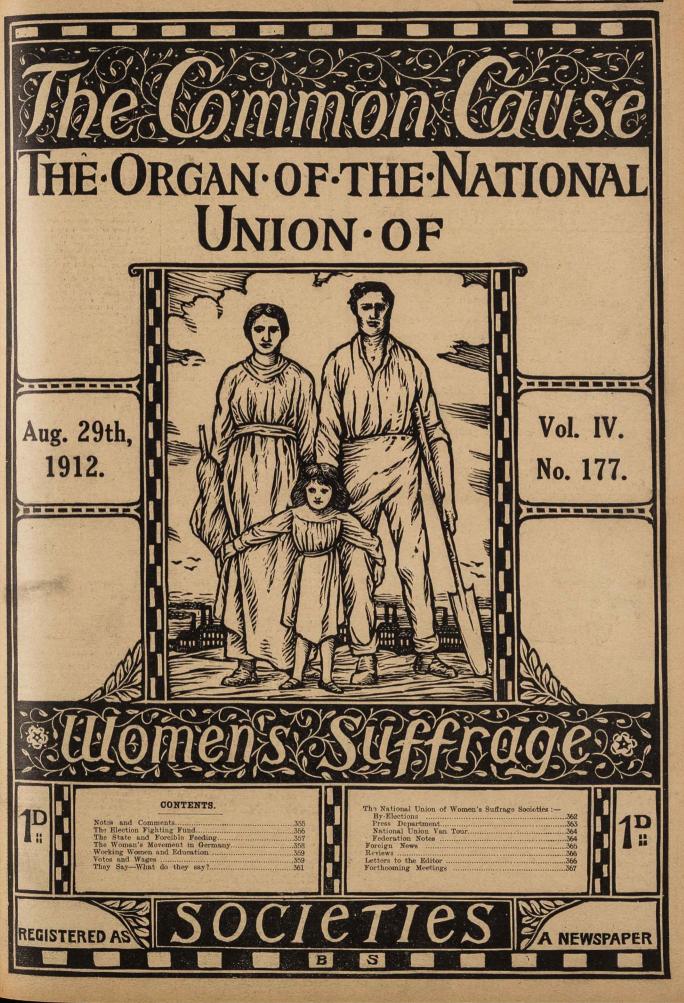
THE COMMON CAUSE, AUGUST 29, 1912.

NON-MILITANT



THE COMMON CAUSE.

WOMENOF ENGLAND!

NOW IS THE ACCEPTED MOMENT

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 longfelt 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 heatproof, and it will give you a sense of foot comfort such as you have never before experienced. The coupon in the corner explains itself.

SERVER PERFECT	
To be purchased from all re	-5
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TRIAL In Tubes, 3d., 6d	
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I o the Readers of	
"The Common Cause." Cut down you	ır
On receipt of this coupon and Bills, increased	ease
1/6 to cover postage and packing	
we will send two Tubes of your "SEMELY" such as we sell for 1/- Comt	Court IS
each.	lort.
ILLUSTRATED DESCRIPTIVE BROCHURE FREE.	9 n
Address-THE SEMELY CO., Ltd., 21, Charterhouse Street, London, E.C.	1. 1. 4. 10 . 14
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Let "HYOMEE" Cure Your **Catarrh and HayFever.**

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. had in their cases. Their be yours, but do not be specious advertisements will apparently say anyt any claims, however wildly their actrume

'Remember, no cough

"I have so devised the Hyomee" that it gives you in your own I have a filtered and impres

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received. Sufferers Hay Fever, also finding in Hyon power, both for vention and

The Hyomee Poc

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clean air, f cleansing and u would get i living as I o fact about t

ing Australian

Mr. R. T. Booth, who issues the ollowing announcement, is the worldfollowing 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 inst breathing it. famous temperance orator, who some

whether your trouble is in whicher your trouble is in with all the horrors of fa-mucus; in the Throat, hacking, soreness, phlegm, n the Lungs, with congestion wer (Summer if the threat of Conserved at the second at the second at the low price at which I off alone at the low price at the low pri

I have no sig te my age want ever

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 e above symptoms, then there is something rong with your breathing organs, and it now that you should get your cure, fore the trouble gets worse.

CATARRH LEADS TO CONSUMP-

"Catarrh not only impoverishes the rstem, lowers the vitality, poisons the tomach, and weakens the mind, but renders the sufferer irritable, despondent, areless, dull, and thoughtless, and in ine cases out of ten, if neglected, it leads o consumption, that dread disease which

PRAISE FROM OTHERS.

only am I myself convinced as to doubted superiority and efficacy nee, but thousands of users in this

TION.

where the product of the Blue when the the second s bur money if it does not benefit you. re Coupon below).

ing, Dincut, Tonsillitis, * Whooping Cough, Catarrhal Deafness, Laryngitis, tion, Hay Fever, Throat Troubles, in fact, all respiratory troubles, price of the complete Hyomee Poel If your noše 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 you catch cold easily. If you catch cold easily. If your catch cold easily. If your hearing is affected. If your hearing is diffected. If your throat is dry. If you have a short, hacking cough. If you have a short, hacking cough. within the reach of all, is 25.

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, 595, Museum Station Bui

THE HYOMEE INSTITUTE, 55. Muscum Station Buildings, 133-136, High Holborn, London, V.C. I enclose herewith 25. 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 15. extra.)

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

Important Note: ---You are invited to write a separate letter to us, giving us fall 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.

AUGUST 29, 1912.

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THE COMMON CAUSE.

Telephone : 1910 Gerrard. Price 1d. weekly.

2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

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

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

NOTICE.—This paper is obtainable at news should arrive. 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 Adults W.C. By Street, Adelphi, W.C., giving the name and address of the newsagent or bookstall from which they wish to be supplied.

Notes and Comments.

Stepmotherhood at Seventeen.

The newspapers have reported this week a painful case of uelty to a child of four years old by a stepmother of 17, who has been a few months married. Any experienced woman must feel that this girl was placed in a position for which no girl of 17 is fit, and that her husband and her parents-if she has any are very much to blame for her marriage. Such a woman can hardly fail to reflect upon the proper way to deal with the whole wretched matter. In regard to the girl herself, the question of her physical condition naturally suggests itself, and on this point the evidence of a qualified medical woman ought to be taken. The mental and moral disturbance caused by motherhood at too early an age may have had some share in her horrible conduct to her husband's child. Whether this was or was not so, what a culprit of her age needs in order to make a useful woman of her is careful training and development. At 17 the human creature is still immature, and no crime committed then ought to be treated as the crime of a fully-grown person. In the interests of the community as well as of herself the treatment of such a criminal should be something far other than ordinary imprisonment.

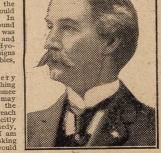
Then as regards the father : it is reasonable to suppose, since he is the parent of a child four years old, that he is at least seven years older than his second wife, and it is certain that his direct responsibility for his child is greater and earlier than hers. It was his clear duty in marrying again to consider the interests of his child, and to give her a stepmother likely to care for her properly. Moreover, he can scarcely have been ignorant of the condition of things in his house, and there seems to be no evidence that he tried to protect the child. Here is an adult person, who has been married already, has taken upon himself the duties of a parent, and has neglected them. Punishment of the ordinary kind may be necessary here to mark public sense of such neglect. Finally, as regards the child : hers is the future that should be most considered; she should be removed at once from the home that has been made a place of terror to her, and surrounded by kindness and gentleness in order to bring her back to peace and trustfulness.

But what has happened in fact? The girl stepmother has been sent to prison for six months; the father has been fined \pounds_1 ; of the child's future none of the papers which report the case has said a word. Would it be so, one wonders, had there been a woman on the bench?

Women at an American National Convention.

Life and Labour has an article about the two first women delegates to a Republican National Convention for the selection of a Presidential candidate. Mrs. Porter, of Los Angeles, was early left a widow with three children, all of whom are now grown "Like all citizens from States where universal enfranchisement reigns, she recommends the winning of the franchise for their sex as the most immediate job for women to get out the way. Women have only enjoyed full citizenship for about eight months in California, but already the results are apparent in the eight-hour law being upheld by the courts, and worth noting.

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



R. T. BOOTH.

THE COMMON CAUSE.

in the initiation of other legislation specifically affecting women and children, and the women are going to make it their business to work for the minimum wage during the coming legislative session." Mrs. Blaney, formerly of Chicago, is a wealthy woman, who has no pressing personal need of the vote, but perceives its necessity for women less prosperously situated, As to the reception of and has long been an ardent Suffragist. the women delegates, Mrs. Porter declared that "We were treated royally," and the whole meeting burst into applause when the two ladies rose to vote. That display of contempt and rudeness of which Anti-Suffragists are always warning us was conspicuously absent-as every Suffragist would have foretold. Yet the "antis" believe themselves to be the champions of men, and us their despisers.

Twenty-one Years' Hard Labour.

A married woman applied last week to the Reigate Magistrates for a separation order. The pair were married in 1891, and had four children, of whom three were under 16. The husband had done but little work, and had spent his earnings as a rule in drink, leaving the wife, who took in washing, to pay the rent and support the family. He continually came home in drink, and when she asked for money abused her. Ten days before her application he had threatened to slaughter her and the children, and she had thereupon locked him out of the house, and now desired to be free from him. Such was her story, which was confirmed by her daughter. The husband said that he had not been in regular work, and had earned only very little, most of which he had given to his wife-although he could not deny that on the day when she finally shut him out he had shown her money which he would not give her. magistrates, after retiring to consider the matter, refused the wife's request, and announced that, in their opinion, the case was one which should not have been brought before them. They thought," according to the report of the local paper, "the defendant should give up the drink, and treat his wife in a proper way, and contribute towards the support of her and the family. The magistrates would refrain from making any order in the hope that the wife might induce the defendant to a better turn of mind." After one-and-twenty years! One wonders whether these gentlemen have any conception of what married life in the crowded homes of working-people means for a decent woman whose husband is not only drunken but ill-conditioned and abusive. The legislature has made the habitual drunkenness of a husband one of the grounds upon which a wife may obtain the relief of a judicial separation; but the Reigate Magistrates-misled, perhaps, by the analogy of the divorce law-seem to think that one sort of injury is not enough for a married woman, and that since he had never assaulted her she could continue to endure mere drunkenness and abuse. Surely the unsuccessful applicant must be regretting that she locked her husband out the other day without giving him time to carry out his threats. Her only hope now is that he may be so much provoked at her application as to do her some bodily injury.

Points Worth Remembering. In a letter printed in the Manchester Guardian of last Tuesday, Mrs. Fawcett refers Miss Annie Kenney to Harriet Martineau's "History of the Thirty Years' Peace" for contemporary evidence as to the deep and strong feeling among the Reform party in 1831 about the harm done to their cause by the riots at Bristol and Nottingham, and to a recent letter of Mr. W. A. Dudley which shows how the excesses of the French Revolution deferred the Reform movement in England for more than a generation.

In the Standard of the same day Miss Kate Vulliamy points out that

"The fatal defect of this hidebound belief in militancy is that any The fatal defect of this indedound belief in militancy is that any enemy of woman suffrage or a particular measure, by a little judicious incitement to militancy can count on a ready response from the W.S.P.U. which will wreck the Bill and make it appear to the public that its loss was caused by the suffragists themselves. When Mr. Lloyd George said that the Conciliation Bill was torpedoed, the only people who took up his suggestion were the W.S.P.U., who not only took it up but obligingly carried it into effect with enthusiasm.

Miss Constance Andrews, in an excellent letter, observes that the accepting of such a challenge to violence as that thrown out by Mr. Hobhouse "cuts at the very root of the argument that physical force is not the ultimate resort by which to induce a Government to act. The theory that physical force is at bottom the only force that has any real power has been combated by Suffragists on nearly every platform on which they have spoken, and to countenance violence in any form is to give the direct lie to all arguments in this direction."

These are points which constitutional Suffragists may find

6.	THE COMMON CAUSE.	August 29, 1912.
THE ELE	CTION FIGHTING	FUND.
Hon. Treasurers: Mrs. Auerbach. Mrs. Anstruther.	Chairman: Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D.	Hon. Secretary: Miss Catherine Marshall.
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THE ELECTION FIGHTING POLICY .- FROM A CONSERVATIVE POINT OF VIEW.

ment except Party Government is possible in this country, the ordinary man or woman is finding it more and more difficult to think in water-tight compartments. We are getting tired of Party politics, keen about great principles and reforms and willing to support the Party or man who embodies or supports them. This breaking away from Party is having a considerable influence.

Women's Suffrage has become to many of us the most important of all questions, not only because we believe it will work for justice and the general good, but also because of the great evil which is being caused already, and will greatly increase unless it is promptly granted. When we look round us and see the growing bitterness and violence both among cumstances less easy to grasp. those who are fighting for and those who are opposing this great reform, we feel that all delay is fraught with the most serious danger. It is not sufficient, therefore, to rest assured relations of the Liberal and Labour Parties are not in evidence that truth and justice must ultimately triumph; we must strain in their own constituencies (which may be traditionally every nerve to get them now at whatever personal sacrifice.

To those who feel in this way, it is a plain duty to disregard all lesser questions and all Party feeling, and consider only in what way the suffrage for women can most speedily be obtained; afterwards we can return and support whom we will.

The Reform Bill now before Parliament offers a great opportunity, but at the same time brings with it a great danger. If this reform of the franchise should pass without the inclusion of women, it must result in shelving the Woman Suffrage advantage of the present position of affairs by the Committee question indefinitely.

This is a point the urgency of which some Suffragists have not sufficiently grasped, and they endanger thereby the cause they love by failing to understand that a crucial moment has arisen, when, if success is to be secured, special action has become essential. It is therefore necessary that unless a satisfactory amendment is included, all possible efforts should be made to destroy this Bill rather than allow it to pass in its present form.

Conservative Suffragists probably quite grasp this fact, but find it difficult to realise that, the Unionist opposition at the moment being powerless to do this of themselves, it is only through those who on most questions vote with the Government and on whom the Government depend for their majority that this result can be secured.

The Labour Party have been firm and loyal supporters of every form of Women's Franchise, and whatever the differences of opinion on other points may be, they have earned the gratitude of all Suffragists.

In supporting them we achieve two definite objects. Firstly, we support the only Party which, as a Party, has always made Women's Suffrage one of the leading planks in its platform, and many of whose leaders are willing to vote against the final passing of the Reform Bill if women are not included in some form; and secondly, we bring a definite danger into the Liberal camp, and one which their Party organisers are quickly bound to realise.

Although politicians tell us that no other system of Govern- Every time a three-cornered contest is fought, and we support a Labour candidate so effectively that either he or the Conservative candidate is returned, thereby depriving the Liberals of a seat, the immediate importance of getting this matter settled instead of trying to strangle or shelve it, will be brought home to the Government.

> The advantage of this policy over the purely anti-Government one is that, instead of merely opposing a Government candidate, whatever the attitude of his opponent may be on the question, we support a sincere friend to the cause of Women's Suffrage who, having his Party behind him, will be able to add to the pressure on the Government.

In the Southern Home Counties, the policy is from local cir-

In some constituencies there is practically no labour vote, and many people only with difficulty realise that because the strongly Conservative), and because the policy seems remote from their own local case, it is therefore of no importance to them; but if Suffragists will look at the matter, not from their individual and local standpoint only, but taking into consideration conditions throughout the country as a whole, it is difficult to understand how any who are really in earnest can fail to sink all Party differences, and at this very critical moment support the great effort which is being made to take of the Election Fighting Fund which has been inaugurated by the National Union.

GRANVILLE STREATFEILD.

ELEVENTH LIST TO AUGUST 12TH.

(Signed)

	£	s.	d.			s.	
Already acknowledged to				Mrs. White Birch	1	0	0
July 30th	,585	1	1	Madame P. Hamélius	0	5	0
Miss C. Macmillan	10	0	0	Mrs. Shillington	1	0	0
Mrs. G. E. Foster (Leeds)	25	0	0	Mrs. Powell	- 0	O	0
Miss Mary Brinton	1	0	0	Mrs. Lake		6	
Miss Mary Brinton Mrs. Wright Mrs. Haynes	0	6	0	Mrs. Jefferd		6	
Mrs. Havnes	2	0	0	Mrs. Edward Smithson	5	0	0
Mrs. Ralph Durand	- 0	10	-0	Miss Eleanor Stephens	0	10	6
Miss A. Franklyn	0	G	6	Miss Weingarten		1	
Miss A. M. Alliott	0	10	0	The Misses Wilson and Miller	2	0	0
Miss F. M. Alliott	. 0	10	0	Miss Gatliffe]	0	-0-
Birmingham W.S.S. (for				Miss Hilda C. Jones	1 1	10	0
Birmingham W.S.S. (for Hanley by-election)	20	0	0	Miss Beryl Stopford Sackville Miss Dorothy Paine	(55	0
The Rev. and Mrs. Roberts	1	2	6	Miss Dorothy Paine	(5	0
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Mrs. H. Langley Browne	5	0	0	donation)	10	0	01
Mr. Charles Fitzroy Hecht	- 4	- 2	6	Miss Noel Wright (2nd			
Mrs. David Macdonald	1	1	0	donation)		3	
Miss P. G. Fawcett	30	.0	0	Anonymous Croydon W.S.S	1		~
Kidderminster W.S.S.	0	10	0	Croydon W.S.S	5	2	6
Miss Nancy Flemming	2	0	0	Miss Emily B. C. Jones	- L	1	U
Mrs. T. Gordon Mason	0	5	0	Mrs. H. L. Christie	0	2	0
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Miss Ellen McKee	2	10	0	. £3	,729	1	4
"Hopeful"	0	5	0	The second second second	-	The second	-
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A CORRECTION.

We regret that a donation of £1 1s. was wrongly acknowledged to Mrs. I. E. Sykes in our last list. Mrs. J. C. G. Sykes was the doncr.

AUGUST 29, 1912.

The State and Forcible Feeding.

That the "militant" methods of the Women's Social and litical Union do not commend themselves to the persons ponsible for THE COMMON CAUSE it is hardly necessary to But when persons who pursue those methods are put in ate. ison, the question of how they are treated becomes the concernevery citizen of this country.

The "militants" declare that their offences are political, and im to be treated in the same manner that men regarded as itical prisoners have generally been treated. From the first rt of their contention it is difficult for any impartial opinion to agree. If there be such a thing as a political offence, the nces of these ladies are political. They are committed Ily and solely with the design of procuring a change in the toral system of this country, and the circumstances that they pear to the writer of these lines and to thousands of other rvers entirely irrelevant to that end does not in any degree the indubitable fact. In these circumstances, the ordinary would suppose that the privileges usually accorded to ical prisoners would follow as a matter of course. ars, however, that the giving or witholding of these leges depends upon the will of somebody in authority, ars. statements differ as to whether that somebody is the Secretary or the magistrate who pronounces sentence. ither case the most elementary foresight would have recomaded an even over-scrupulous fairness of treatment for soners who announced themselves as the enemies of the rnment. But the authorities, following their invariable bit of playing into the hands of the militant suffragists, took sion to deny these privileges, and to expose themselves reby to a suspicion of being actuated by petty spite. The oners retorted by concerted abstention from food-a nger-strike "-and the prison authorities of the country, from the Home Secretary downward, were faced by the rtainty that the women would sooner die than vield. vation for several days is a form of punishment so gnant to humanity that no court could dare to inflict it, it ght have been thought reasonable to release prisoners who had undergone so severe a penalty, even although self-inflicted, nd this course, was, we understand, taken in Scotland. In gland, on very many occasions, and recently in Ireland, the oners have been and are still being forcibly fed, either by neans of feeding-cups, or by tubes pushed either up the nose or down the throat. Several prisoners being released, "on medical grounds," after undergoing this treatment, and reporting that they had endured great pain and had been dered ill, questions were asked in the House of Commons, nd two different Home Secretaries, one of them being Mr. McKenna, who now holds that office, assured the House and the country that forcible feeding was attended by neither pain nor danger, that it was administered in the interests of the prisoners' health, that it formed part of the ordinary medical treatment, and that any pain that had been caused was due solely to the resistance of the prisoners. As neither Home Secretary was qualified physican, these replies must have been founded upon formation supplied, and attempts were made to ascertain who were the doctors from whom the Ministers had acquired their nedical knowledge, but no questions succeeded in extracting that they had suffered at the hands of prison officials.

their names; and it does not appear that the Home Secretary caused any inquiry to be made of the prisoners who alleged Three physicians have now made that investigation which ought to have been made by the Home Office, and their prenary report is published in the Lancet of last Saturday. should be read by every man and woman in this country who cares for the country's credit or for the decent treatment of those "prisoners and captives" whom the country's laws hold in confinement. No such person will be able to read it without shame and indignation. Sir Victor Horsley, Dr. Agnes Savill. and Dr. Mansell Moullin, have "carefully considered the written atements" of 90 ex-prisoners who had been forcibly fed; have personally examined a large number of these prisoners after their release, and have communicated with the physicans who have attended those prisoners whose condition on release necessitated medical care." Their conclusion is that: "The facts thus elicited give the direct negative to the Home Secretary's assertion."

As to the statement that the treatment was pursued in the interests of the prisoners' health, it is declared that: "Every prisoner has suffered from indigestion-pain, distention, heart-burn nausea and sickness." That is to say, that no single woman has been forcibly fed without suffering pain in consequence. Many of them suffered extreme pain. The investi-

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gators quote as a typical example the case of a prisoner fed May 26th in Birmingham-one, be it noted, who made no resistance. The passage of the tube caused her to

retch, vomit, shake and suffocate to such an extent that, in the struggle for air I raised my body till 1 stood upright, in spite of three or four wardresses holding me down, after which I sank back into the chair exhausted. When the tube was withdrawn, I seemed into the chair exhausted. When the tube was withdrawn, i seemed to be afflicted with chronic asthma, and could only breathe in short gasps. To take a deep breath caused me excruciating pain. Two wardresses helped me back into my cell, where I lay in agony, the pain becoming worse every moment. I vomited milk, which eventu-ally became tinged with blood.

Another prisoner, who made no resistance, described how after being fed by a nasal tube she suffered extreme pain in the ears, continual running at the nose, and vomited through the whole of a sleepless night. Next day she was gagged (although she did not resist), and was fed by a tube put into the throat, which caused great pain, sickness, bleeding of the throat, and profuse vomiting, which continued at intervals through the morning. In the afternoon the process of feeding was again begun, when her heart seemed to stop beating. The tube was removed and she fainted. She vomited incessantly during the night, and in the morning was released by an urgent order of the Home Secretary, and was removed to a nursing home, where she remained some days before she could be taken home.

It is to be hoped that when Parliament reassembles, Mr. McKenna will be questioned about the message that was sent him during that night. Or is it possible that urgent orders of release were prepared in blank beforehand for such contingencies?

A truly horrible record of ill-treatment and injury is set out, varying from prolonged neuralgia and headache, intense internal pain and vomiting (caused generally by a total disregard of the well-known "principles and precautions for correct artificial feeding "), to acute delirium-after many repetitions-and to pleurisy and pneumonia caused by the actual injection of food into a helpless prisoner's lung. No one who reads the report will think the words of the investigators too strong when they sum up thus :---

That such malpractices and torture could have been meted out to prisoners by medical officers, we should have believed impossible at the present day had we not numerous cases of the kind before us.

The medical men who have thus disgraced their profession, their country and themselves may be dealt with, and it is to be hoped removed from positions of responsibility for which their actions have proclaimed them unfit. But those actions have left consequences even more serious than the permanent physical injury inflicted upon some of the women whom they have misused. Under the orders of these men wardresses have been employed, sometimes unwillingly, sometimes, it is to be feared, willingly, in performing or assisting in acts of brutality, flinging women down, holding or tying them down, pulling their heads backwards by the hair over the edge of a chair, and all the other odious deeds of compulsion, large or small, that accompanied the main violence.

Now if there is one duty more than another incumbent upon the authorities in charge of a prison, it is that of repressing the most distant approach to violence or cruelty on the part of the minor officials. The prisoners are so helpless, the temptation to the worse elements of human nature so great, the moral injury to the officials themselves so certain and so serious. No State has a right to ask of those who serve it conduct degrading to their humanity. Wrong as it is, that a militant suffragist in prison should be liable to have her gums sawed" with the edge of a cup by a wardress in order to induce her to part her teeth, it is a far greater wrong that any wardress should be instructed thus to maltreat any prisoner. That wardresses were so instructed seems but too probable from the frequency with which the process is reported. But, indeed, no wardress ought ever to be permitted to attempt the forcible feeding of a prisoner.

It is a shocking thought that probably every wardress in the three prisons (Holloway, Maidstone, and Winson Green, Birmingham) where forcible feeding has been carried on must, by compulsory participation in cruel and improper violence, have had her sympathies so blunted and her sense of the dignity of humanity so entirely destroyed, as to have been rendered unfit for the possession of any degree of power whatever over her fellow creatures. At first, some wardresses used to shed tears and to turn sick. Under the guidance of the trained healers who are placed in prisons to help and care for prisoners, these women have been taught to be stolidly callous while other women writhed and struggled, half suffocated, or uttered uncontrollable shrieks of pain. And that, too, is an injury that can never be cured.

And what about the Minister who has permitted and defended these things?

If

Since

The Woman's Movement in Germany.

(Concluded.)

By HELENE STOECKER, PH. D., BERLIN.

If the ultimate aims of the women's movement are not yet quite clear to everyone-viz., the complete civil and political equality of women with men, the possibility of having a home and children and a profession corresponding to their individuality-even the most backward cannot deny the necessity of forming new possibilities of industry in relation to domestic In consequence most success has been reached in life. the sphere of education and training, and the preparation for various professions. So far the question of education and preparation for a certain profession has been of most importance the women's movement, and I think rightly. Only those who are sufficiently trained for the domestic and mental struggle can hope to win. In the course of a few years gymnasium or real gymnasium courses were formed for women in all the larger towns in Germany. In South Germany they hit on the much happier plan of allowing girls to enter the higher institutions for boys, if they wanted a higher education. The education in mixed schools has long been naturalised in America and the Scandinavian schools and it paves the way for a more friendly and natural intercourse between the sexes from the very beginning. If the women's movement aims at bringing the sexes nearer together, its most powerful means will be the education in mixed schools, which will doubtless be the form of education of the future. The opening of German universities to women which has taken place during the last ten years has not yet led to official matriculation of women in all the universities. However, the refusal to allow matriculation is a simple formality, for the women medical students are allowed to keep their terms and they are permitted to enter for the State medical examination.

At the present time we have already quite a number of qualified women doctors in Germany. A small number of women have even been trained to the profession of barrister, for which a woman is so well fitted, as is the case in other countries—e.g., France, Belgium, Holland and America. As a substitute for the lack of women solicitors, a great organisation for female legal protection has been formed among the women legal practitioners, in which women with the help of experts give advice to poor women and help them to get their claims acknowledged.

In the last ten years in Germany women have been trained as head-teachers also, and a short time ago they received the permission to sit for State examination for head-teachers, which till then had been reserved for men alone. The profession of preaching has not yet been opened to women in Germany as it has in England and America, although the Rev. Anna Shaw, in the last International Congress, proved to the most stubborn opponent that even a woman can be born a preacher. Women are now pressing everywhere into official positions and into the public care of the poor and orphans. No thoughtful person doubts that they bring with them special capacities. And therefore, as mothers, they must be guaranteed an influence on the public education and tutelage of children whose private care has been so long considered as their only profession

But women have made the most decisive progress in the last ten years not only in the sphere of education and social care. The understanding of the need for women's suffrage has grown in an astonishing manner. The German league for women's suffrage was founded only about five years ago by Dr. Anita Augspurg and others. At the International Congress for women's suffrage in Stockholm last August they were able to announce the formation of quite a number of separate associations.

It is not only among women, but among men too, that the idea has gained ground and the political parties have been obliged to take up a position regarding it. Besides the social democrats and the members of the liberal unions a few representatives of the Centre have declared in favour of women's suffrage. Remembering the ingratitude which English women have received for their canvassing work in the services of the political parties, German women are more prudent when they offer their help. They require of the candidates signed answers to certain questions regarding their exact position towards women's suffrage. If a candidate were to promise everything before the election and not keep his promise afterwards he

breach of faith, and there is always a weapon ready at hand against the misuse of feminine help.

The latest phase in the German women's movement is the movement for the protection of mothers. At the head of it stand men and women of all scientific and political opinions, famous lawyers such as Prof. von Liszt, authorities on sexual science such as Prof. Forel, Dr. Havelock Ellis, Dr. Albert Moll, and Dr. Ivan Bloch, the heads of the German society for combating sexual diseases; the Socialist Lily Braun, the upholder of middle-class women's rights; Maria Lichnewska and others. The president, who is the author of this article, edits the organ of this movement, "Mutterschutz, Zeitschrift zur Reform der sexuellen Ethik," which deals with the problems of love and marriage, friendship and parentage, prostitution, and all the moral questions connected with them, viewing them from a philosophical, historical, legal, medical, social and ethical standpoint. The magazine is to be the meeting ground for all endeavours at reforming merely conventional ethics. It is to wage war on opinions and institutions which have become untenable.

A number of leading persons have taken up the practical work of the league by direct help to mothers and children, and by their work in the magazine have influenced public opinion. The well-known investigator, Havelock Ellis, called attention to this movement in an article in the "Fortnightly Review," entitled "The Awakening of Women in Germany." Its basis is the desire of women for motherhood. Its object is to insure her this right and to order the personal and social relationships which spring from this her function. It differs characteristically from every other women's movement inasmuch as every other is based on what woman has in common with man, while it is here a question of that in which woman differs from man.

The motherhood movement intends not only to give women the right of motherhood but also to protect women as mothers. For although motherhood has been celebrated in art and poetry, it has too often remained an empty word in actual life. There are innumerable cases in which the mother is without rights and without protection. The parental power of the mother over her children is extremely limited in favour of the husband, although it has been demanded of women that they should nevertheless make the training of their children their life's aim But the woman who has given birth to a child illegitimately and has been deserted by the child's father is certain of disgrace and contempt, without any one taking the trouble to enquire into the circumstances of the case. The followers of the movement for the protection of women have found out that the more people sin in coarseness and barbarity the more they make life hell on earth for each other, and the brutality of human condiions is nowhere more clearly seen than in the sexual matters. It is no mere chance that it is in contemplating Gretchen's position, the position of the innocently-sinning child-murderer, that the whole sorrow of mankind seizes Faust.

It is the task of this movement to extend the perception of the horror and repulsiveness of these conditions. We have seen how human nature can develop by the changing of environment, and must further develop. So we do not need to clasp our hands helplessly, but we should use them for the changing of unendurable conditions. If this desire for change, which already exists in a small minority of men and women, is gradually increasing, the natural consequence is that the conditions will be altered by us. Our whole social development, which demands for women of all positions a greater pecuniary independence and fitness for profession is, in other respects too, advancing in this direction.

What still remains to be done by the movement for the protection of mothers, is reform in conditions of housing and employment, legal protection, medical help, etc. Women must receive fit recompense for their work, and there must be a great development of motherhood insurance to which we have already given a start by the legislation for the protection of workmen. For it is not only the unmarried mother for whom motherhood a physical, moral and social martyrdom. As the statistics of all countries show, even married men who are the fathers of several children refuse the claims of fatherhood. They leave wife and children and these fall into necessity and misfortune, and have to be cared for by public charity. So the protection of marriage of which we hear so much, is often lacking; and as for the legal protection of unmarried mothers, it is, in fact, nothing more than an empty form. In Germany only 16 per cent. of the unmarried men can be persuaded to perform their very modest duty of providing for their illegitimate children. We must continue to strive for a recognition of the fact that the bringing-up of children is a social duty of which the burden must be borne by all. If we can attain that by the formation of could be confronted with his own signature and taxed with a a motherhood annuity, or, better still, a childhood annuity, we

than by the most vigorous marriage laws, which see rit in making divorce impossible. When mothers and tren are no longer helpless, when we consider the motherof women with all its consequences as a social work we have taken one of the most substantial steps which must from barbarism to culture. It seems sometimes as if we not very far distant from this object.

Working Women and Education.

There are no two opinions in the women's movement as to portance not only of gaining the vote, but of preparing to Every woman whose heart is in this fight would like to at the franchise had never before been extended to a body ple so ready to employ it in the highest interests of the nity as will be the women who will receive the right to when the day of victory comes.

The only consolation in face of hope so long deferred is that day makes the work of preparation more complete. The movement has done more for the education of women ything else could have done, but forces akin to those created the suffrage movement have brought into being novements working in the long run for the same end. these is that which is leading hundreds of working whose leisure hours are few and whose previous in has been slight; to seek further intellectual developthough their school days are long since past, and though generally most-of what they learnt at school is Everyone who knows anything of working women's ations to-day would testify to this, and tell of the ininterest in public affairs and the increasing desire for ge shown by women who are, in many cases, not directly ed by the women's movement in its more conscious

During the last few years much of this demand for education as been voiced and supplied by the Workers' Educational ociation. Founded nine years ago by a group of Trade ists and Co-operators, the Association has always nitted women to all its classes on exactly the same terms as Women came into the very earliest of the university classes promoted by the Association-weavers from ancashire mills, dressmakers and dairymaids—solitary or in os or threes in the midst of about thirty men. They came the faith and enthusiasm of pioneers, and hundreds have ollowed in their footsteps. But the experience of the past years showed that admission to classes, even accompanied a warm welcome, would not solve the problem of the cation of working women. All who join a university orial class must undertake to attend regularly week by week rough the winter months) for three years, to do a considerable mount of reading, and to write twelve papers in connection with each year's work. That is a considerable programme, when it comes at the end of a long day, and only the stalwarts can fulfil it, though their number increases each year, and at present about 13 per cent. of the 3,000 students in full tutorial ses are women.

For the average working woman something less ambitious and less exacting had to be devised. Long as she may for education, all she can usually manage is one afternoon or vening a week, with hardly any opportunity of reading in It sounds hopelessly little, but the Workers' Educational Association has proved that a group of eager omen with a sympathetic teacher who makes herself a fellow student, meeting together as comrades to study some subject which they themselves have chosen, can get a lot even out of ne afternoon a week. There are many women who would say hat they have got enough to transform life during the rest of e week

Everywhere these little groups are springing up, sometimes ganised by a branch of the Association, sometimes by some nen's organisation which asks the Association for a class (One branch supplied 46 women's organisations with ders last winter.) They choose every sort of subject, and class is different from every other class. In those held winter Literature, History, Économics, Hygiene, Citizenp and Nature Study all found a following.

the classes are made up of elements so varied as to strike ror to the heart of any teacher who can do nothing with a class that is not carefully "graded." In them you get girls from mills and factories, with their elementary education still

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shall protect the marriage bond in critical cases much more more who may never have had any schooldays. Not the easiest class in the world to teach-but teaching them is a joy hardly to be found in any other educational work, because every one of these students is filled with a hunger and thirst for knowledge which sweeps away all minor obstacles. Most of them, moreover, bring a ripe knowledge of life which makes up for many deficiencies. Lack of previous education is sometimes a stumbling block, and one is often told in confidence of some friend of a member who would like to come but "isn't good at spelling," or is afraid of being asked to read aloud. When the friend comes, as she often does, she learns that no overwhelming importance is attached to spelling, and her interest soon makes her forget her shyness about reading, like an old lady of over sixty in a Shakespeare class who wrote privately to the teacher asking if she might read Shylock's part if it would not be considered too " presumptive."

All this may seem a very humble matter to some people-just group here and a group there doing such simple work. But its implications and promise are enormous. Every one of these women and girls persuades a circle of people that it is nothing alarming or extraordinary for a working woman to seek knowledge; every one of them, too, carries something from the class to her fellows; many of them have children, and are never tired of telling how much easier it is to be a comrade to one's children when one has kept some interest in books and things outside the home.

It is by such women as these that the battles of the future will be won. Without them all effort, for the vote or for anything else, is in vain.

" Votes and Wages."

(Continued.)

IV.

Miss Pott next asserts (1) that the "Fair Wages Clause" has been of no advantage to men, and (2) that the low standard set by the Government with regard to women's wages has no effect on their position in the labour-market generally.

At this point I begin to feel a strong suspicion that the lady has not, even now, read my little pamphlet. It is short indeed, but she has not been able to struggle to the end of it. Long ago, Miss Pott commented on "Votes and Wages," and expressed strong indignation and contempt at my ridiculous assumption that before commenting on it in the Press she would certainly have read it. And now Miss Pott expounds the "Fair-Wages Clause" with care and condescension, saying "It is not a clause at all but a resolution," apparently unaware that this is exactly how I described it.

A large number of working men who were asked if this resolution had done them any good promptly answered, No. The guileless Miss Pott concludes from this that no good has been The tendency of human beings to grumble is inveterate : but what does she suppose would be the attitude of the Labour Party if it were suggested to repeal that "resolution "?

Again, she says that Government pay does not affect the standard of wages generally, because-the Government said it hould not.

When we Suffragists suggest any amelioration of the lot of the voman worker, we are sternly set down with large references to economic law." But when Government, by a simple announcement, lays it down that in this case economic laws shall not work, they are, in Miss Pott's opinion, instantly suspended. I refer my readers to "Votes and Wages" for proof that the economic law which states that the price paid by a very large buyer affects, in the long run, the price paid by others, is not suspended when it is Government that buys and labour that is bought. I pend here a further example of the effect that the "Fair Wages Clause" has had on non-Government work-not oparently an accidental but an intentional one :-

On September 2nd, 1911, the Local Government Board issued circular to local authorities, drawing their attention to the Fair Wages Clause, and saying : "It will be seen that the Advisory Committee recommend that clauses such as those inserted in Government contracts should also be introduced into contracts which are not entered into by Government departments, but which involve the expenditure of public money or other consideration granted by a Government department, or which require the approval of the department. It appears to the Board that the policy adopted in the case of Government contracts should be followed in the cases of all contracts for the execution of works, or the supply of materials, which are airly fresh in their minds, side by side with women of sixty or entered into by local authorities or by or on behalf of any

committee wholly or in part appointed by a local authority. Whilst they are aware that many local authorities specify in their contracts conditions to be observed by the contractor as to the rates of wages and other matters affecting persons employed by him, the Board think that in every case the authority should give the matter careful consideration, with a view to the introduction in the contracts of clauses on the lines of those inserted in Government contracts.

It seems then that a standard is being set by Government of its own initiation as well as by the necessary fulfilment of the economic law.

I confess I was anxious to see what Miss Pott would make of Mr. Lloyd George's statement that women were under-paid by the Government, and that this would be impossible if they had But the reality was more sublime than I could have votes. hoped. Miss Pott said :-

(I pass over the quotation from Mr. Lloyd George.)

'Poor Mr. George! But at least he is in good company. He shares the distinction of being (passed over) with the whole of the science called Political Economy.

Miss Pott now turns her attention to the agricultural labourer. She asserts that the evidence of Mr. Cecil Chapman as to the value of the vote is invalidated by the fact that when he wrote his reports he did not speak of it.

To this Mr. Chapman replied that as to him, as to everyone else who has any knowledge of the world, it is clear that it is an advantage to men (at least) to be enfranchised, he did not speak of what was taken for granted.

With regard to wages (which are not the whole of "economic conditions"), it must be remembered that agriculture was for a long time in the trough of acute depression. It was acute just about the time of the enfranchisement of the agricultural labourer, and continued up to about the end of the century. So that one would expect the fall which Miss Pott indicates. No one contends that the vote can extract rising wages from a declining industry.

Mr. Chapman points out :-

(1) The effect of Arch's Agricultural Union only gradually established itself throughout the country and might well have been lost again when the Union fell to pieces, if the labourer had not become a voter. His possession of the vote makes every local group bear something of the character and have something of the power of a Union.

(2) Special legislation has been introduced for his benefit, notably (a) the Allotments Acts of which Mr. Chapman writes : "They were in full swing when we were making enquiries and were a constant source of anxiety in order to placate the Here is a distinct addition to wages. (b) The Small labourer. Holdings Act. (c) The Parish Councils Act which control or at least largely affect the rights of common and right of way.

(3) General legislation has been adapted to his needs. It is very generally admitted that the Old Age Pension Act would have been on a contributory basis but for the necessity of meeting the low agricultural wage. Here is another addition to wages.

Mr. Chapman adds : " The clergy and the squire, who have full appreciation of large issues, know the importance of doing everything possible to win the labourers by kindnesses which make their life easier" (sometimes, to Mr. Chapman's knowledge, including an actual addition to the money wage); "the farmers take smaller views, but are often compelled by others to work in the same direction.'

Returning to the woman wage-earner, Miss Pott insists that the smallness of her wage is due to the fact that women are inferior to men as workers. Those who have done me the honour to read my pamphlet will know that I have not committed myself to an opinion on this point, further than to state that even when women and men do the same work, women are still paid at a lower rate-a fact which Miss Pott will find it hard to disprove, unless she asserts that they never do the same work. Her method of argument is curious to say the least of it. She says: "Miss Royden maintains that women P.O. clerks are worth as much as men. Are they? Surely the girl who enters the Post Office at 18 is not of the same value as the man who has worked his way up? You cannot compare two things which are quite different.'

My readers will now get a glimpse of the true Anti-Suffrage method. It is to attribute to one's opponent propositions so astonishing that no one but a madman could maintain them, and then earnestly to point out their absurdity. With such ravings I have nothing to do. I content myself with submitting these figures :-

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SALARIES OF P.O. CLERKS. £70 to £250 £65 to £110 Men, second division, lower grade Women, second class Men, second division, higher grade. £250 to £350 £,115 to £,140

Women, first class . The industrial portion of these men and women is precisely

the same." ("Certain Legislative Proposals," Eva Gore-Booth.) In the district offices and provinces the scale is :---Men. Women.

First-class sorting clerks 40s. to 56s. 18s. to 40s.

Second-class sorting clerks 28s. to 35s. 15s. to 28s. The Fair Wages Committee (Minutes, p. 248) reports the payment for stitching on riding-saddles. The men, who were slower workers than the women, got 9s. 6d. for 12 hours' work. The women got 4s. 6d. for the same amount of work, done in When the work was done, "you could not tell whether it was done by a man or a woman." The saddles were sold at a uniform price.

Miss Margaret Robertson told me of a certain industry (carpets) in which men were paid 6s. 6d. and women 4s. 6d. for the same length of carpet. The price at which their work was sold to the public was uniform.

Women-teachers are paid less than men. So are women nurses. So are women domestic servants. All these do not less but more work than men in the same profession. Women servants are hard to get. Men are very easy. Yet they get more than double what the women get, do half the work, and have twice the privileges.

Finally it may or may not be true that in some industries women for various reasons are not "worth" as much to their employers as men: but among these reasons are several avoidable ones

(a) Underpayment and overwork accounts for much of the supposed greater liability to sickness of women. My personal opinion, backed by experience, is that if women were paid at a rate that enabled them to keep up as high a standard of com fort as men, and not expected to add domestic to professional duties, they would not be more frequently "off ill " than men are (b) As long as they are not consulted (to please Miss Pott I will say "effectively" consulted) about laws affecting them industrially, there will always be an element of precariousness

about their employment which will affect their value. The proof that women-whether equal to men or not-are underpaid in proportion to their value, lies in the fact that they are replacing men. It is true that men still keep women out of the best work, by the various means enumerated in "Votes and Wages." But the only result of that is to urge on the quest of the employer for new kinds of machinery, automatic or semi-automatic, which can be tended by a cheap woman as easily as by an expensive man.

(1) Mr. Cadbury gives a list of trades in Birmingham in which women and machinery have replaced men ("Women's Work and Wages," p. 39).

(2) Mr. Cameron Grant writes : "Punch-cutting was entirely a man's job a few years ago, and to-day we have none but girls engaged on it. I think the Monotype works make use of the same sex, and am nearly certain the ---- Company do the same, and certainly it is done in the German punch-cutting establishments to a very large extent. Nearly all stamping is done today by women working automatic machinery . . . every day new avenues of work are opening up for women on the lines of their displacing men by the cheapness of their labour . the fine work concerned in the building of a watch, to the rough work in making bolts or nuts or iron chains. They are even creeping into such heavy engineering works as shipyards building battleships." (See also Mr. Grant's "Man, Woman, and the Machine," and "Working Women and the Vote.")

(3) The Poor Law Commissioners' Report (p. 323) denies " that there has been a general displacement of men by women going on," but admits that "female labour is being substituted for male in many low-grade and low-paid occupations.' (English woman," August, 1910.") Outside of the traditional women' trades, the commissioners declare "we find women largely sometimes exclusively, employed in the making of saddlery and harness, slippers, gloves, cocoa, confectionery, jam, pickles, mustard, aerated waters, strawplait and hats, rubber and guttapercha goods, stationery, elastic web, corsets, cutlery, and scissors, gold, silver, white metal and pewter goods, electroplate, pottery, chemists' preparations, explosives, in printing, and in dyeing and cleaning." They go on to say, with reference to the pottery industry, "In some branches of this trade, women are being employed to an increasing extent upon work which, a few years ago, was performed almost exclusively by men, they are now actively it competition with male labour, and as they are able to do similar

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reported upon. The normal industrious woman of the workingwork for lower wages they are gradually driving men from certain sections of the trades." lass does, quite extraordinarily, desire economic independence. (4) Even the denial of "a general displacement" can hardly That the normal young daughter of the more prosperous classes desires it is evident enough; the outcry about "revolting stand in the face of Mr. Haslam's analysis of the Census of daughters" is too recent for denial. 1901 (Englishwoman, April, 1911) which shows that women have increased far more rapidly than men in a very large Mr. Cohen is horrified at the idea of Mr. Snowden's Civil number of industries, even in those which were supposed to be wholly secure against invasion, such as engineering and all

kinds of metal-work

(5) Mr. Sidney Webb states (Problems of Modern Industry, p 75) :- "The economic boundary between men and women is marriage, the average age at resignation being about 24,' tantly retreating on the man's side." and is shocked at the notion of an equality which (6) Mr. J. A. Hobson ("The Evolution of Modern Capital ") tates :--- "Modern manufacture with machinery favours the would place the female Civil Servant with no dependents, because always a spinster, on an equal level with the male Civil Servant, who, because generally married, has infinitely more responsibilities. employment of women as compared with men. Each census during the last half-century shows that in England women are

entering more largely into every department of manufacture, cepting branches of metal work, machine making, and shipbuilding, etc." (Experience shows that even these exceptions e no longer to be excepted.)

What reason can be adduced for this displacement, except. ne reason that employers can pay to women a wage which does not bear the same proportion to their value as workers, as the wage they would have to pay to men?

A. MAUDE ROYDEN.

They Say-What do They Say?

in the comparative lull caused by the Parliamentary recess it possible to look round and observe what is being said in t of that curious race of beings, women. In the "Woman's tform " columns of The Standard Mr. Percy Cohen has been aking some remarkable statements, so oddly expressed as to ggest the suspicion that English is not his native language. The error at the root of this gentleman's argument is evidently economic. He believes that "the whole structure of society rests on the economic security of the male population, gh every observer of social conditions, from Mr. Charles Booth downwards, could tell him that there is no economic rity for working people, men or women, in our society at He believes that to limit the supply of labour-in other ds, the number of people working-would conduce to the nomic security of men, and therefore desires that women should be driven out of the labour market, or, at least, be punished for their temerity in remaining in it by being kept paid. He does not understand that a great number of vomen are employed solely because they can be hired cheaply, and that, therefore, the men for whose prosperity he is so much oncerned are displaced by precisely those low rates of wage for women which he wishes to perpetuate. Nor does he understand that a working-class demand for commodities employs labour in a manner and to a degree that is more profitable for the working-class than a demand for commodities on the part of the rich. It is therefore entirely to the interest of orking people not only that they individually should be well paid, but that as many other members as possible of their class should also be well paid, and this economic position is not in the slightest degree affected by the sex of the worker who receives and expends. As long as more people are able o buy bread it is all one to the extra bakers thereby employed whether the customers are men or women. The essential point s that decently paid employment invariably begets more employment.

On the other hand, every idle person who consumes more than his work replaces, diminishes the riches of the world and eats up money that might have been employed fruitfully and perpetually in paying for productive work. For some cenries past a great many women in civilised countries have been consumers of this kind, and their countries have been the poorer for them. The strong instinct on the part of modern oung women to take up some work is therefore a healthy one, not only for themselves but also for the community. When Cohen ventures to declare that "the normal woman never has desired, nor need desire, any economic status," he betrays ignorance of normal women. The present writer has in hand at the time of writing a large number of "case papers dealing with the industrial work of married women. Over and over again these women are found expressing their wish for money earned by themselves. "A shilling of your own," said one, "is better than two that 'he' gives you," and she spoke a sentiment common to at least half of the hundreds of women women vote.

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Service (Women) Bill, which "adumbrates that no differentia-tion should be made between men and women on the score of salary." He states that "probably, quite 98 per cent." of women in the Civil Service "resign their appointments for

That there are spinsters upon whom parents and other relatives depend does not occur to Mr. Cohen, nor that there are such people as widows in the Civil Service who may have children. That the value of the work, not the sex of the person who does it, should be the standard according to which it is paid for, has apparently not entered into his consideration.

Moreover, Mr. Cohen's approximate percentages and averages are wrong. Miss Alice Cameron points that the report of the Postmaster-General shows that in his Departmentwhich employs "almost all women Civil Servants"-the annual retirements are from two to three per cent., with an average age of 28, and an average service of nine years. Moreover.

a recent very thorough enquiry made by the Association of Post Office Women Clerks as to the responsibilities of women clerks revealed the fact that over 50 per cent. are responsible for the maintenance of others, whilst, on the other hand, it may be pointed out, that a great many male Civil Servants, notably some of those drawing the largest salaries, are still unmarried; also, that among the more poorly paid officials marriage would offen be impossible were it not that the responsibilities of maintaining aged narents and invalid brothers and sisters is so framaintaining aged parents and invalid brothers and sisters is so fre-quently taken or shared by the unmarried women in the family.

Mr. Cohen sums up his case thus :--

The issue is really this: that it is a human impossibility to safeguard maternity if women are to be given an unrestricted industrial point of view. As the door of "equality of opportunity" opens, the door of maternity closes.

What precisely these sweeping statements mean is difficult to interpret. That to give women equal opportunities with men will "encourage them not to marry," he plainly declares, and considers such encouragement an evil. Women, on the other hand, consider it an evil that any woman should be "encouraged" to marry in order to escape from underpayment. Miss Cameron takes the more honourable and dignified view when, for herself and her colleagues in the Civil Service, she says that :--

marriage is not usually regarded among us as a means of livelihood, and that therefore our inclination or otherwise towards matrimony will not be affected by the size of our salary or the value of our appointment.

That is the view of the self-respecting modern woman, as against the Oriental view of a man who is behind his time.

Far different is the tone of The Hon. J. T. Paul, of New Zealand, whose address upon "Women in Civic and Political Life," delivered last spring in Dunedin, has now been published. Says this man of the new lands oversea :—

To my mind, as I have said, few things are so important as perfection in the industrial conditions under which women work. The woman who is following an occupation with unsuitable surroundings, or inadequate ay, is in partial bondage, and to escape that bondage she may unwill pay, is in partial bondage, and to escape that bondage she may unwill-ingly enter a more permanent and even more irksome one in the shape of marriage. I desire to see every woman's industrial conditions such that she can follow her chosen calling with dignity and comfort, and be independent enough and happy enough to refuse to marry any man who may offer her something which appears to be an improvement on an unsatisfactory industrial occupation, but which falls far short of the ideal marriage she has inscribed in the recesses of her imagination. Nothing less than complete economic independence will save the race.

In short, that maternity, which needs to be "safeguarded" by the "partial bondage" of employed women seems to Mr. Paul not merely undesirable, but actually dangerous to national well being. His is an awful example for Mr. Cohen of what happens to the minds of men when they live in a country where

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AUGUST 29, 1912.

THE NATIONAL UNION 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 constitutiona) methods of agitation in this country. (b) The organisation of Women's Suffrage Societies on a non-party basis.

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Hon. Secretaries: MISS EMILY M. LEAF (Press). MISS K. D. COURTNEY. (Parliamentary). MISS EDITH PALLISER MISS CATHERINE MARSHALL " Voiceless, London.' Telegrams :

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

Bv-Elections.

MIDLOTHIAN.

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

Election Fighting Fund Organiser : Miss Margaret Robertson.

Office 40, Shandwick Plate, Edin- Miss Kirby in burgh

District. Dalkeith	Organiser in charge. Miss Low	Committee Rooms. 9, South Street, in charge of Mrs. Aldersley
West Calder	Miss Gordon	The West End Billiard Saloon, in charge of Mrs. Townley

This has been a busy and a fruitful week. New speakers and workers have been arriving daily, and the meetings which we have been able to hold have been uniformly successful.

Our committee rooms at Dalkeith, thanks to the untiring and skilful work first of Mrs. Tozer, and then of Mrs. Townley, Miss Henderson, and Mr. Morrison, have been transferred from the dreary aspect of a long-empty shop, to the brightest and cosiest place imaginable (*i.e.*, "imaginable" by suffrage workers, when the words " committee room " conjure up their usual cheerless visions). In the gaily-decorated inner room, with its brightly-burning fire, several people have been seated daily engaged in the necessary but uninspiring work of addressing envelopes, whilst others have gone out canvassing for the evening meetings in the surrounding villages. We have always flowers; for a local member, a Conservative, who said she would write to Major Hope to tell him that she will no longer work for him because of his unsatisfactory attitude on the Suffrage question, keeps us, and has promised to keep us, regularly supplied.

During the summer Miss Gordon and Miss Low have carried on an extensive campaign in Midlothian with meetings in all the chief villages, and we are reaping the fruits of their work now in the unfailing respect and enthusiasm with which our workers are at once received. At a Labour meeting in Dalkeith on August 21st, in a large hall packed to its utmost limit, Councillor Fogarty, of Manchester, devoted a considerable portion of his speech to a spirited advocacy of the cause of Women's Suffrage; and he went out of his way to congratulate his audience on their readiness to "treat a serious subject seriously." He said that at all the previous elections (and he had worked at Holmfirth, Hanley, Crewe and many others) there had been some levity shown when the subject was first introduced. Here, however, at the very outset, the matter was treated with grave attention, soon rising to enthusiastic agreement.

At Newton Grange, too, on August 19th, Mr. Henderson, on the text of "Government of the people, by the people, for the people," which Mr. Shaw has been claiming as the achievement of the present Government, made a rousing Suffrage speech, which evoked a ready and unanimous response.

The weather has not been kind, but on Friday night, when we had advertised an open-air meeting in Dalkeith, although int was pouring with rain we got quite as big a crowd as is usually achieved in the finest weather; and the rain seemed to have no power to damp their enthusiasm.

At Ratho, in the West Calder district, we were fortunate, on that same wet night, in being able to secure a hall. The people flocked to hear Mrs. Robinson and Miss Gordon, and we were specially delighted to see one family party-father,

mother and three girls, come in all together, and follow every word with the keenest appreciation. A girl of seventeen also came, bringing her grandfather-a great triumph she considered. Urgent were the requests that we should come again soon; and we shall.

Secretary :

Telephone : 1960 Victoria.

MISS GERALDINE COOKE.

At West Calder much has been done by Miss Gordon and her indefatigable assistant, Miss Foggo. We apologised last week for our committee-room there, but we shall do so no more. We need no longer remember its antecedants, which are entirely obliterated by gay bunting, posters, etc., and we are proud to welcome the most distinguished visitors there. The housing conditions in West Calder are terrible, and the

poverty apparently great, but the interest in our movement is as keen here as anywhere in the division. We have had some splendid meetings. At one held on Saturday afternoon we gave a general invitation to the men to come to the committee-rooms any time to sign the "Friends of Women's Suffrage" cards, and no sooner had we got back there ourselves than they began to flock in after us, and we were kept busy providing them with cards and pencils. One of them-quite poor-gave 2s. to Miss Gordon, "to encourage you"; and another, to whom we said that we wanted their names so as to confute those who said that the men didn't want women to have votes, said emphatically : They can't say that-not if they tell the truth.'

We fixed up two more meetings, on the spot, with men from other villages, who begged us to come, gave us all details of the best time, place, etc., and promised to make the meetings known for us.

We have been very lucky in getting Miss Moody, herself a champion "seller," to undertake the whole management of THE COMMON CAUSE in this election, and through her agency a large number has already been sold.

We have also to offer our most heartfelt thanks to Mrs. Marshall, Miss Kirby, and Miss Wilkinson, who have generously responded to our appeal for donations towards the expense of a motor-car for use during the election. By this far more work is made possible, and an infinity of waste and weariness avoided—and we can still hold up our heads before Mrs. Auerbach !

But as in our gratitude there is always much of the "keen sense of favours to come," we make now, in advance, the appeal which we shall be making again as polling-day approaches-that is, the loan of private motor-cars for taking voters to the poll. No hired car can be used, even though a private donor pays for it; only the private car is legal. Therefore we beg all our friends who have motor-cars to make arrangements, as soon as polling day is fixed, to hire a car for their own use for that day, and to let us have theirs in the meantime. When we mention that in the Crewe election the Conservatives had 70 cars, the Liberals 50, and the Labour Party three, it will be clear how enormously our friends are handicapped in this respect.

The strength of the response which the Labour appeal is evoking seems to be surprising everyone. The campaign is long, and with the steady and persistent backing which we mean to help to give, our man should have a magnificent chance. MARGARET ROBERTSON.

FAST CARMARTHENSHIRE.

Resul Rev. Towyn Jones (L.) Mr. Mervyn Peel (C.) Dr. J. H. Williams (Lab.)	 	 6,082 3,354 1,089
Liberal majority	 	 2,728

This is the result of the poll, a disappointing, but not a surprising one,

AUGUST 29, 1912.

5. For about the first three weeks we were in the oivision we did ganda work only, and during the last week, when we found there to be a Labour man to support, the fates, chiefly in the shape of thial rain, were against us. Meeting after meeting had to be can-bert. Dr. Williams scored a few more votes at the last election, but at time he seems to have had a fairly equal fight as far as time. On this occasion the Conservatives had their organisation work-or about four weeks, the Liberals for about three, and Labour about Labour men would not vote Labour in many cases, because they that Labour, unsupported by a single member of Parliament, was a rn chance, and they would not prejudice the Welsh Disestablish-Bill at the risk of splitting the Liberal vote to the advantage of Peel. One of the things an Englishman has to realise in Wales is here religion and politics are inextricably connected. Politics are ity preached from the pulpit, and hattred of the Established Church is Liberalism a camp entrenched with all the insurmountable bul-s of religious fanaticism. This spirit is in the Labour party, but kes it vote Liberal if any risks are to be run. The triumph of one ins section over another is not to be postponed. He appealed from the platform to the religious susceptibilities speeple. He pointed out his self-sacrifice in the cause of Liberalism, said "Witness my hands and feet." He told them that Heaven the Meakshman, and gave them to understand that he was that ham. He was known in the constituency as the "hope of Heaven." ange company indeed for the Rev. Towyn Jones was Mr. Handel h, who came to speek for him, and who is known to us Suffragists iy as the man who first blocked the White Slave Traffic Bill, and wards helped to emasculate it. the crowded meeting it Ammanford at which Mr. Handel Booth

s helped to emaculate it. crowded meeting at Ammanford at which Mr. Handel Booth deep voice came from the back of the hall: "Take care. Miss

g is watching you !'' aid and done, however, the Rev. T. Jones goes to the House of ms pledged to a "democratic" measure of Women's Suffrage. have hopes that one or two new Societies may result from our work t Carmarthen. We had about 90 meetings at about 40-50 different

thanks are due to the devoted work put in by so many organisers peakers. Miss Helen Ward very kindly brought down her car, and ome of the places which were particularly inaccessible. Mrs. and Mrs. Aldersley worked chiefly in the mining and industrial f the division. The difficult divisions of organising work fell Miss Sheard, whom we missed greatly when she had to leave us, iss Chambers and Miss Blackstone. Miss B. Davies and Miss M. , hon. sec. of the Lampeter W.S.S., were invaluable as Welsh rs. Miss Eva Ward's logical speeches appealed greatly to her. henevix, from Dublin, Miss Smith, hon. sec. of the Llanelly Miss Harry, Mr. Griffiths, and other local helpers, were among ry good friends.

good friends. V.S.P.U. did not appear on the Carmarthen scenes, and the came only for a few days. nti-Suffragists were represented by Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, and d, a baby and nurse. This I can hardly believe. Mrs. Solomon fit (such is the perversity of human nature) to come out on to latforms to tell other women to stay at home and mind their out is it a baby's place ever, under any conceivable conditions, to

ies, but is it a baby's place ever, under any concernance, te out of the home for an election campaign? burely, the history of the East Carmarthenshire campaign, were it thfully written, would exceed in wonders and marvels the fairy tales mediaval romance—but it would be a little more sordid. L. F. WARING.

Press Department.

An article in this week's New Age sets one thinking of the rious responsibility incurred by those who allow themselves adopt misrepresentation as a weapon of controversy. Such tements as the following :-

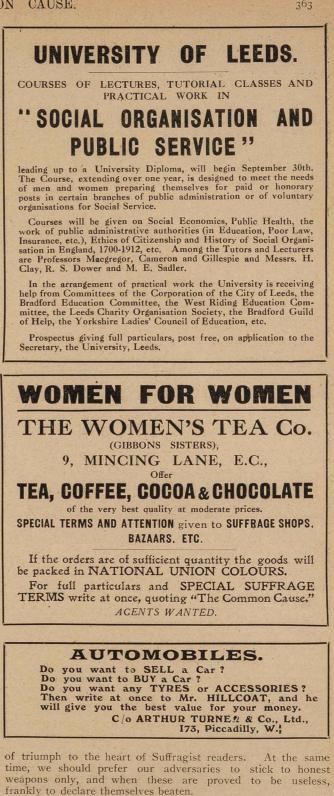
Nobody, we suppose, will deny that, taking it as a whole, women's movement has made little or no progress during he last few years." "Having once examined and, we say, in its occult fashion, weighed the movement, the clusion to which the general public came was that there was in it, and little, therefore, to come out of it. And from at moment, we contend, the public has ceased its active terest for or against Women's Suffrage, and has left the hole matter to Mr. Asquith to deal with." . . . "The Vomen's) Movement that is now nearly dead," occur freently throughout the article, while from the first ungrammatiphrase to the end, the ignorant reader is led to believe that women's movement in England is represented by the tant wing of the Suffrage organisations.

Tactics such as these, indicating as they do, a consciousness f being driven into the last ditch, cannot fail to bring a sense

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

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

THE COMMON CAUSE.



Those Press Secretaries and COMMON CAUSE correspondents who have been in the habit of sending summaries of meetings to the Press Department, are asked to discontinue doing so. This system, which was adopted some nine months ago, in

FAMILIAR INITIALS AND THEIR MEANINGS.

THE COMMON CAUSE.

AUGUST 29, 1912.

order that a record of meetings held might be kept at head- secretaries of societies might find useful, for sending up sumquarters, has met with so little response, that the Press Committee has decided to abandon it.

We have still a large number of printed post-cards left, which

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NOTE.—In our last issue the annual receipts of the Lancs., W. Cheshire, and N. Wales Federation were en as £25 4s. 9d. The balance-sheet of this Federation not yet to hand, but the amount will be far greater in that stated.

National Union Van Tour.

IN THE W. LANCS., W. CHESHIRE, AND NORTH WALES FEDERATION, Aug. 19-24.

When we first sighted the van, as Miss Burgess and I sat eating our lunch in the porch of a village inn at Banbury, it was very evident that the hardships of the past week had in no way daunted the spirits of the crew. Neverthe-less, I was-very glad-to be able to conduct them to hospitable "Springfield," where Mrs. Brun-ner had most kindly arranged for us to camp in the smoke room. As we were now a party of six (Miss Collum, Miss Helga Gill, Miss Bury, Miss Colquitt, Miss Mason, and myself), it was decided to arrange for two meetings a day. The decided to arrange for two meetings a day. The first, on Monday afternoon, was somewhat of an achievement, for it was held on the outskirts of a cattle market, and disturbances by human and beast were frequent. At one moment it looked as if an excited bull might upset the speaker. But it was well worth while holding on, for a fair number of farmers signed our post eards to be sent to the Member, and insisted on shaking hands as an expression of sympathy before going home. The evening meeting at Tarporley was hard to collect, as there were counter attrachard to collect, as there were counter attrac-tions in the village that night; but, as so often happens, difficulties seemed to bring compensa-tion in their train, and we were so kindly enter-tained to supper by Mr. and Mrs. Goulding that we cycled back to camp in a cheerful mood to find our haven of a smoke room looking some-what like a field hospital. Our plan for the week was to seek out all the villages in Eddibury Division that more mithing

Our plan for the week was to seek out all the villages in Eddisbury Division that were within range of the van or bicycle, and which were not easily attainable by train. We have had through-out the week the invaluable help of Miss Burgess, the secretary of newly founded Eddis-bury Society, who has often cycled or driven long distances to meet us. The meetings on Tuesday at Tattenhall and Banbury do not call for much comment except that the Banbury audience had evidently come in serious mood and there is good hope that it will result in several new members for the Eddisbury society. But such a serious step as joining a

serious mood and there is good hope that it will result in several new members for the Eddisbury society. But such a serious step as joining a suffrage society is not taken rashly or in a hurry by people living in the agricultural atmosphere of this part of the world. We have met with much sympathy and very little opposition so far as the "ratepaying woman" is concerned, but the building up of an Eddisbury Branch will be slow. 108 postcards have been signed and eight dozen Common Causes have been sold at the nime meetings that have been held. The only serious blot was the Tarvin meeting on Wednesday. Miss Mason and I had cycled to Great Barrow and held a quiet and sleepy meeting and were horrified on our return to hear that Miss Gill, Miss Bury and Miss Colquith had gone through a really nasty experience. They had been very roughly treated by a band of youths who followed them after the meeting nusting them and throwing stones, and it naturally caused us of the West Lancashure, West Cheshire and North Wales Federation special chagrin to think that those who had come to help us should be treated in this way within our borders. our horders

The rank region of the rank of the other ends of the rank of the other ends of the rank EDITH ESKRIGGE.

Copies for Propaganda.

There are still a few copies of THE COMMON CAUSE for August 15th left—the copy which contains Mrs. Steel's poem and coloured illustra-tion—which may be had, as we noted last week, at 9d. a dozen for purposes of propaganda.

Federation Notes.

West Lancs., West Cheshire and North Wales

West Lancs., West Cheshire and North Wales Work in MirenoverHsinne. On Saturday, August 17th, Miss Mason and I con-cluded a faily successful tour in Merionethshire. One of our objects was to see local Liberals with the hope of securing a resolution from the Merionethshire Liberal Association at its meeting in September. In this we were not particularly successful, as in nearly all the towns the men and women we wanted to see were either away from home or so engrossed in attending to visitors that it was quite impossible to interview them.

them. Our first few days were spent under Miss Stewart's hospitable roof at Llangollen, and from this base we held meetings at Curwen, Carrog and Glyndyfrdwy, and this we managed in three days, thanks to the fact that Miss Stewart had already arranged all preliminaries

intellectual centre, as meetings here have always been successful. The meetings at Barmouth and Towyn were attended largely by visitors, and were made pleasant to us by the discovery of several members of N.U. branches in the audiences.

may be had at 2d. a dozen. M. L. MACKENZIE.

It seems almost a miracle that in this wet summer we were able to hold 9 meetings in 11 days, only one meeting having to be postponed and one given up

we were able to hold 9 meetings in 11 days, only one meeting having to be postponed and one given up aring the tour. At Barmouth and Towyn we were fellowing closely on the heels of the Antis, who had been holding meetings work they had done were so contradictory that it was under the heels of the Antis, who had been holding meetings work they had done were so contradictory that it was they had done were so contradictory that it was they had done were so contradictory that it meeting our point of rise. This much is clear, that our efforts should be unabating to the every one in this neighbourhood a chance of the point of rise. The point of rise were addition to the Merionethshire meetings we held one in Port Madoc, South Carnarvonshire. In no single welsh town did we have any difficulty in collecting an addience—and everywhere our reception was most for the place of meeting, advertising it by were had to turn homeward disappointed. As we passed the halce arranged for meeting we found three ment standing in the rain who, when they heard we had bandoned the meeting, asked us to come back soon and redeem our promise of speaking, and we hope we may. Penrhyndeudraeth is also a quarry town. EDITH ENSTRICE.

Scottish.

Sottish. The forest has been aroused in Sutherlandshife by the prospect of a visit from Mrs. Fully Snowfar, when does who know little, if anything, of Women's when does been aroused in the oratorical treat. With the of the local papers have given very davoury when does been aroused in the oratorical treat. With the of the local papers have given very davoury when does been aroused in the oratorical treat. With the oratorical papers have given very davoury when does been aroused in the oratorical treat. With the oratorical papers have given very davoury when does the oratorical papers have given very davoury when does the oratorical treat. With the oratorical papers have given very davoury when does the oratorical treat. With the oratorical papers have given very davoury or the when does not have the oratorical work of the when when does not have the oratorical work of the does the when does not and progress, where, to walk in the when does have the dead of the termendour does the when does not and progress. When the the does the majority of the women suffragists in a community when the oratorical papers have given the does the fact the when does do with it. The ground is ich, but ploughts when arouse the oratorical work protores of the majority of the women suffragists in a community when arouse the oratorical work protores the does the the when does arouse the contain of the strengen does be the strengen does when the oratorical work protores the does the the does the when does arouse the contain the does the the does the majority of the women suffragists in a community when arouse the oratorical work protores the does the the does the when does arouse the contain the does the the does the does the when does arouse the contain the does the does the does the when does arouse the contain the does the does the does the when does arouse the contain the does the does the does the when does arouse the does the does the does the does the when does arouse the does the does the does t

North of Scotland.

North of Scotland. An interesting and enjoyable meeting was held in the Queensgate Hotel Drawing-Room, Inverness on Wednes-day, August 14th, when Mrs. Stopes, F.R.S.L., Loudon, gave an address entitled, "Why Women Need the Vote." Mrs. Hunter, Inverness, presided and there was a good attendance. Mrs. Stopes dealt with her subject in an able and logical manner. The following resolution was moved by Mr. Robertson and unanimously carried:---"That this meeting calls upon the Government to intro-duce some measure of Women's Suffrage in their Reform BUL" Bil

South Western.

DEVONTORT.—The week's cpen-air campaign of the Devonport Labour Party came to an end on the last day of July, when a meeting was held in the largest hall in the town. The speakers were Miss Helen Ward, of London, and Dr. Gilbert Slater, Principal of Ruskin College, Oxford, with Dr. Mabel Ramsay in the chair. The meeting was the most successful we have had in Devonport.

Devonport. TERGNMOUTH.-Two open-air meetings have been held at the Fountain, with large and attentive audiences. Addresses were given by Mrs. Fletcher and Miss Baly, of Excter, and the meetings have been reported in the local

Press. THE LIZARD.—Some of those who attended the Summer School on Dartmoor have congregated at the Lizard, and failing in with a reader of suffrage literature there, are making plans for a cottage meeting, in the hope of pre-paring the ground for future work.

West Riding (Yorks).

Surrey, Sussex and Hants.

ANNUAL FAIR AT LINDFIELD. This annual function was held on August 8. A "Home Science Tent" was erected on the common. Competi-

were held for cooking and sewing. The Baby t, however, attracted most attention. Fifty-three s were entered for prizes, which were awarded critical examination by Dr. Haschleicher, was assisted by a nurse. Opportunity was taken to an address on the management of very young chil-, and pictures, lent by the Nurses' Social Union, ing all kinds of appliances necessary to the proper ure of habies, were exhibited. teresting addresses on Women's Suffrage were given he evening by Miss Chute Ellis and Mrs. Alderton, alchester.

r. gements had been made by Miss Beyan and

East Midland.

AUGUST 29, 1912.

st Midland. Committee Meeting of the representatives of the Midland Societies was held on August 21st, at the lence of Mrs. W. E. Dowson at Nottingham to consider agements for the Bazaar and Fete which is to be held formher. A very satisfactory list of Patrons and kers has been secured. All the Societies are busy preparations, though the largest share of the work sarily falls upon Nottingham. The Leicoster W.S. receiving the kind co-operation of the Women's al Association, many members of which are atten-the working parties held twice a week at the Offices a Society.

An Irish Suffrage Meeting.

August 24th, the Hon. Mrs. Franklin presided at uffrage meeting at Portsalon Hotel, Co. Donegal, pre she was staying. The other speakers were: Dr. en Webb, Miss H. M. Hutton (of Dublin), and Miss ily Buchanan, P.L.G., Dublin. Nearly all the sis of the hotel attended, the Common Cause was a, some literature was distributed, and considerable erest was evinced by the audience, many of whom I not thought about the question seriously before. s method of propaganda entails much less trouble expense than a public meeting, and one hopes it will be used by many other Suffragists on holiday.

SUFFRAGE IN NEW YORK STATE.

lain. The meeting was organised by ladies from the summer camp of Glen-Hurricane, three miles from Keene. The

ce, of about 120 or so, consisted of sum-isitors who numbered about one-third villagers who filled in the hall to about

villagers who filled in the hall to about irds. The speeches were most attentively ed and the whole question is one in , even in this remote district, opinion dily shaping. An English visitor who sed herself an ardent suffragist, pointed e fact that in England a large and very tial majority of women suffragists are / constitutional in their methods. This vidently welcome news to the listeners, newspapers give only the militant news

newspapers give only the militant news, they touch on England's suffrage ques-Some practical literature was distributed,

fter a most patient hearing the audience up and began to eat ice cream and cake e benefit of the local church. The even-

g was voted a great success, and it is to be ished that many more of a like kind be held. Somen in the United States are of far more aportance than they know, and it is for them any what they want; they will get it.

The Woman's Journal informs us that "by a

United States.

haltway to victory.

Foreign News.

alternates.

Portugal.

Distress in Dockland.

Report of the Children's White Cross League. DEAR MADAM,—We have to thank readers of the COMMON CAUSE for a further £10 in response to our appeal last month, and have pleasure in presenting this report.

presenting this report. In common with most of the relief agencies called into being by the recent dock strike, we feel we have come to, perhaps, the most depressing stage in our progress—the necessity of closing down for lack of funds and rendering an account of our activities to the public. Since its foundation five weeks ago, the Children's White Cross League has dealt with £1,150, the proceeds of the street collection and special appeals in the Press organised by us on behalf of the starving women and children of the strike area, and it is interesting to note that just under half this sum has come to us in the collect-ing boxes.

It was decided quite early that the most economical way of dealing with the hunger problem was to distribute bread and milk to the problem was to distribute bread and milk to the most needy mothers of dockland, and nine distri-bution centres were rapidly organised by Mr. Lansbury and his band of workers in Poplar, Bow, Bromley, and Millwall, where on 13 occa-sions during the past month 3,250 mothers pre-viously provided with our special tickets, have been supplied, with two loaves and one pint of milk each. To Mrs. Scurr of Poplar and Mr. Banks of Bromley and their assistants, mostly dockers on strike, are due the gratitude of ourselves no less than those relieved for their unceasing efforts throughout these terrible weeks, the end of which is not yet in sight.

The Woman's Journal informs us that "by a somewhat strained interpretation of the State constitution the Supreme Court of Arizona has postponed the State election for two years. More-over it has thereby postponed labour legislation and the popular vote upon woman suffrage called for by the initiative position." Surely the saying, *Cherchez la femme* may be applied with a new interpretation whenever the rights of women are concerned. Even unconstitutional proceedings become legitimate apparently if the object is to hinder justice to women.

Nothing however daunts American Suffra-gists. They are at work now in Illinois, where they hope to put the issue before the voters in November. They are endeavouring to obtain (Continued on page 366.)

In New Hampshire an attempt was made to rocure the insertion of a women's suffrage clause a the new constitution now under consideration. t proved unsuccessful, but the women rallied to their side all the best elements in the State, the Federation of Labour, the Grange (Farmers), ious religious organisations, the Women's istian Temperance Association, and many minent men and women. Such a defeat is

Portugal. In regard to the statement as to Women's Suffrage in Portugal made in this column, it must not be taken to mean that the vote is actually granted. The Bill has passed the Senate -i.e., the Upper House, but has still to be con-sidered in the Chamber of Deputies, which may not improbably throw it out. Elsewhere it might be assumed that if the Upper House were would probably agree, but that does not seem to be the case. However, we may hope that the new Chamber will not commit itself to reactionary measures at so early a stage of its existence, and that it will not be long before we can con-gratulate our Portuguese sisters on a full mea-sure of enfranchisement.

very interesting meeting was held on Wednesday, July 24, at the small village of Keene in the Adirondack Mountains, about 20 miles from the Westport Station in Lake

THE COMMON CAUSE.

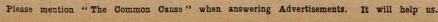
MATLOCK. A successful meeting, held by the Derby Branch, was held in the Hall Leys Pleasure Grounds, Matlock, on July 30th. The speakers were, Miss Meynell of Meynell Langiey and Mrs. Cowmeadow. Mrs. Frank Stones (Derby), presided. The attendance was good. Papers were sold and several names of "Friends of Women's Suffrage" were obtained. CARAVAN TOUR.-The passage of the N.U. Caravan through the East Midland area has already been reported in the C.C. Some very valuable work was done by Miss Helga Gill and her companions, in spite of the inclement weather.

Manchester and District.

Manchester and District. Woax AND DISTRICT.—On Monday evening, July 8th, a large meeting was held on the Market Square, Wigan, Mr. George Knox, M.I.M.E., of Wigan, presided over a sympathetic and intelligent audience who listened with interest to a stimulating address by Miss Margaret Hewitt, of Manchester. The following resolution was passed with one dissentient. "That this meeting calls upon the House of Commons to include Women in the Reform Bill, because by increasing the electorate of men, it further increases the disabilities of women citizens." Copies of the resolution lave been eent to the local members of Parliament and to the members of the Cabinet. About three dozen copies of The COMMON CAUSE were sold.

100,000 names to a petition. On August 14 Chicago was canvassed from end to end, and workers will be sent to all the smaller cities to canvass for signatures. The Ohio campaign, too, is in full swing, and

The Onio campaign, too, is in full swing, and gathers momentum as the end approaches. "Ohio next" is the watchword everywhere. The National Convention of the Progressive Party recently held in Chicago, attracted a great deal of attention on account of the unusual pro-minence given to women in its proceedings. There were between 30 and 40 women delegates from the different States and a number of women alternates





365



FREE ?

366

O

S. Price 1s. THE EYES. Gilbert Percival M.D ead and See with the Naked Eye -Not Through a Window

hing to-day. Address, Neu-Vita Eye Institute (Est. 1903), ding. Southwark, LONDON, ENGLAND,

daily for eight days for the expectant mothers in her district; 3,000 pints of milk on one occasion for the children and £53 to the organisers of

for the children and £55 to the organisers of vegetarian meals to children, the sum actually collected in our boxes by their helpers. • On more than one occasion we have heard the bread and milk described by the mothers as a Godsend, and a word of thanks must be given to Messrs. Lyons and the Wilts Dairy Co. for their unfailing courtesy and the very generous terms on which they have supplied us with food of unimeachable quality.

terms on which they have supplied us with food of 'unimpeachable quality. As to our fellow-workers, both men and women, who have given personal service, money, clothing and free homes to destitute children, we can only say that the knowledge that they have helped to bring at least this drop of relief in the sea of desolation must be their own ex-ceeding great reward—to those who have hesi-tated to help on principle, that they may never feel the need of help and not know where to turn for it.

Those of us who have been privileged to work at headquarters have discovered this never to be-forgotten fact—that deep in the heart of every thinking man, woman and child, from the highest to the lowest in the land, is hidden a

highest to the lowest in the land, is hidden a germ of practical sympathy only waiting to be roused into being. And there must still be many who will come forward now and help us with the other side of our work that will continue for some time yet— the sending of children from Dockland out into the green fields round London, into cottage homes where many a warm welcome awaits them, to nurse them back to health and vitality. The winter is before these child-victims of the strike—always a difficult season at the best of times, when lack of warmth must be added to shortage of food and defective housing accom-modation. At least, we can see to it that they are better prepared to face the hardships await-ing them.

ing them. There can be no more lasting work than this, building up the physique of the children, and we call upon every child-lover to help us, and to go on helping us. Five shillings will keep one child one week. The homes are ready, the lists of children prepared; the railway expenses are a mere trifle, thanks to the courtesy of Mr. Gladstone, Secretary of the Children's Country Holiday Fund, who is allowing us his railway vouchers for practically quarter fares. Over 1,000 children have been away already; the change in them is amazing. Can we not

We 1,000 children have been away already; the change in them is amazing. Can we not multiply this by 25, and so deal at least with the children of school age affected by the strike? The national economy of this—nay, the patriot-ism—must be obvious to all.

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THE COMMON CAUSE.

Reviews.

Three Books about Divorce. MARRIAGE MAKING AND BREAKING. By Charles Tibbits. [Stanley Paul, 28. 6d.

OOK OF DIVORCE : ITS USE AND THE ABUSE. By Mrs. Hugo Ames (Flora Northcote Wilson). [Key Publishing Co., 25. 6d. net.] DIVORCE AND MORALITY. By Christina

DIVORCE AND MORALITY. By Christma S. Bremner. [Frank Palmer, 1s.] Of these three books one, that of Mr. Tibbits, is a rather common-place and desultory descrip-tion of matters as they are; that of Mrs. Ames is a mere thapsody, without form, proportion or guiding idea; and that of Miss Bremner, which is considerably the shortest of the three, is a cher and work of the three for which is considerably the shortest of the three, is a clear and useful survey of the divorce law of Great Britain, its origin, defects and results. All these writers (together with Mr. Plowden, Police Magistrate for Marylebone, and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, who have written intro-ductions for Mr. Tibbits and Miss Bremner) unite in believing that the English law requires amendment. They point out the serious draw-backs of the system of judicial separations, and they believe that (a) divorce should be equal for men and women, and (b) it should be ob-tainable in cases of lunacy, drunkenness or

for men and women, and (2) it should be on-tainable in cases of lunacy, drunkenness or prolonged imprisonment; (c) it should be the same for all parts of the Empire. None of these books professes to examine the whole subject or to establish first principles; and the really profound and illuminating ex-mination of the creat question of divorce is amination of the great question of divorce is still to come. Meanwhile Miss Bremners little volume will be of great use to suffragists who require exact information. It is a pity that 't has not an index.

Letters to the Editor.

Correspondents are requested to send their ames and addresses, not necessarily for publi-cation, 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.

THE WOMEN'S LIBERAL FEDERATION AND

SUFFRAGI

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

AUGUST 29, 1912.

amendments is carried, then the Party managers might begin to realise that the actual success of the dishonour able tactics in the autumn would be followed by a very serious strike amongst "Liberal women." An all events, those of us who act upon the advice grin us by one of our best friends in the House will hav "freed our souls": if Women's Suffrage is wrecked and if terrible disturbances ensue, no share of the guilt will be upon our heads. will be upon our heads.

M. DOROTHEA JORDAN. 8, Royal Parade, Cheltenham. August 22nd, 1912.

THE WOMEN'S VOTE IN COLORADO. In reply to F. M. Buckley's question, she will a list of laws passed in Colorado since 1893 (whe women were enfranchised), on page 4 of "How W Use the Vote." For further information, I com her to the excellent literature published by the Nat the vote." For further information, I commend o the excellent literature published by the National cican Woman Suffrage Association, 505, Fith ue, New York. List of laws, with opinions on the cal effect of the enfranchisement of women on the s, signed by prominent citizens, may be had from Association for a few pence. th regard to an anti-suffrage reaction, I shall be ly interested to hear more from your correspondents we information only extends to one lefter or origid

My own information only extends to one letter or a signed by an anti-Suffragist, to the effect that W Suffrage has been a failure. As, up to now, the Suffragists have found an almost insu on the part of sympathisers to express the





For use with all fine fabrics such as Laces, Blouses, Silks, etc., or with Flannels and Woollens usually liable to shrinkage.

To be obtained in Id. and 3d. Packets from all Stores, Grocers or Oilmen, or send Id, stamp to Dept. C.C., for Free Sample.

JOHN KNIGHT LTD., Soapmakers by Appointment to H.M. King George V.

The Royal Primrose Soap Works, London, E.

Buy the Royal Primrose Soap from the Suffrage Shop, 54, Long Row, Nottingham. Send for Price List and Samples. All profits to the cause.

AUGUST 29, 1912.

Have bread Go to wo

Have din

Work. Have tea.

Have supi

other than anonymously, this lonely hero has created quite a sensation. On the other hand, the Suffrage cause has been making such rapid strides in the country that no fewer than six States will take a vote on it this year. [It should be explained that when such a measure is "yoted on" by a State, it means that the State Legislature has recommended it to the voters, so that to have Women's Suffrage put to the vote in this way is nitself a great step forward.] It is natural therefore that the Anti-Suffragists and final defeat. But apart from this, I do not know of any signs of reaction. Nearly all the States whose legislatures have commended Women's Suffrage to them this year are in the West, that is, in the neigh-sourhood of the already enfranchised States. Must 23rd, 1912. A. MANDE ROYDEN.

THE APATHY OF THE WORKING WOMAN.

We print this letter from a correspondent exactly s sent, thinking it may interest our readers :-"I thought it might interest your readers and make omen workers less apathetic as they are said to be 'Notes and Comments' of last week, if they just 'Notes and Comments' of last week, if they just trasted their lives with men workers in the same upation. My brother and I do, and it has not filled with apathy, but the reverse.

ger Det.	
Sar	ne Occupation.
kfast.	Get breakfast.
k.	Go to work and work harder,
The Margaret	according to what every-
	one says.
er.	Have dinner.
E LAR STREET	Work.
	Have tea and wash up.
l go out.	Sew and go out afterwards.
ier.	Get supper.
and the second second	Saturday

Have supper. Saturday. Go out all day, returning Help with housework and do for meals. "Of course I get £10 a year less salary than my brother for the work I do, but why mothers bring up their sons the stronger sex. If boys were trained to look upon the sisters as the weaker sex and treat them as such. I don't think I should want a vote, but as I am treated all my life as the stronger sex, though I am not, I cer-tainly think I ought to have one, and shall not be happy till I get it, especially as now my brother is married and my mother an invalid I act as father of the family."

New Publications.

The Co-partnership Publishers, Ltd., 73, Southampton Row, are publishing Miss Kate Murray's Pageant Play, "Merrie England," which was performed at a Co-partnership Festival last week by residents of the Ealing Garden suburb. The same firm publishes Miss Gertrude Toynbee's "Introduction to Dante, and some new "Garden Suburb Verses" by Miss Mary Collins.

"Two Birds with one Stone."

To "Kill Two Birds With One Stone" is sometimes supposed to give special pleasure to women. Women Suffragists can do it by buying Knight's Primrose Soap from the Not-tingham Suffrage Shop (54, Long Row). They will get the best soap on the market at the usual shop prices, and help the National Union at the same time. Might's bar soap at 11d. a bar is the best tarde can offer, and that at 10d. a bar is excellent value for the more. Iperia, 4d. a tablet is delicious and not too strongly scented. Complexion Buttermik is 3d. a tablet, and very nice, while it would be difficult to find any other toilet soap so good at 2d. the (same sized) tablet as "Natural Bouquet" (all scents). Tako, as advertised in COMMON CATSE, is always asked for again when once used. The soft soap at 7d. (a 2lb. tin) is the usual quality; that at 8d. is without the soda that is unpleasant for the user's hands, and also goes further. To "Kill Two Birds With One Stone"

the user's hands, and also goes further. Orders of over £2 worth (assorted) are sent carriage paid to any part of the United King-dom, and all soap improves wih keeping. ALL PROFITS GO TO THE CAUSE.

Other Societies.

MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE The Men's League will hold a meeting in Hyde Park (near the Marble Arch) on Sunday next, September 1st, at 6. The speakers will be Mr. Laurence Housman and Mr. Malcolm Mitchell, and Mr. John Simpson will take the chair.

Forthcoming Meetings.

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

AUGUST 30. Ballycastle, Co. Antrim-Miss Dempster, Miss Mont-gomery (chair) 8.15 Surrey.

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

THE COMMON CAUSE.

SEPTEMBER

EPTEMBER SEPTEMBER Searborough-SEPTEMBER

SEPTEMBER 1 SEPTEMBER 1

AUGUST 29. erwick-Town Hall-Mrs. Philip Snowden AUGUST

Not exceeding 10 words: 1 insertion, 9d. 2 insertions 1s. 3d. 3 insertions, 1s. 6d. 6 insertions, 2s. 9?. 13 insertions, 5s. 6d. Every additional ten words, 6d. extra per insertion. All payments for Advertisements should be made to The Common Cause Publishing Co., Ltd., 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.O.

RS. MERIVALE MAYER at liberty. Address, care of 168, Belsize Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W. SUFFRAGISTS spending holidays in Scarborough district, willing to help or speak, kindly com-municate with Mrs. Catt, 4, Pavilion Terrace, Scar-

borough.

 AKE DISTRICT. Two Paying Guests received in private house. Good position, view, touring centre. Y.Z., Box 1301 "Common Cause" Office.

 GUIDE for American, Colonial, Foreign and Country Lady Visitors to London. Miss Downs, c/o Teachers' Guild, 74, Gower Street, W.C. (Recom-mended in "Holiday Resorts.")

COUNTRY REST-CURE HOME. Rest in bed. Massage. Generous diet. Healthy, bracing influence. No mental cases. Miss Driver, Cranleigh,

nce Drive-Mrs. Renton coners Chambers-Mrs. Renton	11.30 5.0
nade Gardens-Mrs. Renton	5.0
ence Drive-Mrs. Renton	11.30
Pier-Mrs. Renton	11.30
e Hall-Mrs. Renton	11.30 7.0

LONDON.

AUGUST 29. North Paddington-75, Hereford Road, W.-sewing 2.30

SEPTEMBER 2. North Paddington-47a, Olifton Gardens, Maida Vale SEPTEMBER 5. SEPTEMBER 5. North Faddington-75, Hereford Road, W.-sewing month free to the sewing 2.30

 North Paddington-75, Hereford Road, W.-sewing meeting
 2.30

 SEPTEMBER 19
 2.30

 North Paddington-47a, Clifton Gardens, Maida Vale -sewing meeting
 2.30

 Battersea-Women's Adult School, Congregational Church Schoolroom, Bridge Road-Miss Rinder
 8.0

 SEPTEMBER 10.
 Canning Town-Lees Hall, 81, Barking Road-Women's Co-operative Guild-Miss Helen Ward
 7.9

SCOTLAND.

8.0

 Derwick-Town Hall-Arts, Finilp Showden
 6.3

 AUGUST 30.
 Golspic-Y.M.C.A. Hall-Mrs. Philip Snowden
 8.0

 AUGUST 31.
 Strathpeffer-Established Church Hall-Mrs. Philip
 3.30

 Dingwall-Masonio Hall-Mrs. Philip Snowden, Dr.
 3.30

 Wm. Bruce (chair)
 8.0

 SEPTEMBER 6.
 Dundee-Gilfillan Hall-Sir Victor Horsley, F.R.S., Prof. F. Moore, Prof. R. Latta, Prof.

 F. E. Weiss, Prof. P. Geddes, and other members of the British Associa-tion.
 8.30

SEPTEMBER 10. Broughty Ferry-Helensiea-Mrs. and Miss Stephen's Garden Party-Vice Chancellor Sadler, Prof. H. H. Turner F.R.S., Prof. S. J. Chapman, Miss I. Lumsden, and other members of the British Association. 3.30

PREPAID ADVERTISEMENTS.

SUFFRAGE NOTICES.

FOR THE HOLIDAYS.

DARTMOOR. SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE. Lectures. Delightful excursions. Secretary, Heather Tor, Dousland, Yelverton.

HIGHLY RECOMMENDED.-Board, Apartments. Misses Graves, Lake Road Villa, Keswick.

EDUCATIONAL AND PROFESSIONAL.

COUNTRY NURSING AND CONVALESCENT HOME. Penn's Lane, Erdington, near Bir-mingham. For Paying Patients. (Under the dis-tinguished patronage of the Countess of Bradford.) Medical, Surgical, Massage. Permanent Patients received in Homes. (Care of one delicate child.) Fully certificated. Hospital-trained Nurses sent out on application.—Miss O. Fallows, Matron. Telephone : 117 Erdington. Telegrams : "Nursing, Erdington."

ADY recommends good dressmaker, fit, style, economy guaranteed; day and evening gowns; isonable.—Haynes, 1, Courtnell Street, Bayswater Side doo

LOVEGROVES' Dairy and Poultry Farms, Chiltern Hills 100 acres; pupils received for dairy, poultry and general farming. Prospectus on applica-tion.--E. Kate le Lacheur, Checkendon, Reading.

MARY McLACHLAN, Typist, 4, Ohapel Walk,

OPEN-AIR TREATMENT on the Surrey Hills. The Children's Home, Tatsfield. Principals, Miss Mitcheson and Miss Bourdon. Medical, Surgical or Convalescent cases from 3 to 12 years of age. Fees, from 10s. 6d. weekly. A few adults also received from fil is. weekly. Nearest stations, Westerham (S. E. & O.R. and Oxted (L.B. & S.C.R.).

SCHOOL of PHARMACY for WOMEN. Moderate fees. Recent passes 100 per cent. Mrs. Wood-Smith, M. P.S., 21, Blenheim Road, Bedford Park, W.

FOR SALE AND WANTED.

BONELESS CORSETS, unbreakable. Illustrated List Free.—Knitted Corset Company, Nottingham CAN'T AFFORD BIG ADVIS. "Common Cause" Cigarettes, 50 Virginia, 2s. 6d.; 50 Jurkish, 3s.; lovely. Write Berlyn, King Street, 34, Man-chester.

GLOVES, Blouses, Dresses, quickly cleaned.--Gromwell, Cleaners, 7, Stratford Road, Ken-sington, W.

M ISS 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.

OLD FALSE TEETH.—We give highest possible teeth returned. Dealers in old Gold and Silver in any form. Bankers' references. Straightforward dealing —Woolfall and Company, Southports.

REMNANT BARGAIN !--Genuine White Art Irish Linen, suitable for making tea-cloths, tray-cloths, d'oyleys, etc. Bundle of big pieces, only 2s. 6d. Postage 4d. Catalogue FREE. Write to-day.--HUTTON'S, 159, Larne, Ireland.

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

SECOND-HAND CLOTHING wanted to buy for GECOND-HAND CLOTHING wanted to buy tor cash. Costumes, skirts, boots, underelothing, cur-tains, gents' suits, trousers and children's clothing of every description. Parcels sent, will be valued and value sent by return. Mrs. Russell, 100 Raby St. Byker, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

HOUSES, FLATS, ROOMS, etc., TO LET AND WANTED,

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

FURNISHED Cottage, from August 23rd; 2 sitting, 4 bedrooms. — Miss Bracewell, Cousley Wood, Wadhurst, Sussex.

COTTAGE, Furnished, unfurnished, or for sale (£1,000) 2 sitting, 5 bedrooms, bathroom, electric light, telephone, stable. "M. P." Road House, Woking Village.

TO LET, bed-sitting oom, use of flat, board as re-quired. Terms moderate (Inclusive.) Piano, tele-phone, constant hot water. Two minutes Bakerloo Tube. Inspection invited. Wright, 169 Clarence Gate Gardens, N.W.

WYE VALLEY (near Chepstow). - Furnished Villa; very healthy, pretty scenery, low rent for winter months.-Apply, Box 1318, COMMON CAUSE

WHERE TO LIVE.

A PARTMENTS.—Miss Edwards, Whitethorn Villa, Pilmer Road, Crowborough, Sussex. HOSTEL FOR LADIES.—Central. Highly recom-mended. — Miss Sullivan, 50, Osnaburgh Street, Portland Road Station, W. Terms moderate.

PAYING GUESTS RECEIVED in country cottage Miss Smith, Low Green House, Thoraby Aysgarth, S. O. Yorks.

