence on their own work. There are only two ways open for a woman to whom an opportunity for work is denied, if she has not been prudent enough to come into the world with a yearly income, and they are, disgrace or death. Even those who have no conception of mental hunger have had to realise that she is acquainted at any rate with physical hunger, and she should therefore be allowed to satisfy this physical hunger with the work of her own hands. Even if there had been no woman's movement, it would have had to be invented by the leaders of the state, unless indeed they had resolved to pension off all the women and keep them at the public cost.

The two roots of the women's movement, the material and the ideal, were so closely connected that it was not possible to fill the material need, without acquiring immediately the conception of the ideal. The first German women's association in the cause of the women's movement was founded in the year 1865, two years after Lassalle, also in Leipzig, founded the first German workmen's association. For the first few years they were very modest in their claims for higher education for women, perhaps in the hope of gaining by their modesty more sympathy from the authorities. But in about the year 1890 they began to change their opinion. Apart from the fact that the time had grown riper, the idea had risen among a certain number, that in women's movements, as in all politics, Bismarck's saying applies, "Dutiful children get nothing." In this way a more radical tendency was created, which we have doubtless to thank for the more energetic progress, which the last ten years show, particularly in Germany.

In the year 1894 the various German women's associations were brought together for the first time as the "Bund deutscher Frauenvereine" (League of German women's associations). This league originated as a result of the stimulus which German women received at the Chicago International Congress in 1893. An international women's league has existed since 1888; it includes several millions of women and held an international women's congress in Berlin two years ago. But the first international women's congress which was held in Berlin was in 1896 and it marks an epoch in the German women's movement. By it we gained the Press to our side and so procured a powerful ally: for till then it had for the most part kept perfect silence. There are several organs of this movement—for example, "Die Frauenbewegung," the radical organ edited by Mrs. Minna Cauer; "Die Frau," the organ of the moderates, edited by Helene Lange; the "Centralblatt des Bundes deutscher Frauenvereine," edited by Mrs. Marie Stritt; "Mutterschutz," a magazine for the reform of sexual ethics of which I am the editor. But however necessary and instructive these organs may be, perhaps it is of more importance for publicity that the representatives of the great daily newspapers should understand women's demands and interest their readers in them.

The international congress of 1896 gave us in Germany much more than that; for the first time we had the encouragement of the most intimate contact with the best women of all civilised lands, and we realised fully that the further development of woman is a necessary and ever-increasing factor in civilisation, in the growth of which men have as much interest as women.

No small amount of praise for the success of the movement is due to the energetic propaganda, made by the so-called radical women under the leadership of Mrs. Minna Cauer, Dr. Anita Augspurg, Maria Lischnewska, Lida Gustava Heymann and

others. The more energetically the women advanced and fought the more obvious became their division into various groups. Even at the time of the foundation of the league in 1894, the working women's associations were debarred from it, for they were looked on as political associations, and women in Germany might not legally found political associations. In consequence the so-called proletarian movement of the social democrats strove with great energy to keep out of all connection with the middle-class women's movement. The social democrats were even until lately of opinion that a women's movement was foolish and impossible beside the workmen's movement, and such a movement must be left for the middle and higher-class women.

Even Mrs. Lily Braun, who has sprung from the middle-class women and is now one of the leaders of the social democrats, for some years considered it an "evil" that there was a special women's movement. But the necessity of a union of women to represent their separate interests has now been recognised and the much-abused women's organisation has been adopted. As the social democratic women are in the very gratifying position of having a few million followers, it is to be expected that in ten or twenty years their movement will surpass the middle-class liberals in numbers and power, just as at the present day the social democratic party surpasses the few really liberal men.

Among the classical conservatives also it has been recognised that it is time to take some part in the women's movement, unless they want to drive the women into the arms of the progressive parties. In this way two religious women's leagues have come into existence. The first is the Evangelical women's league under the leadership of Paula Mueller, and in this all the women are united who do not want to take part in the women's movement without giving expression to their religious conviction. The other is the Catholic women's league under the direction of the Centre, which with its well-known diplomacy organises the women under the rule of the priests. The fact that the Centre is now taking the women's movement officially into its protection, is the best argument that this movement is being taken seriously and can no longer be ignored, and among the masses that stand behind the Centre, the growth of a Catholic women's movement is noteworthy, although we must count on a slower growth here than among the proletarians.

Between these extremes to the right and the left lie the numerous parties with their shades of difference, which are all joined in the "Bund deutscher Frauenvereine." These loosely connected associations could only resolve upon such things as everyone could heartily give consent to, and they were in no way capable of leading the women's movement (as Helene Lange, the leader of the moderates, characteristically declared some years ago). An organisation has risen from them which has become more and more conscious of its task. Indeed the difference of view are so great in it, that at the league meeting in Nuremberg a few weeks ago, one might have thought it was a fight between agrarians and liberals.

The divisions in the women's movement according to the religious and political standpoints of the women, indicate sufficiently that the women's question is not the same in the different classes and kinds of women and requires a different solution for each. The social democratic women are wrong in their assertion that only the success of social democracy will guarantee the success of the women's movement. There are men among the social democrats as among all other political parties, to whom the women's problem is a book with seven seals; while on the other hand, there are members of all parties who have already grasped the importance of this struggle.

(To be continued.)

The Living State.

By LEONARD INKSTER, M.A., BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Feminists may view with satisfaction the letters of which Sir Almroth Wright's is an example. There are two tremendous questions of to-day, the one is Socialism and all that it means, the other Feminism and all that it implies. Not so many years ago if you confessed Socialism you stood a reasonable chance of being shown a gentleman's door, just as if you had admitted to being a pro-Boer; to-day you may be a Socialist as another may be Conservative or Liberal, and, though opposed, you will not be martyred. Within the last year Woman's Suffrage has been recognised as tremendous. Its opponents, previously silent or playful or academic, have gone to the roots.

The question is now being deeply considered in relation to eugenics and sexual considerations. Sir Almroth Wright talks of an "epicene world," and the important part of his opposition

comes practically to this: "Nature has sanctified division of labour and postulated specialisation of function. If you, instead of developing this specialisation, ignore its necessity, you make a retrograde step and suffer. Men have therefore agreed to banish the feminine element—the disturbing sexual element—when important work is in hand. They do not, and should not, darken counsel by introducing a factor alien to the intellectual sphere, the factor of sexual interaction. Women can think and men can think, but together they cannot do it well; and the result of evolution is that men are allotted to the thinking—that is, to life in relation to the external world, and woman are allotted to the doing—that is, to life in relation to the intimate world. Man is in business; woman in the home.

Now, two wrongs do not make a right; otherwise we should answer that men do not banish the disturbing element unless it suits their prejudice; there are female clerks, hospital nurses, mixed attendances in churches, etc., etc., in each case, no doubt having something of the effect claimed. But the point is that anti-feminists, in opposing free and mingled citizenship of both sexes are approving the principle of segregation, which is the policy of the harem. Then Sir Almroth Wright speaks of a sex war—let me remind him that Meredith spoke many years ago of such war—being freely recognised in France. Strindberg, the Scandinavian, most strongly recognises this sex struggle, and is logical enough to oppose entirely any development of women from the condition of genetic instruments to that of human beings. He is frank. Mostly for the peace of the family, but also for the sake of healthy maternity, it is not good that women should be intellectually developed as man; and no one at this time of day will say "What has all this to do with votes?" for votes are symbols, and the opposers themselves say that the root-question is clean-cut: "Are you a feminist or a brutalist?" Sir A. Wright is a Strindbergian; he finds the sex distinction so well-marked that intercourse in important matters is stultified by it. Others are more concerned with eugenics, and assert that free intercourse tends to destroy this sex distinction, to assimilate the two sexes. They fear the rise of a neutral or third sex. They fear for maternity.

The first position distorts and exaggerates one chosen element. Man's common sense has taught him—and it is backed by the Prayer Book—that it is not wise to banish the feminine from serious matters. Against the sex disturbance must be, and in life is, set the stimulation of the supplementary intellect. Moreover, such sexual considerations may easily be exaggerated, for in practice the relation "male to female" is subordinate ninety-nine cases out of a hundred to "human being—to human being." What we may call the "sexual emanation" is no doubt present, but unless a man is an erotic maniac it is not ordinarily powerful to prevail over the "human emanation." The second position is based on Schopenhauer and not on Science. It may be that a woman deteriorates for actual maternity (possible on the physical side), but against this has to be set the influence of the mother on the child when born. To put it crudely, in spite of Schopenhauer, we would rather an intellectually balanced mother trained our children than a fool. But the whole of the eugenics argument rests on an insecure basis. We have at present no science of eugenics. At the most, anti-feminists can only say that citizenship may injure maternity, that a developed human being may not so well perform a special physical function as one less completely developed. Have we the right and the duty to oppose the development of a human being because he or she may prove, when so developed, of less value to the race? No democracy would admit the establishment of such a blank wall. In short, a woman's duty as a mother is not only physical; also, she is not always acting as mother, nor is she a servant of the race; she forms one half of human kind.

For now we come to the main fallacy of Sir Almroth Wright, Dr. Leonard Williams, and other serious opponents of the movement. They assume that having proved—generally it is not proved, but enough of that—the existence of one (or several) disadvantages of enfranchisement, they have proved the undesirability of enfranchisement itself. The *Non Sequitur* obviously lies in their ignoring possible counterbalancing advantages. The number and extent of these latter have very greatly to be taken on trust; democracy believes in enfranchisement even if none were obvious. It is the duty of democracy to take risks, and, like art, to explore the unknown. When working men were enfranchised, it was not considered that their votes would directly benefit the State; firstly, the votes would benefit their possessors, but secondly, and with a view if you like to indirect benefit to the state, the theory was that the content was of more importance than the mould, the spirit than the form. Most of us look with longing on a perfectly ordered state, of perfect form, law and proportion, ruled by one perfect

intellect. In practice that aristocratic ideal has vanished; we now realise that the perfect formula must be reached not from without but from within. When it is reached we shall have reached the achievement of the purpose of the human race. Meanwhile, with all the artist's reverence for the conservative ideal of form and tradition and order, democrats believe that any and all contemporary forms and traditions and rules must give way to any one single demand for life, for it is only thus that the State can move on from half-way to completion. In practical language, we can never even begin to think of ourselves as a nation with a form and a purpose to be achieved, till every normal individual is recognised a citizen. If you want form, then you will have a nobler form in the growing, and for the rest you will never grow that nobler body without a life of all its component members. That, in brief, is the theory of political liberty, based not as Mill based it on the sufficiency of liberty in itself, but on its necessity as a means to an end. No liberty, no life; no life, no growth; no growth, then an arrested and rigid and incomplete form. And political liberty is the symbol and foreshadowing of human liberty.

As an instance of incomplete form, permit me to point to the Greek civilisation. It was found that for the perfection of the life of the Greek citizens it was necessary that there should be maintained a race, not citizens, who were slaves. We now admit that if one slave had demanded enfranchisement it should have been given him, even though the whole glorious edifice toppled as a result. And this is not merely because we regard liberty as sacred, but because we see that the system itself implied failure. As form it was incomplete, for it did not embrace all its members. To the Greeks we say "Try, try, try again." Come weal or woe, when one woman asks for what is a priori her right, the democratic body is bound to admit her. She has only to be vocal to establish her right. We may fear the results; we must take the risk. We may say she will gain nothing; that is her affair and remains to be proved.

With those, then, who oppose Woman's Suffrage on the ground of opposing any extension of the suffrage we can sympathise, but not agree. But there are some not in that position. They say "You must draw the line somewhere." These are like the Greeks who drew the line at the Helots. But our modern friends wax facetious. They say "Enfranchise women and you must, to be logical, enfranchise children; include children, there is no bar to the anthropoid apes; if apes, why not the other animals, and can you differentiate between animal and vegetable?"

"And," I might add like the man in Mr. Chesterton's story, "Why should salt suffer?"

It is true you must draw the line somewhere, but the false assumption of the "children" argument is that there is the same sort of difference between men and women as between women and children. A woman as a social human being is parallel to a man; any individual woman may need tutelage, as any man may, but woman, generally, is parallel in completion to man. Child is not. In practice we admit this difference of kind by entrusting children to both men and women. This does not militate against the former argument about the intellectual development of woman; it is merely a statement that woman as such is not a half-way house between child and man. I have shown that democrats have rejected the theory of tutelage of man as such by the State; there is no incompleteness, different in kind, as there is with child, to prevent woman as such from coming under the same category. The perfect child is still embryonic; it has to grow into another form of life.

"Votes and Wages."

(Continued.)

III.

Miss Pott then sets up a straw man, and knocks him down: she says, in effect, "Miss Royden says women are not consulted with regard to legislation about their interests. I give instances to show that they are."

What I really said was that members of Parliament would lose their seats if they did not take the trouble to understand their constituents' interests. I went on: "Women have no such leverage. They may be legislated out of their work in sheer light-hearted sentimentality by men who have never taken the trouble to understand the industry in question. . . . To acquire knowledge is toilsome. . . . it is too much to expect all members of Parliament to take trouble for no political advantage. . . . It is time that women were given some claim on the time, service, and intelligence of those who legislate for them."

All this obviously means not that men cannot or do not consult women when they feel inclined, but that women have no leverage, no claim, by which they can demand that their voice should be heard in their own interests, and can see that their advice when given shall be (in economic phrase) "effective."

Miss Pott cites instances of Commissions which examined women experts on various subjects. On how many of these Commissions did women sit? I have not all the lists of names with me, but I am practically certain (and Miss Pott's silence on this point confirms me) that there were none. I know that on the Select Committee on Home-Work (1907), occupied in the investigation of industries almost entirely run by women, not a single woman sat. And the report of that Committee, even embodying, as it did, recommendations founded on the evidence of women experts, was treated with considerable contempt. As related in the *Englishwoman* (May, 1909):—"An anonymous Superior Authority quietly decides that the recommendations in the Report are hopelessly at variance with the latest and best principles of social reform, as interpreted by the Permanent Official, and accordingly proceeds to deal faithfully with that Report. The Committee having strongly advised that the case of the home-worker demands separate attention, and must on no account be complicated by the inclusion of the antagonistic factory worker element, the permanent officials decided to override that recommendation, and include factory workers. No reasons are given—none seem to be expected."

I have already quoted (in "Votes and Wages") Mrs. Fawcett's account of the chain-makers' deputation, and the amazing ignorance of this industry displayed by the official in authority. It is easy to add examples. Miss I. O. Ford, going on a deputation with a number of men to a member of Parliament, was equally struck with his remarkable range of knowledge about the men's industries, and his blank ignorance about the women's. He had not, he explained, "had time to go into all that." The memorial of the headmistresses of girls' public secondary schools in favour of women's suffrage is pre-faced by the statement that the signatories "asked Mr. Asquith to receive a deputation in order that they might lay their views before him in person. This request was refused." A few weeks ago, on a question about the proposed Registration of Nurses Bill, Mr. Asquith blandly confessed his ignorance of "the facts cited" by Mr. Chapple, M.P. for Stirlingshire. Miss Margaret Breay (hon. secretary Society for State Registration of Nurses) pointed out in the *Standard* (June 28th, 1912) that these facts had been supplied to him, but had evidently not been thought worth consideration by "those responsible for keeping him informed of the contents of his correspondence."

In the same spirit, Mr. Buxton* refuses to consider the demand of organised working women for representation on the Industrial Council (composed entirely of men), reminding them that "it would be open" to the Council "to have the assistance of women," when they felt inclined to! (The italics are mine).

Miss Pott also complains that I have misrepresented Mr. Burns' reference to women's work by omitting the context. Let me give it now:—

"The land must be opened, and the rush to the towns held back; women's work must be greatly curtailed, child labour abolished, and men's casual labour ought to be abolished."

Miss Pott makes on this passage the astonishing reflection that "if there is any complaint, the men have better ground than the women," because Mr. Burns wants to stop their (the men's) casual labour. Either this sentence is absolutely senseless, or Miss Pott really believes that to "stop casual labour" means to take work away from men. It seems hardly possible that it can be necessary to explain that Mr. Burns' intention was not to take away men's work, but to de-casualise it. He does not, e.g., propose to abolish dock labour, or to hand it over to women; he wants (what everyone else wants) to make it regular, and not casual. But in his glowing picture of reform he includes the (to women) terrifying item that their work must be "curtailed"—their avenues of employment stopped up—their hard-won claim to variety and scope refused, to the supposed advantage of the men. I do not know what is added to the reader's knowledge of Mr. Burns' opinions by quoting the context of the statement about women's work, except that to restrict the demand for it by legislation is, to him, part of a glorious ideal. It may be Miss Pott's ideal, too; but she must admit that, if wages depend on demand and supply, this "ideal" is a terrifying one for other women—those, in fact, who are to be among the "curtailed."

A. MAUDE ROYDEN.

* See report of debate in House of Commons, *Manchester Guardian*, April 26th, 1912.

Miss Octavia Hill.

In the many notices of Miss Octavia Hill's admirable and varied public services that have been called forth by her death we miss a recognition that the apparent originality and novelty of her work was in reality an expression of the woman's point of view, which appears comparatively seldom in public life. In Miss Hill's work, as in Miss Nightingale's, there was a marked inclination towards immediate and practical action carried on in strict obedience to certain principles but unfettered by minute rules. Both of them possessed the housewifely eye and the instinct for "clearing up" disorder. Each in her own way did for her country great and unique services—precisely because she was a woman; and each left behind the lesson, so difficult for some sorts of men to learn, that in public as in private life women have work to do that will remain undone unless women do it.

THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

Non-Party. Non-Militant.

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

PRESIDENT:

Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Hon. Secretaries:

Miss EMILY M. LEAF (Press).
Miss I. B. O'MALLEY (Literature).

Hon. Treasurer:

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Telegrams: "Voiceless, London."

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

By-Elections.

MIDLOTHIAN.

Provost Brown (Labour).
Candidates: Major Hope (Unionist).
Hon. Alex. Shaw (Liberal).

Election Fighting Fund Organiser: Miss Margaret Robertson.

District.	Organiser in charge.	Committee Rooms.
Central ..	Miss Kirby..	40, Shandwick Pl., Edinburgh
Dalkeith ..	Miss Henderson ..	9, South Street.
West Calder ..	Miss Foggo..	The West End Billiard Saloon.

The support which the National Union would naturally give to the Labour candidate as representative of the Women's Suffrage Party in the House is further justified by the respective attitudes of the three candidates. Major Hope is in favour of the Conciliation Bill, but will not promise to support any amendment to the Reform Bill. Mr. Shaw will vote for Adult Suffrage, but will not give any definite pledge as to his action, should the Adult Suffrage amendment be defeated. Mr. Provost Brown, on the contrary, will support all the recognised Women's Suffrage amendments to the Reform Bill, and we are therefore preparing to give him our strenuous and enthusiastic support.

Midlothian is a terribly difficult constituency to work, having an area of over 300 square miles, and a population scattered amongst thirty or forty villages, few of which can be said to be of any more importance than the rest. The bulk of them can, however, be roughly divided into two groups, and we are making Dalkeith our centre in the one, and West Calder in the other. To Dalkeith, Miss Low went on Friday to secure committee-rooms, and succeeded in getting a nice shop with three windows, in an excellent position. The owner was entirely overcome with the humour of the situation, and laughed consumedly; but he was most obliging and will make all possible arrangements for the comfort of our workers.

West Calder was a harder nut to crack. There was not a single shop or room on the main street to be let. But Miss Robertson, after much negotiation, managed to secure the wall of a public-house and the window of an ice-cream shop for posting, and the lumber-room of a billiard saloon, just round the corner, for a committee-room. The less said about the comfort of the workers in this case, the better, but the situation, exactly opposite the polling-station, is the best in the village.

It will be readily understood that in such a constituency, getting about will be an almost insuperable difficulty—quite insuperable, were a motor-car not obtainable. We are not able to borrow a car and the one which we hope to hire will make a huge hole in our election money. Will not anyone give us a special donation to enable us to have a car the whole time (it may be a month)? Such a donor would be daily and hourly blessed by our workers!

Miss Low has engaged a hall in Dalkeith for September 3rd, when we hope to have Mrs. Snowden as our chief speaker. Most of our meetings will, however, be in the open-air, and we would make a special appeal for outdoor speakers, particularly those with understanding of the Labour position. Canvassers, too, whose sympathies are with the Labour Party, will be greatly needed.

War Against Poverty.

A Joint Committee of the Independent Labour Party and the Fabian Society is organising a National Conference on October 11th, at 10 a.m., at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, to promote "War Against Poverty." It will consider demands for legislation dealing with a legal minimum wage, reduction of the hours of labour, complete provision against sickness, a national minimum of child nurture, prevention of unemployment, healthy homes for all, and the abolition of the Poor Law.

In the evening a demonstration will take place at the Royal Albert Hall, at which J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., will take the chair, and the following will speak: Mr. W. C. Anderson, J. Keir Hardie, M.P., George Lansbury, M.P., L.C.C., Miss Mary MacArthur, G. Bernard Shaw, and Mrs. Sidney Webb. This demonstration will inaugurate a campaign to be carried on throughout the country by means of conferences and public meetings.

We are fortunate in being able to secure Mrs. Annot Robinson and Mrs. Chew, both immensely popular speakers in the Labour as well as in the Suffrage movement. Miss Henderson (of Dundee), Mrs. Tozer (of Heywood) and Mrs. Townley (of Blackburn) are also arriving within the next few days, and the return of Miss Lisa Gordon from her holiday on Monday will be a great addition to our strength.

Unfortunately the majority of the members of the Edinburgh Society are away on their holidays, but the few remaining are giving us valuable help. We may specially mention Miss Begbie and Mrs. Turnbull, who is giving hospitality as well as helping in the central committee rooms.

MANIFESTO TO THE ELECTORS.

The election policy of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies is to support always that man whose election by Parliament would do most to promote their aim—i.e. to obtain the Parliamentary vote for women on the same terms as men. On this question both Conservative and Liberal parties are divided, but the Labour Party is not only united, but is determined to put up a strenuous fight for the enfranchisement of women during the coming session. It is therefore obviously in the interests of women suffragists to strengthen as much as possible that party which has made their cause its own.

But we have also to consider the views of the individual candidates, and on this ground too we have no hesitation in recommending to you the Labour candidate—Provost Brown, Major Hope, although not opposed to the enfranchisement of women ratepayers, has refused to give us any promise of support. Mr. Shaw will vote for adult suffrage, but will not pledge himself to support an amendment on narrower lines, should the wider amendment be defeated. Provost Brown, however, though he will vote first for adult suffrage, will support the inclusion of women in any form which can secure a majority in the House of Commons, and he will co-operate with the Labour Party in their determination to use all their power, and all their influence to secure that the Bill shall be so amended.

In conclusion we would remind you that the Society which makes this appeal is a non-militant organisation, with a membership of over 40,000, and a record of fifty years of peaceful work on constitutional lines. We ask you to remember that women, like men, share the burdens and responsibilities of citizenship; that women, like men, are subject to taxation, and liable to legal penalties; that the work of women, like the work of men, is necessary in the home and in the State; and to support that man and that party to whom we can look to do battle, in the near future, for the human rights of women as well as men.

EAST CARMARTHENSHIRE.

Candidates:—Dr. J. H. Williams (Labour).
—Rev. Towyn Jones (Liberal).
—Mr. Mervyn Peel (Conservative).

Polling Day: Thursday, August 22nd.

National Union Organiser: Miss Waring, Aclybryn, Crescent Road, Llandilo.

The constituency has been divided into five districts as follows:—

District.	Organiser in charge.	Committee Rooms, etc.
Llanelli ..	Miss Chambers ..	14, Station Rd., Burryport.
Ammanford ..	Miss Sheard ..	Wind St., Ammanford.
Llandilo (Furnished House) ..	Miss Wareing and ..	Central Office, Aclybryn.
Llandilo (Unfurnished House) ..	Miss Chenevix ..	Crescent Rd., Llandilo.
Llandoverly ..	Miss Blackstone ..	Stall at Market on Friday and Miss Davies.
Golden Grove ..	Miss Smith, Hon. Sec.,	Llanelli Society.

This extraordinary by-election proceeds. In nearly every nook of the constituency Women's Suffrage has been heard of, and received in varying moods, sometimes with open-mouthed wonder, sometimes with a smothered

giggle, sometimes with responsive enthusiasm, practically always with courtesy.

The constituency in its northern part touches a wild, mountainous district, with hardly a human habitation, a place of rocks and torrents and sheep. Further south comes the agricultural valley watered by the river Towy, with ranges of hills rising one after another to the right. The ancient town of Llandovery, and the picturesquely situated Llandilo are here the marketing centres. At Llandilo the Towy turns westwards through the Golden Grove district, one of the most beautiful parts of Wales. For miles there is hardly any group of houses large enough to be called a village, but on the neighbouring heights there are the ruins of ancient castles—Dynevow, Dryslwyn, and others. To the right is the vast expanse of the Black Mountain, with hardly a tree, not to talk of a cottage. Seven miles south of Llandilo comes Ammanford, and up towards the east stretches a mining valley, the most densely populated part of the constituency. South again follow small industrial centres, with collieries and steel works. Then come the seaside places, ports and summer resorts. A far cry it is indeed from the shepherd of the north to the sailor of the south.

The multiplicity of interests naturally complicates the political situation. The confusion is extraordinary. And one wonders if ever such amazing things were said in election times as from the platform of East Carmarthenshire. The campaign is being fought largely in Welsh. Some of the people do not understand English.

From the Suffrage point of view the situation is interesting. Mr. Mervyn Peel and the Rev. Josiah Jones (always known as the Rev. Towyn Jones, after the river by which he lives) are not explicit enough in their pledges to be entirely satisfactory on Women's Suffrage. Dr. Williams, the Labour candidate, has, on the other hand, answered all our questions in the affirmative. We are, therefore, supporting him. Unfortunately, it was not known till about three weeks after the campaign was started whether his candidature would be official, and our support of him began late in the day—too late to be very effective.

It has rained every day except for about three and a-half weeks. This has hampered our campaign. In spite, however, of having had to cancel numbers of open-air meetings, over 1,000 COMMON CAUSES have been sold. This fact bears witness to the interest created by our propaganda.

L. F. WARING.

LLANOVERY DIVISION.

Work was begun in this centre on August 6th, and successful meetings have been held in Llandovery, Farmers, Pumpsaint, Llanwrda, Llangadock, Cilgwyn, and Talley, in some cases being the first Women's Suffrage meetings held in these places. Miss Eva Ward, whose 6ft. 2in. of height has caused much astonishment in these parts, came over from Llandilo for four nights to speak at these meetings. She is known up and down the constituency as "the tall one," and one man was heard to express the opinion that her brain was as long as her body. Miss Davies has given invaluable help by speaking in Welsh. One or two of these places are remote little villages among the mountains, where one comes across people who do not speak or understand English. We have had a stall in Llandovery market-place on three market days, and have found that the country people are delighted to have our Welsh leaflets. The drives back after meetings have quite an air of adventure, as the roads in this part of Wales are not adapted to motors, and we have scandalised the peaceful citizens of Llandovery on several occasions by returning between 12 and 1 a.m.

E. L. BLACKSTONE.

SOME INCIDENTS OF THE CAMPAIGN.

Throughout the length and breadth of the constituency the gospel of Women's Suffrage has been preached. Everywhere keen interest in and even enthusiasm for our movement has been shown, and many have been the expressions of goodwill that have sent us "on our way rejoicing." The verdict of aged villagers everywhere has been, "I never saw such a crowd before." Most nights it has numbered from 600-800, and at Llangennech on Friday it was estimated at 1,200. Here Mrs. Alderley made a most inspiring speech, and was afterwards thanked by the Vicar, who assured us of his cordial support.

"Common Causes" sell like wildfire; and "three cheers for the ladies" followed by cheers for the Labour candidate are given by the crowds.

A staunch supporter of the cause very kindly entertained us to supper after our meeting at Frim Saran.

At Hedy we had a very amusing incident. A man had come to interrupt, but the crowd had come to listen; not heeding the cries of "order" the interrupter persisted, and was therefore seized by the crowd and with cries of "to the river," "duck him," the poor man was rushed off. However he returned later and continued heckling, but was again seized, rolled on the ground and apparently shut up somewhere for the rest of the meeting for the crowd assured us he was "quite safe," and we did not see him again until we were starting in the conveyance for Llanelli.

At Burry Port the Conservatives had billed a meeting following ours, and as we were then doing only propaganda, we closed our meeting a

Contributions to the General Fund.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged since Nov. 1st, 1911	7	30	10
Received from Aug. 9th to Aug. 16th, 1912,			
Subscriptions:—			
Mrs. Aubrey Dowson	1	0	0
Mrs. Alfred Hillingworth	105	0	0
Miss J. M. Morgan	0	2	6
Mrs. E. Loppe	2	0	0
Miss E. Maskell, 1912 and 1913 ..	0	6	8
Donations:—			
Mrs. Stanton Coit (Albert Hall Fund) ..	50	0	0
Miss Vellootti (collected in 3d. pieces			
General Fund)	0	5	6
Mrs. F. Sinclair McDade, M.D. (free Litera-			
ture Fair Campaign)	0	10	0
The result of a bet	0	2	6
Amalgamation Fees:—			
West Cambridgeshire W.S.S. (entrance) ..	0	2	9
Rotherham W.S.S.	0	5	0
Brookham and Betchworth W.S.S. (en-			
trance)	0	3	9
Penmaenmawr W.S.S.	0	9	0
Total	£7	51	6

RECEIPTS OF SOCIETIES AND FEDERATION AS PER ANNUAL REPORTS.

Societies continued from July 18th:—	
	£ s. d.
Aberdovey	3 4 9
Bristol	417 16 3
Huddersfield	28 0 0
Knutsford	51 4 3
Scarborough	114 0 0
Sheffield	52 13 7
Winchester (1912)	19 15 5
Federations:—	
Eastern Counties	178 19 2
N. and E. Ridings of Yorkshire	79 4 3
Surrey, Sussex, and Hants.	288 16 3
W. Lancs., W. Cheshire, and N. Wales	25 4 9
West Ridings of Yorkshire	124 12 2
Scottish Federation	637 19 1

National Union Van Tour.

I am told that in my particular birthplace it rains 365 days in the year, but now I think even

little earlier on this account, but evidently the crowd thought we were not getting "fairplay," and cries of "get your own crowd together," "pay for your own lorry" greeted the speakers, and they were forced to give up the attempt within half an hour.

Such is our reception in Wales, and all those who have assisted in this election will undoubtedly realise that there is a tremendous majority amongst the electors in Wales in favour of Women's Suffrage.

It is impossible to mention the names of the kind friends who have been so thoughtful during our stay at Llanelli, but we are most grateful to all those who have been so ready to assist in every way.

G. GIBBON CHAMBERS.

More Echoes of Crewe.

On Tuesday, August 13th, a meeting of workers, to meet Mr. Holmes and Mr. Wake, was arranged by the Labour Party in Crewe. A small room had been taken, which proved quite inadequate to the numbers of enthusiasts who flocked there. The place was packed out—every available inch of floor-space was occupied, and late comers never got inside the door at all. A good many members of the National Union were present, amongst them Mrs. Powell, Miss Reeves, Miss Lillian, Mrs. Chew and Miss Robertson.

In the course of an inspiring and practical speech about the future prospects of Labour in Crewe, Mr. Holmes referred to the criticism to which he had been subjected on account of his refusal to accept more votes for men without votes for women. This position, however, he absolutely maintained. (Loud applause.) He went on to give his reasons with such a depth of conviction and grasp of both ideal and practical issues that he roused his audience to a pitch of enthusiasm very seldom seen even in suffrage meetings.

Miss Robertson was then called upon to speak. This she did very briefly, feeling that after Mr. Holmes' magnificent defence of the women's position anything further on the subject must be in the nature of an anti-climax. She was, however, very warmly received. Mr. Wake followed, speaking of "organisation." He opened with a few words of thanks—first to the local workers and then "even more" to the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies to whose work he paid high tribute.

A resolution with reference to the running of a Labour candidate at the next election having been carried, an official of the local I.L.P. asked permission to bring forward another resolution. This was one of thanks to the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies for the great help which they had rendered during the election. The resolution was proposed and seconded in hearty terms, and when put to the meeting was carried unanimously and with enthusiasm.

All Suffragists must feel that thanks are also due from them to Mr. Holmes and his workers, who have so absolutely made our cause their own.

"Friends of Women's Suffrage."

Miss Dorothy Pulley sends us the following encouraging account of the working of the "Friends of Women's Suffrage" scheme in York:—

The "Friend" movement was only begun at the end of July, and already 192 "Friends" have been enrolled in one district of the town. Nearly half of these are men.

On the 14th, at the invitation of Mrs. Theodore Rowntree, a garden party was held at Clifton Lawn for the new "Friends." Miss Eliza Pickard spoke, and the guests were entertained to tea. Two dozen COMMON CAUSES were sold.

MISS L. B. EVETTS, F.R.H.S.

Care of Gardens from 5/- per day. Gardens designed & laid out.
ADVISORY WORK.
SPECIALITY made of Pruning; the laying out of herbaceous borders; rock and wall gardens, etc., etc.
Further particulars apply:—
36, WATERLOW COURT, HAMPSTEAD WAY, HENDON, N.W.

THE FIRST "PREVENTION BETTER THAN CURE" CENTRE, CHIGWELL, ESSEX.

(Only half-an-hour from Liverpool Street Station).

FOR GENTLEWOMEN IN HEALTH ONLY.

The First Camp-under-Buildings Guest House.
Open All the Year Round. Charming Country. Bracing Air.
Very Moderate Terms for "Fellowship Parties" of not less than two.
Write to the Superintendent for Illustrated Pamphlets, etc.

We West Norwegians must declare ourselves beaten in this respect. Since I wrote it has left off raining exactly two hours, and those happened to be in the morning when it might as well have kept on. Time after time we have dared to hope a meeting might be possible and time after time our hopes have been dashed to pieces. Of course the weather has been the same all over the country, and we vanners have no right to a special grumble, but we were rather proud of ourselves when we read in the newspapers yesterday that even the Territorials have had to give in.

We have however distributed literature to people who, unknown to themselves, were pinning it, and they don't get too much literature in these parts of the world.

On Monday last we had a very good meeting at Belper, where Miss Emily Smith had worked

"Thinking Women"

Read "The Standard"

THIS phrase has become a truism. Why? Order The Standard for a week, or a day, and you will see. It is because The Standard's daily news pages include one headed:

"WOMAN'S PLATFORM"

which every Thinking Woman in the land, and very many thinking men, want to see and to study every day. "WOMAN'S PLATFORM" has ended what was called the "Press Boycott" of the serious interests of thinking women—not their ribbons and ornaments, but their thoughts, aims, claims, views, hopes, deeds, and—WORK.

"WOMAN'S PLATFORM" in The Standard has already become the Thinking Woman's own medium in the Daily Press of Great Britain. All thinking women, modern women, are keenly interested in "WOMAN'S PLATFORM." They know that it is their own; they themselves determine how much it can serve their own interests by:—

- 1. Following "WOMAN'S PLATFORM" closely and day by day in The Standard, and using it freely in women's interests, as opportunity offers.
2. Inducing the largest possible number of the general public—men and women—to do the same thing, thus extending the scope of its services to women.

The Standard, 104, SHOE LANE, LONDON, E.C.

it up. She also took the chair, and Miss Bury and I spoke. Suffrage is not a new thing in Belper, and we were warmly welcomed by the Local Labour Party who knew our record as we knew theirs.

From Duffield we moved on to Sudbury where we camped in a field under some magnificent beech trees which successfully kept most of the rain off the tent. The village is a very small one and suffrage was an unknown and dreaded thing till we appeared. I believe the feeling is different now.

From Sudbury we went on to Stone through hail and rain-showers so bitterly cold that we were frozen. Miss Bury and I tried to walk and keep ourselves thawed, while Miss Collum shivered on the box; but we found the rain and hail too strong and had to creep back to the little shelter the van could give us.

Several times we had to stop at the roadside to try and shelter our steed "Peter" from the worst down-pours. Late in the evening we arrived at Stone, so tired and wet that both people and beasts took refuge in the Crown Hotel. Of course, a meeting was out of the question; no audience, however well trained, could have stood for more than five seconds.

The next day we went on to Woore, but had to fly from the dreaded foot-and-mouth disease which was raging in the district, so that no farmer would let us have a field. We rested the horse and gave away literature, and then moved on to seek for a pitch elsewhere.

We obtained one at a lonely farm close to the edge of a beautiful park whose trees afforded us a welcome shelter from the rain.

On Friday, the horse who had most bravely pulled the van up and down the hills and was feeling the effects of the inclement weather demanded a day's rest, and on Saturday afternoon we arrived at Nantwich in pouring rain as usual.

On Monday, August 19th, the van enters the W. Lancs. Federation, where Miss Esckrige will take charge.

HELGA GILL AND CO.

Federation Notes.

Eastern Counties. DEPUTATION TO MR. O. LOCKER-LAMPSON.

At St. Ives, on July 30th, Mr. O. Locker-Lampson received a deputation from the Hunts Society. The deputation consisted of Miss B. C. Staley (Hon. Sec.), the Rev. A. G. Hooper and Mrs. Hooper, the Rev. J. J. Wilson, Mr. Fred Corbett, and Mr. George Knights. Miss Helen Fraser was also present, representing the National Union. Mr. Knights introduced Miss Fraser, who spoke briefly of women's need of direct representation in Parliament. She then urged Mr. Locker-Lampson to vote for the elimination of the word "male" from the first clause of the Reform Bill, in order to open the way for a fair discussion, and then to support at least an amendment on the lines of the Conciliation Bill. Miss Staley and Mr. Fred Corbett spoke as to the feeling in the constituency, which appeared to be generally in favour of the enfranchisement of women owners and occupiers. Mr. Wilson referred to the good effect of the woman's vote in Australia and New Zealand, and Mr. Hooper avowed himself a whole-hearted supporter of the cause.

Mr. Locker-Lampson, in reply, said he opposed Women's Suffrage on the ground of the enormous influence already exercised by them without the vote. If, however, he were convinced that the people (pressed by Miss Fraser, he admitted that by this he meant the electorate) were in favour of Women's Suffrage, he would support it. He further asked that Miss Staley would communicate with him again when the discussion of the Bill came on.

MEETINGS. August 7.—Garden Meeting at Kirby Lodge, Shelford, by kind permission of Mrs. Thompson, at 6. Speakers—Miss Ewing and Mrs. Rackham. 5 new members and 7 Friends gained. August 9.—Open-air Meeting at Swavesey, at 7.15. Speakers—Miss Hutchinson and Mrs. Rackham. 1 new member and 6 Friends gained.

August 12.—At Home to the University Extension Students in the Downing Street Rooms, at 8.30. Speakers—Miss Montgomery and the Rev. O. F. Andrews. From 60 to 70 present. Mr. Andrews spoke on Women in

India, great interest shown and many questions asked. August 12.—Open-air Meeting at Stratham, at 7. Speakers—Mrs. Stevenson and Mrs. Rackham. 3 new members and 9 Friends gained.

The Cambridge Society has held during August four At Homes for University Extension students. Much interest has been shown, especially by the foreign students, and a considerable amount of literature has been sold. Speakers: Miss Helen Fraser, Prof. Bethune Baker, Rev. C. Andrews.

HUNTS.—On Saturday evening, July 27th, a meeting was held in the Market Place, St. Ives. Mr. Villiamy from Cambridge took the chair and introduced Miss Helen Fraser. Mr. Villiamy spoke very effectively for about 20 minutes, and thus drew an audience together for Miss Fraser. Miss Fraser spoke most eloquently for over half an hour to an audience of from 200-300. No resolution was put, but the audience expressed its agreement by applause. The Rev. A. E. Hooper gave his support to the speakers, and amongst the audience was noted the member for the constituency, Mr. Locker Lampson. After the meeting many copies of the COMMON CAUSE were sold, other literature having been distributed during the speeches. Several names of sympathisers were taken.

On Monday evening July 29th, in the Market Place, Huntingdon, a large and most enthusiastic meeting was held. Mr. James Ward from Cambridge took the chair, and Miss Helen Fraser again held the audience spell-bound. At the close, a resolution was put calling on the Government to enfranchise women in 1912. The resolution was carried unanimously. Mr. Peacock proposed, and Mr. J. Herring seconded a vote of thanks to Miss Fraser for her speech. One new member joined the society, and several names of sympathiser were given in.

NONN AND EAST ESSEX.—Four Vice-Presidents of this society gave an "At Home" in Braintree, on June 27. About 130 persons were present; Miss Courttall took the chair, and excellent speeches were made by Lady Frances Balfour and the Rev. Dr. Cobb. Many new members joined the society, and over £1 worth of literature was sold.

A Garden Party was held, by the kind invitation of Mrs. Matthews, at Ashwells, Earl's Colne, on July 10th, when Miss Courttall proposed a resolution in favour of women's suffrage. There was a good attendance, and the resolution, which set forth the justice and expediency of the cause, was carried with only one dissentient.

SOUTHAMPTON.—On Wednesday, July 17th, Mrs. Kellett addressed two meetings at Southold. In the afternoon Mrs. Holmes kindly entertained members of the branch at a drawing-room meeting at her house. The chair was taken by Miss Silcox, and Mrs. Kellett explained the new election policy of the National Union and the present situation as affected by the Franchise Bill. In the evening she spoke in the market place to a crowd of about two hundred who listened to her explanation of the aims of the National Union with the utmost attention and courtesy. The chair at the latter meeting was taken by Mrs. Charles Foster.

LOWESTOFT.—A public meeting was held in St. Albans Church, Lowestoft, July 29. Mr. Mirrieles, of Cambridge, spoke most strongly of the need of Women's Suffrage, and Miss Abadam carried the whole audience with her as she related to what a terrible extent the infamous traffic was carried on, she gave facts which had been told to herself, and raised the indignation of the men as well as the women when she explained how treacherously the Bill was being dealt with in Parliament. The resolution, which was passed unanimously, expressed this indignation, and is being forwarded to the Prime Minister and Member (Sir Edmund Beauchamp). Mrs. Worthington, a well-known Lowestoft resident, appealed most earnestly to the audience, which numbered over 200, to come forward and help in the cause.

West of England. FORMATION OF NEW SOCIETIES.

Following up the work done by Miss Kate Robertson in the MINEHEAD district, Miss Elizabeth Coyle and Miss Chambers spent ten days in July in canvassing the town and surrounding villages. Meetings were also held at Williton and Watchet, that at the latter place being most successful. A business meeting to inaugurate the Society was held at St. Aldwyn's, Minehead, on July 26th. Officers were nominated and elected, Miss Whittle kindly consenting to act as Honorary Secretary pro. tem. The Society hopes to hold a public meeting in the autumn.

A new Society has also been lately formed at CRENCHESTER: Miss Grace Hadow has kindly come forward as the Honorary Secretary, and work has been done towards forming another Society at SHEPTON MALLETT.

BURNHAM AND DISTRICT.—On Tuesday, July 30th, Mrs. Boyer Clark and Miss Baretti addressed a very successful meeting at Highbridge. It was market day and the town was full of farmers, drovers and others only too anxious apparently to hear our speakers. Being the dinner-hour the men from the works also assembled in good numbers and followed our arguments with close attention. At the close one or two questions were asked. COMMON CAUSES were sold and literature was distributed. The meeting received the support of Mrs. Hilley and members of the Burnham Society.

CHELLENHAM.—The Cheltenham Society has lately been canvassing the neighbouring villages with leaflets bearing on our cause. In this way Deerhurst, Churchdown, Badgworth, Hathley, Reddings, Hilcot and part of Charlton have been enlightened as to our demand and its meaning.

North Eastern. SUNDERLAND.

This Society has lost an energetic worker in Miss Johnson, who sailed for Canada August 10th. The Committee, of which she has been an active member for some years, marked its appreciation of her untiring services by the gift of a dressing bag. Mrs. Rudd was chosen very appropriately to make the presentation, as she and Miss Johnson, with a few others, against great odds, succeeded in keeping the flag flying in the early days of the Society.

West Riding (Yorks). Huddersfield.—The annual meeting was held on August 14th at the Holly Parochial Hall, owing to the inclement weather which prevented Miss Siddon's proposed garden meeting. Miss Siddon called attention to

the fact that the Branch membership had increased, and public interest in the movement was greater than ever before. Miss Margaret Robertson was the chief speaker, and in moving a resolution calling upon the Commons and to amend the Reform Bill so as to include women, she severely criticised both the action of the militants, as calculated to alienate public sympathy, and the unfaithfulness of the Prime Minister in violating his promise of neutrality. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Donkersley, and carried unanimously. Mr. John Ward, Labour member for Stoke, afterwards addressed the meeting in response to a request from the chair. He deprecated Mrs. Robertson's criticism of the Premier, but endorsed her denunciation of militancy. All the officers were re-elected. Miss Siddon as President, Mr. Josiah Lookwood as Chairman, Mrs. Beaumont as Hon. Treasurer, and Mrs. Studdard as Hon. Secretary.

Sheffield.—A joint Labour and Suffrage demonstration was arranged for August 4, to which all the great Suffrage Societies had promised to send speakers. In consequence however of the Dublin outrages, and the unqualified approval of their perpetrators expressed in the manifestos of the W.S.P.U., we felt it impossible to co-operate with that society, and withdrew our speaker (Mrs. Snowden) with her full concurrence. A letter addressed to the Chairman of the demonstration explaining our action was also sent to the local Press.

Mrs. Humphry Ward's appeal for support to the Women's Local Government Advancement Committee, which called forth a leader in one of the local papers, afforded an opportunity for pointing out the valuable work already done in this field by Suffragists, and an interesting discussion followed.

WAKEFIELD.—Things are quiet owing to the holidays, but a Suffrage week from October 1st is to be held. Mrs. Atcherley has unfortunately felt obliged to resign her position as Chairman; the duties have been kindly undertaken by Mrs. Mollan Wilson. The society most deeply regrets the death of the Rev. W. G. Southey

Dartmoor Summer School.

Owing to the unfortunate weather, the Suffrage Summer School has not been so well supported as was hoped, though one brave lady came even from Perthshire to attend it. The lecturer for the first week is Miss Hatty Baker, whose work as the pioneer woman preacher is well known. The opening lecture took place on Thursday, August 14th, when residents and visitors to the neighbourhood joined the house-party. The Rev. T. Little, Chaplain to His Majesty's Prison at Princetown, took the chair and Miss Baker gave a deeply interesting review of the works of Ibsen, with special reference to the woman's movement. The programme for the rest of the week includes a Conference on the White Slave Traffic, and another of Miss Baker's literary-suffrage lectures, on Robert Browning. During the second week Dr. Gilbert Slater, of Ruskin College, Oxford, will lecture on "Women in Local Government," and later on lectures will be given by Miss Kilgour and others.

The Nurses Congress.

The International Council of Nurses recently held its triennial Congress in Cologne. Readers of the COMMON CAUSE will learn with satisfaction that at its first session, held on Monday, August 5th, in the beautiful old Gurzenich Hall a resolution in favour of full political rights being extended to women in all the civilised nations of the world, was passed without a single dissentient. This marks a great advance in opinion among nurses during the last three years, but as the mover and seconder of the resolution pointed out in their excellent speeches, those engaged in nursing the sick are now realising that the connection between Women's Suffrage and the Public Health is very close, and that many of the hospitals which we are building to-day would never be necessary if women were alive to their responsibility in requiring a higher standard of morality, and had the power to influence the laws which control such matters.

Among the numerous interesting meetings and excursions arranged in connection with the Congress, none could have stirred the hearts of Suffragists more than the visit to Kaiserswerth, on the Rhine, where Florence Nightingale received her first training at the Deaconess Home. Arriving by boat about mid-day in a drenching shower, we were welcomed by Pastor and Deaconesses still engaged in the work which was started so many years ago. The English contingent of our cosmopolitan crowd of passengers laid a wreath of bay on the grave of the woman whose influence had counted for so much much in the moulding of Florence Nightingale's character and who was then at the head of the Home. Our kind hosts showed us the rooms which our countrywoman had occupied, the gardens where she had walked, and a great many other interesting things, and accompanied us to the boat to wave us off.

As we left in the evening light, the weather

(organising secretary to the Wakefield Diocese), who was a constant and invaluable supporter of the cause.

KENTISH.

SEVENOAKS.—A very successful meeting was held in Braisted Hall on August 8th, by kind invitation of Mrs. Hyland. The rector being unavoidably prevented from taking the chair, Mrs. Percy Thompson very kindly presided in his place. Miss Portlock was the chief speaker, and the audience was most attentive and appreciative. A resolution was passed, unanimously, thanking Mr. W. H. Foster, the local M.P., for his past support of Women's Suffrage and requesting him to vote for an amendment to the Reform Bill in favour of the enfranchisement of women. The meeting was brought to a close by a vote of thanks to the chairman, speaker, and hostess. Many "Friends of Suffrage" cards were signed and some literature and badges were sold.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS.—About 100 guests were present at an "At Home" given by Madame Sarah Grand and Miss Tindall in the Christ Church Parish Room. Miss Scott took the chair and Mrs. Nott-Bower gave an address relative to Women's Suffrage. After focusing on the physical force arguments and the work of women on councils and Boards of Guardians, she dwelt at some length on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill and the National Health Insurance Act. Dr. Helen Webb and Miss Honor Morton also spoke, and the following resolution was carried unanimously:—"That this meeting of the Tunbridge Wells Branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies thanks the Government for introducing the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, 1912, and expresses the earnest hope that all weakening amendments may be deleted in the report stage, especially that dealing with Clause I, and the power of immediate arrest for attempted procreators." After tea Miss Shedlock gave a recital of anecdotes and two of Hans Andersen's fairy tales.

having by this time cleared, the scene was indescribable. The little company on the quay, deaconesses in their quaint caps, men and women and little children all waved as long as they could see the boat. We, in our turn, did the same, and across the Rhine sounded the sweet strains of the songs of farewell sung by the musical daughters of many lands.

A. VILLIERS.

Foreign News.

United States.

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION. The National Education Association, representing more than 15,000 teachers, at their recent convention in Chicago passed a vote favouring women's suffrage "because women teachers realise the responsibility of training youth for citizenship." The convention also declared itself in favour of "the promotion of international peace; an investigation of teachers' salaries throughout the country with reference to the high cost of living; a uniform federal law for marriage and divorce; the promotion of plans for a national university; the extension by Congress of plans for training in agriculture, domestic economy, and other industrial work in various institutions; greater attention in the public schools to the health of pupils; the extension by Congress of the work of the national bureau of education so as "to embody a group of competent men and women to study thoroughly the problem of rural education, city school administration, vocational education, sanitation, and hygiene, and higher education, including the training of teachers."

Miss Grace C. Strachan, the district superintendent of schools in Brooklyn, who won the famous fight for equal pay in New York State, was defeated for the presidency of the association by Edward T. Fairchild. Mr. Fairchild is State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Kansas.

While the National Education Association developed some lively differences of opinion at the recent meeting in Chicago, it is pleasant to see, says the Woman's Journal, that one point on which the great majority of the teachers were practically agreed was that women ought to have the ballot.

This April the Arizona Legislature defeated the equal franchise bill, though the Governor of Arizona strongly advocated its adoption. The women, immediately upon learning that the bill was lost, set to work to get the question submitted by initiative petition. We now learn that the petition on the question of women's suffrage is safely filed and that the required 15 per cent. of the voters has been secured with more than 700 names to spare.

Frances Willard Munds, State President, writes:—"This has all been accomplished in less than two months' time; as we made no attempt whatever to have the question initiated by petition until the final defeat of the bill before the Legislature the 24th of last April, I consider that we have accomplished a remarkable

SPECIAL OFFER to our readers of a 5/6 Fountain Pen for 3/6.

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3/6 each.

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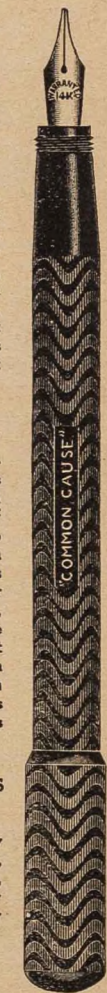
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THE MAKERS GUARANTEE EACH PEN.

feat, since we have drawn up, and printed, distributed, and circulated the petitions over the entire State which is an immense one and is sparsely settled. Our women and men have worked hard and have given of their private means to bear the expense of the work. The question will be voted on the 5th of next November, and we expect to carry it by a small majority, but we will have to work hard to do that."

Reviews.

GARDEN SUBURBS, VILLAGES AND HOMES is the title given to the periodical published twice a year to bring before the public the aims of co-partnership housing movement. It costs sixpence, is amply illustrated, and full of interesting matter. Mr. Henry Vivian's article upon "The Co-partnership Tenants' Movement" enumerates some of the latest developments and gives a brief history of the establishment and growth of the company which now possesses through its various Tenant Societies property worth over a million pounds.

THE IDEAL WOMAN. By Millicent Wadhams. (London Society for Women's Suffrage, 58, Victoria Street, S.W., 3d. per copy, 2s. 6d. dozen.)

This is an amusing little one-act play, whose scene is a drawing-room, and the characters a man and wife. The latter has been recommended by her husband to read an article on the "womanly woman," and she turns the tables on him very amusingly by proceeding to carry out its recommendations. We hope that societies in the National Union will often perform this bright little play during the winter, and incidentally provide an excellent advertisement of the COMMON CAUSE.

Letters to the Editor.

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

WOMEN IN COURT.

It may interest some of your readers to know that one of the first reforms the National Vigilance Association of Scotland aimed at was to have a woman in court during the trial of cases of criminal assault and cognate subjects. It seemed to us shocking that it should be possible that young girls should be left in court without the moral support of one of their own sex, and accordingly we approached the Scottish Office with a request that our worker, the representative of an accredited society, should be permitted to remain in Court when the order to clear is given. This was granted, and I have no doubt that similar official permission could be obtained for courts in other places. But there is another and more important reform which we have not been so successful in accomplishing. It is the practice in Scotland, and I believe throughout the whole kingdom, that in cases of criminal assault, etc., the investigations are made by men, and this is so objectionable from every point of view, involving as it does questions of the most delicate nature and frequently medical examination, that we asked the magistrates that for the preliminary investigations at least duly qualified women should be appointed. This has not been granted, and it seems to me that it is of much greater importance than the presence of a woman in court, important though that be. One of the reasons given by the magistrates was that eventually the cases must be dealt with by men in court. That is true, but we asked that the preliminary investigations be conducted by women for the reason that the majority of these cases never reach court owing to want of evidence, and it would in these cases be unnecessary that the girls should ever be dealt with by men.

SECRETARY NATIONAL VIGILANCE ASSOCIATION OF SCOTLAND. [The permission to have a woman remaining in Court is, of course, very valuable; but it is not sufficient. We must still, as we said last week, assert the right of women, equally with men, to be considered an integral part of The Public, and unless cases are tried in camera (i.e., closed to the public, male as well as female) we hold the women should assert their common humanity with men in matters of public interest.—Ed. C.C.]

"THE FIGHTING FUND." How much might be effected if each member of the N.U.W.S.S. would make a point of making some tiny saving for the cause every day. Let us make postcards do instead of letters. Let us do a little more walking and depend a little less upon trams, trains and tubes. Let us deny ourselves some trifle, something so absurdly small, perhaps, that it really "makes no difference" but let our rule be something, be it ever so small,

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every day. Even a penny saved for each working day comes to £1 6s. a year. I think we might remember more often that "many a mickle makes a muckle." This, at any rate, is one suggestion. Who will try it? A WELL-WISHER.

THE WOMEN'S VOTE IN COLORADO. I shall be very grateful if any readers of THE COMMON CAUSE can give me any details of laws passed in Colorado, U.S.A., since equal suffrage was granted in that state. Apparently an anti-suffrage reaction has begun, and I want to know something of the other side and how much good has resulted from the women's vote. F. M. BECKLEY.

WOMEN AND THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT FRANCHISE. As the COMMON CAUSE touches from time to time on local government, I should like to draw your attention to the new leaflet on "Women and the Local Government Franchise," published by the Women's Local Government Society as a pronouncement on the "Franchise and Registration Bill." ANNIE LEIGH BROWNE.

Other Societies.

THE AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZEALAND WOMEN VOTERS' ASSOCIATION (LONDON).—This association attracted a large crowd in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon. Mrs. Merivale Mayer and Miss Hodge gave details of their own experiences as voters in Australia, and characterised the attitude of the present Government towards Women's Suffrage as anti-Imperial in the deepest sense of the word. A resolution, respectfully requesting the Premier to include Women's Suffrage in the new Franchise Bill was passed by a very large majority.

THE FIRST "PREVENTION BETTER THAN CURE" CENTRE.

The hostess explained to our representative that this Centre was not a home for invalids. They want healthy gentlemen to take up the idea and spread it abroad. The idea is to lead people towards a healthier mode of living. Outside, the abode is very like any other pretty country house, with the addition of Swiss balconies; inside, the space has been divided up into spotless neat and white cubicles, and the "great air" from outside flows in through the open spaces between wall and roof. The inner

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cubicles are arranged for people who are not yet accustomed to the open-air life, the outer ones are provided with glass walls, and when these are open you are in the open air. The place is an open-air camp without the stuffiness and inconvenience of canvas walls.

There is a certain invigorating freshness about the air which is remarkable, seeing that the "Centre" is at Chigwell, and unless you knew that you were within half an hour's rail of Liverpool Street, you might well imagine yourself to be in a remote village. It is the very place for a restful holiday. The diet is fruitarian and vegetarian, but meat is also allowed.

Visitors are welcome any afternoon to the "Centre," but especially on Thursdays. Very moderate prices are charged, as money is not the object of the movement. Write for illustrated pamphlet. See advertisement page 347.

CURES BY JUST BREATHING IT.

Even August weather is untrustworthy. The present unsettled conditions bid us take extra precautions against catching cold, and many are those whose holiday prospects are spoiled by their fear of, and susceptibility to, coughs, colds, nasal Catarrh, Bronchitis, croup, Catarrh of the Throat, Asthma, and other troubles of the respiratory organs. Such sufferers are finding in Hyomee, the Australian Druggist's cure, which cures by just breathing it all the above troubles, a power, both as a prevention and cure, hitherto unknown. On page 338 of this issue, The R. T. Booth Co., 594, British Museum Station Buildings, 133-6, High Holborn, W.C., offer complete Hyomee Pocket Outfits at 2/6, post free, and undertake to refund in full if the treatment does no good. In view of the ever-present danger of catarrh and kindred ailments it is imperative that such a thorough and rational method as the Hyomee treatment should be widely known.

Re "SEMELY."

Being a constant reader of "The Common Cause," I duly noticed the advertisements of the "Semely" Company, and the articles on this subject appearing in your issues of the 18th of July and 15th of August last which interested me all the more, as "Semely" or "Semelle," as it is called in France, was not quite unknown to me. Will you kindly allow me space in your honoured paper to confirm your correspondent's statements as to the usefulness and money-saving qualities of "Semely," although I do not quite agree with his statement made under the heading of a "Curious Incident," as to my personal knowledge the introduction of "Semely" into the army is not due to a captain of a battalion of Chasseurs, but to Captain Louis Donzelle of the 147th Regiment of Territorial Infantry. The other comments are, I believe, perfectly correct. Long before you advertised this produce I used it in my household, and I can assure you that your correspondent's statements as a medium in "How to reduce your Boot-bill" are not underrated. I can speak from the more important point of view than your contributor. He evidently gives but items of his own personal savings, where I can speak of the savings of a family of four—and children are certainly no economisers as far as footwear is concerned—and I am, therefore, in a better position than your correspondent to testify to the correctness of his statements, and hope that many of your readers may profit by following his advice in using "Semely." In conclusion, I may add, that passing one day in June through Leather Lane Market I saw a man who sold new and evidently second-hand boot-soles which attracted my curiosity. He offered the new pieces of leather for 5d. to 10d. per pair, and the worn or second-hand soles, evidently detached from boots, for 3d. to 6d. per pair, and highly recommended them as being superior to ordinary new leather, as "once used always used." I ridiculed the idea, and asked him whence they came from, and he seriously informed me he bought them from an East End importer and that they were French! This only increased my curiosity, and I got him to cut up a piece to inspect the section when I found my suspicion confirmed—those soles had been treated with "Semely," and were still sound, whilst the uppers were worn out.

F. B. CONWAY.

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Forthcoming Meetings.

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

AUGUST 25 Norwich—Carrow Women's Adult School—Mrs. J. Stuart 3.30 Highbridge—Market—open-air meeting—Mrs. W. C. H. Cross, Col. Stoker 1.0 Burnham—Sands—open-air meeting—Mrs. W. C. H. Cross, Col. Stoker 7.0

AUGUST 28 Burnham-on-Crouch—Miss Muriel Matters, Mrs. W. J. Streetier, H. Reynolds Brown, Esq., M.D., J.P. 7.45

LONDON.

AUGUST 22 North Paddington—75, Hereford Road, W.—sewing meeting for London Society's bazaar 2.30 AUGUST 28 North Paddington—47a, Clifton Gardens, Maida Vale—sewing meeting for bazaar 2.30

SCOTLAND.

AUGUST 22 Cullen—The Wakes—Mrs. Gowan's meeting—Mrs. C. O. Stopes 3.0 AUGUST 24 Dornoch—Territorial Hall—Mrs. Phillip Snowden, Provost MacLachlan (chair) 8.0 AUGUST 28 Thurso—Fête—Mrs. Phillip Snowden Afternoon AUGUST 28 Kirkwall—Town Hall—Mrs. Phillip Snowden 8.0

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SUFFRAGE NOTICES.

MRS. MERIVALE MAYER at liberty. Address, care of 168, Belsize Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.

MISS MURIEL MATTERS will be in Wales (August), Lake District (September), and has free dates. Address, Poste Restante, Towy, Merioneth.

SUFFRAGISTS spending holidays in Scarborough district, willing to help or speak, kindly communicate with Mrs. Catt, 4, Pavilion Terrace, Scarborough.

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BONELESS CORSETS, unbreakable. Illustrated List Free.—Knitted Corset Company, Nottingham.

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GLOVES, Blouses, Dresses, quickly cleaned.—Cromwell, Cleaners, 7, Stratford Road, Kensington, W.

MISS ELLIN CARTER invites inspection of her Artistic Leather Work. On view Wednesday and Thursday afternoons. No obligation to purchase.—Address, No. 3, Studio, Stratford Court, Gees Court, Oxford Street, W.

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SWEET LAVENDER, 1/9 per lb. on the stalks. Rubbed 2/9 per lb. carriage paid, Apply Morrison Sanatorium, Nayland, Colchester.

SECOND-HAND CLOTHING wanted to buy for cases: Costumes, skirts, boots, underclothing, curtains, gents' suits, trousers and children's clothing of every description. Parcels sent, will be valued and value sent by return. Mrs. Russell, 100 Baby St. Byker, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

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FURNISHED FLAT TO LET until October. West End. Accommodation for two; moderate.—Box 1293, COMMON CAUSE.

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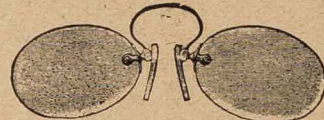
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