

# The Common Cause

## THE ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF

Aug. 1st,  
1912.

Vol. IV.  
No. 173.



# Women's Suffrage

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A NEWSPAPER

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DR. GILBERT SLATER (Principal of Ruskin College, Oxford), on "Women and Local Government; and the REV. HATTIE BAKER, on "Henry Ibsen and his Views on the Women's Movement"; "Robert Browning: His Views Regarding Woman"; and "The Religious Aspect of Suffrage."

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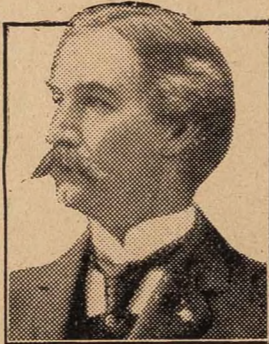
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All Business Communications to be addressed to The Manager, The Common Cause, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. Advertisements must reach the Office not later than first post on Tuesday.

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

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

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

## Notes and Comments.

### The Subjection of Women.

Mr. Asquith's mind is a fine example of the water-tight-compartment style of mind. He can go to Ireland, and say "Those whom God has joined together, man shall no longer put asunder" and yet remain an anti-suffragist. He can say that Ireland is not two nations but one and yet propose to continue the division into men rulers and women ruled. He asserts that he believes in a tie that shall be "spontaneous, voluntary, affectionate, real"; yet he maintains that men rule over women by virtue of their superior physical force! Not much that is "spontaneous" or "voluntary" about the subjection of women in the 20th century here, is there?

### The Ethics of Force.

Many people are being driven step by step to think out how much they believe in "physical force." There are some who appear to believe in its efficacy and beneficence only when they themselves assert it; others maintain that only Governments may wield it and that when they do, no matter in what cause, good or bad, it becomes "patriotic" and right to approve it. The Unionists who have "no sympathy with militant folly" are saying through the mouth of Mr. Bonar Law that "I can imagine no length of resistance to which Ulster will go which I shall not be ready to support" and talk freely of the lynching of Cabinet Ministers in the streets of London. What is the ground of the distinction? It cannot be the rightness of the demand that is backed by violence, because Mr. Bonar Law believes women's suffrage would be right. Mr. Massingham writes to the "Daily News and Leader" on Monday to suggest that radicals shall vote against the Navy Estimates in order to protest against basing our relationship with other countries "purely on force." The National Union asks suffragists in the House to vote against the third reading of the Franchise Bill if it does not contain women, as a protest against ruling women purely by physical force. The latter is an evil nearer home and even more obviously injurious than the other, yet from Mr. Massingham's article in the same paper on July 22nd one would conclude that he was not prepared to recommend radicals to vote against this continued abuse of physical force at home. There is a noteworthy and wholly admirable contribution to the discussion in last week's "Nation" however.

### Juggernaut.

The strike in the Port of London was declared in Saturday's afternoon papers to be over, and one breathed again. It was a bitter disappointment to find that after all, this was not the case. One wonders what men would say if women held up the whole trade of the greatest port in the world; if women had—in the words of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—refused all "agreement, conciliation and persuasion"; if women had decreed the death of scores of innocent babes and the maiming for life of hundreds upon hundreds of others. Men have for long kept their prerogative of sowing devastation and destruction in every form of warfare and strife, but the awakened conscience of women

will have something to say to this prerogative by-and-by. Seeing it is the social machine which grinds the women and children beneath its juggernaut wheels, one wishes the women had thrown upon the machine the financial burden of themselves and their families. The President of the Local Government Board might have renewed his interest in dock-strikes if he had found his workhouses flooded to overflowing with the non-combatant victims. Meanwhile the "charitable" are doing what they can. We publish on another page Dr. Barbara Tchaykovsky's appeal. Miss Ransom's article brought £5 the week before last; last week we had £2 more from a friend and £1 1s. from "A Constitutional Suffragist in recognition of the help given by the Labour Party."

### Suffragists and a Programme.

The Anti-Suffragists are so intensely irritated at our lack of a "programme" for them to misrepresent that they are always trying to provide us with one. When they happen themselves to be Liberals they assert that suffragists are "Anti-Liberal." We have known a secularist anti declare that women are all "priest-ridden." Now come along Mrs. Humphry Ward in the "Times" and Earl Percy in the "Morning Post" to offer us the programme advocated (more or less) in the "Free-woman." It is too silly and only shows how hard up they are for arguments against women's suffrage. Suffragists have no programme; they are of all classes and creeds and ways of thinking and will, when they get the vote, vote against each other just as men do. They only differ from anti-suffragists in believing it is better that women should have votes and responsibility. Moreover, when women have the vote, antis as well as suffragists will have it, and the antis always give us to understand that they will use their votes in order to counteract our abominable influence. Quite right, too! We applaud the resolve! We have had a considerable experience of suffragists for many years and we doubt if there is one single practical object upon which they could all be united except the demand for the vote. When you come to think of it this is what a thoughtful person would expect, since if all women thought alike we should know what they wanted and would not need to ask them to vote!

Even the COMMON CAUSE does not attempt to do the impossible and gives the policy and views of the National Union on the Suffrage question only; on all other matters we recognise that it is impossible to voice the opinions of our 35,000 members, for the very good reason that they would have 35,000 opinions.

### Mr. Balfour on the Survival of the Fittest.

Mr. Balfour, in his address at the inaugural dinner of the Eugenics Congress, gave a much-needed warning of the unscientific trick of attributing "intentions" to "Nature." "It is all-important," he said, "to remember, in my opinion, that we are not going to imitate, and we do not desire to imitate, natural selection, which no doubt produces wonderful things, wonderful organisms, in the way of men, but has also produced very abominable things by precisely the same process. The whole point of eugenics is that we reject the standard of mere numbers. We do not say survival is everything. We deliberately say that it is not everything; that a feeble-minded man, even though he survive, is not so good as the good professional man even though that professional man is only one of a class that does not keep up its number by an adequate birth-rate."

### A Domestic Matter.

When Mr. Masterman was asked last week whose business it was to stamp the domestic servant's insurance card he remarked airily that it was "entirely a domestic matter" and "if the wife does her duty the question will not arise." This is all very pleasant for Mr. Masterman and we like the unctuous roll of the phrase "if the wife does her duty." But it was really rather a silly answer, because of course all legal penalties are incurred by persons, whether "wives" or "employers," who do not "do their duty" as imposed by law; and these gentlemen who make laws which interfere in the most intimate relations between women who live in the same house as employer and employed without consulting the women in the only effective way, cannot be allowed, once the law is passed, to sail away on the comfortable plea that the administration of the Act is "entirely a domestic matter." Either a "woman's place is the home" and the home is a woman's (and not a man's) "place," and then a men's Parliament should not mess about in it; or—and this is our view—the world is a woman's as well as a man's "place" and whatever concerns women should be sanctioned by women working in conjunction with men. We can't allow that a Bill is political matter and fit for men only, but an Act is "entirely a domestic matter."

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## THE CREWE RESULT.

Our three weeks' hard work at Crewe have not been rewarded by the return of our good friend Mr. Holmes, the Labour candidate, but the seat, long regarded as a radical stronghold, has been lost to the Government, and we have the satisfaction of knowing that our intervention played no small part in securing that result. One of the objects of our new policy has therefore been achieved, with conspicuous success.

We must not forget that we adopted the policy of supporting Labour candidates for two reasons:—

(1) The desire to strengthen that Party in Parliament which has made Women's Suffrage one of the first objects on its programme, and to secure the return of members pledged to oppose the third reading of the Reform Bill if no women are included in it.

(2) The desire to make the Government realise that they stand in danger of losing seats at the next election if no measure of Women's Suffrage is passed this session.

As we pointed out last week, the efficacy of our new policy is not really tested in by-elections occurring in chance constituencies which we have not worked up beforehand. These are incidents by the way, giving us useful experience, showing us how our help can be of most use to the Labour candidates, and warning the Liberal Party managers what they will have to fear from the combined forces of Labour and Suffrage when they fight on their own ground, chosen and prepared beforehand. But even under unfavourable conditions our new policy has already achieved a good deal.

### A REVIEW.

The three by-elections in which our Fighting Fund has been involved in the last six weeks have given us scarcely time to draw breath. Now that we can look back and reckon up our gains and losses, how do we stand?

First of all it is a significant fact that three out of four of the by-elections which have occurred since we adopted our new policy have been three-cornered contests, though the Labour Party does not as a rule fight by-elections. In the fourth case, that of Ilkeston, there was good reason to believe that the anticipation of a Labour candidature with Suffrage support decided the Conservatives to put a candidate in the field in order to take advantage of the split progressive vote. Otherwise Colonel Seely, with his enormous majority, would probably have been unopposed. Events showed that had there been a Labour candidate Colonel Seely might have lost his seat. These facts provide food for reflection for the Liberal party managers.

Another significant fact is that none of the candidates in the constituencies where we intervened were Anti-Suffragists, so that there was no danger of putting an actual enemy into Parliament, whatever the event. It looks as if the Anti-Suffrage candidate would soon become as rare as the Great Bustard.

Then let us look at the Labour poll. It was disappointing at Hanley, owing to various local causes, but both at Holmfirth and at Crewe it was nearly doubled. This gives more food for thought to the Liberal Party managers.

Though the Labour forces have not won any of these seats they have greatly strengthened their position in all three constituencies, and the prospect of Labour candidates at Holmfirth and Crewe at the next Election cannot be regarded by the Liberals with equanimity. We have also gained a firm foothold for Women's Suffrage in Holmfirth and Hanley, where we had no societies before and have reinforced our Society at Crewe, so that we shall be able to help the Labour Party to organise their electoral machinery in all three places.

The loss of the Crewe seat to the Government was directly due to the Labour candidature, as the figures plainly show. Had there been no Labour candidate, Mr. Murphy would have got in. The Liberal papers all admit this, but they do not realise all that is involved in the admission. The *Daily News* says: "It is not antagonism to Liberalism that has given Mr.

Craig the victory, nor is that victory due to a revival of Toryism. It is due to the friction between Liberalism and Labour. So far as that friction reflects upon the Government, it represents not a spirit of reaction, but a demand for more drastic measures. It represents especially the industrial unrest of the moment and the resentment that still lingers in railway centres against the employment of the military in the railway strike a year ago. We do not depreciate the importance of these facts in estimating the position of the Government; but at least it is clear that they do not show that the country is being converted to Unionism or Tariff Reform. What they do show is the need of checking this fissiparous tendency in the Progressive ranks. Test Liberalism and Labour on any specific issue of immediate practical politics, and they will speak with the same voice. It is unthinkable that they will continue, for the sake of some vague difference, to destroy each other for the advantage of the common enemy. Until, by the means of proportional representation or the alternative vote, the peril that attaches to three-cornered contests is removed, it is the duty of the organisers to arrive at a reasonable *modus vivendi*." The *Daily News* appreciates the main fact of the "peril that attaches to three-cornered contests": it overlooks the fact that the Government will have to face an increasing number of such perils so long as the new policy of the National Union continues—so long, that is, as the granting of Women's Suffrage is delayed. It perceives the "industrial unrest" and "resentment" of men: it shuts its eyes to the unrest among women, and their resentment against the means employed to defeat the Conciliation Bill, though these were potent factors influencing the Crewe result. It says that Liberalism and Labour "speak with the same voice" on any "specific issue of immediate practical politics."

Is the *Daily News* really so blind to the facts? The question of representative government is surely an "issue of immediate practical politics" when a Government Reform Bill is before the country. It is because official Liberalism and Labour speak with such very different voices on this question—Labour demanding representative government for women as well as for men—that women are giving their whole-hearted support to Labour candidates in these three-cornered contests. Mr. Murphy, speaking at the Crewe Liberal Club after the declaration of the poll, said he hoped everybody would draw the proper lesson from the result. We hope that he and his Party will do so. Meanwhile—

### WHAT IS THE LESSON FOR US?

To continue enlisting sympathy and money for our fighting policy; to take every opportunity which offers for supporting the candidates of the Party which stands for Women's Suffrage against the candidates of the Party which allowed the Conciliation Bill to be twice shelved, and then defeated. We must pursue this policy vigorously wherever we can do so without opposing a tried and loyal friend. Above all, we must concentrate on the work of preparing the ground beforehand for Labour candidates in chosen constituencies. The great handicap of the Labour Party in Holmfirth and Hanley and Crewe was lack of organisation. This lack we can supply. We have the workers, we have the knowledge of what is needed, and "we have the money too."

### TREASURER'S NOTES.

We have pleasure in announcing this week that our Fighting Fund now stands at over £4,000. A good many contributions have come in earmarked for the Crewe By-election. We have already learned to reckon on these generous gifts for specific purposes. Satisfactory as our week's income is, it might be larger still if the misgivings caused by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's letter could be finally set at rest by an official declaration that the Parliamentary Labour Party intends to act on the resolutions passed by the Annual Conferences of the Labour Party and the

I.L.P. We think that the unequivocal speeches made during the recent elections by almost all the Labour leaders ought to set such doubts at rest, but letters keep coming in from persons who say they would have contributed to the Fund, or would have contributed more than they have done if Mr. MacDonald's letter had not been written. We hope that the time will soon come when the Labour Party will officially declare their intentions.

We give the seventh list of contributions already received.

By a clerical error contributions amounting to £19 3s. have been duplicated. That sum should, therefore, be deducted from the amount acknowledged in last

week's COMMON CAUSE, making the total £2,288 15s. 10d. All cheques should be made payable to one of the Hon. Treasurers, Mrs. Auerbach or Mrs. Anstruther.

#### SEVENTH LIST.

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| Mr. and Mrs. Filcher | 10 0 0      | Miss A. Vachell             | 1 0 0       |
| Miss Weaver          | 10 0 0      | Miss Sing                   | 1 1 0       |
| Miss Sils            | 5 0 0       | Anonymous, per Miss Rockitt | 5 5 0       |
| Street W.S.S.        | 10 0 0      | Miss W. Gurney Smith        | 5 0 0       |
| Miss H. Stark        | 50 0 0      | Miss K. Macdonald           | 5 5 0       |
| Miss Ellen Payne     | 1 1 0       |                             |             |
| Mrs. Wild            | 0 5 0       |                             |             |
|                      |             |                             | 2,425 12 10 |

## Mr. Snowden's Amendment to the Home Rule Bill.

An idea seems to have gained currency that Mr. Snowden does not mean business with his amendment to the Home Rule Bill, enabling women to vote for the Irish Parliament—that he has in fact offered to withdraw it. This is a very topsy-turvy version of the actual facts.

Soon after it was known that Mr. Snowden was going to move a Women's Suffrage amendment to the Home Rule Bill, and that he would have the support of the National Union and other Women's Suffrage organisations, we were approached by certain persons, professedly interested both in Home Rule and Women's Suffrage, who begged us to dissuade Mr. Snowden from taking such a course. It was pointed out to us that Mr. Snowden's amendment was not likely to pass; that the same reasons which made the Irish Party oppose the Conciliation Bill would act with still greater force in respect of a Women's Suffrage amendment to their own Home Rule Bill, and that they would undoubtedly regard the pressing of such an amendment as a hostile act on the part of Suffragists.

We answered that our action did not imply any hostility to Home Rule, but that it was absolutely essential that we should not let the Home Rule Bill go through without a determined effort to secure the admission of women as electors for the Irish Parliament. Even Anti-Suffragists admitted that women should be represented in Home and domestic politics. The House of Commons had declared, over and over again, in favour of altering our existing constitution and admitting women as electors for the Imperial Parliament. It had not yet carried out its own decision, because the alteration of a long-established and complex constitution is a difficult matter, and there were conflicting theories as to how it should be done. But for the House of Commons, at this juncture, deliberately to set up a new "representative" body, completely ignoring the admitted claims of women, would be an intolerable insult and a damaging blow to the cause of Women's Suffrage. We were bound to protest against such an attempt by every means in our power, and to insist on the recognition of the Irish women's claims. We were all the more bound to take advantage of this opportunity for enfranchising at least some women, because if the Irish Party opposed Women's Suffrage amendments to the Reform Bill, as they had opposed the Conciliation Bill, it was pretty certain that those amendments would have no chance of passing.

It was then put to us that if Mr. Redmond were prepared to leave the Irish Party a free vote on the amendments to the Reform Bill, in exchange for an undertaking from us to persuade Mr. Snowden to withdraw his amendment to the Home Rule Bill, such a proposition might be worth our consideration. We agreed that it might—if the proposal came from Mr. Redmond himself, and if he undertook not merely to leave his party to vote freely, but to guarantee that they would definitely support a particular amendment. Nothing less than this would be worth our consideration. We could not possibly leave the Irish women in the lurch. We could not forego the attempt to secure their inclusion in the Home Rule Bill, unless we had the absolutely certain assurance that an amendment to the Reform Bill would be carried. If that event were guaranteed, then we could afford to wait for the Reform Bill, and concentrate on that, because its provisions would apply to Englishwomen and Irishwomen alike, and if Irish women were to be allowed to vote for the Imperial Parliament, they could not be refused the vote for their own Home Government.

Similar proposals have since been made to us from other quarters, but none of them were, so far as we know, emissaries of Mr. Redmond. The idea has therefore not been seriously entertained by us—in fact it has not even come up for the consideration of our Executive Committee. Mrs. Fawcett's letter which appeared in the paper last week, written to Liberal Suffragist M.P.'s was an answer to a challenge from some of them. When urged to put pressure

on the Irish Party to secure their vote for Women's Suffrage amendments to the Reform Bill, they retorted that it was Mr. Snowden we ought to appeal to, because he had a means of putting pressure ready to hand—by withdrawing his Home Rule Bill amendment. Mrs. Fawcett pointed out in her letter that Mr. Snowden's amendment is only valuable as a means of putting pressure on the Irish vote if he has effective support for it, and she asked the Liberal Suffragist members what support they were prepared to give.

That is how matters stand at present. If there is to be any question of withdrawing the amendment the initiative must come from those who desire its withdrawal and have the power to offer the one condition on which a withdrawal would be honourably possible. The National Union does not desire its withdrawal; on the contrary we are organising an autumn campaign throughout the country in support of it, and shall put all available pressure on members of Parliament to vote for it. The Labour members are always the staunch friends of Women's Suffrage in any form. Possibly the same reasons which make this particular form unpopular with Liberals will commend it to Conservatives. Even Anti-Suffragists can support it without any inconsistency, since one of the objects of the Anti-Suffrage League is the extension of Women's sphere in Local Government, and the Irish Parliament will deal with matters of Local Government only. It is therefore likely that this amendment will rally the united support of the Unionist Party.

## Some Notes on the Eugenics Congress.

The first Eugenics Congress, which was held at the London University from the 24th to the 30th of July, was a cosmopolitan body of men and women met to discuss frankly and sanely the application of new methods for the amelioration of the human race. Eugenics has been defined as the "Study of agencies under social control that may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations either physically or mentally." This question is paramount to-day. Increased scientific knowledge acting under the compulsion of our ethical code has so interfered with the law of natural selection, with its ruthless extermination of the unfit, as to threaten the very existence of Western nations. Public opinion would now appear ripe for the open consideration of some practical means of combating this evil. The history of the world has been largely made by the unconscious, uncontrolled play of human force and passion. A new social consciousness has arisen to-day, which demands both on behalf of the race and of the individual the substitution of some conscious guidance. The extent to which such guidance was practicable or justifiable was debated very fully at the Congress. Opinions varied widely. Speakers might have been divided, roughly, into two classes—one, consisting of experts absorbed in the abstruse details of eugenic study, who supported theories about heredity with piles of statistics, the other, eager to forward at once some organised action to make effective the conclusions of expert opinion. The former class attacked the subject on the side of "nature," or case for the unborn child, the latter on the side of "nurture," or case for the provision of healthy environment.

Major Leonard Darwin struck a pessimistic note in his presidential address. He said that although looking through the ages it appeared that progress was continual, a more limited view showed long periods of stagnation and decline. We might now be entering such a period. The object of the Congress was to inquire whether our present knowledge of the laws of life was not sufficient to enable some steps to be taken to counteract the evil effects which have resulted from our social policy of cherishing the unfit. This was Sir Francis Galton's view. The knowledge they had gained of the laws of heredity, to be of use, must be widely disseminated, so that it became incorporated in the moral code of the people. The nineteenth century had seen the acceptance of the principle of evolution. Eugenics was but a practical application of that principle and it was to be hoped

that the twentieth century might witness the Eugenic ideal incorporated as part of the creed of civilisation.

Some thirty or more papers were read in French, German, Italian and English and interesting discussions took place after each. Eugenics was considered successively in its connection with biology, education, sociology and medicine. It is possible only to touch on a few suggestions of general interest.

Among the papers bearing on practical schemes was that of Dr. Louis Querton of the University of Brussels, who spoke of the prevention of degeneracy due to environment. He advocated the continuous methodical inspection of all children, whose family life and training was defective. The risks run by children owing to the complexities of their social and physical environment were increasing. The State should step in, so that compulsory education should have its proper complement in compulsory control in home and school and workshop. In the absence of legislative interference, private enterprise could immediately find a large field of useful work. Dr. Querton outlined a scheme well worthy of attention, under which voluntary associations might be formed in all areas to act under a Eugenic Committee. All children attending school would come within the scope of their investigations. They could also extend their care to infants under school age. These associations should be linked up throughout the country, so that no child needing special attention, or institutional treatment could escape. The regulation of the treatment should be in the hands of competent medical men, and the control should be continuous throughout each phase of the child's life. Associations of this kind would be invaluable for furthering the eugenic education of individuals and would also facilitate the investigation of serious students of eugenics.

Professor Samuel Smith, of Minnesota University, had some words to say to the educated. The real problem, he thought, did not lie with abnormalities but with the normal population and with the better classes. There was no one to see to it that the children of these classes were well-born and endowed with sufficient stock of vitality for human leadership. The better classes would always escape preventive legislation and the problem of parenthood with them became fundamentally an ethical one. He hoped that public education and discussion would create an ethical sense on the part of the individual with respect to his own relations to the social group. Professor Smith incidentally referred to the disastrous effects among the poor of handing over the care of babies to those who are little more than babies themselves—a point which many Education Committees, in their desire to turn little girls into premature nurses and housewives, might do well to consider.

Women, too, who without knowledge become at the dictates of others ardent advocates for compulsory service, would have found much food for reflection in a paper by Professor Kellogg, of California, on "Eugenics and Militarism." Two papers on "Alcoholism and Degeneracy," with an explanation of the alcoholic legislation in Norway were of especial interest and use to those occupied with temperance reform. Professor Houssay, of Paris, found the solution of the problem of degeneracy in methods involving drastic interference with human liberty while Mrs. MacCoy Irwin pleaded for self-determined motherhood as the salvation of the race.

It is an impossibility for the uninitiated listener to attempt to criticise the theories or appraise the reasonings advanced by various speakers. Two points, however, on which the Congress was united emerged with sufficient clearness—firstly, that the immediate segregation of the feeble-minded was essential, and secondly, a point emphasised in particular by several women, was the necessity of giving suitable instruction in sex hygiene to the young. An expression of opinion that the elevation and freedom of womanhood was necessary for race regeneration, and the emphatic declaration of Dr. Saleeby that any preventive legislation should be alike for both sexes were generally in accordance with the feelings of the audience.

If the Congress had served no other purpose it would have demonstrated the possibility and desirability of men and women considering all questions of social reform together rather than apart. Very pleasant was the frank interchange of opinions during the luncheon hour, and to those accustomed to the somewhat one-sided views which must necessarily distinguish discussions on kindred topics by one sex alone the experience was both stimulating and refreshing. N. S. B. ATKINSON.

### Dr. Tchaykovsky's Appeal.

To the Editor of THE COMMON CAUSE.  
DEAR MADAM,—To-day the Children's White Cross League celebrates the fourteenth day of its activity; formed to organise a street collection

on behalf of the 300,000 starving women and children of the East End, it has been the means of converting the sympathy of the public into bread and milk for the mothers of Poplar, Bow and Bromley, and Millwall.

On Monday we start the third week of relief with a further distribution of 6,000 loaves and 3,000 pints of milk to 3,000 mothers, and shall continue as long as our incoming funds allow.

During the last few days, thanks in great measure to the publicity given to our piteous mission by the *Manchester Guardian* and *Daily Chronicle*, we have been banking nearly £77 daily, the actual sum necessary for one day's relief. But we are only able to relieve one-third of those who appear at our centres with their jugs, in the hope of securing food without a ticket—literally crowds of starving women and children are turned away.

All classes of society have opened their hearts and purses. Newspaper boys, taxi-drivers, workmen at factories, employees at business houses, policemen, porters, waiters, nurses, teachers, doctors, ladies and gentlemen of leisure have understood most vividly the urgent need of the sufferers. At this critical juncture in the young life of East London it behoves each one of us with the least imagination to take the cotton wool from our ears and listen to the wailing of the children. We will not be able to resist, we will ask what can we do, and the answer will be ready. Those blessed with this world's goods will give in coin, others in kind—clothing, services, foster parentage (the wife of a prominent business man is rapidly erecting a tent on her lawn for the reception of a destitute mother and four children, and a cosy room in her house in case of bad weather). Children off for their holidays will write to their school fellows and collect their pennies, remembering that just over 6d. means two loaves and a pint of milk to a hungry family (a co-education school at Hampstead voted by secret ballot the 5s. a head put aside for a picnic and made up their donation to £10). Travellers by land and water will speak of the need of relief to their fellow passengers (a collector has taken his box to Switzerland). Visitors to crowded holiday resorts will wish to interest their fellow visitors—for holidays mean extra expenditure and the purse strings are relaxed—they will place sundry pennies in the lodging-house mantelpiece vase and have a count on the eve of departure for home. Mothers need not be told in vain that 26s. is sufficient to provide 40 expectant mothers with a pint of milk daily for one week, as we are sending to Mrs. Salter, who is organising relief in Bermondsey. Parents with their happy children round them will remember that many a family has used up in food the farthings and halfpence saved for months for the children's country holiday.

Holiday camps in the fields near London must be organised. The physique of the children is already damaged, the unborn babe comes unwelcome and even more severely handicapped than usual into a cold world—the impress of this hunger-suffering will remain for months and years unless relief is prompt.

The possibilities of help are endless, if there be but the will. Where is the Agenda Club, with its band of social workers as outlined in that splendid "Open letter to the Gentlemen of England"? at no time has there been such urgent call for help, and we languish for need of helpers. Once more I wish to thank, on behalf of our League, all who have directly and indirectly presented us in 14 days with a banking account of nearly £600, every penny of which means the most nourishing form of food for the starving.

Yours truly,  
BARBARA TCHAYKOVSKY, M.D.,  
Hon. Sec. Children's White Cross League,  
International Suffrage Shop, 15, Adam Street, W.C.

### Mr. Brailsford on the Irish Vote.

Another of Mr. Brailsford's excellent letters appeared in the "Manchester Guardian" on July 26th. After saying that the united vote of the Irish members was "the most serious single cause" of the defeat of the Conciliation Bill, he goes on:—

The facts as I know them are these. So far back as May, 1911, two influential Irish suffragist members warned the Conciliation Committee that they would be unable to support our Bill "in the Home Rule session." This was said in a period of truce, and it clearly shows that Mr. Redmond's action was neither sudden nor unexpected, nor was it taken as an act of reprisal against the militants. Mr. Redmond's advice or injunction to his party (whatever verbal form it took) was so imperative that not one of the ten Irish members of the Conciliation Committee, not even the member who had put his name on the back of our Bill, ventured to vote for it. They yielded, as one of them put it to me, "to superior force." Why was this force applied? The answer which I invariably received was that it was necessary for the Irish party in the interests of Home Rule to save the Liberal Ministry from the disruptive effects of Women's Suffrage. It was said that the Cabinet would go to pieces if its members took to disputing over our Bill. It was also said, apparently on the authority of a Minister, that Lord Loreburn, Mr. Harcourt, and even the Premier himself would resign if our Bill were carried. The *Daily Chronicle*, when it was recommending a referendum, conveyed the same warning in a veiled but intelligible form. These fears, in short, were not the gratuitous or spontaneous invention of Irish brains. Liberal anti-suffragists were at pains to foster their alarm, and I question whether Mr. Harcourt in particular would disclaim the credit of their success.

It was the essence of the Cabinet's offer to suffragists that there should be a "free vote" on the Conciliation Bill, and again on the amendments to the Reform Bill. If this only meant that no formal whip would be issued the pledge was worthless. To allow it to be supposed that Ministers (and in particular the Prime Minister) will resign if members do vote freely in accordance with their convictions is to use the most powerful form of indirect coercion. The pledge will have been evaded if while Liberals are allowed to vote more or less freely the disciplined reserves of the Irish party are brought into action to save the Cabinet from the consequences of its promise.

Whatever effort Liberals may make on behalf of the "broad and democratic amendments" to the Reform Bill, and however loyally the more enlightened Unionists may back them, this amendment is certain to be heavily defeated if Mr. Redmond repeats his action of last March.

This the W.S.P.U. clearly realises, and its knowledge evidently plays a part in determining its present policy. Its methods in my very decided opinion can only serve to make an unpromising situation hopeless, and this suffragists have a right and duty to point out. But I confess that my anger rises when I see Liberal members and editors endeavouring to fix on the W.S.P.U. the sole responsibility for a failure which will be due in great measure to their own siphiness.

What have these Ministers done to counteract the machinations of certain of their colleagues? What is their plan for removing this Irish veto on the enfranchisement of English women? Not even by speech or by letters have leading Liberal suffragists entered their protest against Mr. Redmond's intervention. For the liberties of the Irish race across the Channel they will toil through an arduous session. But when the representatives of this same race by their disciplined votes condemn our own sisters and wives to further long years of this painful struggle these same English Liberals are silent, inert, and acquiescent. Indeed, if one is to believe your Political Notes, some of them are indignant that they should even be asked to take any action at all.

If you, Sir, had written of Mr. Redmond's veto and of those who inspired it and procured it with half the anger and persistence which you have used against the militant women it is possible that they would not have occasion to-day for the indignation which is driving them to suicidal violence.

Yours, etc.,  
H. N. BRAILSFORD.

July 25th.

### Lady Carlisle's Remonstrance.

We are very glad indeed to see that Lady Carlisle has remonstrated with Mr. Asquith for his assertion in the House:—

"I dismiss at this moment as altogether improbable the hypothesis that the House of Commons is likely to stultify itself by reversing in the same session the considered judgment at which it has already arrived."

She says that this has caused great disquietude in the Women's Liberal Federation, and proceeds to show that the adverse vote in the Conciliation Bill last March could not be held to be a "considered judgment." She says:—

1. The vote given on March 28th was largely influenced by the organised outbreaks of violence on March 1st and 4th. Many members who voted against the second reading, or abstained from voting, declared that their action was a protest against militant methods, and not a final judgment on the general question. We are only too well aware that a similar cause may in the future produce a similar effect, but it is undoubted that if there is a cessation of organised violence during the next few months there will be a considerable change in the votes given.

2. Many members of Parliament who were in favour of the removal of the sex disability considered an amendment to a Government Bill a better opportunity for effecting this reform than the private member's Bill which was presented to them. They distrusted the narrow basis of this Bill, they grudged the time which it would subtract from that available for Government business, and they considered it simpler and more natural to remove the sex disability for women in a Bill giving votes to men on a wide basis of citizenship than under our present franchise system. They, in fact, withheld support from Mr. Agg-Gardner's Bill because they looked forward to the very opportunity which you now regard as closed—closed, if it be so, largely because of their trust in it.

3. The Irish members, of whom the great majority are in favour of women's enfranchisement, for the most part abstained from the division, presumably in order to avoid the introduction of a highly controversial question, which was bound to occupy much parliamentary time, at a period of the session when the Home Rule Bill had received only a first reading.

We could enforce each of these points by instances, quotations, and figures as to the number of votes affected, but we would only remind you that the same Bill was read a second time by the same House of Commons last year by a majority of 167.

Lady Carlisle proceeds to call Mr. Asquith's attention "to the critical situation which would arise if ground were given to Suffragists for the idea that you do not regard the promised facilities in a serious light." She says:—

There is, as you know, a section of Suffragists who already regard these promises as illusory, and hold the view that means will always be found to prevent the enfranchisement of women until it can be proposed as a Government measure.

We, on the other hand, together with the great majority of women Suffragists of all parties, believe that that view is as unjustifiable as are the tactics to which it gives rise. We speak for thousands of women who are, and hope to remain, at the same time enthusiastic supporters of the Liberal Government and of the cause of women's enfranchisement. The sheet-anchor of this double faith is your promise that the amendment of the Reform Bill will be left freely to the House of Commons, and that, if amended, the Bill will be carried forward by the Government through all its remaining stages. We have at our council meetings last June, where 1,000 delegates representing 130,000 women were present, passed a unanimous resolution thanking you for that promise; we have recognised that it was unreasonable to expect you to go beyond it; we have, indeed, not thought it right to ask you to do so.

We stand for the principle of confidence in your promise to leave the House of Commons free, in the fullest sense of the word, to decide the question. We respectfully urge you not to make this position more difficult than it is by allowing the impression to be created that you regard the decision of the House as already given, whereas, by your announcements last November, you definitely directed the energies of all constitutional Suffragists away from any private member's Bill, and towards the opportunity, still to come, of an amendment in the committee stage of the Government Reform Bill.

We claim that opportunity to carry the cause forward to a fair victory

or a fair defeat; and we therefore ask you to give us a renewed assurance that the decision on amendments to the Reform Bill shall not be regarded as predetermined by a previous decision taken under special and exceptional circumstances.

### MR. ASQUITH'S REPLY.

To this letter Mr. Asquith sent the following reply, dated July 25th:—

"There is nothing in the statement which you quote from my speech on the second reading of the Franchise Bill which in any way conflicts with my previous declarations as to the attitude of the Government towards amendments extending the provisions of that Bill to women."

### In Parliament.

#### PORT OF LONDON STRIKE.

On 23rd Mr. O'Grady again moved the adjournment of the House on the question of the strike. He declared that the Port of London Authority had been used in the interests of the employers, and he recapitulated the various stages in this strike; he said that the men were now willing to resume work upon the agreement existing prior to the dispute. He urged that the House should legislate, and favoured Conciliation Boards and Wages Boards and the federation of workmen and employers, and agreements to cover the whole trade. "I have never met such an appalling state of poverty as there is now in the East-end of London. . . . The life of the children is being blotted out as if they were of no more importance than flies in God's creation." He related how Lord Devonport had refused to treat with the Prime Minister, so that even the King's visit to the docks had had to be postponed lest he should find them draped in mourning. "I thought," he cried, "we had a Monarch and we had a Government, but apparently we have got neither. King Capital rules the roost to-day, dictates and controls in a despotic manner, flouts the Government, flouts public opinion and decrees above all that Britishers should simply go and crawl to them on terms of unconditional surrender, which I will never advise them to accept." Mr. Lansbury seconded Mr. O'Grady's appeal, making eloquent mention of the pluck of the women. Mr. Norman Craig asserted that the only thing which now stood in the way of a settlement was the men's insistence on the Federation ticket. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald denied this, and said that all the men now asked for was that the agreements prior to the dispute should hold good.

The Marquess of Tullibardine appealed for peace, and so did the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who said, with regard to the prevailing notion when the strike began that it could not last, "They did not reckon upon the tremendous lasting power of men who are fully convinced they are wronged." The Clarke inquiry, an official inquiry, stood and had not been accepted by the employers, yet, without further legislation, the Government had exhausted all its resources. The Government had come to the conclusion that there would have to be further legislation for dealing with trade disputes. Agreement, conciliation and persuasion had proved inadequate, and the Executive would have to ask for "more formidable powers." He declared emphatically that the men were *not* pressing the Federation ticket.

On July 24th the Prime Minister stated that the Government hoped to introduce legislation dealing with industrial disputes next session.

#### SCOTTISH EDUCATION AND "MY LORDS."

In supply, discussing the Scottish Education Grant, Mr. Pirie, Mr. Harry Hope, Mr. Holmes and others appealed for the removal of the Scottish Education Department to Scotland. Mr. McKinnon Wood maintained that it was necessary to keep in London. Mr. Holmes made some amusing remarks on "My Lords" and their Ciceronian language, which "really made no impression on anyone," and Mr. Morton asked, sarcastically, "Can anyone tell us who they are, when they meet and what they do?" to which the solemn reply came that "The Committee of the Privy Council are Lord Morley, the Secretary for Scotland, Lord Haldane, Lord Shaw, Lord Reay and Lord Elgin," but "I am afraid their meetings are very irregular!" which caused Mr. Morton to remark that the "My Lords business is a sham and a fraud upon Scotland."

#### THE INSURANCE ACT.

On the 24th Mr. Butcher asked why the official explanatory leaflet No. 21 uses the word "mistress" instead of "employer?" and since it was "inaccurate and misleading" he asked that it be withdrawn and another be issued "which would correctly state the person upon whom the obligations and penalties in respect of the insurance of domestic servants will

fall." Mr. Masterman explained that the wife was regarded as the husband's agent in all dealings with domestic servants, and it will "normally be part of the wife's domestic duties to stamp the insurance card." He proceeded to explain that "the husband is the employer and the wife is the agent of the employer." To Mr. Worthington Evans' question, "Is the agent liable to the fine of £10, or the real employer?" he answered, "If the wife does her duty the question does not arise!" and when pressed "Is it the husband's duty to fine his wife?" he answered, "That is entirely a domestic matter."

#### THE NAVY.

On the 22nd and 24th the Navy Estimates were discussed, Mr. Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, making proposals by which he foreshadowed a greatly increased expenditure in future. In the debate and division the Labour party opposed further expenditure and spoke for a more peace-producing diplomacy.

#### TEA DUTY.

On the discussion which took place on the Tea Duty, Sir F. Banbury was very emphatic that the working classes should be taxed because those who call the tune should help pay the piper; no one was found to assert the much more evident converse that those who pay the piper should help call the tune; in this case the tax falls most heavily on women and on the poorest women, yet they have absolutely no say in the calling

of the tune—i.e., in the spending of the moneys wrung from their small purses.

On a division that the tax should be 5d., the Government majority was 40.

#### QUESTIONS.

On July 22nd Mr. Asquith intimated, in reply to a question that he "feared it had not been found possible to arrange for an opportunity" of debating the subject of the payment of members.

Sir Edward Grey announced, on July 23rd, that the Amazon Rubber Company (whose atrocities on the Putumayo have been the subject of recent revelations) was in voluntary liquidation, and admitted that it was a British company.

Sir Edward Grey stated, in reply to a question on July 25th, that the age for the Parliamentary vote was in Austria and Sweden twenty-four; in Belgium, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain and Turkey it is twenty-five, and in Denmark it is thirty years; in Italy it is restricted between the ages of twenty-one and thirty, but every male over thirty has a vote.

Mr. Jesse Collings asked if any and how many wives and families have been thrown on the rates in some of the principal towns in England owing to desertion by husbands emigrating; and the amount it is costing the rates in these towns; to which Mr. John Burns replied that there were no statistics available on the subject.

On a resolution with regard to estimates for new services the Government majority on July 25th fell to three.

## THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

Non-Party.

Non-Militant.

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

#### PRESIDENT:

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Miss EDITH PALLISER } (Parliamentary).  
Miss CATHERINE MARSHALL }  
Telegrams: "Voiceless, London."

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

#### From Headquarters.

##### BY-ELECTIONS.

The list of by-elections is endless. Before the long contest at Crewe was over the vacancies in East Carmarthen and N. West Manchester were announced, and in the latter, the candidates have already issued their election addresses and the fight is in full swing.

The Labour Party is not running a candidate in N.W. Manchester, so the fight will be a straight one between Mr. Gordon Hewart (Liberal) and Sir John Randles (Conservative). At the time of writing, the final answers from the candidates have not been received, so the policy of the National Union cannot be announced, but both candidates are known to be in favour of Women's Suffrage. The Manchester and District Federation are in charge of the election, and will doubtless conduct the work with their accustomed energy in spite of the fact that the Crewe election has already necessitated a call upon all available helpers in the district.

The situation in East Carmarthen is a curious one. Our organiser, Miss Waring, proceeded to the constituency as soon as the vacancy was announced, and found no other organisation at work. Since then politicians have awaked, and we hear that no less than four of the prospective candidates were canvassing in Llandilo. The Labour Party is to hold a conference in the constituency during the week, and it is announced that the Liberal Association will meet on Saturday; in the meantime, we are informed that the election may not take place till September. Amidst so much uncertainty, both as to candidates and as to the time of election, the National Union is preparing the ground for a contest, and is holding preliminary meetings. Miss Waring is in charge, assisted by Miss Chambers, Miss Davies, a Welsh speaking organiser, and others. The Llanelly Society, which is in the constituency though not of it (as Llanelly is one of the Carmarthen Boroughs), promises to be extremely helpful and has sent a valuable list of possible workers. The constituency is a difficult one. It covers a wide area, a very few parts of which are reached by the railway, and a motor-car will

be a necessity. Can any of our friends in S. Wales lend one? Members of the National Union who are spending their holidays in Wales, and can give time to election work, are asked to communicate with Miss Waring, 84, Marble Hall Road, Llanelly.

##### VAN TOUR.

Plans for the van tour are now almost complete. It will be at work from now until the middle of October, during which time it will cover considerable distances in England and Wales. The month of July has been spent in the Eastern Counties Federation, which reports that the tour has been very successful, and will prove even more successful later on when the work that has been begun can be followed up. It cannot be too much insisted upon that one member of the crew should make herself responsible for keeping a list of the names of sympathisers, electors who will write to M.P.'s, etc. Much, too, can be done by the distribution of literature and the sale of the COMMON CAUSE. The Friends of Women Suffrage scheme can also be successfully worked in the villages through which the van passes. As regards expenses, a van tour in the new style proves far less expensive than the old style, and expenses can be partly met by collections taken at the meetings; we have even heard of a van tour which paid its own expenses. After leaving the Eastern Counties Federation at the end of July, the van will go through the East Midlands, *via* Nottingham and Derby to Cheshire, when it will be taken over by the West Lancashire Federation for the second half of August. At the end of its engagements there, it will pass through the West Midlands Federation down the valley of the Severn to Kidderminster, and afterwards to the neighbourhood of Cheltenham, where it will spend a week from September 9th to 16th. Another week will be spent in reaching the Oxford, Berks and Bucks Federation, in which the van will work the last week of September and the first week in October.

Miss Collum will be in charge of the van as "coachman cook" during the whole period, and Miss Gill will accompany her as organiser for the greater part of the time until the last week of September.

Our Organisers in charge of the Van send urgent appeals for literature to give away en route. The demand for our leaflets is continuous wherever the Van appears and if only we could afford to send relays of free leaflets the Van would leave a lasting trail behind it and the good seed would be sown.

But the Summer Van is only one item of the many expenses we have to incur at the present time, and as only a limited amount can be set aside from our General Funds for this purpose, we shall be obliged to curtail the supply of free literature unless special help is given.

All donations for the Summer Van Tours should be sent as soon as possible to the headquarter of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W., and volunteers who would like to join the van are asked to apply to the same address, giving possible dates, etc.

K. K. COURTNEY.

#### Press Department.

The following is a short report of the press work in the North Eastern Federation:—

"All the important dailies in the area are willing and eager to insert Suffrage news, while the *Newcastle Journal*, the *Chronicle*, and the *North Eastern Daily Gazette* have had at various times leading articles in support of Women's Suffrage. There is rarely a day in which Suffrage does not appear in news or comment or letter. Correspondence is always willingly inserted, and recently the *Hexham Weekly News* published a lengthy series of letters on Suffrage principles.

In many cases papers not only accept, but ask for news and for interviews, and the illustrated papers take photographs on every provocation.

The *Shields Daily Gazette*, at one time hostile, now reports Suffrage news accurately and comments fairly. As far as one can judge there is not a single paper at war with the Women's Cause."

The annual report of the West Midland Federation shows that the press work is being put on a firm footing, and it is to be hoped that the Suffrage Movement will soon be better represented in the press of that area.

The Southport Women's Suffrage Society is doing excellent work in its local press. The *Southport Visitor* gives a column weekly to the Suffrage, and the *Formby Times* of July 20th also devotes a column to some interesting matter supplied by the Southport Women's Suffrage Society.

The Liberal papers of Monday, July 29th, devote much space to explaining that the defeat suffered by the party at Crewe was entirely due to the split vote. Crewe Liberals, our press correspondent reports, attribute this very largely to the work of the National Union.

The *Manchester Guardian* alone, in a survey of the campaign, reports Mr. Holmes' acknowledgment of the "very valuable work which the Women Suffragists, as represented by the National Union, have done on his behalf."

M. L. MACKENZIE.

#### Literature Department.

##### NEW PAMPHLET BY MR. BRAILSFORD.

Mr. Brailsford's long and interesting letter on the Reform Bill, printed in the *Manchester Guardian* on July 17th, has been issued by the National Union in the form of a small pamphlet. It analyses the portions of the Bill most interesting to suffragists, and describes the amendments which will be proposed. Suffrage workers will find it invaluable, as it gives very clearly just those details which it is most necessary to know. It ought to be widely distributed, and in order that price may be no hindrance it will be sold at 6d. per dozen; 2s. 6d. per 100.

A. 88. "Women and the Reform Bill." By H. N. Brailsford. 6d. per dozen; 2s. 6d. per 100.

##### AN ANSWER TO AN ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAFLET.

I hear that in some places the anti-suffragists have been distributing large quantities of a leaflet called "The Question of the Moment: The Real Issue of Women's Suffrage." No Suffragist will dispute the fact that Women's Suffrage is the question of the moment, and we are, for our part, exceedingly

anxious that the real issue should be understood. Therefore we are publishing an answer to the leaflet which we think meets the author of the anti-suffrage leaflet on his own ground. It will be ready this week, and will be found quite useful for distribution as an independent leaflet even in places that have not had the advantage of anti-suffrage propaganda.

B. 82. "The Question of the Moment." 4d. per 100; 2s. 6d. per 1,000.

##### LADY CHANCE'S PAMPHLET.

I mentioned last week that the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association had republished Lady Chance's "Words to Working Women." It has been a good deal altered and brought up to date, and as it deals with the whole question and is specially addressed to working women it ought to be very useful for distribution to. "Words to Working Women," 6d. per dozen; 2s. 6d. per 100.

##### BOXES FOR FILING FRIENDS OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE CARDS.

May I again call attention to the boxes stocked by the National Union for filing Friends' cards, or ordinary card indexes of members or branches. They are made of strong mill-board of superior quality 13½ inches long, by 6 inches broad, by 4 inches deep. Price 3s. 6d. net. They cannot be sent on sale or return, but can be seen at the office, and have been much approved by the secretaries who have looked at them.

##### NEWEST PUBLICATIONS.

PAMPHLETS.  
"Women and the Reform Bill." By H. N. Brailsford. 6d. per dozen. 2s. 6d. per 100.  
"Plain Answers to Tangled Statements: A Reply to the Anti-Suffrage handbook." By A. Maude Royden. 2d. each.

##### LEAFLETS.

B. 73.—"The Vital Claim: An Appeal from Liberal Women to Women Liberals." 1s. 6d. per 100.  
B. 77.—"Women's Work in Local Government." 1s. 6d. per 100.  
B. 75.—"The Reform Bill and Woman Suffrage." 1s. 6d. per 100.  
B. 74.—"Suffrage or Party." 4d. per 100. 2s. 6d. per 1,000.  
B. 79.—"To Men and Women of the Labour Party." (New Edition.) 6d. per 100. 4s. 6d. per 1,000.  
B. 81.—"Men and Women Together." 4d. per 100. 2s. 6d. per 1,000.  
B. 82.—"The Question of the Moment." 4d. per 100. 2s. 6d. per 1,000.

#### Treasurer's Notes.

To take up again the particular functions of our Finance Committee, we have as our routine work the consideration of the Treasurer's statements, the checking of liabilities, the examination and criticism of the organisers' detailed accounts, the sanctioning of all proposals for the expenditure of money coming from the different departments of our central office, the judging of the relative importance and necessity of requests for grants from Societies and Federations, and the preparation of a fortnightly report for the Executive Committee.

At our fortnightly meetings we have always before us suggestions for increased expenditure, never for retrenchment, as far as I remember. Ours the ungrateful task of sounding the note of warning, of calling attention to the awkward relation of supply and demand. We are sustained by the knowledge that for us increase in spending has meant always increase in income. Through the past years we have had constantly to consider adjustments and increase in salaries and office accommodation. Both in space and arrangement our office is enormously improved. We begin to notice that it impresses the visitor, not certainly by the luxuriousness of its fittings, but by its look of business. It is astonishing, however, to notice how new rooms fill up.

On calling upon the press department the other day I found workers and their impedimenta so congesting an area I had not very long ago thought a fine addition to the office, that I said to myself, will they use the ceiling or shall we, before we know it, be considering whether we can afford rent for still another room? Readers of Miss Leaf's reports in COMMON CAUSE must realise both the growth and the enormously important effect of this now fully organised department. Its very nature precludes it from becoming a profit-making department as the literature department bids fair to be—able

#### FAMILIAR INITIALS AND THEIR MEANINGS.

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

MAY WE SERVE YOU?

to meet every expense, rent, furniture, clerical work, etc., and to clear a good net sum. For the press department there is no revenue except in the shape of grants from the General funds, and they must have plant and trained workers and be ready to advertise if necessary. It is the Union generally that profits, and the Union that must keep the department going.

M. P. STANBURY  
(Chairman of Finance Committee).

### By-Elections.

#### NORTH-WEST MANCHESTER.

Candidates (Sir John S. Randles (Unionist),  
Mr. Gordon Hewart (Liberal).

National Union Committee Rooms:—15, St. Ann's Square, Manchester.

Organiser:—Miss Dorothy Darlington.

Owing to the retirement of Sir George Kemp, a contest will take place in this important constituency. Mr. Gordon Hewart's address was out on the 26th and contained the following allusion to Women's Suffrage:—

"Finally the Franchise Bill, incomplete as it admittedly is, seeks to get rid of many complexities and anomalies in our franchise law. The discussion of the Bill will involve an occasion of great moment to the cause of Women's Suffrage, which I cordially support."

The Manchester Society on July 29th, opened a large committee room which is situated in the most central part of the city, and is already creating a great deal of interest.

The Society sent the usual by-election questions to the candidates, both of whom are declared supporters of Women's Suffrage. Sir John Randles, who, as M.P. for Cockermouth, was a member of the Conciliation Committee in the House of Commons, still adheres to his pledge to support an amendment to the Franchise Reform Bill, but will not promise anything further, nor has he mentioned Women's Suffrage in his Election Address. He will vote against the Reform Bill, even if it should include women.

Mr. Gordon Hewart has not yet answered the questions sent to him, but has briefly mentioned Women's Suffrage in his Election Address. Until further information has been received from both candidates, the attitude of the National Union at this election cannot be finally decided.

In the meantime the Manchester Society is conducting a most vigorous Women's Suffrage campaign throughout the constituency. Dinner hour meetings are being held in a large room adjoining the committee rooms. Numerous open-air meetings are being held each day.

Miss Ashton, Mrs. Annot Robinson, Mrs. Cooper, Mrs. Wilson, Mrs. Chew, Miss Cox, and other speakers, are working tremendously hard to make these meetings successful.

Mrs. Darlington is in charge of the committee rooms, and several members have kindly undertaken to help in this way. Unfortunately the holidays are making it very difficult for all parties to obtain many workers.

#### EAST CARMARTHENSHIRE.

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

The by-election in East Carmarthen has come upon us unexpectedly, and cut into important work in the Rhondda Valley. It appears that on Friday about 2,000 people, mostly men, collected at Pontygwaith to hear the Suffrage speakers. It was said to be the largest crowd ever seen there, and there was no one to address them!

Meantime, the by-election hangs fire. No one knows when polling is to be. It may be in a fortnight, it may be in September, it may be in October. Numbers of people have come forward as Liberal nominees, and about half-a-dozen names are mentioned as those of possible Labour candidates. The Conservative candidate is Mr. Mervyn Peel. Amongst the names mentioned are several known friends of the Suffrage cause.

We have taken one committee room at Ammanford, and, if the election promises to be an exciting one, hope to take another at Burry Port. At Llandilo, the most central, though not the largest, place, we have taken a furnished house, of which the accommodation is elastic. Here we can put up speakers and the organisers who are working the district near. Miss Chambers has taken charge of the southern part of the constituency, which is about forty miles from north to south. Miss Sheard is to take charge of the important mining valley near Ammanford. Miss Smith, hon. secretary of Llanelly W.S.S. is to work the country round Golden Grove. Miss

Davies takes the Llandoverly district, which she knows well, and where Welsh speaking is essential. Thousands of Welsh leaflets are to be distributed, besides the English ones. Motor cars are urgently needed. Friends, please notice this. This is the first time of asking.

L. F. WARING.

#### Result:

|                         |       |
|-------------------------|-------|
| Mr. Ernest Craig (U.)   | 6,260 |
| Mr. Harold Murphy (L.)  | 5,294 |
| Mr. James Holmes (Lab.) | 2,485 |

#### CREWE DIVISION.

Unionist majority (over L.) ... 966

At the last election the result was:—

Liberal ... 7,629

Unionist ... 5,925

In 1910, when there was a three-cornered fight, the results were:—

Liberal ... 7,761

Unionist ... 5,419

Labour ... 1,380

The following analysis has appeared in *The Times*, comparing the votes in January, 1910, with the votes in July, 1912:—

Increase in the electorate ... 61

Increase in the total poll ... 485

Increase in the Unionist vote ... 841

Increase in the Labour vote ... 1,105

Decrease in the Liberal vote ... 2,467

The Labour poll of 2,485 represents a solid and convinced backing for labour and a strong fight for Women's Suffrage in the Crewe division. The Liberal party spared no effort to dissuade those of progressive sympathies in the division from voting for the Labour candidate, not on grounds of principle, but from fear of letting in the Conservative. The pamphlets issued and speeches made on the eve of the poll in Crewe had undoubtedly a marked effect on the anticipated labour vote in the town itself, but there is reason to believe that the foothold gained in the villages held firm. It was on the outlying districts that the National Union bent its main efforts during the campaign, and on the eve of the poll suffragists visited many of the villages which the Labour organisation could not reach.

When addressing the workers after the declaration Mr. Holmes and his agent, Mr. Wake, both spoke of the assistance given to them by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies in terms of the most cordial appreciation.

Mr. Craig's return is due in part at least to his popularity and his benevolent disposition. His victory does not add to the strength of the anti-Suffragists in the House of Commons since he is sympathetic to the cause of Women's Suffrage and has promised to support the Conciliation Bill amendment to the Reform Bill.

"We have lent the seat to the Tory Party until the next election. . . . There was not a shred of organisation in the constituency when we started, and what we have now has been built up during the last fortnight. We must remember how difficult it is for any of us to throw off old traditions. . . . We fight for our principles regardless of consequences." So spoke Mr. Holmes to his workers in the Labour Party's Committee Rooms after the poll was declared, and one felt that he had touched on the kernel of the matter. Lack of organisation, and the dead weight of tradition, reinforced by the fear, sedulously fostered by the Liberals, of a "split vote" were the forces which pulled the Labour vote down so far below the enthusiasm of Mr. Holmes's meetings and the popularity of himself and his principles. But 1,105 is a pretty considerable gain by no means to be despised; for each vote for the Labour man means a breaking from old allegiance and snapping of party ties.

#### SECRETARIAL TRAINING FOR GENTLEWOMEN.

### MRS. HOSTER,

ST. STEPHEN'S CHAMBERS, TELEGRAPH ST., E.C.

Typewriting, Translation, Shorthand and Training Offices.

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Special Six Months' Course of Tuition in English Shorthand and Typewriting and General Secretarial Training.

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Instructions by Correspondence.

References—THE COUNTESS OF MAYO, THE COUNTESS DOWAGER OF DESART, THE LADY BATTERSEA, LEOPOLD DE ROTHSCHILD, Esq., MESSRS. DAWES AND SONS, SOLICITORS.

And for this gain and the excellence of the fight Mr. Holmes thanked all his workers, men and women, and said in reference to the National Union: "I wish to thank the women Suffragists, through Miss Robertson, a host in herself, for all the valuable help they have given me," to which Mr. Wake, the agent, added, "I want especially to thank the N.U.W.S.S. who have always given ready, willing and sympathetic help on every occasion. They have pulled us out of many difficulties, and not only myself but the I.L.P. and the working men generally have found how great a help they have been to us."

The gratitude of the rank and file of the Labour Party for the women's help is evidenced by the fact that immediately after the poll the B.S.P. summoned a special general meeting for next week on purpose to pass resolutions of thanks to the N.U.W.S.S.

The work we have been doing of late has been mainly in the villages, where Labour was least familiar and the need of workers greatest. For a week Mrs. Townley, of Blackburn, and Miss Shimbles, of Nelson, have been established in Willaston, and the best tribute to their work is to be found in the following letter from the local Labour agent:—

Labour Rooms,  
Wislaston Road,  
Willaston.

DEAR MISS ROBERTSON,—I have to thank you very much for the assistance you have rendered to Mr. Holmes' candidature in this district. Several members of the National Union have been here, and have given splendid service. It was a happy thought to send me two workers to stay in the district, and no man could want or could get two better. Mrs. Townley, of Blackburn, has been invaluable, and Miss Shimbles, of Nelson, is an indefatigable worker. We have been busy canvassing distributing literature from door to door and poll cards, arranging meetings and speaking thereat. I think we have hammered out a goodly number of votes from this district, and whatever the result, we have done our best, and none can do more.—

Yours very sincerely,  
WM. HOLMES.  
From Nantwich, Miss Sheard reports much canvassing and many village meetings. She speaks especially of a magnificent one at "The Hough," at which Miss Matters spoke where, after a clap had been called and given for Miss Matters, another was added for "the lady that came last night" (Miss Ashton). Mrs. Tozer has been doing grand work at Nantwich, ending up with acting as a checker at one of the stations on polling-day!

Here and elsewhere in the constituency money has been collected after the meetings for the Dockers' Fund.

From Sandbach Miss Evans reports many meetings, both dinner-hour and evening. She has been fortunate in having with her Mrs. Lewis, of Alderley, a splendid worker, indefatigable in canvassing and making friends wherever she goes. It is largely owing to her work in preparations that our meetings in this district have been so uniformly successful. More than 100 Friends of Women's Suffrage cards have been signed here.

From Alsager we hear of steady progress—many "Friends of Women's Suffrage," and much practical political work in conjunction with the Labour Party. Mrs. Darlington has continued to win general support and sympathy, and has been most ably helped by Miss Sharpe, Miss Farnell and Miss Cockle. A large number of meetings have also been held in Alsager and the district.

In Crewe the week has been a busy one for canvassers. Applications came in constantly from the different districts where help was needed and it was never long before we were able to respond effectively. On the eve of the poll we held meetings in all the villages which the Labour Party were unable to reach, so that between us we covered the district, and all the workers who could be spared sold COMMON CAUSES at the big Labour meetings.

We had planned to decorate the Halls (Theatre and Town Hall) with yellow and white, the Labour colours, and for this purpose we appealed for flowers in some of the villages where we spoke. The response was fine—the motor collected the flowers on Thursday morning, friends further afield sent us more, and the final effect was really beautiful. *The tour de force* was a yellow banner with "Holmes for Crewe" worked on it in white flowers by Miss Reeves, Mrs. Powell and Miss Hoffman.

The enthusiasm at these meetings was wonderful; both were packed out; and at both Mr. Holmes spoke up heartily for our cause. At the close of the meeting the two great audiences walked in procession, singing and shouting, to the Catholic Bank, where Mr. Holmes spoke again, and finally escorted him a mile back to his hotel where he was called upon for a final speech.

On polling day the chief help we were able to give was in motors, Miss Ashton, Miss E. M. Greg and Miss Rathbone each kindly lending one. These were decorated at the Committee Rooms, the candidate's car being made especially beautiful with flowers as well as flags and ribbons. Mr. Holmes invited Miss Robertson to go round the constituency with him in the morning and Mrs. Powell in the afternoon, so the alliance of the Suffragists and Labour was evidenced to the last.

Then came clearing up and bill-paying and many farewells. The railwaymen at Crewe Station wrung our hands, thanked us, and hoped for "better luck" for us all next time; and some of the Liberals shook their fists at us as we passed.

And the future—well, the Labour Party will organise, and we shall organise a great working-class suffrage society (we have a splendid nucleus in some hundreds of "Friends of Women's Suffrage") and when "Jimmy" Holmes comes to Crewe again he will find no less enthusiasm and considerably more votes. The campaign has been infinitely worth

while; sympathy with the Suffrage movement has been awakened which will not die and everything looks bright for the future. We have taken a big step; the next step, or the next but one, will land our man at the top of the poll.

Our warmest thanks are due to Miss Reeves, Miss Lillian and Mrs. Powell, of Crewe, for help of every kind at all times—to Mrs. Philip Snowden, Miss Helen Ward, Mrs. Wilson, Councillor Coates, Mrs. Chew, Mrs. Annot Robinson, Miss Muriel Matters, Miss Margaret Ashton and Miss Leadley Brown for their splendid speeches; to Mrs. Townley, Miss Shimbles, Mrs. Lewis, Mrs. Nash, Miss Cockle, Miss Sutcliffe, Mrs. Tomlinson, the Misses Hoffmann, Miss Radcliffe, Mrs. Siddall, Mrs. Jagger, Miss Rigby, Mrs. Webster, Miss Maude Dowson, Miss Sharpe, Mrs. D'Arquier, Miss Watson, and others for fine work in canvassing and other ways, and to all the N.U. organisers who have been indefatigable in their labours. Special thanks are also due to Miss T. M. Greg, Miss Ashton and Miss Rathbone, who nobly sacrificed their motors for election use. Gifts of money, of which several have come from the Manchester and District Federation, will be acknowledged elsewhere, and we must thank all those who kindly sent flowers for decorations. Should any names by inadvertence have been omitted we hope that their owners will pardon us and accept our heartiest thanks all the same.

Mrs. Lewis, of whose canvassing we have such favourable reports, writes as follows:—"It has been not only an excitingly busy time, but a hopeful and an inspiring one. My special work lay in house-to-house visiting, and I was surprised to find an almost entire absence of hostility to the Women's Movement. Certainly there is much need of more education on the political advantages to be gained by the suffrage, especially in the poorer districts, but the most ignorant women were unanimously in favour of widows and spinners having votes, providing they were householders, and it was difficult to make them realise the necessity for anything further. In many cases however, I was able to overcome these objections by tactfully inserting incidents of personal experience where men have lost votes in time of crisis through sickness or unavoidable absence from home because the wife—the so-called *better half*, whom the marriage service makes one with the *other half*, is denied by law the privilege of voting even by proxy, and is considered incapable of making the necessary X. In one street the women, when they saw me approaching, began jeering and brandishing their brooms aloft, but when I left after a sympathetic discussion of my pet arguments, I had obtained ten signatures (out of twelve opponents) on the cards (Friends of Women's Suffrage).

I feel convinced that a great work can be done by this personal contact, providing, of course, that the visitor is a woman who has seen something of the seamy side of life—whose manner is friendly and sympathetic—who understands the needs of the class to whom she is appealing—who is tactful, resourceful and patient, and who is willing to descend to the level of uneducated bias in order to overcome the prejudices that class distinction has created. There is scope for untiring energy in this direction, for I have proved through thirty years' work among the masses that nothing is so effective as the right kind of *personal* influence. It reaches the woman with a family of small children who never can get to a meeting, and it inspires the more fortunate to take a deeper interest in something beyond the narrow limitations of the home, and encourages the aged and infirm to hope that the emancipation of the sex is really in sight.

"The most hostile woman I ever met was also the most apathetic, and of course the most ignorant. She had a baby six months old which was no larger than my own is at one month, and she positively enjoyed telling everybody that it could eat rolled oats *raw* and chip potatoes, and that its little brother of two-and-a-half years regularly sucked all the milk and water she put into the baby's bottle. This home was not one of the poorest, but this woman made all her neighbours feel that some women are not ready for the vote.

"I left her feeling that she needed much more than an enfranchisement would give her. Another woman, who had drifted into a pathetically indifferent state of mind, had reared thirteen children on 20s. a week; and, another whose husband denied her even a voice in home affairs, was the mother of nine, and her weekly income had never exceeded 22s. It was by no means an easy task to rouse their interest, but they both signed cards and wished good luck to the Cause.

"In one long, dirty, over-crowded street I met with universal sympathy, and the women gathered round me in groups as I pressed them to ply me with questions and, after an hour's enthusiastic discussion it commenced raining, and they dispersed, but not until I had obtained twenty-eight signatures—nine of which were those of widows. "In a street running parallel with this one a fevorous looking woman ordered me away with threatening gestures. I begged pardon meekly for the intrusion, and retreated. Her next door neighbour was more friendly, and invited me to a seat beside her on a box in the back garden. While we were thus engaged in friendly converse, the vicious woman, who had evidently been listening, made her way through a gap in the dividing hedge. As she still held the coal shovel in her hand, I began to anticipate a repetition of the repellent attitude, and with a quickly beating heart I rose from my seat. My surprise and gratification may be better imagined than described when she held out her hand apologetically, expressed her regret, and said that she 'mistook me for one of the Pankhurst lot,' who, she added vehemently, 'want boiling.' I secured her signature.

"Personally I know only of one woman in the district which I canvassed who vows a determined antagonism to the movement, and she did so because she had been told that we were working against the Liberal candidate. I should not care to encounter her after the poll.

"In personal discussion of this kind one gets more in touch with every possible objection, and stands a better chance of showing up the stronger points, especially so if experience bears out the argument. The work is unique, and cannot often be effectively performed by intellectual women or skilled speakers. It is exhausting and strenuous, and necessitates not only great power of physical endurance, but keen insight, quick intuition and instantaneous mental grip of circumstances. Beside these qualifications it is important that the visitor should be able to express a sympathetic interest in the conditions of environment, and be able to point out feelingly how much improvement would take place in every department of life if women enjoyed the same privileges as men. The results of such work conscientiously performed can scarcely be over-estimated, as it is for many obvious reasons the only kind of political education thousands of women will ever be able to obtain. Most working-class wives are entirely dependent on their men-folk for this kind of knowledge, as the great struggle to make ends meet absorbs them entirely, mentally, morally and physically; and as it is the province of the platform orator to educate public opinion, so it should be the aim of the canvasser to break up the ground for the reception of the ideas, which are to assist woman in achieving her personality and maintaining her individuality under all circumstances. It becomes increasingly imperative to point out that although the marriage service calls a couple *one*, the State persists in dividing their spheres and their interests and this being so, a woman must claim her right to govern her own province in her own way even as the man ignores her ability to deal with the laws by which he is governed."

## BANK HOLIDAY.

NOTICE.—In view of next Monday being Bank Holiday, correspondents are requested to let us have all news for publication by SATURDAY, AUGUST 3rd.

Contributions to the General Fund.

Table with columns for names (e.g., Miss C. Taylor, Mrs. Tubbs), amounts, and sub-sections (SUBSCRIPTIONS, DONATIONS, AFFILIATION FEES).

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Mrs. Philip Snowden asks us to state that all her available speaking time is engaged between now and the end of May, 1913.

The National Union Van.

The weather is still behaving badly. I think I wrote last week to say how we all had "to turn in" and use some rooms in the "bakery" in Stiffley.

On Monday we had to wait for the rain to stop before we could pack the van and go on to Wells. Here we were greeted with boos and yells—my first experience of a hostile reception!

BEIMONSLEY.—July 7th, Fort Road Institute. A large meeting of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants was held, addressed by Miss Agnes Dawson.

BRACKLEY.—An open-air meeting was held at the corner of Stockwell Street, Greenwich, on July 24th. Speaker, Miss Agnes Dawson.

DEPTFORD.—Open-air meeting was held on July 18th and 25th at the Broad and New Cross Gate respectively. Speakers, Miss Helen Ward, Miss G. Rinder, and Miss M. Goddard.

It was weird driving the 12 miles home at night. It was dark and wet, and the road was strange. I have forgotten how many times I got out to climb up sign-posts, and with the aid of lamps and matches tried to find the right road.

THE COMMON CAUSE.

To-day (Sunday) we are encamped in an orchard, and we have Mrs. Streeter with us. It is still raining, and another thunderstorm is raging overhead.

EVELYN CLARKSON.

London Society.

Deputations to London Members of Parliament. The London Society has organised deputations, consisting of local supporters, with in most cases representatives of the society's headquarters.

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Reform Bill. Mr. John Osler, in proposing a vote of thanks, said Hampstead had been proud to be represented by his principles.

SURRY, SUSSEX AND HANTS. HASLEMERE SUFFRAGE WEEK. Suffrage week at Haslemere has passed off without any mishap, and was undoubtedly a great success.

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THE COMMON CAUSE.

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The local secretary and treasurer, Miss Rees and Miss C. A. Jones, had been largely responsible for the organisation of the week's work, but where all had worked so well, it seems hopeless to try and mention any in particular.

On Saturday, July 20th, the Sunderland Society took part in a joint procession and demonstration. In spite of the cold winds great crowds lined the streets and listened with attention to the speeches at the various platforms erected in the West Park.

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Infirmity. Dr. Sharp was at first the only applicant, and loth to appoint a woman, the Board of Guardians advertised the post again at a salary £50 representing more than forty at first intended to pay, with the result that Dr. Sharp won the post against male competition on her merits as the best qualified and most experienced applicant.

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Federation Notes.

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joined the branch, and many others signed cards as Friends of Women's Suffrage. A large quantity of literature was sold, and good collections taken. Miss Ward also spoke at Melton and Huickall during the week. Working parties have been held each Tuesday afternoon in aid of the East Midland Federation Bazaar and fete. The Weekly "At Homes" at the office have been discontinued during the summer. At the final "At Home" of last season Miss Hasle read an excellent paper on Elizabeth Fry.

**MELTON MOVBRAE.**—A meeting of the Melton Society was held on July 3rd by kind invitation of Mrs. Atter. Mrs. New took the chair, and Miss Eva Ward, B.A., gave an address on "Women and Their Social Responsibilities." Mrs. Brewitt, a supporter of Colonel Yale, M.P., proposed the Suffrage resolution, which was passed, and sent to him. Literature sold well, and a good collection was made.

**LITTON.**—A meeting was held on July 16th, especially for working men and women. The chair was taken by Mr. Arthur Taylor, Vice-President of the Lincoln Trades and Labour Council. He was supported on the platform by representatives of the L.L.P., the Women's Co-operative Guilds, the British Women's Temperance Association, and other Societies. Miss A. Maudie Royden gave an address on "Working Women and the Vote."

The "Friends of Women's Suffrage" scheme was started, and 95 cards were signed. A resolution was passed in favour of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

**LICERGER.**—A series of "At Homes" have been held at the Society's office on Tuesday evenings in June and July, especially for the Circle Members. Informal addresses have been given, followed by discussion.

**LOVE BUCKLEY.**—A successful open-air meeting was held in the Market Place on July 5th. The chair was taken by the Rev. T. Roston. An excellent speech was made by Mrs. Ring, of Birmingham; Mrs. Roberts (Crick) also spoke. On the following Sunday Mrs. Ring addressed the Men's Adult School, and had a very appreciative audience. A resolution was carried and forwarded to Mr. Mansfield, the member for Mid-Northants, urging him to vote against the Reform Bill unless women were included.

**WEST HADDON.**—A very well-attended meeting was held outside the Schools on July 4th. The chair was taken by the Rev. W. E. Bammerman. The audience listened with obvious appreciation to an interesting speech from Mrs. Ring. Mrs. Roberts (Crick) also spoke.

#### West Riding (Yorks).

**BURNSALL-IN-WHARFEDALE.**—A meeting was held in the Village Hall of the beautiful village of Burnsall, near Grassington, on July 3rd. Mrs. Robinson and Mrs.

### Irish Notes.

The societies throughout Ireland forming the Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, have adopted the following resolution:—

We wish to dissociate ourselves from the recent militant actions in Dublin, and to reiterate our determination to pursue a non-militant and non-party policy in our demand for women's suffrage.

The Munster Women's Franchise Association and the Irishwomen's Reform League have published in the Press individual repudiations of the actions of the English suffragettes in Dublin. The following letter was addressed to Mr. Philip Snowden by the committee of the Federation:—

Dear Sir,—The Committee of the Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation desire to convey to you their sincere thanks for the valuable help you are rendering to Irishwomen in their efforts to win enfranchisement under Home Rule. We feel deeply indebted to you for the sympathy you have shown us in undertaking to bring forward a woman's suffrage amendment to the Home Rule Bill. We hope you will have the support of all the Labour members for your amendment. In view of the position of the Labour Party on the question of women's suffrage, we cannot, indeed, see how they can refuse this.

We should be glad to hear from you later on about the prospects of this amendment, which we are desirous of furthering by every means in our power.—Yours faithfully,

LOUIE BENNETT, Hon. Sec.

#### Artists' Suffrage League.

The Artists' Suffrage League has sustained a great loss by the sudden death of Miss May Barker, which took place in London on Thursday, July 25th. Miss Barker had served on the committee of the Artists' League ever since its inception in 1907, and has been unfailing with help and co-operation in all the schemes of decoration and work undertaken from year to year. Her ready assistance and constant sympathy will be sadly missed by her colleagues.

#### Young Liberals.

At a special Council meeting of the Lancashire and Cheshire Federation of the National League of Young Liberals held at the Reform Club last Saturday, the following resolutions were carried:—"That this Council urges upon Parliament the importance of securing some measure of enfranchisement of women in the present Franchise and Registration Bill." This was moved by Miss Johnson, of Stockport, and seconded by Mr. C. G. Armstrong, who urged suffragists to be willing to support that measure of enfranchisement for women which was found to be most acceptable to the members of the House of Commons. The resolution was carried by 25 votes to 23.

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Mullineaux had previously distributed handbills, and the hall was filled with a representative and appreciative audience. Mrs. Parrish, of Leeds, was the speaker, with Mrs. Robinson, of Bradford, in the chair. Mrs. Green gave two recitations. The meeting was most successful, and has aroused considerable interest in the district.

#### West of England.

**WESTON-SUPER-MARE.**—On July 11th Miss Royden spoke to a well-attended meeting at the Town Hall on "Women under the Law." In an audience consisting largely of men, it is encouraging to notice that a resolution in our favour was carried with only one dissentient. Mr. Ayers kindly took the chair. On the afternoon of the same day Miss Royden also addressed a garden party at Cheddar, by kind invitation of Mr. Yorke Fausset. Mr. Yorke Fausset, vicar of the parish, presided.

#### South Wales and Monmouthshire.

The LAMPEREY Society held a successful public meeting on June 5th, when Miss Royden delivered an address on "Women and Progress" to a sympathetic audience of about 450 people.

The CARDIFF Society, on July 20th, held an open-air meeting in a field kindly lent by Mr. David. Mr. Robert Cholmeley gave an interesting speech reviewing the present political situation and bringing us back again to a consideration of our first principles. It was announced that in view of the political position created by the Franchise Bill, the Committee had decided to engage a permanent organiser after the summer holiday, and to meet the expenses thus entailed a further effort must be made to raise funds. It is hoped that every member of this Society will make substantial contributions in proportion to their means to meet the need before us. A sale of useful Christmas presents will be held with a view to raising further funds, and members are reminded that cakes, jams, sweets, and aprons are among those articles which sell best.

#### Scottish.

**GOUROCK.** I came to Gourock at the end of June. The Society here was in danger of falling to pieces, as Mrs. Soubly, the late secretary, had left Gourock, and no one was willing to undertake her work. I have been able to reform the Committee, and several influential residents have joined. Mrs. Clatworthy, Miss Mary Leitch, and Miss Harvey are now the treasurer, secretary and press secretary respectively. I think that the Society will do as good work in the future as it did in the past, while under Mrs. Soubly's able direction. The Committee

The second resolution on the Local Government Franchise was as follows:—"That this Council regrets the restricted franchise afforded to lodgers under Section 2, Clause 2, of the Franchise and Registration Bill, and urges the Government to afford facilities for including all persons over the age of 21 to vote in all elections for local government purposes."

It was carried by 26 to 22.

#### Women Clerks and Secretaries Friendly Society.

(Approved by the National Health Insurance Commission.)

OFFICES: 8, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C. This Society is attracting a large membership for the National Health Section, and women clerks who have hitherto not been organised are being enrolled daily.

Amongst the General Committee of Management are the following:—

|                     |                    |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| Lady Downes.        | Miss Halford.      |
| Mrs. Herbert Lewis. | Sir Arthur Downes. |
| Mrs. Hoster.        | Mr. Maxwell-Lyte.  |

Sir Alfred Mond has consented to be one of the trustees, and Mr. Conway Wertheimer is acting as Standing Counsel.

#### Women Outworkers in Nantwich.

Political exigencies often throw into the light of publicity stories of lives that would otherwise have remained unknown, and this has notably been so in the case of the Nantwich outworkers during the contest in Crewe.

In Nantwich are several hundreds of women whose lives have been materially changed by recent legislation. It may well be in the long run that the passing away of the outworker which the Trades Boards Act and the recent Insurance Act are in this district doing so much to bring about is ultimately to the good. Yet these hundreds of women earning their own and others' living have never been asked to contemplate their own condition, nor have they any power to bend in a direction suitable to their needs legislation which alters the whole course of their existence. It was not until politicians saw that some of the votes of the male relatives (too often male dependents) of these poor workers might be affected that they and the journalists descended upon Nantwich to discover some of the facts of the case.

Passing along some of the narrow old streets in the evening there can be heard the persistent hum of sewing machines from nearly every one of the cottages. Ever and again the workers are interrupted by some household care or by the crying of a child, but late at night only the occasional click of scissors breaks the steady

have decided to hold a series of drawing-room meetings in the autumn. They also intend having a public meeting, and making a special effort to raise funds by means of an entertainment on other evenings. Mrs. Turner, Mrs. Leitch, Mrs. Clatworthy and Miss Harvey have all kindly given drawing-room meetings since I have been here, at which I have spoken. I also spoke at a meeting at Mrs. Laurie's at Greenock, and explained the new policy of the National Union.

**BLAIRMORE.**—I am endeavouring to start a branch in Blairmore, with the aid of Mrs. Cochrane and Miss Leggett. We have arranged to hold a public meeting in the Village Hall on July 29th, at 8 pm. at which I shall speak. The Rev. Robert Primrose, who is staying in Blairmore, has promised to take the chair. Miss Leggett is kindly bearing all the expenses of the meeting.

MILDRED WATSON.

**ORGANIZATION IN ELGIN BURGHS.**—After a fortnight's work in two of the Elgin Burghs, Banff and Macduff, Miss Bisset and I have formed the nucleus of a Society, having secured a few members and what is more than half the battle—a keen and energetic Secretary. Our four open-air meetings drew large and appreciative crowds, who readily bought COMMON CAUSE. The weather being rather grey and chilly, we determined to attempt indoor meetings, and as Miss Lusden kindly agreed to come and speak, we felt safe as far as our platform was concerned. In the Court Room in Macduff we had a crowded audience, at least five times as big as at the last Suffrage meeting held there. In Banff we had to meet in the afternoon, and so could gather only resident ladies—no fishermen or wage-earning women being free then. Needless to say, all were carried away by the eloquence and earnestness of Miss Lusden's appeals.

The Banff Agricultural Show came off during our stay in the town, and formed an admirable field for propaganda, farmers and others coming in to it from the countryside far and wide. We distributed a great number of the useful simple leaflets lately published by the N.U., and sold all the COMMON CAUSES we had. Workers who are in the country just now should note that these shows give a magnificent opportunity for sowing our seed broadcast.

On the 29th we go to Buckie to begin a campaign in the county of Banff, which our August holiday will cut somewhat short.

ALICE CHROMPTON.

sound. These are the homes of "makers." In the next street maybe there are more "finishers," and here are scenes of great distress and squalor, amid which women are standing with a look of dull despair on their faces. Nothing is coming into their homes.

The operation of the Trades Boards Act in raising the minimum wage from 23d. an hour to 33d. an hour, coupled with the deductions under the Insurance Act, is ceasing to make the employment of outworkers as finishers profitable, and these are the worst paid of the outworkers. Special arrangements have been made by the Insurance Commissioners to meet the peculiar circumstances of the woman homeworker. These arrange more than 13s. a week are placed in schedule A and pay the full rate, but for those earning between 6s. 6d. and 13s. per week under schedule B, the employer and worker each pay 14d., and the sick benefit is reduced.

From all that I could learn the conditions of the outworkers had been growing worse of recent years and some of the employers are anxious to keep the work inside the factories where they are responsible for the conditions. The gain from not having to provide space and plant in the factory does not seem to compensate them for the lack of control over the time and quality of work done outside.

Rather more than 20 years ago, when the tendency for the clothing trade to replace the boot and shoe factory became marked in Nantwich the rates of payment for piecework were higher than they are to-day, and the workers were known to bring the good quality of the work which centred. Unfortunately some of the women, ambitious to earn still better wages, used to take home work after the factory was closed, and then when circumstances made it desirable or necessary for them to remain at home they used to get permission to take it all away. The application of power to the sewing machines reduced the rate of pay for "making" buttonholes, etc., and this adversely affected the wages earned by the home worker. Alien workers came into the town and in increasing numbers of cases men were at first unable and then unwilling to earn a wage necessary for a household, and the pressing fear of destitution among many dependent on this work had a worse effect on wages. As so frequently happens the wage-earning of the woman, originally supplementary, has become the mainstay of the family, and many households who ought to migrate to a district where the men can follow their trades have been kept immobile by the "benevolence" of an employer (for so they often regard it when giving to the women poorly paid work). Those employed in turning, finishing and lining seem to earn about an average net income of 6s. or 7s. a week, while steady good

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class "makers" told me that they could earn rather more than 14s. a week net in a full week inside the factory.

With these new charges upon the industry, the employers, as may be expected, are tending to employ whole-time, and inside the factory, a smaller number of workers. From one factory alone eighty-two women were paid off before Mr. Lloyd George's "joy day."

Thus may laws take away from the poor the little they have, and in the case of the women they have no weapon of defence or right to consultation. Women may have "graduated in the school of suffering," but their experience may not be used in the political world for the improvement of their own conditions or the good of society.

It is probable that in most cases "home-work" is injurious both to the women and to the family; a woman ought not to have so heavy a double strain; a tiny workman's cottage ought not to be crowded up and made un-home-like with the materials of manufacture; the temptation to use babies' labour and the difficulty of inspection and organisation all help to condemn the system. All industrial changes cause suffering and loss to some section of the community; this is all the more reason for not keeping the sufferers voiceless and helpless.

E. W.

#### Publicity and Democratic Control.

About a year ago a young man in public employment, a clerk in one of the Bolton municipal offices, committed a series of defalcations, and was sent on by the Bolton Bench to Quarter Sessions, where he pleaded guilty and had six months' imprisonment, a sentence which called forth general comment on account of its leniency. At once the question was raised whether blame attached to one or both of two departments, or the auditors, or none of them. As the pecuniations had been discovered by the merest chance, a great overhauling of methods and a reconstruction of staff followed, and it is unlikely that a similar offence can be repeated. The remedy was sought and found under great public pressure, stimulated to the full by report and discussion.

I send you a report of another case, with points of great similarity and with striking difference, which bears on the feminist question.

The guilty one is again a Bolton young man, at the opening of his career, recently married, and respectfully connected in the town, again one in a fiduciary position under the Corporation, which he abused. Again the case concerns the townspeople nearly, for he was a public elementary teacher in a mixed school, and the majority of the ratepayers have performed to send their children to such schools. Information—scanty information—has reached the public of Bolton through the local press. A wise advocate, who probably well knew what he was doing, counselled the accused to plead guilty of "misconduct towards four girls" attending the school where he taught. No evidence was called, except that of the young wife, which was to suggest that owing to hard study his mind was not in a normal state. The magistrates in this case did not send the accused for trial in a higher court. It is a fact that, in a very recent case of alleged assault upon young girls of tender age the Bolton police prosecution failed when the matter was brought before the assizes; but the mind refuses to entertain this fact as a logical ground for the exercise of summary jurisdiction, inasmuch as there was here a plea of guilty. The Bench fined the accused £10 and costs in one case, and one shilling and costs in each of the three others.

The magistrates on the Bolton bench—where, however, there is no stipendiary, though many towns of less importance possess one—have a high character, and in this case they doubtless acted with *bona-fides*. But in their decision we have a striking instance of the superior value administrators of the law attach to the protection of property above that of personal safety. But these magistrates are open to another criticism. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that they were unduly sensitive as to the reputation of the town, which has lately been called in question, and wrongly apprehensive as to the danger of publicity to the morals of the young. I raise the question, were they right in their aversion to publicity, and in their haste to get the matter over, and the incident—or rather four incidents—buried in oblivion? That may be the opinion of a Bench composed of men, and a court where the prosecutor and the advocate were both men, although the four injured were all of the opposite sex. It may also be the honest opinion of the reporters. But if, in such a case, there is a conspiracy of silence—ineffectual, for papers more widely published have

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scattered broadcast news which from its very vagueness arouses the greater curiosity in the immature—how is intelligent influence to be brought to bear to secure the necessary provision for future safety? The Committee of Education of the Town Council will doubtless procure accurate information, and possibly the Board of Education also; but the matter will not receive a quarter of the attention it would have been public opinion on the watch. The arguments used in the radical press in favour of democratic control of foreign affairs and the secrecy maintained, hold good here. Women have a right to demand that such an offence should henceforth be rendered impossible, and to know what remedy is to be applied.

It is opportune, at this juncture, when the Criminal Law Amendment Bill is under discussion, to seize this occasion to point out that some of the greatest wrongs done to women most flourish in darkness and obscurity, and that the light of day is woman's best defence; that law made and administered by men will always fail to do justice to women; and that it becomes more and more impossible to leave alone and unhandled, out of false delicacy, the weightiest of all arguments for giving women their place as citizens. In its openness of treatment, which is not synonymous with puritancy, lies the strength of the feminist case.

GEORGE E. REES.

#### Death of Miss Emma Cons.

We regret to announce the death of Miss Cons, which occurred on the 25th ult. in London.

Miss Emma Cons was born in 1838 of humble parents. She was chiefly known by her work in connection with the poor of South London, in which she followed Miss Octavia Hill's example. Not having enjoyed great educational facilities, the success of all her undertakings was principally due to her exceptional abilities. She interested herself at first in a block of dwellings, and then in 1880 joined the committee which undertook the management of a Waterloo Road music hall known as the "Old Vic." It was from that time conducted on temperance lines, the various entertainments, among which were included ballad concerts, temperance addresses, and even scientific lectures, proving quite successful. Mr. Samuel Morley's name must be mentioned in connection with this work, as he generously came forward and contributed considerably to its success financially. The Morley College was started later as the result of the interest taken in the science lectures. Evening schools were instituted, and as later the help of the Charity Commissioners was obtained, the College was properly organised and opened to men and women. Miss Cons laboured for many years for the College, and in recognition of her services the first London County Council elected her as alderman. She was, however, forced to retire, as women were afterwards declared not eligible. In politics she worked for the Liberal Party, and was a member of the Liberal Women's Federation Executive Committee.

#### The George Junior Republics.

The packed and interested audience which, on June 13th, filled the Duchess of Marlborough's great ballroom and an overflow meeting downstairs argues well for the success of an experiment which should be of interest to our readers. A self governing community is to be started in Dorsetshire and the girls are to have an equal voice with the boys in its government.

It is to be on the lines of the George Junior Republics which have proved so wonderful a success in America, and the day I spent in the one at Annapolis, near Washington, this Spring, impressed me so much that I have great hopes that this may prove the means of solving one of the most difficult of problems. By giving the "citizens" of his republic full responsibility and self-government Mr. George (the founder) has turned the energies of his truant and otherwise unruly boys and girls into new channels with surprising and most satisfactory results.

The republic is as like as possible to the world of grown-ups outside and the citizens are boys and girls who have proved difficult elsewhere and are sent by a magistrate, or by their families. They may be kept till they are twenty-one but are often sent out to satisfactory employment at an earlier age. The proof of the success of the scheme is that employers are keen to get them because of their self-reliance and capacity.

Though all citizens start absolutely equal the opportunity of leadership and responsibility proves so wholesome a stimulus that the best have almost always come to the top and make most conscientious and sensible presidents, judges, and other officials.

When a citizen first arrives he or she has to find work and lodging. During the rest of this account I shall say "she," as we are especially interested in the girl's side, though I must add that so far the girls have been in a minority in these republics, partly let us hope because fewer girls are unruly enough to qualify for admittance. There are grown-up teachers and "house-mothers," from whom employment can be got, and sometimes an enterprising citizen becomes herself an employer of labour, undertaking some piece of work on contract. When she has got work she is paid according to its difficulty and the quality of the work she puts into it. At Annapolis the rate of pay varied from seven to nine cents an hour. School work and technical training are paid at the same rates, the value of the work of each child being assessed by the teacher, which proves a strong stimulus to diligence. The next step for the citizen is to engage a room and to arrange for board according to her means. The "house-mother" can accept or refuse her as a lodger as would the keeper of a boarding-house in the outside world, so that a hardworking girl who is doing well can afford a specially good room and will be welcome into the most popular house. A lazy bad worker will have low pay and only be able to afford bad accommodation. She may be dismissed from her employment with unsatisfactory testimonials and have great difficulty in getting work elsewhere. There is a law against vagrancy, so that as well as being unable to pay her way she may fall into the hands of the police as being without visible means of subsistence, and be fined or put in prison. This is no laughing matter, for while undergoing sentence a prisoner may neither speak nor be spoken to, is marked by special clothing, has to work as hard as before but without pay, is given bare food of the roughest kind, and lodging under lock and key. A day in prison counts as paying off 25 cents (one shilling) fine, and sentences range from one day to several months, so it is extremely disagreeable to break the law or be idle, and much more interesting to do well and become an office-holder and person of importance. All these laws have been made in the Parliament of the Republic, where every free citizen sits, so there is no question of the law not being accepted and it is rigorously enforced. There is a grown-up director but he keeps as much in the background as possible and leaves the citizens to work out their own laws and deal with their consequences, not even giving advice.

We were shown round the houses, school-buildings, boot-making, printing and other factories, and were then taken into lunch in the dining-room of one of the best houses where we sat at the high table with various distinguished and friendly personages, namely the president, the public-prosecutor, and the director who brought us there. I had been told that what would give us much the most vivid idea of the atmosphere of the place would be to witness a trial if we should be so lucky as to come in for one. So great was our delight when we were told that though it was not the regular Court day it was possible that a trial might be put on for our benefit if we would wait through the afternoon. We were most anxious not to upset the civic arrangements but at luncheon the Judge and Public Prosecutor assured us it would not be at all inconvenient nor would it interfere with the course of justice to put on a Court that afternoon at 3 o'clock for the judgment of certain prisoners awaiting trial. We gathered that a trial, though a very solemn affair, was a not unwelcome diversion from the ordinary routine. Accordingly at 3 o'clock the great bell was rung and all the citizens trooped into the Assembly Hall and chattered away till the judge took his place and an usher cried, "Silence in the Court," whereupon a great silence fell upon everyone. The Judge, a boy of 16, sat at a table with clerks to right and left, a row of silent prisoners on one side of the Court, the Public Prosecutor on the other and the public at the back. The accused came forward to the table, the charge was read, he pleaded "Not guilty." A witness was called into the witness-box (a small platform with a rail along one side), sworn in all solemnity to speak "the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth," and gave his evidence. The first case was one of "trash nuisance," a small and rather new boy having been caught throwing refuse in the wrong place, too near the house, in defiance of a notice to that effect. He pleaded irregularity in the summons and that he had not seen the notice. Apparently this meant great carelessness and judgment was given against him, 25 cents fine; one felt he would not ignore a notice another time.

In one very interesting case a master summoned a boy for "disturbing the class" during a carpentry lesson. The master gave his evidence and the boy called a number of witnesses who swore that they had not been disturbed at their



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work but had taken no interest in the boy's cheeky altercation with the master. The judge, however, was not convinced; he summed up most impressively against him and gave judgment with a 50 cents fine.

Discipline is entirely in the hands of the citizens, and one of the house-mothers told me this was extremely convenient and effective. Those in her employment were most orderly and if anyone gave her the least trouble she had only to report her to the police.

Altogether we were immensely impressed both by the justice and the commonsense shown by this most admirable judge, and it appears that this system of complete freedom and responsibility does, as a matter of fact, bring the best boys and girls to the front. The original Republic, still run by Mr. George himself at Freenville, has been going for 12 years. Lately for the first time a corrupt government got into power, to the great distress of the "straight" party who begged him to interfere. This, however, he refused to do, saying that they must right themselves; they did succeed in turning the President out by a coup d'état and finally impeached him and he confessed his guilt in a most impressive scene.

I feel we owe immense gratitude to Mr. George Montague, who is about to introduce this system into our country under most encouraging auspices. His uncle, Lord Sandwich, is giving a farm in Dorsetshire, and the director, Mr. Large, has studied the system at length and thoroughly enters into the spirit of it all. The citizens are to be grouped in small houses in as homelike and uninstitutional a way as possible, and there is good reason to hope that they will prove as good material as the boys and girls on the other side of the water. It is very satisfactory to think of the girls and boys being given real equality of opportunity. As Mrs. Cobden Sanderson pointed out at the meeting, among the 12 Republics in America, girls have already held the presidency and judgeship through election on their own merits. Apart from such soaring ambitions they have the vote on equal terms and are free to choose their own employment, no longer being condemned, as in so many institutions, to the inevitable slavery of the wash-tub.

The Home Office are interested and friendly but it is just as well that the early stages of this experiment should be worked out by individual enterprise, without the inevitable inelasticity of officialdom. I feel sure that this little self-governing colony will be watched and supported by many interested well-wishers.

HONOR LAWRENCE.

### Foreign News.

#### Switzerland.

I have had the pleasure of meeting at Arolla two delightful ladies from Geneva, Madame and Mlle. Gourd, who are the heart and soul of the Women's Suffrage Movement there. They tell me that their society already numbers between 170 to 200 members. They have meetings of their own members every month during the winter, when subjects relating to women are discussed and news from England is listened to with special interest, for they say that when we win our battle, it will make an enormous change in all the other European countries. They take in both the COMMON CAUSE and Votes For Women. Mlle. Emilie Gourd addresses women's meetings of all sorts, and they both find that women engaged in philanthropic work are all beginning to realise their absolute need of the vote.

The women of Lausanne and Grenoble can vote for the matters concerning the Church, they tell me, and in Geneva also for the arbitration boards (on which they can also sit) which settle trade disputes, but for nothing else. They have an uphill fight, I fear, but it is only five years since their society was formed in Geneva, and to me it seems as if they had already accomplished much in this short time.

I want them to sell their newspaper, which they intend to start shortly, in the streets, and to hold out-door meetings, but that, at present, would produce "too terrible a scandal" they tell me. There are nine Women's Suffrage Associa-

tions in Switzerland. The one in Vaud has several societies within it.

I am going to send these ladies several of our leaflets and pamphlets for them either to translate or adopt, and also a few post cards, and one or two posters. Their address is Pregny, Geneva, and if any good suffragists are in Geneva will they communicate with them? Mrs. Fagan and Miss Corbett won their hearts when they were lecturing in this country.

ISABELLA O. FORD.

#### United States.

##### REPORT OF SUFFRAGIST PLEADINGS.

In America they have the excellent plan of allowing women to plead their own cause, and we here found the hearings before the Committee on the Judiciary, March 13th, 1912, sent us by a kind correspondent, most interesting reading. Miss Jane Addams of Hull House, Chicago, introduced the speakers and herself pleaded the women's cause. If only our House of Commons were civilised enough to admit the suffrage leaders to plead at the Bar of the House who can doubt the effect? Perhaps the Anti who "feels it in his bones" is wise not to transfer the venue to his brains.

The Ohio Constitutional Convention has decided that the suffrage amendment should be submitted on the main ballot with the other amendments, and not separately on a small ballot, as suffragists feared: in the latter case many people might forget to vote upon it at all. Naturally this was not carried without a stiff fight, and when the news was spread that the Convention had passed the measure by 74 to 37 votes, there was great rejoicings in the suffragist camp. However, this amendment, if ratified, will not take effect until January, 1913.

At the recent elections at Denver, Judge Lindsay, the well-known friend of youthful criminals, stood for the Independents, and was elected mayor by a large majority. This was largely due to the votes of the women, who have done and are doing so much towards raising the standard of morality in Government.

#### Austria.

"Jus Suffragii" recently contained the following interesting item of news:—"The Diet of Austria Inferior has made a new electoral regulation for Wiener-Narstadt and Waidhofen a/d Ybbs. Women are no longer to vote by proxy; women taxpayers are granted a vote and compulsory suffrage is introduced. Yet paragraph 30 of the Law on Assemblies still prohibits women taking part in political meetings! So the women of two towns of 60,000 and 20,000 inhabitants are considered fit to exercise voting privileges, whereas those of the Imperial capital, Vienna, are to remain disfranchised!"

### Reviews.

MARY BROOME, a Comedy in Four Acts, by Allan Monkhouse (Sidgwick and Jackson, pp. 84, 1s. 6d. and 2s. net).

Mr. Monkhouse's reticent comedy puzzled London critics a good deal. He gave them very little help and some of them floundered rather badly. People with secondhand minds are perpetually getting into difficulties, because when they have painfully copied the theme of the clever boy sitting next to them down to the last comma, the irritating creature has a way of wiping the whole thing out and beginning again. Some of the critics who had successfully crammed up their Ibsen and Shaw lessons—even perhaps, made their Galsworthy and Hankin copy—were found just where they were thirty years ago by Mr. Monkhouse's "Mary Broome" plaintively asking whether Mr. Monkhouse intended Leonard Timbrell to be a fine fellow, a good man, and if not, what on earth Mr. Monkhouse meant by making him say some delicately perceptive things. The most fascinating character in the play is Leonard's mother, and it must have been fine to see Miss Ada King act this intricate part. When her graceless son makes that curious adventure into her character in the second act one feels a de-

lightful thrill of expectation. What will happen? Anything may happen. How will she answer? Leonard probes his mother out of sheer curiosity and delight in indulging his acuteness, and he suddenly lays bare the resentment buried deep in the elder woman's soul, against her long life of repression and hypocrisy. The responsive flashes, the passing irritability and the submission to economic necessity of the woman who has always lived a life of dependence on her master are indicated with the lightest touch. Had Leonard been a man with energy and accomplishment to match his perceptions, one feels that he might have carried his little mother off with him to begin her real life.

Mary Broome herself remains to us something of a sketch, an outline not filled in. One feels as if the author had set down only what he saw clearly about her and left all the rest. She is not an abstraction; she is a number of points. If we knew more points we should still scarcely have a person before us. Mary is not passionate, and she shows no passion when Leonard sionate, and she shows no passion when Leonard first proposes to desert her, and then marries her to order, and then leaves her in the lurch at a pinch. She wants children (without quite knowing that she wants them) and a settled life. She wants to be really married, and one feels she never was really married to her husband. Her needs and feelings are at first what psychologists call "massive," and her experience of life sorts them out for her; but they remain discrete points to the end. There is far more atmosphere about Mrs. Timbrell, and this, too, is delicately felt. We should like to meet Mary Broome again in Canada, whether she has gone with George Truefit; will she have a son who speculates as Leonard does about the past which helped to make the mother he knows? Life will by then have given her an "atmosphere." She will have thought out some things and accepted many things; she may be no more happy, but she will be less puzzled. Will her second marriage be a marriage or only another partnership? We should like to know.

BUDDHISM. By Mrs. Rhys Davids. (Home University Library, price 1s.)

Mrs. Rhys Davids' book on Buddhism is perplexing, chiefly because it tallies so little with what are popularly supposed to be Buddhist ideals. We have not here the Buddhism of Edwin Arnold, Lafcadio Hearn, or Mrs. Annie Besant, nor of translators such as Dutt. Yet these writers are scholars, none the less profound because their scholarship is accompanied in some cases by original genius. One must, however, bear in mind that genius transforms rather than reproduces. Mrs. Rhys Davids with less originality may be more correct. But—is she?

Her version of Buddhism is near to that given about half a century ago by French and German scholars, the version that gave rise to the then current idea that Buddhism was pure and simple pessimism. Mrs. Davids' assertions that Buddhism, as she interprets it, is not pessimistic, do not convince us, and there is something rather naive in the way she points out that Nirvana, regarded as total annihilation, cannot be depressing since it is so remote.

Mrs. Davids has apparently started on her work with the idea of bringing Buddhism into line with modern scientific ideas of evolution and with the materialism that followed in Darwin's train. She represents Buddhism as a religion that denies God, the existence of a soul, the possibility of an ultimate hereafter.

She quotes passages from Buddhist texts to support her statements, but we are not convinced by them—perhaps we do not wish to be. In these quotations there never seems to be any denial of God except as a person, and to regard as atheism the idea of God as a principle, is not justifiable, and would be amazing, were it not so common, in that part of the world which has upheld for nearly twenty centuries a religion that regards God as love. Nor are we convinced of the no-soul theories. Much is said of impermanency in Buddhist literature, but this would appear to apply only to material being. Mrs. Davids is not a mystic, and it is perhaps a dangerous thing for anyone, even a scholar, who is not, to do justice to a religion. She gives us a corpse, well dissected; the living soul of it is flown. Other writers have given us the idealism of Buddhism; Mrs. Davids has given us the pedantry of it. It is perhaps well. We wanted something to restore the balance of public opinion.

L. F. WARING.

HERSELF. By E. Sidgwick. (Sidgwick and Jackson.) Miss Sidgwick's last story begins like the last in Paris, but it is Paris from a quaint point

of view that of the little Irish-American teacher who earns her scanty living in a French school. She and her still more Irish cousin, Pat Morough, are the central figures in a slender enough plot, with an Englishman in the background as a foil to both. It is not at all an easy thing to write this description of the baffling, surprising Celt, and the soft run of their Irish speech, that makes you want to laugh and then to cry. Sometimes Miss Sidgwick gets very near the native idiom. "Four children were born of her, and her not asking for them. It was little time she had for children." (page 20.) "And so you see," (says the art student of twenty, who is quitting Paris) "I'll be a little drawing master in a country school. And that, the finest town in Europe, thick with the finest girls, will go wanting me—forget me soon." He sighed bitterly." (page 30.) And again, when the two young things discuss the girl's prodigal father of whom they always speak quite simply as "Brian"—"Is't Brian ever coming to you, Harry?" he said. She met him bravely and at once. "When he's finished his affairs, he'll come." "What are his affairs?" "Why, what they have always been. You ask that!"

"Has he a new love upon him?" said Pat, with the easy interest of one who enquires as to a new situation, in the working world. "They have too the real Irish way with them about money, showing neither the English shyness and embarrassment at the mention of poverty, nor the Scotch shame and instinct for reticence or concealment of the facts.

The English part of the story is located near Oxford, and is too slight and fantastic to be taken very seriously. We like the vision of the French housekeeper let loose in Oxford, that city of caterers and landladies, college kitchens and solid wasteful English feeding. "Each morning she issued on the surprised Oxford world, at an hour when their eyes were hardly open, and bare-headed, her bulky basket on her arm, she ranged the stalls of the covered market. Her discrimination was terrible, and she never came twice to a stall which supplied her with a bad article. Returning home to her charge, she brought with her in the basket the wherewithal to prepare perfect meals; in the kitchen for courtesy's sake, but by preference in her own quarters, on the bedroom hob." (page 365.) Miss Sidgwick's first book had an alluring title. When are we to see the legitimate successor to "Promise"?

SOCIALISM AND CHARACTER. By Vida D. Scudder (J. M. Dent).

Miss Scudder is known to readers of the Hibbert Journal and other quasi-philosophical periodicals as a thoughtful and earnest writer, unfortunately not fully emancipated from the too easily flowing American style. This style makes "Socialism and Character" somewhat difficult to read; the attention wanders among the long, nerveless sentences, heavily weighted with a culture that, although perfectly genuine, is rather too much in evidence. But the matter is really interesting and the book well worth study. It is a sympathetic examination of socialism from the point of view of one who holds what might at first sight seem the very un-socialistic doctrine, that "what happens to the individual soul is the only matter of real consequence to the world." Miss Scudder starts, like most of us, face to face with the fact that nearly a third of the population are living under conditions which seem to put out of their reach the attainment of any real beauty or joy in life, any high personal efficiency. She passes in review the school which declares with Tolstoy and Carpenter that the only salvation for the soul lies in the escape from and denial of civilisation, and that which endeavours to moralise the existing order; and rejects both. There remains a third hypothesis: that the evil in the world is due to a certain economic order and can be removed by its transmigrations. This view Miss Scudder accepts fully. She agrees with Bakunin that, "the advance of economic forces is the determining basis of all advance, religious, philosophical, political and social" and, accepting economic determinism, is ready to justify class war as a method. Since socialism is coming, she goes on to argue, it is the duty of all of us to assist in preparing the way. But admittedly the success of socialism depends on a change in human nature, on the substitution of new motives and the provision of new conditions. The change is to be effected by an economic reorganisation. The crucial question then, if socialism is to be more than a pious aspiration in which everyone can vaguely share, is what is that reorganisation to be? Here

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Unfortunately, at the very heart of the problem, Miss Scudder is vague and unsatisfactory. She can only say that the new order will be an "industrial conscription," where each man's "quota of service to be rendered will be determined by a far-seeing policy, destined to supply a man's due share towards the ascertained needs of the community, and to gain from him the largest product compatible with his well being of mind and body." (p. 242). The task of measuring services and rewards is "to be carried on by collective decisions, resting of course on democratic control." In fact as soon as Miss Scudder's socialism passes from the region of aspiration into that of practice, she loses grip and the reader loses interest. The later chapters on the relation of socialism to religion, are a little empty. Dean Inge would, one fancies, make short work of them. M. A. HAMILTON.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS RECEIVED. The New Order Tracts, by W. Allan Macdonald and Helen M. Macdonald (d. each, post free 1½d.; four, post free, 4½d., from the Questall Press, 173, Seymour Place, Bryanston Square, W.). No. 1, the New Parliament; No. 2, the New Landholder; No. 3, the New Money; No. 4, the New Worker.

The Women's Industrial News, July, deals with women's wages. The Responsibilities of Fatherhood, by Frances Swiney (The League of Isis, 74, York Mansions, Battersea Park, S.W., price 3d., post free 3½d.).

Letters to the Editor.

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

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

FLOGGING AS A CIVILISING INFLUENCE.

I am more than sorry to find that the COMMON CAUSE is adopting a sentimental view of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. Most good men think that flogging is the one deterrent punishment for that type of criminal. I can even name a prominent male member of the Society of Friends who has that opinion. When there was an outbreak of garotting, a law passed for flogging offenders brought it to a rapid close. Brutes in human form must be dealt with as such, and had that been the punishment meted out to men who seduced girls under sixteen there would not now be so appalling a number of cases. When you consider the life-long misery of body and mind of the victims of the White Slave Traffic, a flogging seems very little in comparison. But perhaps you are carrying out Mr. Tennyson D'Eyncourt's advice "not to be vindictive" to destroyers of little girls. The Bill is being quite effectively watered down by the men without the women helping them to do so.

EMMA M. RANDALL VICKERS. [We think Mrs. Randall Vickers is going rather beyond

anything for which she can have warrant by saying that most "most good men" think in this matter. We do not oppose flogging on "sentimental" grounds, but because we believe the infliction to be exceedingly brutalising to all concerned. Mrs. Vickers knows very well that no one was more indignant at Mr. Tennyson D'Eyncourt's apology than the COMMON CAUSE. We believe the recurrent outcry for flogging is a very natural reversion to the vindictive theory of punishment which we do not hold. We hold this theory to be in fact "sentimental," since it aims at the satisfaction of a savage impulse of revenge and not at protection of the weak and prevention of future crimes. If prosecution were made unprofitable it would cease; if criminal assaults resulted in segregation of the brutes for long periods, or for life, the maximum of protection would be given to the defenceless young.—Ed. C.C.]

May I be allowed to criticise the paragraph which appears in THE COMMON CAUSE of July 25th, under the heading "A Return to Barbarism"?

I believe, and many persons of sound judgment agree with me, that for certain offences flogging is the most suitable punishment. Men who assault women and girls and who grossly ill-treat children and animals, for instance, are generally cowards, who fear nothing as much as the lash. The class of persons who would be punishable under the Criminal Law Amendment Bill would also, it seems to me, be most properly dealt with in this way, and it is only a false and maudlin sentimentality which could cause anyone to object to the infliction of corporal punishment of which they have so wholesome a dread.

Personally it would give me a grim satisfaction to be the administrator of justice on these infamous women, although I am a woman living in the twentieth century. K. M. C.

[We are glad to hear that the Executive of the "Pass the Bill" Committee has unanimously passed the following resolution:—"That this Committee as a committee takes no responsibility for the advocacy of flogging with regard to the Criminal Law Amendment Bill." It is clear that some of the Committee share the "maudlin sentimentality" of our objection to flogging.—Ed. C.C.]

THE LETTER AND THE SPIRIT.

I do not know what "facts" I should have ascertained before writing, seeing I wrote in answer to the article on "The Letter and the Spirit."

Is it not a fact that the National Union has protested with much greater vehemence against the violence of the militants than against Mr. Asquith doing violence to his pledge?

I am quite cognisant of the fact that the National Union is working hard in the election field, but it is not a fact that the Labour party, which they are supporting, is in itself supporting the Government, that it is a part of the Coalition by means of which the Government remains in power?

An appeal from Mrs. Fawcett to every individual member to withdraw from their party associations would I venture to think do much to rouse members to the reality of the movement, would considerably weaken Liberal Women's Associations, and so be an effective and yet non-militant protest against the Liberal Government. C. BLAIR.

Hopprigains, East Lothian.

July 27th, 1912.

[We are sorry if we misunderstood Mrs. Blair's special allusion to Mrs. Fawcett. It read as if Mrs. Blair believed Mrs. Fawcett herself belonged to a party association. The Labour party is by no means always "supporting the Government"; they have recently voted often against the Government. No possible policy could cause the Government such consternation as the knowledge that a larger number of their seats will be imperilled by our new policy. It is far more effective than "appeals" to Liberal women. Some do, but remain in the Liberal party; these are likely to work all the harder for the suffrage if they realise that Mr. Asquith's tactics are not only postponing the suffrage, but imperilling the existence and the reputation of the Liberal party. Our Fighting Fund policy is already doing this.—Ed. C.C.]

TERRORISM OR WAR.

Miss Annie Kenney's letter to our leader, Mrs. Fawcett, must fill every member of the National Union with dismay. Apart from the question whether open civil war would be justifiable at this juncture or not (and

personally I am convinced it would not), I cannot understand how high-minded and able women such as the leaders of the W.S.P.U. can fail to see that the late outrages differ profoundly from honourable civil war. War can only be honourably conducted where there is a clear distinction between combatants and non-combatants, and where neither side inflicts injuries which it is not prepared to receive without a murmur in its turn. The present militant tactics ignore all fair rules of war. To burn a man's home over his head as he slept was considered a "nothing's deed" even in the fierce Icelandic days. To fling an axe at an unarmed man and then to claim the protection of the laws of peace for any member of the party that does not condemn such deeds, is revolting. In war a man who made such an attack could be shot then and there. In-war the combatants of his party fare known and can be attacked in their turn without legal forms of trial. Even in war to attempt the burning of a building such as the Theatre in Dublin, full of non-combatants, would be felt hateful and sickening.

Up till now, though disapproving of militant tactics, I have not thought them dishonourable. But now the spirit of fanaticism and the spirit of party seem to have blinded the eyes of the militants—and a deep stain of dishonour threatens our noble cause. I should be glad if your paper can see its way to the insertion of this letter.

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ARRANGED BY THE NATIONAL UNION

(The meetings are given only a fortnight in advance.)

- AUGUST 1. Norwich—Miss E. L. Willie's garden meeting for servants—Dr. Mary Bell 3.30
- Caerphilly—open-air meeting—Mrs. Williams, Miss Davies, Miss Waring, B.A. 7.0
- AUGUST 2. Newmarket—The Rectory—garden meeting—Mrs. Kellett, Mrs. Raekham 5.0
- AUGUST 3. Woking—in front of Council Offices—open-air meeting—Mr. Walter Hogg, Mr. H. Rolleston Stables, Mr. W. R. Skea, J.P. 7.30
- AUGUST 5. Brasted—garden meeting—hostess, Mrs. Hyland; speaker, Miss L. M. Portlock 7.30
- AUGUST 10. Woking—in front of Council Offices—open-air meeting—Dr. C. V. Drysdale 7.30
- AUGUST 12. Woodside Village—open-air meeting—Miss Sylvia Clark 3.0
- Pennington Common—open-air meeting—Miss Sylvia Clark 7.30
- AUGUST 13. Milford Green—open-air meeting—Miss Sylvia Clark 7.30
- Huddersfield—Honey House—annual meeting—hostess, Miss Siddons; speaker, Miss Margaret Robertson, B.A. 3.30
- Brockenhurst—open-air meeting—Miss Sylvia Clark 7.30
- AUGUST 15. Lynton—High Street—open-air meeting—Miss Sylvia Clark 8.0
- AUGUST 16. Pilly Green—open-air meeting—Miss Sylvia Clark 7.30
- AUGUST 17. Sway—open-air meeting—Miss Sylvia Clark 7.30

PREPAID ADVERTISEMENTS.

Not exceeding 10 words: 1 insertion, 9d. 2 insertions 1s. 3d. 3 insertions, 1s. 6d. 4 insertions, 2s. 9d. 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.

SUFFRAGE NOTICES.

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

SUFFRAGE SONG, "Forward, ever Forward," Margaret O'Shea; music, Emily Jones. From Suffrage Shop, 15, Adam Street, Strand. Price 2d. Cards, 1d.

ORGANISER, experienced in Suffrage work, required for Cardiff and District Women's Suffrage Society. Applications to be sent not later than September 10th to the Hon. Secretary, 35, Windsor Place, Cardiff, from whom further particulars may be obtained.

FOR THE HOLIDAYS.

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

LAKE DISTRICT. Two Paying Guests received in private house. Good position, view, touring centre. Y.Z., Box 1501 "Common Cause" Office.

SURREY.—Old-fashioned, well furnished Cottage to Let for September. Two Sitting, 4 Bedrooms, Bathroom. Good garden, secluded; 33 minutes from London. Healthy neighbourhood. Two guineas weekly. "M." Hill Cottage, Ewell.

WELFORD.—Combe Down, 500 feet above Bath. Visitors en pension.

WEST KIRBY.—Comfortable, clean apartments near promenade and station. Terms moderate. Mrs. Edmunds, 17, Grove Road.

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MARY McLAUGHLAN, Typist, 4, Chapel Walk, Manchester.

MISS ROYDEN AND MISS GLADYS POTT.

In reference to Miss Gladys Pott's criticisms, which I will deal with next week, I wish, on a personal matter, to make two points clear to the public, since my opponents have made it their business to obscure them. (1) Miss Pott challenged me to debate with her on the economic aspect of the Suffrage movement. I offered her successively dates in July, September and November. All were refused but November 19th. I looked November 19th, but in the meantime, of course, I filled up the dates refused in July and September. (2) After I had filled up these dates, Miss Pott challenged me to debate with her on "printed statements of fact," made by me in "Votes and Wages." She demanded that I should cancel any engagement I might have made that stood in the way of an immediate meeting, and gave as her reason for this preposterous request the necessity of making her criticisms known to the world at once. I refused to cancel my engagements with other people, pointing out that Miss Pott could perfectly well make her statements as I had done, in print. I was not then aware, nor do I now understand, why Miss Pott has an apparently insuperable objection to putting her criticisms in this form.

I will add that I consider the proposal to "debate printed statements of fact," a very silly one. One can debate a principle, but statements of fact can only be challenged and confirmed or disproved by reference to authority. A. MAUDE ROYDEN.

ANTI-SUFFRAGE CREDULITY.

At the Anti-Suffrage Stall, Earl's Court, recently, I was informed, without qualification, most emphatically and as a well-known fact, that all Suffragists were Socialists and Labour in their politics—"all of them, and Keir Hardie is their god." This was repeated by a nice, respectable-looking, middle-aged woman so seriously that any ignorant person might well believe her. (Mrs.) BEILE WATSON.

MEN'S MEETINGS.

There is one effective method, it seems to me, of putting pressure on the Government to include some measure of Women Suffrage in the Franchise Bill. That is, that there should be meetings of men only, held all over the country, at which a resolution urging this be passed and copies forwarded in the usual manner. For it is obvious that resolutions passed by electors or potential electors have far more weight with the elected than any passed by the voteless, however numerous.

DORA S. HECHT.

Marley Heights, Haslemere.

July 27th, 1912.

ANTI-SUFFRAGE MEETING AT HOLMFIRTH.

A short account of this meeting appeared in "Women's Platform" of the Standard on Saturday, together with a statement from the organising Secretary of N.L.O.W.S. Here is another short account from a different point of view:—

"When the suffrage contingent referred to, from Meltham, arrived at the Drill Hall, not a sign of life was to be seen, and fears were entertained that a mistake as to the date had been made, but a poster cleared away our doubts, and we spent a very useful half hour selling THE COMMON CAUSE and distributing leaflets to passers by and at neighbouring houses. At length a few stragglers began to arrive, many of whom bought our paper, and as there was no Anti-Suffrage literature offered outside, we had the business all to ourselves.

"Our object in attending the meeting was not to 'create disorder,' but to correct any possible misstatements, and to defeat the resolution which we undoubtedly did, amidst loud applause. Although the chairman declared it 'carried by a small majority,' nobody in the audience was deceived, and it is amusing to notice that only one very loud paper reports the proceedings. "As the organising secretary of the N.L.O.W.S. puts it:—'Holmfirth audiences are singularly fair,' and did not allow the speakers either to ridicule or browbeat the women who heckled and questioned them.'"

So encouraging to suffragists was this anti-meeting that the National Union intends to follow it up by an open-air campaign shortly.

CHARLOTTE KILBURN.

Our Advertisers.

Of all the more common ailments of the human body, none are more troublesome and irritating than Rheumatism, Gout, Neuritis, Sciatica, etc., and although it is generally understood that the real cause of these maladies is the accumulation of an excess of Uric Acid in the system, none of the numerous remedies advertised and recommended in the daily press hitherto seem to have covered the point and fulfilled their object so successfully as "Celmo," which seeks out and expels every excess of uric acid in the system even when lying dormant. The remedy is taken in the agreeable form of tablets, and a special diet is absolutely unnecessary. "Celmo" No. 2 is a similar preparation, a remedy for Indigestion, Flatulency, and kindred evils, and can equally be relied upon.

Our readers are reminded that Miss Ellen Carter's beautiful and unique leather work is always to be seen at her pretty studio at 3, Gee's Court, on Wednesday and Thursday afternoons. By the way, some complaints have reached us as to the difficulty of finding this address, but in reality nothing could be easier. Gee's Court is a turning-out of Oxford Street, and is right opposite the Bond Street Tube.

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OPEN-AIR TREATMENT on the Surrey Hills. The Children's Home, Tatesfield, 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 £1 1s. weekly. Nearest stations, Westerham (S. E. & O. R. and Orford (L. B. & S. C. R.).

RESIDENT COOKERY and HOUSEWIFERY MISTRESS required in September. Vacancies for two students at moderate fees. Miss Earl, Allerton High School, Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire.

FOR SALE AND WANTED.

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

BROADWOOD Satinwood Piano (great bargain) and Simplex Piano-Player.—11, Parkhurst Road, Holloway, N.

CAN'T AFFORD BIG ADVIS. "Common Cause" Cigarettes, 50 Virginia, 2s. 6d.; 50 Turkish, 3s.; lovely. Write Berlyn, King Street, 34, Manchester.

DJIBBAH-like Garments. New design—for ladies and children. Embroidered or plain. Specimens sent if desired. "Mathe," Croft, Stonehill, Bordon, Hants.

FREE!—Over 200 patterns of charming Irish linen Summer Costume Fabric, "Flaxella": light, cool, washable; wears for years. Scores of beautiful designs, fascinating shades. Write to-day.—Hutton's 153, Larne, Ireland.

GLOVES cleaned, 3½d. long, 2d. short.—"Isabel," Inglesant, St. George's Road, Aldershot.

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

OLD FALSE TEETH.—We give highest possible prices for above. Offers made; if unacceptable, teeth returned. Dealers in old Gold and Silver in any form. Bankers' references. Straightforward dealing.—Woolfall and Company, Southport.

SECOND-HAND CLOTHING wanted to buy for cash. Costumes, skirts, boots, underclothing, curtains, children's 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.

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ONE OR TWO UNFURNISHED ROOMS, use Bath; top floor; very pleasant outlook over Polo Grounds; quiet house; suit business lady; moderate rent.—L., 35, Napier Avenue, S.W., 2 minutes from Putney Bridge Station (District Railway).

WHERE TO LIVE.

APARTMENTS.—Miss Edwards, Whitethorn Villa, Pilmer Road, Crowborough, Sussex.

GRANGE-OVER-SANDS, LANCS.—Miss Alice E. Passavant receives Paying Guests at 2, Newlands. Terms on application.

HOSTEL FOR LADIES.—Central. Highly recommended.—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.

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Monthly Paper (July) contains special articles by Sir John Cock-  
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Free grants made to districts in which  
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Is the great Non-Party, Non-Militant Women's Suffrage Society. If you approve of our methods and objects, please fill  
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I approve of the objects and methods of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and desire to be enrolled as a member of the  
affiliated Society in my district.

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

Name

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

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(in full.)

To the Secretary \_\_\_\_\_ Society for Women's Suffrage

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