

The Common Cause

THE ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF



Sept. 5th,
1912.

Vol. IV.
No. 178.

Women's Suffrage

CONTENTS.

Notes and Comments	371
The Election Fighting Fund	372
Methods of Conciliation	373
The Housing of a New Working Class	374
Votes and Wages	375
A Dwelling Place for Working Women	376
They Say—What do they Say?	376

Mr. Snowden in "The Christian Commonwealth".....	377
The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies:—	
From Headquarters	378
Midlothian By-election	378
Press Department	383
National Union Van Tour.....	383
Irish Notes	384
Foreign News	385
Reviews	385
Letters to the Editor.....	386
Forthcoming Meetings.....	387

REGISTERED AS

SOCIETIES

A NEWSPAPER

B S

WOMEN OF ENGLAND!

NOW IS THE ACCEPTED MOMENT

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

SEMELY

REGD.

VII

SPECIAL TRIAL OFFER

To the Readers of "The Common Cause."

On receipt of this coupon and 1/6 to cover postage and packing we will send two Tubes of "SEMELY" such as we sell for 1/- each.

ILLUSTRATED DESCRIPTIVE BROCHURE FREE.

Address—THE SEMELY CO., Ltd.,
21, Charterhouse Street, London, E.C.

To be purchased from all reputable Oilmen, Ironmongers, Grocers, etc.

In Tubes, 3d., 6d., and 1/-.

Cut down your Bills, increase your Comfort.

ON 19th SEPTEMBER, AT 8.30 P.M.
A MEETING
Will be held in the
STRAND LECTURE ROOM,
15, ADAM STREET, STRAND,
To deal with the future of the
INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE SHOP.
The lease of the above terminates on September 29th next, and unless ways and means can be arranged at this meeting, this unique Feminist enterprise must close down on that date, in spite of its undoubted propaganda value.
All who are interested are urged to attend and help to extend the work so effectively begun.

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

THE WOMEN'S TEA CO.,
(GIBBONS SISTERS),
9, MINCING LANE, E.C.,
OFFER

	s.	d.	to	s.	d.
TEA	1	3	to	2	6
COFEE	1	3	to	1	7
COCOA	—	—		2	6

Chocolate at all Prices.

SPECIAL DISCOUNT TO SUFFRAGE SHOPS, etc.
Write for full particulars, and special SUFFRAGE TERMS.

The Common Cause.

WHAT IS IT?

It is the cause of the RACE, of the EMPIRE of HUMANITY.

It is the cause of the HOME, of the MAN, the WOMAN, and the CHILD.

The Liberation of Women is its first necessity.

Read the Penny Weekly:

"The Common Cause"

The most complete record of what is being done all over the world for the Common Cause, the giving of the PARLIAMENTARY VOTE TO WOMEN, and so securing their political and economic freedom.

OF ALL NEWSAGENTS.

Every Thursday. 1d.

If you wish the paper to be sent to you by post, apply to THE MANAGER, "THE COMMON CAUSE," 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C., enclosing for Three Months, 1/9; Six Months, 3/3; Twelve Months, 6/6.

THE COMMON CAUSE.

Telephone :
1910 Gerrard.

2, Robert Street,
Adelphi, W.C.

Price 1d. weekly.

POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

British Isles: 6s. 6d. Abroad: 8s. 8d. per annum.
Copies of back numbers 1½d. (post free) or 2½d. when more than three months old. A few numbers of Vol. 1 to be had at 3½d. per copy, post free.

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.

Equal Wage for Clerks

The *Christian Commonwealth* compares the "determination" of the Wages Board for Clerks in Victoria, which has fixed a minimum wage of 48s. a week, irrespective of sex, with the difference existing between the average rates of men and women clerks in this country. The average for men is estimated by the Secretary of the National Union of Clerks at 30s. in London and 25s. in the provinces, while women receive generally from 15s. to £1. On reading these statements, the remark of a very large employer recurs to the memory. Said this gentleman: "My women clerks do twice as much work as my men clerks, and do it twice as well." Said his suffragist hearer: "And, of course, Mr. X., you pay them twice as well?" But Mr. X. merely laughed, as at an excellent joke. Such women as these have nothing to fear from fair competition, and it must surely gall their honest pride in their good work to know it is paid one-third lower than that of rivals, whom they have admittedly distanced.

The Maternal Instinct and the Doll.

Mrs. Gladstone Solomon recently put forward a plan for providing little girls with dolls and giving prizes to those who treated their dolls precisely like babies. The scheme was designed to develop the children's maternal instincts, and to promote their becoming good mothers to real infants in due course. It seems almost heartless to decry an attempt so evidently well meant; but protest is really necessary. Nobody can be trained by means of a doll to look after a baby, because dolls have neither nerves nor digestive organs. You can with impunity hang a doll head downwards, and leave her cold and unfed or stick pins into her—that is, indeed, her charm. Moreover the normal and healthy little girl wants her doll to share with her all those hairbreadth escapes and breathless perils which are the joy of childhood's own games. Above all, it is neither wise nor wholesome to try and develop any of the human instincts prematurely. Children cannot be mothers; the maternal instinct is of no use to them. To develop it too early is to risk their outgrowing it by the time they need it, as many a girl of the working class who has been made a drudge at home outgrows all taste for domesticity by the time she is eighteen. The best mother is likely to be she who at school thought more about her place in her form and her goals at hockey than about possible lovers; as a young woman thought more of love than of a married life; and as a wife comes fresh and newly instructed to the care of her own baby. Instincts should grow—they should not be "cultivated."

Suffragists and the Local Press.

From the *Irish Citizen* we learn that the *Newry Reporter* has begun to publish a column of suffrage notes supplied by a local

suffragist. This is the first time that any Irish paper has taken such a step. Now, the people of Newry will have an opportunity of learning something about the Women's Suffrage movement from a trustworthy source. Members of the National Union will be doing an immense service by securing the regular insertion of such notes by other local papers—English, Scotch, Irish, or Welsh. Many editors will be found very ready to accept such gratuitous contributions regularly, and their readiness will be much increased if the contributions are well written and interesting. So large a proportion of suffragists speak freshly and agreeably that, after a little practice, many of them should be able to express themselves no less pleasantly in print.

"Let Her not Walk in the Sun."

The "Anti-Suffrage Review" is always diverting. This month the first thing that catches the eye on lifting the cover is an advertisement headed in large type with the quotation that stands above. Can the advertiser—a vendor of cosmetics—have been "poking fun" at our respectable contemporary, or was she, in all good faith, suggesting a suitable motto? At least one reader will never again be able to hear an anti-suffragist speaker without murmuring inwardly, "Let her not walk in the sun."

Women and County Councils.

A correspondent writes that a county council election in her neighbourhood has just taken place, but that she never heard of it till it was over. She regrets this all the more as one candidate was a good suffragist, and the other an "Anti," and the women's vote ought to have been organised on behalf of the friend of Women's Suffrage. Presidents and secretaries of societies will do well to note this, and to take care to keep themselves acquainted with local politics. It might assist in gaining the Parliamentary Suffrage if the women's vote in local elections were carefully organised and canvassed so that its weight could be thrown, irrespective of party, into the Suffrage scale.

Women Electors and Party Organisations.

There is reason to believe that where local municipal elections are conducted on purely party lines, women electors are apt to be, intentionally or unintentionally, omitted from notifications and canvasses. All the address lists, etc., in the offices of such organisations are prepared, primarily, for use in Parliamentary elections, and no women appear upon them. Sometimes organisers deliberately abstain from supplementing them, out of apprehension that women will not be obedient sheep in the party flock; sometimes they simply and honestly forget all about the women.

This obliviousness is not, perhaps, entirely to be regretted. It may be far better for women's education in local politics, and for their influence upon them, that they should organise themselves separately from men. The enfranchised women of Sydney have found it better to do so even inside their own political party. Moreover, a separate municipal organisation of women might accelerate that severance of municipal from Parliamentary politics, which is so extremely desirable.

Courageous Women.

It might be worth while for local suffragists to collect and send us instances of conspicuous courage or presence of mind on the part of women or girls. Such cases are extremely common, and are useful to quote as examples of service to the community. At an inquest held last Monday upon a girl of 16, drowned off the coast of Wales, evidence was given that a young school teacher, Miss Eleanor Greaves, accompanied three sisters with whose family she was staying, and that all four got out of their depth. One sister managed to save herself, one Miss Greaves saved, the eldest who was at some distance proved too heavy for her to bring to shore, she being herself fatigued. Nevertheless she swam in for help and failing to get it swam back to her friend, who had sunk, and succeeded in bringing her to the surface but could not in opposition to a strong tide bring her ashore. The coroner spoke warmly of her heroic conduct and hoped it would be brought to the notice of the Royal Humane Society. One cannot but remember that only last year several men—one of them on horseback—looked on without any endeavour to assist while a person drowned before their eyes in a Hampstead pond.

Address Wanted.

The editor will be greatly obliged if Miss K. Lowndes will be kind enough to send her address to the office.

THE ELECTION FIGHTING FUND.

Hon. Treasurers:
MRS. AUERBACH.
MRS. ANSTRUTHER.

Chairman:
MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Hon. Secretary:
MISS CATHERINE MARSHALL.

COUNCILLOR MARGARET ASHTON.
MRS. CAVENDISH BENTINCK.
MR. H. N. BRAILSFORD.
MRS. STANTON COLE.
MISS K. D. COURTNEY.
MURIEL COUNTESS DE LA WARR.

Committee:
MISS I. O. FORD.
MRS. HOMAN.
MR. LAWRENCE HOUSMAN.
MISS M. LEES.
THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF LYTON.
MISS MARGARET McMILLAN.

LADY MEYER.
MISS E. PALMER.
MISS JULIET RECKITT.
MRS. PHILIP SNOWDEN.
MRS. STANBURY.
MR. G. E. S. STREETFIELD.
MR. ISRAEL ZANGWILL.

A RECORD OF ADVANCE.

Thanks to all who have worked and striven for women's advancement, Women's Suffrage now occupies a place in the front rank of the political questions of the day, and there it will remain until a Women's Suffrage measure has been placed upon the Statute Book. We do well to remember this stimulating fact, for many of us are so deeply engrossed in carving our paths through the jungle of prejudice, established custom, and self-interest, and all the tangled growth of opposition still confronting us that we are apt to overlook the solid progress that has been made. Ever since the Conciliation Bill debates the shadow of Women's Suffrage has lain over every one of the important items in the Government's programme. Though our opponents said that the defeat of the Conciliation Bill was the end of Women's Suffrage as far as concerned the House of Commons, we, on the contrary, knew and proclaimed that it was only the beginning. Our prophecy has proved to be the correct one. Both the Home Rule Bill and the Government's Franchise Reform Bill will have to face this issue.

Mr. Philip Snowden's moderate amendment to the Irish Home Rule Bill will raise the question of enabling women occupiers and ratepayers to vote for the Irish Parliament, and it will be instructive to learn what excuses the Anti-Suffragists will invent for opposing it, seeing that they have always admitted the desirability of giving women the vote for local and subsidiary governing bodies, in contradistinction to the vote for the Imperial Parliament.

As for the Government's Franchise Reform Bill, Suffragists are determined that any extension of the franchise for men must be accompanied by some measure of enfranchisement for women, and we have reason to believe that the sympathy of the public is more than ever with us in view of the situation created by the introduction of the Manhood Suffrage proposals. Men and women who hold by diametrically different political principles agree on this point. Thus many who are opposed to increasing the present electorate are yet agreed that if any increase has to be made at all, then the claims of women come a long way before any others, while those who desire the widest and most extended franchise possible recognise also that they would be violating every democratic principle if they allowed the granting of additional privileges to men to take precedence of the granting of overdue justice to women.

Let no one imagine that we undervalue the good and true friends we have in the House of Commons, but as in the past, so now and in the near future the brunt of the battle still seems to fall upon us suffragists and the burden upon our shoulders is as heavy as ever. Ours still the task of bringing pressure upon the Government and of forcing the public to display and prove its sympathy with our cause.

ELECTION FIGHTING POLICY.

In the present crisis nothing but our Election Fighting policy could have been of any avail, and nothing has helped us to improve our position so much as the success which our new strategy has already achieved. The Election Fighting policy

has now been given sufficient trial to prove beyond a doubt that it is a valuable weapon of offence as well as of defence, and, unlike militancy, it does not antagonise any section of the public. On the contrary, the public is beginning to understand and applaud our effective and legitimate attacks on unsatisfactory candidates who present themselves at the polls, and our friends have already appreciated the value of our strenuous support.

This policy, in conjunction with the magnificent work of patient education, of propaganda and organisation, which is daily carried on by our Union, has done more than any of us could have anticipated to establish the position of Women's Suffrage all over the country. I wish not only to emphasise the supreme value of our Election Fighting Policy, but also the vital importance of every branch of our ordinary work, for it is the strength of our Union as a whole that has contributed more than any other factor to the rapid success which our policy has achieved. Every day justifies its adoption, and gives us the certainty that we are on the right road. Suffragists of all sections are joining our forward movement, and our Election Fighting Fund daily gains new adherents. We welcome all these new comrades who bring us increased strength, and every one who at this moment comes forward to help us to press the new policy wherever an opportunity offers, is doing something to ensure the victory of our cause.

Mrs. Fawcett has explained with her customary clearness in her letter to the *Standard*, "that the recent development in the National Union policy does not imply any change in the non-party attitude which it has consistently maintained." We have always considered the non-party attitude to be necessary for the attainment of our object, besides being obviously the correct one for those who work for Women's Suffrage, a cause which appeals to men and women without distinction of class or creed or party, and in which every section of the population is equally concerned. Our new Election Fighting Policy is therefore the logical sequence of our non-party policy when applied to recent happenings in the House of Commons and to any Parliamentary situation that threatens to impede the settlement of the Women's Suffrage question. At elections we have always supported that candidate who had the best Suffrage record, and it has now become necessary to develop this same line of reasoning still further, and, in addition to the individual record, to estimate the value of the records of the respective parties to which the candidates belong. Just as the ancient Egyptian God of the Underworld, Anubis, weighed the souls of the dead, putting the soul in one scale and Truth in the other, before deciding what should be its further destination, so must every Parliamentary candidate be weighed in Suffrage scales before Suffragists can determine which one is most deserving of their support.

We appeal to all women who strive for the furtherance of high ideals to distinguish among the political issues of the day between what is of essential importance and what is made to appear important owing to fictitious inflation by party bellows. The enfranchisement of women will help to set free just those forces that are most needed to cope with the many social diseases

and pressing problems in our midst that call urgently for treatment and remedy. The grant of political power and status to women cannot be longer delayed without doing serious injury to the national life. Therefore, in our view, that man, to whatsoever party he belongs, is an enemy to the country's welfare and to the advancement of the race, who bars the way to women's free development by refusing to recognise their claim to the rights and duties and privileges of full citizenship. On the other hand the man, no matter to what party he belongs, who is prepared to make the women's cause his own, is proving himself to be devoted to the best interests of his country's progress and to be in the truest sense of the word a Patriot.

HELENA AUERBACH.

TWELFTH LIST—August 30th.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Already acknowledged to			
August 12th.—	3,720 1 7	Miss Barbara Foxley (Crewe by-election)	1 0 0
Miss A. Maude Royden (3rd donation)	5 0 0	Mrs. H. Western Eve	2 0 0
Miss B. M. Paul	5 0 0	Miss Abbott	0 16 0
Miss D. F. Cholmeley	0 1 0	Mrs. Newbiggin	0 5 0
		Dr. Agnes McLaren	5 0 0
		Mrs. Alice Dowson	5 0 0

The Late Miss Dupré Wilson.

Miss Dupré Wilson of Dublin, who died recently, has left, among other legacies, the sum of £4,000 to be given to the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. Miss Dupré Wilson was a sister of Lady (Almroth) Wright, and will be regretted by a wide circle of friends. Her interest in all serious branches of women's work and her strong sympathy with the cause of women's suffrage were well known. We are grateful to Miss Wilson for the trust she has reposed in the National Union, and we shall regard her bequest in the light of a very sacred charge, endeavouring so to use it as to be of the greatest possible benefit to the cause, and looking forward with confidence to the results which it will help us to achieve. Miss Wilson adds one more name to the long roll of those whose work and inspiration are laying the foundations of our liberty, and, when our battle is won, their names will ever be remembered and held in honour by generations of enfranchised women throughout the civilised world.

Methods of Conciliation.

The recent developments of militant policy and the partial reaction in public opinion to which they have led, illogically but undeniably, make it more important than ever that the constitutional and conciliatory methods of the National Union should be kept prominently before public attention. The new fighting policy of the Union at elections is intended to show that we can be militant on constitutional lines and to put pressure on party whips and politicians. But it does not much affect the man in the street. By-elections do not take place everywhere, and most of the papers ignore the share of the suffragists in them.

We must not allow interest in the new policy to cause the smallest slackening in the steady everyday work to be done in the constituencies in forming public opinion and in crystallising and making explicit the public opinion already formed. The two tasks should be inseparable, and perhaps at this late stage in the movement the latter is the more important. Many of the broken pledges and the other signs of backsliding on the part of Members of Parliament are due neither to deliberate treachery nor to a genuine desire to make a moral protest against violence—if the desire were genuine its injustice and want of logic would soon make themselves felt—but to the M.P.'s timidity lest he should be espousing an unpopular cause, and thus injuring his own electoral chances and those of his party. The Anti-Suffragists have wisely adopted the method of all quacks, and have trusted to the incessant repetition of the statement "that the country is opposed to Women's Suffrage," to produce the conviction of its truth. The solid proofs to the contrary brought forward by the National Union—the Electors' Petition of 1910 and the petitions sent up by practically every important Local Governing Authority in 1910 and 1911—have now lost their freshness and are tending to be forgotten. One of our tasks during the few months that remain between us and the fateful divisions on the amendments to the Reform Bill must be to find other ways of convincing or remind-

£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Anonymous	1 0 0
Mrs. Patterson	1 1 0
Miss Gadsden (2nd donation)	0 10 0
Mrs. W. E. Paine	0 10 0
Miss C. Cochrane	2 0 0
Miss Elinor H. Leresche	1 0 0
A. Friend	1 0 0
Miss Annie M. A. H.	1 0 0
Roger	3 0 0
Robt. F. Cholmeley, Esq.	10 0 0
Chelmsford and District W.S.S.	2 2 0
Professor F. E. Weiss	1 1 0
Mrs. Percy Thompson (2nd instalment)	1 1 0
In Memoriam Sidney Gilchrist Thomas	40 0 0
Miss S. Hosford	0 2 6
Miss A. Pennington	1 0 0
Portsmouth W.S.S.	1 0 0
Mrs. Gibson	3 0 0
H. Holiday, Esq.	2 2 0
Miss Anne R. Vincent	1 1 0
Miss Marian E. Verrall	1 10 0
Miss A. S. Verrall	1 10 0
Miss Mabel A. Taylor	0 10 0
Mrs. A. G. Pollock (2nd donation)	1 0 0
Miss Emma Newbiggin	0 5 0
Miss E. Warren	5 0 0
Mrs. Clothier	1 6 6
Anonymous	1 0 0
Miss Stone	0 10 0
Dr. Francis Hoggan	5 0 0
Miss May E. Yate	1 0 0
	£3,843 4 7
Mid-Lothian By-election:—	
	£ s. d.
Mrs. Heitland	10 0 0
Mrs. F. Cavendish Bentinck	2 2 0
The Hon. Mrs. Wilkinson	2 2 0
Mrs. Frank Marshall	10 0 0
Miss Frances M. Kirby	5 0 0
Miss Marjory Lees	5 0 0
	£34 4 0
	£3,877 8 7

NOTE.—The sum of £20 for the Hanley by-election was given by Councilor Margaret Pugh, of the Birmingham Society and not by the Birmingham W.S.S., as stated in our last issue.

ing the House of Commons of the great mass of favourable opinion in the country that is still behind our movement. In re-eliciting this opinion we shall be revivifying it; the unfavourable impression produced by militant excesses will be counteracted by reminding the people that it is we who represent the main body of suffragist opinion, and that the advocates of violence are only an extreme left wing.

One sometimes hears it said that the resources of constitutional agitation have by this time become exhausted; that any effect that can be produced by means of resolutions and petitions, public and private meetings, street processions and pageants, has already been produced, and that there is no value in merely repeating these forms of demonstration. Even if the first part of this statement were true, the second part would be, I believe an error. I often think that we of the National Union appreciate less truly than either the Anti-Suffragists or the Militants the psychological value of mere repetition. In persons of trained intelligence and balanced judgment it is true that repetition does not tend to produce conviction, but rather satiety and irritation. But the majority of members of the community are not persons of trained intelligence, and such intelligence as they have is brought to bear only momentarily and fragmentarily upon the Women's Suffrage question.

If a new idea is to be got into the head of the man in the street, it has to be hammered in by repeated blows, or, to vary the metaphor, it has to be forced on his attention at every turn in the road, perhaps in rather varying guises, so as to awaken fresh interest, until it has become not only familiar, but an accepted part of his scanty stock of political ideas. But it is not even true that constitutional methods have been put into effect everywhere. Those who say it forget the enormous size of the field. There are still hundreds of villages and even of small towns where Suffrage meetings are still a novelty. Even in the larger centres and those which have been longest worked, it is doubtful whether the limits of what can be done by constitutional action have yet been reached. In how many constituencies, for example, out of the six hundred and seventy which send representatives to Parliament, have memorials been presented to the M.P. upon a scale likely to convince him that the balance of intelligence and influential opinion in the electorate is on our side? Nothing can be more certain than that it is possible to present such memorials everywhere if only the local suffragists are willing to undertake the task of collecting the signatures in the thorough and systematic manner that is necessary. If the memorial is to be really convincing, it is probably best that it should aim at being of a representative character—i.e., it should not consist of the miscellaneous signatures of Dick, Tom and Harry, unless the organisers are willing to carry it out upon such a large scale that its mere size will be impressive. The example of the memorial presented to Mr. Bonar Law from his constituents of Bootle may be cited to show what is meant by a representative memorial. This was collected by one organiser in the course of three weeks' work. Her name was quite unknown in the constituency, and very little Suffrage work had previously been done in it. The classes selected to approach were as follows:—The members of the Town Council; the Executive Committee of the Conservative Association for the constituency; the medical men in the constituency; the clergy, priests, ministers of religion; the

J.P.s; a small number of representative business men; a small number of women, mostly active Conservative workers and the wives of leading men. The resulting signatures included 72½ per cent. of the members of the Town Council; 75 per cent. of the Executive Committee of the Conservative Association, including all the officers and the chairmen of 13 out of 15 wards; 85½ per cent. of the medical men; 75 per cent. of the clergy, etc. In order to enable Mr. Bonar Law to test the accuracy of the results, if desired, it was accompanied by a classified list of the signatures. It is obvious that any Member of Parliament of timid disposition, in doubt as to the feeling of his constituents on Women's Suffrage, could not fail to be considerably reassured by receiving a memorial of this character. The services of the lady who collected this and many other equally successful memorials are at the disposal of other Societies in the National Union.

Another comparatively new method of bringing favourable opinion in the constituencies directly to bear upon M.P.s is by means of the printed postcards supplied for signature by the Literature Department of the National Union. If an M.P. finds his postbag regularly snowed under by these postcards day after day between this and the amendment on the Reform Bill, it is obvious that it will bring home to him the amount of favourable opinion in his constituency very much more effectively than if he is merely informed by the secretary of the local society that so many hundreds or thousands in his constituency are favourable to Women's Suffrage. Why should he take her word for it? The postcard is the visible and tangible proof of the opinion of the elector or of the woman who has signed it. Suppose, for example, that a drawing-room or open-air meeting is held, a resolution is passed, and the Member is notified of it. But he has no means of knowing its size or importance. The political effect of the meeting would be greatly enhanced if some thirty to a hundred postcards have been signed by members of the audience and posted subsequently in little batches by the organiser.

Another form of work that could be organised much more thoroughly than is usually done is that of inducing electors to ask questions at the ordinary political meetings held by M.P.s in their constituencies. Many electors do not take the trouble to ask an M.P. his opinion about Women's Suffrage, either because they know it already or from shyness, but they are quite willing to send up a question in writing if it is impressed upon them that they are being of service to the cause of Women's Suffrage by showing their interest in it.

Again, representative deputations have waited upon a very large number of M.P.s, but there are still many who have not received them. There is much work to be done in explaining the scope and arguing the case for the Norwegian amendment before M.P.s who have not yet advanced beyond the Conciliation Bill stage of opinion.

Some people may be inclined to protest that it ought not to be necessary to adopt these methods of bringing conviction home to the minds of our M.P.s at this late stage in our long struggle. The criticism is beside the point. It ought not to be necessary to be carrying on the struggle at all. It should have terminated successfully long ago. We have to deal with the situation as it is, and not as it ought to be, and we know well that if we are to carry an amendment to the Reform Bill this year we must strain every nerve to secure every possible vote. We must not neglect any means, however troublesome, of reassuring the timid, soothing the susceptibilities of the irritable, bringing conviction home to the doubting, and putting pressure upon the squeezable Members of the House of Commons. It is a mistake to ignore the fact, strange as it may appear to Suffragists, that there are still a considerable number of M.P.s who deserve to be classed as "honest doubters" on the subject of women's suffrage, while there are a considerable number more who care so little one way or the other that a strong expression of opinion on one side or the other from their constituents, or from those whose opinion they value, would probably serve to turn the scale. It is for us to see that it is turned in the right direction.

ELEANOR F. RATHBONE.

The Housing of a New Working Class.

The difficulties experienced by educated working women in London in the matter of proper housing are so overwhelming, and the demand for some adequate building scheme so great, that there can be little doubt of the success of any well-organised undertaking. A company formed for the purpose of carrying out a practical scheme need have no fear for its 5 per

cent. dividend, and the workers themselves would probably eagerly respond to an invitation to take up minimum £1 shares.

When, in 1908, I made an appeal to the London County Council to find some municipal solution to this, to my mind, municipal, problem, hundreds of workers, whose names I still hold in trust, sent me their signatures in support of my appeal. These signatures were representative of professional women workers of every class. They came from teachers, nurses, journalists, artists; many from well-known insurance offices in the City, where the daughters of professional men are employed, and a large number from the newly-erected Savings Bank Department of the G.P.O. at Addison Road.

Where are they now, those hundreds of good, reliable tenants, ready then and there to support the Council in any well-planned scheme? Still, I fear, many hundreds of them, wearily waiting for a solution of their pressing problem, their working days unnecessarily harassed and handicapped by the unnecessary lack of healthy and peaceful domestic surroundings. The Council would not help. It feared for its pockets, the workers' morals (?), a possible infringement of its statutory powers. Did they want a Housing Scheme?—(500 names would seem to answer that). Would a Housing Scheme for educated working women only be—respectable? Dear and reverend London County Council, I am afraid the women's laugh is against you!

Realising that help in municipal quarters was not forthcoming, I set to work in other quarters; it would be wearisome to tell in how many quarters I looked. And, dear me, how extremely "interested" everybody was until it came to the terribly pertinent question: How much money are you prepared to invest in this good business and good cause? Therefore, I say now to the workers, become your own shareholders, be prepared to take up thousands of £1 shares.

After numberless endeavours and numberless disappointments, I did however arrive at a definite formulation of a definite scheme. To the kind help of Mr. Arthur Bartlett, a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects, I am indebted for an actual embodiment in plans of our ideas, and for technical inquiries made by him on the subject of rates and taxes resulting in estimates based on actual fact.

It was proposed that a block of 230 self-enclosed flats should be erected consisting of one, two, or three rooms, with scullery-kitchen, lavatory and bath, each flat to be a complete little tenement in itself, a home in miniature. The rents were to be 5s. 6d., 9s., and 13s. 6d. a week. A common dining hall was, of course, provided for. Small meals, it was thought, tenants probably would like to provide for themselves, and the little sculleries were designed to make self-help quite easy. But one's dinner, if one is working all day, ought to be provided for one, and the catering for a housing scheme would be one of its most important departments. It should be put into the hands of an expert, for experts alone know how to manage with economy, variety and delicacy. Clumsy, monotonous cooking is not cheap. One has only to read of the way they do things for their aged poor in Vienna and compare those ways with ours to realise how much we English have to learn in this respect. An expert is at the head of their cooking departments, and the inmates of the admirable houses are served with variety, delicacy and—marvellous cheapness.

The greater number of the flats were planned with two bed-sitting rooms of equal size, thus making it possible for two friends to share a flat and so reduce living expenses. But the little one-room flat was to be as complete in every detail as the larger ones. That little one-room flat was my pet project knowing, as I so well do, what a boon such a tiny home would be to the solitary worker. Five-and-sixpence for rent can be managed out of earnings not exceeding 25s. a week, and many an educated woman does not, alas, now earn more. One recess of the bed-sitting room we proposed to fill with a cupboard reaching from floor to ceiling, fitted with shelves and hooks. This, coloured in correspondence with the rest of the wood-work, would be no unsightly addition to the room, and an immense addition to its occupant's comfort. In our plan a door leads from the sitting-room into a tiny scullery containing sink, gas-stove, shelves and a flap wall-table. With this, by separate doors again, is connected lavatory and bath. Here one has the essentials of a home in miniature. Simply washed light walls, dark uniformly coloured woodwork, a broad window allowing of casement curtains (I should like to add a window-seat)—these are all easily and cheaply attainable and pleasant to live with.

The flats were arranged round a quadrangle, the dining hall being at one end. Box-rooms were provided on each floor and provision made for cycles in the basement. The inner court was to be laid out as a garden. The floors and roof were to

be of fireproof construction and water, electric light and gas laid on to each flat.

A site on which the estimated figures were based was found at Young's Corner, Hammersmith, which, measuring about 260 ft. by 156 ft., could then have been let at the moderate ground-rent of £300 per annum. The figures arrived at were as follows:—

CAPITAL EXPENDITURE.		ESTIMATED REVENUE ACCOUNT.	
Cost of Buildings	£35,500	RECEIPTS.	EXPENDITURE.
Architect's fees	1,750	140 two-room flats @	Ground rent .. 300 0 0
Quantity Surveyor	712	9s. per week ..	Rates and taxes .. 1,250 0 0
Clerk of Works	300	45 one-room flats @	House porter .. 100 0 0
Incidentals	1,738	5s. 6d. per week ..	Working housekeeper
		45 three-room flats @	Lighting passages,
		13s. 6d. per week ..	etc. 100 0 0
		Letting of kitchen pre-	Repairs, Insurance,
		misses per annum ..	etc. 330 0 0
			Allowance for unlets
			Redemption Fund on
			£40,000, 99 years @
			3s. 4d. per centum ..
			Five per cent. interest
			on capital 2,000 0 0
			Balance of profit avail-
			able for unforeseen
			contingencies, expan-
			sion of scheme
			or dividend .. 1,053 6 8
			£5,550 0 0
			£5,550 0 0

This or some similar scheme, wisely and carefully carried out, would result in securing most desirable and beneficent conditions affecting intimately the well-being, and incidentally the working capacity, of an enormous number of some of London's best and hardest workers. Disagreeing with the London County Council, we consider these educated trained women form emphatically a "working-class," if a new one, and one which contributes a not-to-be-disregarded element to the nation's working achievements. These workers do not ask or desire "charity," they are in many cases themselves desirous of taking up small shares in any well-intentioned housing company if formed. The investors in a company formed for the purpose of carrying out a suitable building scheme would by putting money into a safe business undertaking benefit at the same time a very large proportion of the working community.

M. DANIEL.

"Votes and Wages."

(Concluded.)

V.

I have reserved for the last Miss Pott's criticism of my figures with regard to the average wage of women workers. I have quoted Miss Macarthur's estimate of 7s. 6d., and I have made it quite clear that this is her personal opinion; that others have quoted higher figures; and that perfectly accurate figures are impossible to get. (See "Votes and Wages," p. 1, including footnote).

I pointed out also, and with emphasis, that this figure stood, not for the full week's wage, but for the average wage, subject to deductions for sickness, short time, fines, etc., while the higher estimates of other experts invariably refer to the full-time week's work.

All of this Miss Pott totally ignores. And if I assume (as I do) that she does not meet my point because she cannot, I think I am assuming no more than her total silence upon it warrants me in doing.

Miss Pott however makes two attempts to discredit Miss Macarthur's evidence. One is by a side hit. She quotes evidence, given in 1911 at the Trades Union Congress, putting the average wage at 9s., "when Miss Macarthur was not thinking of the suffrage at all." The suggestion is that the 7s. 6d. estimate was invented for suffrage purposes. There is not the smallest suggestion in "Women in Industry" of anything of the sort, and the attempt to poison the reader's mind is wholly unjustifiable.

The second point is a fair one to make, if it did not show a remarkable ignorance both of the way in which such statistics are compiled and used, and (incidentally) of my pamphlet: but I have long abandoned the hope that Miss Pott

could have found time to read that. It is true that Miss Macarthur has given two different figures. It is also true that others have given higher figures still. It is further true that such figures are known to be, and assumed to be, based on the full time week's wage, unless the opposite is directly stated. When Miss Macarthur gave 7s. 6d. as her estimate, she distinctly said that she was "taking into account slackness, sickness, etc." When this is not stated, it is not done. There is, therefore, no such "discrepancy" as Miss Pott suggests, for the difference in figures (expressly stated to be a rough estimate) is not more than can be accounted for by the difference of the basis of calculation. I shall illustrate this difference by examples, which will show the disastrous effect of short time, fines, and other deductions, on the nominal "average wage."

(1) *Fines*.—I have quoted in "Votes and Wages" (Appendix to 3rd edition), a case in which fines were levied on women to an extent which left them at the end of the week in debt to their employer. Public opinion has been a little roused on this subject, and such iniquities could hardly happen to-day; but to a very considerable, though less, extent, they do happen. Miss I. O. Ford, writing in 1909, mentions several cases. Here is one: "A widow out-worker brought me a paper on which was entered her week's earnings—4s. 4d. The firm had deducted 2s. from the 4s. 4d. on account of some mistake she had made in the work. The work, she was told, was spoiled. Nevertheless it was sold as unsold and at the usual price."

Miss Ford adds:—"One reason why I mention these fines is that I believe they are never inflicted on men. I have been in several strikes, both of trades where women work alone, and where men work alone, besides those in which both work, and I have never found that men have to endure the unjust treatment, of which these fines are typical, that women have to endure."

(2) *Other deductions*.—Nearly all outworkers have to supply some part of their materials. Again and again in the Select Committee's Report the average wage is stated, and then it is added that the worker has to supply needles and thread, paste, glue, fuel for heating, or some other necessary, which makes a considerable difference to the real wage (see also "Sweating," by E. Cadbury and G. Shann, and Miss Clementina Black's "Sweated Industries"). Speaking again of the clothing trade, Miss Ford says that out-workers have to find their own thread, needles, and soap. (Soap plays a very important part in putting together very cheap tailoring). Workers inside the factory have the price of cotton or silk thread, and sometimes needles, deducted from their wages, and they complain that, even then, the price is higher than they would have had to pay outside. 1d. or ½d. is taken off every 1s. earned, for "steam-power in the factories." Miss Ford once led a strike against (among other things) the deduction of this 1d. when the women were using their own treadling-machines at home. Again, 1d. is taken off for "cook-money"—i.e., for cooking the food they bring with them; this is often charged when the dining-rooms are too small for the workers, who have in consequence to go home for their dinner.

(3) *Short time*.—The extent to which short time affects the average wage is shown in the two following examples:—(a) The clothing trade average for women is generally estimated at about 13s. a week. Miss I. O. Ford (Secretary and late President of the Leeds Tailoresses' Union), writes:—"Speaking roughly, however, the average wage earned by women in the trade, throughout the year, is about 7s. or 8s. a week—that is, during five busy months and seven slack months. (A man in the Union tells me he makes it at 4s. 6d., taking the whole trade throughout, including the "soapers," but this, I think, is rather a low average). In the busy months the average is about 12s. to 13s. a week." Observe, it is the 12s. or 13s. which forms the basis of the estimate unless otherwise stated—the full-time week's work: the real wage is estimated by one expert at from 7s. to 8s., and by another at 4s. 6d.! (b) Mr. James Haslam writes:—"Although the machinist" (mantle-maker) "at a good firm can earn 24s. a week in the height of the manufacturing season, her wages in most instances do not average more than 10s. per week throughout the year. . . . Out of these princely wages, many firms deduct charges for needles, thread, and flaws in the work. . . ." Of one worker, who in the slack season earned 6s. a week, Mr. Haslam asked:—"How long is she likely to be in the plight of earning so low a sum, with here and there a week of no work at all?" "Three or four months," was the reply. (*Englishwoman*, September, 1910).

"Short time" is suffered more in women's than men's trades because they have greater difficulty in enforcing the law against over-time. Consequently the employer does not try to spread employment more evenly over the year. Also,

he does not always pay over-time to women at an increased rate (see Votes and Wages, p. 11), but to men he does.

Finally, it must be remembered that few inquiries can compel, or ever have compelled, evidence to be given. It is nearly always given voluntarily. The best employers are willing—naturally—to give information, and—equally naturally—see the sunniest side of their own transactions. The employees, reluctant to seem slower than their neighbours, often give a rather high average also. The worst employers are not in evidence. The violation of the law with regard to fines are not mentioned.

Taking all these things into consideration, I cannot think 7s. 6d. too high a figure.

Before I leave this subject, I will carry the war into the enemy's country.

Will Miss Pott inform me how, if all her criticisms had been substantiated, any or all of them would have destroyed the economic case for Women's Suffrage?

If wages depend on demand and supply, does the difference between 100,000 and 30,000 posts denied to women affect the fact that legislation can tamper with—and has tampered with—the demand and supply of women's labour? If no woman actually at work were to lose her post, does that do more than push the difficulty of finding work for women in the future, a little further off?

If wages depend on the skill of the worker, can Miss Pott's innocent belief that domestic economy is a technical training for domestic service obscure the fact that vastly more money is spent on the training of boys than girls?

If the expenditure on such training is within the discretion of the City and County Councils, does this alter the fact that women are in a very small minority as electors, and a minute minority as elected, and that as soon as you try to alter this, you are (in Mrs. Humphrey Ward's own words) "brought up against the law." If wages have nothing to do with votes, how is it that we have already regulated wages under a Wages Boards Act? And how is it that sweating once existed in Australia and New Zealand, but now has been practically abolished? Is the operation of economic law suspended then over there?

If the agricultural labourer has not made much use of his vote, is that a proof that the vote is useless? Or if one man cannot use a spade, is that a reason for denying it to another who can?

If women are of less value than men to their employers, does that account for the whole difference in their wage, in view of the fact that employers increasingly prefer them?

And if 7s. 6d. were too low an average, can that obscure from us the fact that no authority has yet put the average at a rate which will enable a woman to keep herself industrially and physically "fit"?

And what remedy does Miss Pott propose, who heaps such scorn on me for suggesting one, not indeed to cure, but to help towards curing so grave an evil? A trade union! This is the only weapon offered to the sweated worker with which to fight her battle of life! The woman who by hard and incessant toil lasting through long hours and all the week, cannot make the minimum required for subsistence,* but must eke out her earnings with the help of the Relieving Officer,† the charitable, or the vicious—this woman is to form a union—to subscribe a weekly sum—to organise, to agitate, to look ahead; to "strike" perhaps against the flood of unskilled labour ready to fill her place at any hour! Everyone knows that sweated labour cannot organise itself, and nothing else is offered but organisation!

"All forms of raising wages come to the same thing," says my critic: "if people are worth more they will get more." An admirable way of raising wages indeed, when to be "worth more" is just the difficulty with some! And with others, not what they are worth, but what they are accustomed to get, is the deciding factor. (See Mr. Cadbury, Mrs. Bosanquet, and others.) While yet again, employers can always count on the ability of women to eke out their wages in another way. We Suffragists cannot forget that economic "laws" may be affected by considerations too painful—or too horrible—for the public to care to hear of them; or unlearn the truth that "there is one ghastly investigation still waiting on the economist. It is the aid to wages which is got from 'the oldest trade in the world.' That this is an economic element in the wage question is beyond all doubt. We all know it. None of us has yet had the courage to measure it. Not till we do will the world know the true cost of cheap labour."‡

A. MAUDE ROYDEN.

*See Introduction to Report of Select Committee on Home Work (1907).

†Do. Miss Macarthur's evidence, p. 139.

‡"Studies in Economics," W. Smart, p. 129.

A Dwelling-Place for Working Women.

On the western side of the New Kent Road may be seen above encircling hoardings the upper storeys of a fine building in red brick that bears the inscription, "Ada Lewis Lodging House for Women." The visitor who passes through the various litter that attends the process of construction enters by a goodly doorway into a hall of stone mosaic from which a wide staircase—not yet railed—rises and descends. On the left is a large room, tiled nearly to the ceiling with warm-coloured, but not painfully bright, red glazed tiles. Like every room in the house it is full of light and is big enough for a concert or a good sized meeting. A common room, not quite so spacious, is of the same colour, while the reading and sewing rooms are tiled with green. The floors are made of a pleasant dull red concrete, which did not appear to strike cold to the feet. Upstairs are four floors arranged in cubicles all fireproof except for wooden doors, all well lighted and somewhat larger than cubicles are apt to be. On each floor are a couple of baths and ten or a dozen washing-basins, in addition to bath rooms, hand basins and foot baths in the basement. Nowhere is there an inch of material that cannot be washed down, a dark corner or a crevice that could harbour an insect. Below, in the basement, are washing rooms tiled with white, kitchens tiled with pale buff, white earthenware sinks—deep, and fitted with a plug, so that crockery can be plunged into water and stand immersed, two sinks of teakwood for the washing of glass, a space where a turn-table will be installed for the supplying of clean and the removing of dirty vessels, a laundry with larger and deeper troughs of white earthenware, where six women can be washing at a time, and where a frame of hot water pipes provides a capacious and glorified clothes horse for drying. Here too stand rows of black iron lockers, sensibly ventilated and provided with hooks for garments and a shelf upon which a hat could be safely stowed. Every detail displays thought, consideration and imagination; at every turn labour has been minimised and possibilities of dirt and damage avoided.

If only the management is not too rigid, the rules too numerous, and the superintendence too pedagogic, this house should be a real home for many women who live now in circumstances of the greatest discomfort. The possibilities for good if the right woman can be found for the difficult task of government, will be enormous—as, under careless or stupid management, would be the possibilities of harm. One superficial error has been made at the outset; it is, as the tram conductor, who pointed out the block, truly remarked, a pity to have used the word "lodging house," the associations of which, among decent working people, are not agreeable, and will have to be lived down by degrees. In every other point the bequest of the late Mrs. Lewis is being admirably applied.

They Say—What do They Say?

A German gentleman—presumably a bachelor—has been laying down the duties of a young wife, and his pronouncements are said to have been largely reprinted in his own country with expressions of approval. He is particularly emphatic in declaring that it is a husband's right to see a sympathetic, smiling face greeting him 365 times a year across the breakfast-table. Clearly this ideal wife is not expected to be also a mother, and like other ideals, is supposed free from all human weaknesses, such, for instance, as a fit of toothache. Even a German husband can hardly expect sympathetic smiles from a woman undergoing an affliction which Shakespeare tells us that no philosopher could ever endure patiently.

A French newspaper has been filling up its columns during the "silly season" by a correspondence about "men who understand women." Any such discussion must be futile, because it pre-supposes a degree of general resemblance among women which does not exist. The variation of women under civilisation is nearly, if not quite, as great as that of men, and to understand one type is by no means to understand another. This is a fact almost invariably ignored by Anti-Suffragists—indeed, the first stage in the conversion of an "anti" is already reached when he has learned to say "women" instead of "woman"; and when he has got so far as to say "some women," he has advanced more than half-way. Of course, there was among the correspondents of the French journal one who wrote: "The man who understands women is the doctor," and signed himself "A Doctor." Now, of all men, the doctor is the one most open to error in generalising about a sex or class to which he does not belong, because his experience is so

largely confined to the unhealthy part of it. Therefore it is that men doctors are apt to expose themselves to ridicule by describing women as a sex of invalids. They do not so describe men, because their inclination is corrected by the conviction that they themselves and the men with whom their work brings them into contact are not invalids. Women doctors are, of course, preserved by a similar conviction from falling into this error. Indeed, one of the greatest advantages for women in the employment of a woman as medical adviser is the certainty that she will not, in the back of her mind, entertain an opinion that it is the natural thing for women to be ill.

A correspondent has sent us an answer at considerable length to an article written by Miss Laurence Alma-Tadema in the *National Review* of July, and headed "The Suffrage Danger." Having now read that article we feel that no long answer is required. Miss Tadema's whole contention is founded upon a belief that the relations of women to men, to their children, to kinds of work, and to social and public life are fixed by Nature, and that any alterations must be (a) injurious (b) foredoomed to failure. The truth, of course, is that the position and work of women are—like all human affairs—inevitably subject to change. We are, all of us, at all times in a period of transition—and nothing changes more certainly than human opinion. As a wise man once said in answer to the accusation "You want to change human nature," "It is the only thing we can change."

The one point against which it is really necessary to protest is contained in the following statements:—

The woman who is neither wife, mother, nor homemaker is abnormal; considered as a woman she is a failure; however great her value in other ways it is not of such units that a nation is upbuilt.

We protest against the habit of regarding women as valuable only in respect of sex and men as valuable only in respect of personality. All human beings alike are primarily valuable as national units according to their value as persons—their intelligence, honesty, public spirit, kindness and justice. All alike are also potentially valuable as parents—that is, as links in the continuance of the race. The best modern thought believes that this secondary national duty ought to be coupled with strong personal affection, and that marriage without such feeling is degrading. If so, the value of the national unit may consist either in the acceptance of the higher marriage or in the refusal of the lower; and the spinster who makes that refusal is more truly normal than her sister who accepts a father for her children without loving him.

As to national upbuilding we venture to think that such women as Florence Nightingale and Octavia Hill were by no means less serviceable than an average mother of several children—and, moreover, that their services were of a sort which no man would have rendered, and therefore essentially womanly.

Finally, the *Daily Herald* of September 2nd speaks as follows of the National Union's work in Midlothian:—

"To-day this is changed. In every one of the towns and villages the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies is holding meetings, which are quite the most enthusiastic of all the political gatherings of the contest.

"The miners and the agricultural labourers and workers in the factories are all deeply impressed by the suffrage speakers, and the arguments they bring forward, especially if those arguments are linked up to such questions as the Insurance Act or Tariff Reform or Land Reform.

"The women are not only getting a remarkably good reception as advocates of suffrage, but also as supporters of Provost Brown. In Addiewell and Dalkeith, in Ratho and Calder, in Newtongrange, suffrage and Labour speeches are greeted with hearty applause.

"In the homes of the people also the same kindly, warm understanding of the women's position meets the Suffragist. Whole families—father, mother, and children, attend the meetings in company. In a word, the people of Midlothian, in their eagerness to grasp and assimilate the message of the women, show themselves the true descendants of those who returned Gladstone as their member, because he, in his generation, represented the cause of humanity and progress, as Provost Brown does to-day.

"The land-taxers are very active, and are holding or trying to hold many meetings, for which they are bringing forward speakers of really first-class lung power. In spite of this physical advantage, time and again the land-taxers have seen their audience secede in a body to the Suffragist, and refuse to return, in spite of much shouting.

"In more than one meeting Mr. Outhwaite has been greeted with the question: 'How d'ye let the weemen tak your crowd?' and scoffing remarks of the kind.

"The electors are keen politicians, who love a well-fought political contest. The serene, brave, persevering work of the women has conquered any lingering prejudices, and won their support of the people of Midlothian. Whether the impulse to support Labour and Suffrage will be strong enough to impel the traditional Liberals and Conservatives to vote for Provost Brown and the Labour Party is yet uncertain. What is certain is that the efforts of the women and the Labour Party are having great effect."

Mr. Snowden in the "Christian Commonwealth."

The *Christian Commonwealth* of to-day contains an article by Mr. Philip Snowden which every suffragist should get, read and keep. There is not a word of it which is not of value. Suffragists owe a quite peculiar debt of gratitude to those among their friends who (being real friends) add to their good-will that acquaintance with the temper and ways of Parliament that only men who have been members of it acquire. Unfortunately the friendship of many such members is not above suspicion; but in Mr. Snowden we may and do trust. Considering the actual position, he says:—

"For the first time, if the House of Commons is so disposed, the support of the Government of the day can be secured for woman suffrage. The Prime Minister's pledge amounts to much more than was granted for the Conciliation Bill. Had that Bill passed the Second Reading there was very little chance that it would have got through the remaining stages in the House of Commons. There was no pledge on the part of the Prime Minister to afford an unlimited amount of time for the Committee and Report stages of the Conciliation Bill; and the means at the disposal of a determined opposition are such that nothing but the ruthless exercise of the guillotine and the closure, which Ministers only can effectively use, could overcome a determined opposition. But had the Conciliation Bill overcome all opposition and emerged successfully through the Third Reading division, it is fairly certain that it would not have been passed by the House of Lords. It would have been next to impossible to have taken advantage of the provisions of the Parliament Act for such a Bill, even assuming that private members' Bills do come under the terms of that measure. It would have required a renewal of the Prime Minister's concession for two following sessions; and the risk of accident would have had to be faced for two more years."

The Women's Social and Political Union, Mr. Snowden thinks:—

"do not appear to have realised the value of the concession. They have clamoured for a Government measure. They can have woman suffrage in a Government measure if they can induce the pledged supporters of it in the present House of Commons to vote for it. The adoption of an amendment enfranchising women by the House of Commons will make woman suffrage a Government proposal, and the Government will be bound to stand by that equally with the proposals in the Bill for which they themselves are primarily responsible. The tactics of the Women's Social and Political Union in regard to the situation created by the introduction of the Reform Bill, and the Prime Minister's pledge about woman suffrage, appear to spring from a determination that they will have woman suffrage come in the way they say it must come, or they will not have it at all. They have yet to learn that in politics, more than in any other sphere, we can never get our own way, and that the only way by which we can get something of what we want is by compromising with other people who want something different. There was no need for the W.S.P.U. to believe in the sincerity of the Prime Minister and Mr. Lloyd George. They might have gone on mistrusting them as much as they liked, but it would have been the sound policy to use them and their public pledges to the uttermost, keeping their eyes on these gentlemen all the time, seeing that they turn neither to the right nor to the left. By the contrary policy the W.S.P.U. have given the Prime Minister and Mr. Lloyd George the opportunity to make a hundred plausible excuses for withdrawing from or moderating their pledges. These women, by their mistaken tactics, have handed over the control of the situation to the very men they say are their enemies, and have enabled them, if they are so disposed, to break their pledges and to put the responsibility upon the policy of the women."

To militancy, as such, Mr. Snowden is not necessarily opposed.

"The only concern we have with militant tactics at present is to consider whether they are desirable and useful in the present circumstances. And I have no hesitation in giving an answer to that question. They are not only doing no good whatever, but they are doing more to injure the cause of woman suffrage than all the follies and fallacies of the anti-suffragists. Militancy is not a policy for a time when victory may be grasped. . . . The policy which is calculated to make the best of the situation created by the Prime Minister's offer to leave the House of Commons free on the question of woman suffrage is that which is being pursued by the constitutional suffragists. They are planning a great campaign for the autumn, and they are organising Parliamentary support. If the full vote of the pledged supporters of woman suffrage can be secured for the first amendment it will be carried, and that will commit the House of Commons to the enfranchisement of women by this Bill in one form or another. I do not underestimate the difficulties in the way of getting complete unity among the various degrees and kinds of woman suffragists in the House of Commons. To attain that there will have to be give and take. Men who feel strongly that the political disfranchisement of a whole sex is an injustice which ought to be ended will not stand too much upon the order or the way of doing it."

Meanwhile we constitutional suffragists who have worked so long and so hard—how hard the outer public never learns and never suspects—must work even harder to make the very best of our chances. And if the chances fail we will try to feel as little bitter as possible towards the "militants" who will not believe themselves in part responsible and who will say: "We told you so."

THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

Non-Party.

Non-Militant.

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

PRESIDENT:

Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Hon. Secretaries:

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

Hon. Treasurer:

Mrs. AUERBACH.

Secretary:

Miss GERALDINE COOKE.

Miss E. D. COURTNEY.
Miss EDITH PALLISER (Parliamentary).
Miss CATHERINE MARSHALL.

Telegrams: "Voiceless, London."

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

From Headquarters.

ALBERT HALL MEETING.

The date of the Albert Hall Meeting is now fixed for November 5th, and arrangements are going forward satisfactorily. Our chief speakers will be Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Anderson, Miss Maude Royden, and Miss Margaret Robertson, with Mrs. Henry Fawcett in the chair. It will be a great pleasure to welcome so trusty a friend as Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Anderson's presence is particularly valuable just now when we are counting so much upon the support of the Labour Party in the House.

We feel sure that members of the National Union will not fail to appreciate the significance of the appearance of these two men on the same platform. Representing as they do such widely divergent political creeds, they consent for the moment to unite in supporting the demand for Women's Suffrage. It is not that either wavers in allegiance to his own party but that both see clearly that the Women's Movement is beyond party.

The General Council Meeting will be held in the Midland Theatre, the Midland Hotel, Manchester, on October 9th and 10th.

GERALDINE COOKE.

By-Elections.

MIDLOTHIAN.

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

Election Fighting Fund Organiser: Miss Margaret Robertson.
Office: 40, Shandwick Place, Edinburgh. Miss Kirby in charge.

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

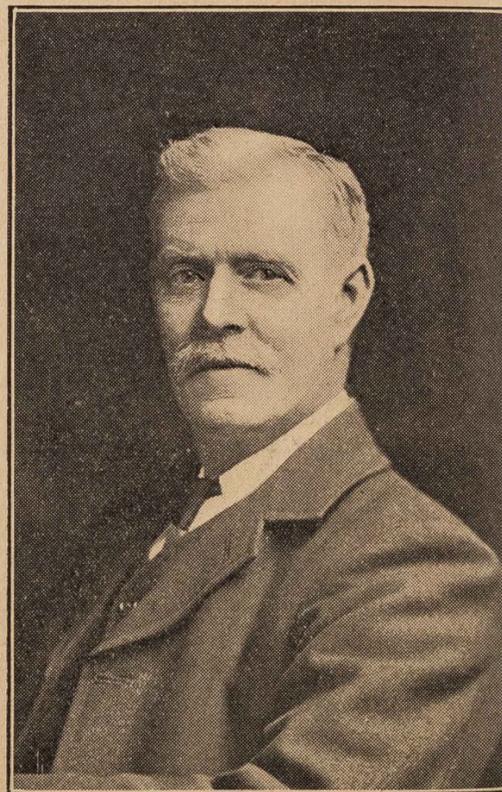
We are glad this week to be able to send some illustrations of our campaign. We should perhaps explain that the West Calder Committee Room is at the end of the passage in which Mrs. Chew and others stand: the open door can just be seen.

In this committee room very active work has been going on all the week, and thanks to Mrs. Townley's energy, experience and ability, 1,772 canvass cards have been written up, arranged in districts and tied up ready for the canvassers. One of Mrs. Townley's most willing assistants in this work has been Mrs. Chew's daughter, Doris, who spent all Friday and Saturday in the West Calder committee room. Canvassing has also begun and we have been delighted to welcome Mrs. Waite of Kilmarnock, whose reputation as an irresistible canvasser had long preceded her.

In addition to committee-room work a steady campaign of meetings has continued all the week in this district. These have been worked up mostly by Miss Foggo latterly with Miss Blackstone's assistance, and have been extraordinarily successful. We are told that we have quite "carried the men away," and certainly the rousing cheers with which most of our meetings have concluded have been vastly encouraging.

Most of the meetings have been in the open-air, but we have had one indoors at East Calder, and another at Mid-Calder. Both have been crowded and quite unanimous. We are fortunate in having, in charge of the labour campaign in Mid-

Calder, Mr. James Thorne of New Zealand. On a question being asked at the close of an open-air Suffrage meeting there the other day, as to the women's vote in New Zealand, Mr. Thorne offered (although he had just come from addressing a labour meeting for 1 1/2 hours) to speak on this matter from experience, and he gave a magnificent and deeply impressive address. He told his hearers how in New Zealand even the Maori women, whose fathers were all impenitent cannibals, were entrusted with the Parliamentary vote denied to all our



[Photo. Elliott and Fry.]

MIDLOTHIAN BY-ELECTION.
Labour Candidate: Provost Robert Brown.

women here; and he showed conclusively the effect of the women's vote in his country in coping with the white slave traffic there. He traced the evil to its economic source, and showed how the women, through their vote, had established a minimum wage for all women workers, beginning at 5s. a week for the learner (who generally works for nothing here) and rising by a regular yearly increase to 22s. 6d. as the minimum for the adult woman worker. And he declared that this had practically stamped out the white slave traffic in New Zealand.

At Addiewell too, where Mrs. Chew spoke at a Labour meeting



MIDLOTHIAN BY-ELECTION.

Dalkeith Committee Room.

Photo. Thos. Wallace.

Mrs. Aldersley, Miss Foggo, Tom (the chauffeur), Miss Robertson, Kathleen Moody, Miss Matters, Mrs. Tozer, Mrs. Annot Robinson, Miss Moody, Miss Gordon.



MIDLOTHIAN BY-ELECTION.

West Calder Committee Room.

Doris Chew, Mrs. Chew, Miss Blackstone, Mrs. Townley.

the other night, Mr. Robert Small, a miners' agent, spoke up well for us and said how different the conditions of the workers would be had the miner's wife, as well as the miner, a vote in the matter.

At West Calder 43 men have signed the "Friends of Women's Suffrage" cards, and many badges and COMMON CAUSES have been sold. But we cannot utter the words "Common Cause" without our thoughts turning at once to Miss Moody, the "Common Cause Organiser" at this election. When we say that 870 COMMON CAUSES have been sold in ten days no further testimonials to Miss Moody's work will be required; but all the workers are agreed that for method, enthusiasm and, what is more, success, Miss Moody's equal as a COMMON CAUSE seller is yet to be discovered.

Our largest single haul was on Saturday, at Dalkeith, where we held a demonstration lasting three hours, at the best open-air pitch in the town: on this occasion 140 COMMON CAUSES were sold, and thanks to Mrs. Tozer (working single-handed) more than 60 men also departed adorned with Suffrage badges.

At this demonstration, which started at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, nearly all our speakers took a turn. Miss Gordon was in the chair, and she was followed by Mrs. Aldersley, whose declaration that she is a miner's daughter is always received with enthusiasm. After Mrs. Aldersley came Miss Crompton, to whom we owe deepest thanks for a week of strenuous work, when she should have been on holiday. Miss Crompton has gone alone, or with one assistant, to some of the small places which always prove hardest to tackle: but, as we can always count upon her to do, she has surmounted all difficulties, and succeeded in getting good meetings and doing invaluable propaganda work everywhere. We shall miss her sadly next week.

Following Miss Crompton came Mrs. Chew, whose experiences as a sweated worker under Government contracts always hold her audiences tense with interest and sympathy. And after Mrs. Chew came Miss Matters—her first appearance in Dalkeith. But it will not be her last, if Dalkeith people have any say—we were asked eagerly when she might be heard again. Mrs. Earp followed (we are finding it an immense advantage, in this election, to have so many speakers who can talk from the point of view of the mother of a family) and then myself: and after I had finished Mr. Joe Duncan very kindly consented to speak. He was admirable. He declared at once that he totally disagreed with Provost Brown, who had said, in answer to a question, that he did not want women in Parliament. Mr. Duncan desires their co-operation in the House of Commons as on councils and committees. He argued warmly, too, for the recognition of the woman's essential position as bread-winner, and her true economic independence. There was some interruption from drunken men, but Mr. Duncan dealt with them briefly and effectively with a finger in their direction and an apostrophe to the crowd, "there's another of the Lords of Creation!"

All the week, in the Dalkeith area, we have been holding a number of meetings every night, and we have been deriving special entertainment from our frequent encounters with the Single Taxers. We first met last Saturday in Dalkeith, when Mrs. Annot Robinson very courteously moved away to an inferior pitch, in the middle of her meeting, to allow Mr. Outhwaite to begin his meeting at the advertised time. However, as the whole crowd followed her, her courtesy was not fully appreciated by the Land-taxers, and when, on Monday night, we arrived at Newton Grange, we found them in possession of our pitch. With less courtesy than we had shown them, they refused to yield the position, so, at the request of the audience, we took our motor further down the lane where they were speaking, and every single man, woman and child came after us. We had a grand meeting, speaking to an ever-growing crowd, whilst the Single Taxers on their precarious table (which, we were told afterwards, gave way and precipitated them among the crowd) bawled away to a blank wall, or to the distant backs of our great audience. There were two of them and each had three attempts, but all was vain until we departed. Our meeting closed with a hearty, "Three cheers for the ladies," following a formal vote of thanks from a man in the crowd, and as we departed they lined up in their hundreds on both sides of the lane and cheered us out of sight, waving hats and handkerchiefs. An amusing sequel took place the next night in Dalkeith, when the Land-taxers had the audacity to assert at their meeting that Mrs. Annot Robinson had taken their pitch on Saturday. Fortunately, Mrs. Aldersley was present, and she retorted, "Who took our pitch last night at Newton Grange?" to which the speaker innocently replied: "Well, you needn't complain, for you had all the crowd!" Roars of laughter greeted the confession, and the next time

the Single-taxers appeared in Dalkeith, they were greeted with cries of, "Why do you let the suffragettes take your crowds?" We were back at Newton Grange again (by special request) on Thursday night, and Mrs. Robinson addressed an audience of 1,000 in the lane, whilst Mr. Outhwaite talked to 40 in the Hall! The same thing happened at Gorebridge and Arniston; Suffrage and Labour are undoubtedly more popular than the Single Tax!

In addition to those of our regular workers who have been organising meetings, we have had immense help from local friends. Dr. and Mrs. Taylor have organised meetings for us at Loanhead and Gilmerton, chalking the pavements and taking round handbills to the houses. At the Loanhead meeting, Miss Low was asked: "Do you think it right that a suffragette should go round chalking the stones while her husband wheels the baby in the perambulator?" (Dr. and Mrs. Taylor having gone round *en famille*), to which she replied that the father was the only parent the law recognised, and she thought it was quite suitable that the parent should wheel his own child in the perambulator.

In addition we have had several meetings organised for us by Labour men, and shall have several more. After the demonstration on Saturday, one man arranged with us to come to East Houses, a village near, and promised to make and put up notices for us—in fact, to do all the preliminary work, and then take the chair. Another asked us to come to Craigmillar, and said that if we would send him handbills, he would do all the rest.

On Wednesday I spoke at a big Labour meeting in the Forrester's Hall at Dalkeith with Mr. Barnes and Mr. W. C. Anderson, and the audience showed immense enthusiasm on the Suffrage question. On Monday, Mrs. Snowden is speaking at two Labour meetings, and on Tuesday Mr. Tom Richardson, M.P., is speaking with her at two meetings which we are arranging. This week, indeed, is going to be a great one for hall meetings. We have spoken in the open-air at almost every place, and we are now following up by indoor meetings in some of the most important places.

LIST OF INDOOR MEETINGS FOR WEEK BEGINNING SEPTEMBER 2ND.

- Monday, 2nd.—7.0.—Pumphreston, Town Hall. Mrs. Snowden.
8.0.—East Calder, The Institute. Mrs. Snowden.
7.30.—Rosslyn, Town Hall. Miss Matters, Mrs. Robinson, Miss Low.
Tuesday, 3rd.—7.0.—Rosewell, Public Hall.
8.0.—Dalkeith, Forrester's Hall. Mrs. Snowden, Mrs. Robinson, Miss Low.
Wednesday, 4th.—8.0.—Penicuik, Cowan Institute. Miss Matters, Miss Robertson, Miss Low.
8.0.—Juniper Green, Drill Hall. Miss Gordon, Mrs. Robinson, Miss Beaver.
Friday, 6th.—7.0.—Ratho, School, Mrs. Chew, Miss Low.
8.0.—Stow, Public Hall. Mrs. Robinson, Mrs. Earp.
7.30.—Pumphreston, Town Hall. Miss Robertson, Miss Gordon, Miss Beaver.

Our work has been immensely lightened, and at the same time increased, by the generosity of friends who have responded to our appeal for money for motor-cars. We are now able to have two daily, one for each district, and we offer here our very heartiest thanks to all those who have realised what their lack meant, and have supplied the deficiency.

The Press has not, of course, treated us well: indeed it has for the most part ignored our existence in spite of our perpetual hammering. To Miss Low and to Miss Kirby (adding election work to all her own work at the office and always ready to help us all) we owe what success we have had, and what success we may have in that line in the future. We are also fortunate in having with us Mrs. Annot Robinson and Mrs. Chew, whose excellent articles are always welcomed by Labour papers.

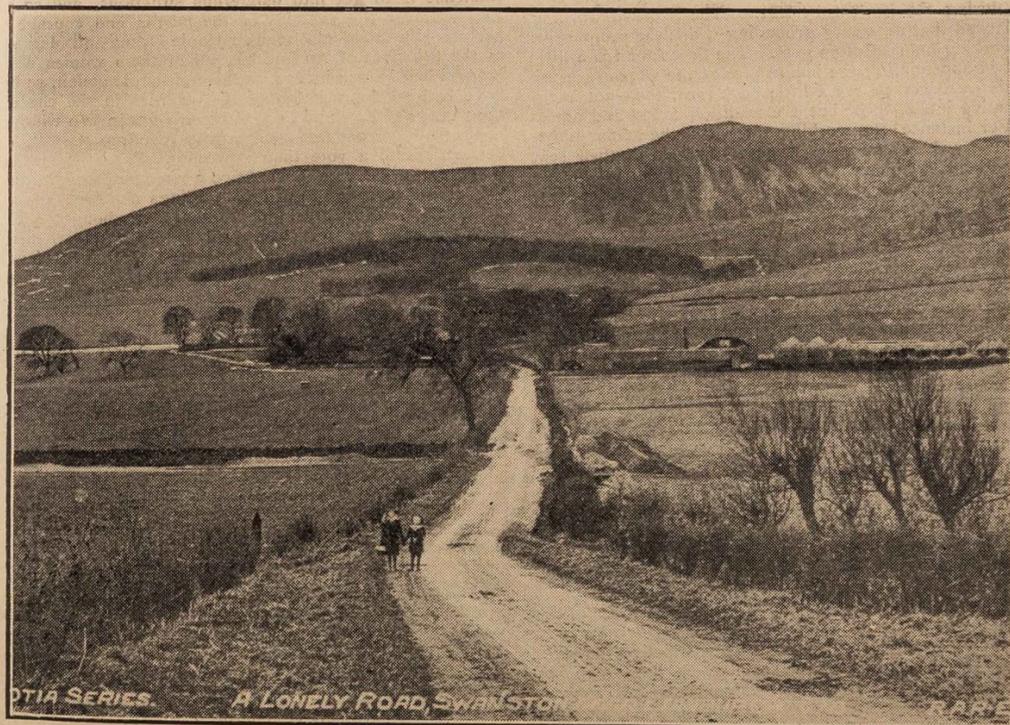
One cannot conclude a report of this week's work without recording the immense value of local knowledge which Miss Low and Miss Gordon possess, and the hold which, from their previous work, they have in the Midlothian division. At every moment it makes our work easier and more effective, and it combines with their excellent speaking and indefatigable work to render them invaluable to us at this election.

There is only one thing now which we need desperately and lack, and that is—cars for polling-day. Some of the electors have to walk five or six miles to the poll, and motor-cars become



MIDLOTHIAN BY-ELECTION.
Crowd at meeting at Burns Fountain, Dalkeith.

Photo. Thos. Wallace.



MIDLOTHIAN BY-ELECTION.

A typical piece of country.

not a bribe and a luxury, but a sheer necessity, if votes are to be recorded at all in many cases. We know that people hate to lend their cars for election purposes; we know that it is expensive and very inconvenient. But we do implore that any reader of the COMMON CAUSE who owns, or can borrow, a motor-car, will write to us at once and offer it for September roth. Cars mean votes; and a Labour victory at this moment would do more for Women's Suffrage than scores of processions and demonstrations. We cannot vote for our man: we can ensure that no man who desires to give him his vote shall be prevented by being unable to go to the poll.

MARGARET ROBERTSON.

WOMEN AND THE SCOTTISH LABOUR MOVEMENT.

Whatever the issue of the Midlothian election there can be no question as to its educational value: educational not merely in a general propagandist sense, but very specially in a practical immediate sense. The Scottish working man elector is a better ordinary politician than the average English working man. The Scotchman, even in remote country districts, has a grasp of, and a relish for general politics which one does not find in England. But the woman's view of politics is an unknown quantity to the Scotchman. The education of men in the woman's outlook is not done by the occasional visits of Suffragists, however necessary and valuable those may be. But the ground work is done by the woman at home. Where her pioneer steps have led it is much easier for the suffragist to follow. And in England, especially in those districts where labour is strong, you will usually find a body of women who are amongst the keenest workers in the labour movement. English working women, in the industrial centres where labour is to the fore, have been invariably, and often still are, industrial workers themselves. This fosters that independent spirit which is the natural rebel to any kind of subjection; and working men and women of this type are more on a level—there is a natural equality in their mutual relationship which is a fine training ground for the man in preparation for suffragist doctrines.

Long before I came to Midlothian I had a good deal of experience, both of the Scottish labour movement and of the condition of the women in home and factory. It was always a pleasure to speak to them; for they have a way of grasping an argument when it is sincerely urged upon them—even if they do not agree with it—which is very gratifying and helpful. But my former impressions of them are receiving ample confirmation during the present contest. The Scottish working man has lacked that necessary grounding which the progressive English working man so often gets. The Scotchman is a little backward in appreciating the importance of the woman's cause because his own women are a little backward, too—not backward in native intelligence; but are tradition-bound and home-bound. For instance: the working women of the labour movement are everywhere amongst the most forward of their sex, but in Scotland even they are oppressed with the belief that "woman's (only) place is at home." In England, wherever there is a strong I.L.P. branch one would have seen nearly as many women as men; in Crewe every labour meeting had its strong and enthusiastic contingent of women; and in the I.L.P. rooms of most big towns one would find on a Saturday night fellow women with whom one could compare notes. In contrast: last night I had the pleasure of speaking at a crowded (indoor) labour meeting, but not one woman was present, and to-night (Saturday) I took my first opportunity to visit the Edinburgh I.L.P. rooms, hoping to renew many pleasant acquaintances of years ago. Men were there, and were delightfully "comradely" and hail-fellow-well-met; but nary a woman! I asked the caretaker's wife if one might hope to meet some, if one stayed long enough (I had been there over an hour) but she assured me it was hopeless.

All this has a meaning. Labour men who are associated with women who are keen on the woman's side of politics are ready to grasp the significance of political freedom for women. One misses, perhaps, that sense of spontaneous understanding which is common in industrial England. Our view of the inevitability of the alliance of woman and labour is new to men and women alike here, but it is a very special joy to see the dawn of its intelligence penetrate their minds. They all believe in votes for women. Most working men have an instinctive grasp of the abstract justice of the position; but here they have not hitherto had that sense of the immediate importance of Women's Suffrage, not only as a measure of justice to women, but as a necessity to the progress of the labour movement, which men have who are in daily intercourse with an awakened womanhood.

That is why our work here is valuable in a special way. Last night, as one tried to put one point after another to prove that

the freedom of women is necessary in labour interests, they followed with an ever-growing grasp of the situation and ended with enthusiastic appreciation of Suffrage support of Labour, and Labour support of Suffrage. Nor did Mr. Robert Small (miners' agent) forget to point the moral afterwards. He showed how legislation affecting miners suffered because the miner's wife has no part in it.

More than this: at our suffrage meetings the women come as well as the men, and it is good to see their astonishment, and later their delight, in finding that the Suffragists know all about the problem of spending a working man's wage; that they, too, have done the daily domestic round, well or ill, under just the same conditions. New hope, new life shines in the women's eyes as they hear that same daily round appraised at its true value. Nor do they shrink when they are roundly told that even that faithful performance of the every-day year-in-year-out duty has not ended their responsibilities; that the world has special need of their special aptitude for performing miracles under impossible conditions. Their eyes kindle with new knowledge, and they are not afraid!

The Scottish working woman is shy, and not very easy to approach. I spent a whole three months amongst them once, however, and they don't appal me as they once did. One day this week one of them told me the story of her life during the past three years, ending up with "An' a' ve to haud ma tongue aboot it"; said with a tragic bitterness of tone which is haunting. Some day I must tell the tale to the COMMON CAUSE.

'Tis thrilling work, and highly privileged are we who are taking part in it. Highly privileged are we, too (to do us justice, we all know it!) to have our beloved Margaret Robertson's orders to carry out. It is a doubled joy to work for a cause one loves, and to have to play up to a commander one loves!

ADA NIELD CHEW.

THE SCOTTISH WORKING WOMEN.

The women who live up the closes in Dalkeith and West Calder, or in the miners' rows at Addiewell and Armiston are receiving the message of the Suffragists with understanding and sympathy. Perhaps this was to be expected in the county of Scott and Stevenson, and in the neighbourhood of the city which gave birth to Jennie Geddes.

It is true that some of the heroines of Sir Walter Scott are but beautiful and blushing maidens, whose sole excuse for existence is to get into dangerous situations, and so provide occasions for the exercise of the talents and courage of the heroes. But as he also creates Jeanie Deans and Meg Merilees of the fishwives of Auchmithie, all of them women who were independent human beings, capable of heroic action, so he must have had an appreciation of the qualities in the character of the women of Lowland Scotland in his generation which to-day make their descendants such excellent Suffragists. "Wha's a better richt to a vote than a weedow?" and "Certainly we should have the vote," is what two women standing knitting said to each other, when one of four meetings was concluding. Like many more of their neighbours they each bought a COMMON CAUSE. The douce, sensible middle-aged Scotswomen, who have faced life and death in their homes, and on Sundays in the Parish or the Free Kirk followed the closely reasoned discourses which Scotch congregations demand, require little conversion to become Suffragists. They are so already, by reason of

A CLUB

Is being formed and will be opened in September for men and women interested in

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

The premises will be in a central position, and will have bedrooms (for lady members, at a REASONABLE PRICE), dining, reading, writing rooms, and lounge.

RECEPTIONS AND LECTURES DEALING WITH THE SUFFRAGE QUESTION WILL BE HELD DURING THE WINTER MONTHS.

The club being a proprietary one, members incur no liability whatever other than subscription and entrance if any. Subscription for first 200 members, £1 ls., and no entrance. A competent secretary has been engaged, with 8 years' experience of Club management. Further particulars, Box 1336, Common Cause, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

MODERN POLITICS AND ECONOMICS.

TUITION and LECTURES given in the above subjects with special reference to WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

The lessons are specially suited to PUBLIC SPEAKERS.

Correspondence Coaching given.

Apply to Dr. Wallis Chapman, Monksbury, Etchingham Park Road, Finchley, N.

their experiences as women. They realise the inner meaning of our movement, and what it stands for in the future of the nation. Therefore, numbers of family groups are to be seen at our meetings—father, mother, children, and sometimes grandparents, come trooping in together and enjoy the meeting. One day two of our speakers found a group of healthy, obstreperous youngsters in possession of the pitch and holding a Suffrage meeting. "The weemin desserve the vote. The big men dinna!" said one imp. "Three cheers for the enfranchisement of my mither!" cried another laddie, who loved big words.

This is harvest-time, and many of the Midlothian women are employed working in the fields from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., to receive at the end of the day 1s. 6d. as wages. The work is hard and exhausting. "Ye needna tell us about the pair wages weemin get in London," said one old dame to me. "We're nae better off in West Calder. Weemin are ower cheap, and I wish the Suffragists weel. God bless them!"

In beautiful Princes Street one occasionally sees a sturdy Newhaven fishwife, in her neat, short petticoats, carrying a heavily-laden creel on her shoulder as easily as some women carry an umbrella. She makes a fine figure of vigorous Scotch womanhood, symbolic of much that is best in the race.

The men also are responding well to our appeal. Last night, when at the close of a meeting COMMON CAUSES were being sold out, as usual, a working man offered me a shilling. When I proffered him his change he refused to take it, and insisted on giving it as a contribution to the election fund. The electors are quick to take a point, and if they are keen hecklers, they have also a keen sense of humour.

Echoes of the great campaign of Mr. Gladstone in Midlothian in the eighties are still held in the constituency. Hero-worship is a characteristic of the people here. But Provost Brown's candidature grows in popularity as the campaign goes on. I have great hopes that through the enthusiasm generated at our meetings, a great impulse is being given for the victory of Labour and Suffrage.

ANNOT E. ROBINSON.

Press Department.

The National Union campaign in Midlothian is arousing considerable interest in the press, and the *Standard* of the last week has published some good reports of our work there. On August 28th the special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* devoted a long paragraph to the "women's campaign," describing the organisation of the National Union as "by far the most effective," and giving some account of the meetings already held, and those arranged for the rest of the contest. The *Daily Herald* of August 29th published the following amusing description of Miss Robertson's victory over a land tax speaker, who tried to appropriate her crowd, "a scene unparalleled in the history of all the great fights that were waged in former days."—"Miss Robertson, of Manchester, supported by Councillor Frost, of the same city, was speaking at an open-air meeting at Dalkeith in favour of Mr. Brown. There was a vast gathering, evincing great interest in the speakers, when Mr. Outhwaite, the Hanley 'hero,' arrived on the scene and claimed the stand. This Miss Robertson, with great dignity, refused to give up till she had finished. The Liberal chairman forced his way on to the wagonette,

where the speakers were, and things looked bad. For some minutes it seemed as if a riot was inevitable, but, thanks to the wisdom of the lady, this was averted. She told her audience she would go down the street and speak, and asked them to come also. In solid mass they moved down with her, and the Hanley victor was left with a mere handful to support him."

A very pertinent letter addressed by Miss Seruya to Mr. Robert Smillie on the question of the employment of pit-brow girls appeared in the *Daily Herald* of August 30th. Mr. Smillie's answers to the questions set him will be awaited with interest. The leader of the same issue discusses the article in the *New Age*, which was criticised in these columns last week. While welcoming it as providing a "new intellectual sensation," which he considers "better than a holiday," the *Daily Herald* leader-writer holds that nothing it says "affords even the ghost of an argument against granting women the Parliamentary franchise."

The leading article in this week's *Labour Leader* shows a depth of sympathy with the women's movement as a whole, and an understanding of the position at the present time, which had they been more common amongst our supporters, might have prevented much of the bitterness which exists in some quarters to-day. We quote some extracts:—"Woman ought to have freedom for her own sake, but when her liberation comes man will gain as well, and above all the race will gain. Some of the women who feel this deeply, who are hot with wrath against the tricks of legislators and the delays of Parliament, are being exasperated into violence and crime. . . . Apart from moral and ethical considerations—and we are sure that wrong cannot be overcome by crime—women cannot obtain justice without the support of public opinion, and public opinion has not been made more sympathetic, but more hostile by recent happenings. . . . We daresay Mr. Hobhouse is very happy with the way things have gone, but those of us who are anxious to see the enfranchisement of women an accomplished fact in the immediate future cannot view without grave concern the growth of an adverse public sentiment, not toward Women's Suffrage, but strongly toward the methods adopted by some of its advocates." Speaking of those who plead militancy as an excuse for broken pledges, the writer says: "We have the utmost scorn and contempt for any member of Parliament who tries to make the mistaken tactics of a few of those labouring under a constant sense of intolerable wrong an excuse for voting against what he is pledged to support. The women have a real and deep grievance, and if this grievance is not removed during the Committee stages of the Reform Bill, Parliament must be prepared to face very unpleasant consequences. . . . We look to the Labour Party to throw its whole influence on the side of political freedom for women. What is more, we are convinced that no gift of political reform can honourably be accepted which still closes against women the door of citizenship."

M. L. MACKENZIE.

Friends of Women's Suffrage.

In spite of holidays it is pleasant to find that Societies are working enthusiastically and the number taking up the scheme is steadily increasing. The welcoming cards to be given to the "Friends" are now ready and can be had from the National Union Office for 9d. per doz. or 4s. 6d. per 100.

GERALDINE COOKE.

Contributions to the General Fund.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged since Nov. 1st, 1911	7,321	0	9
Received from August 23rd to 30th:—			
Donations:—			
Miss C. M. Smith	5	0	
Subscriptions:—			
Miss Augusta M. Reid	2	6	
Miss L. M. Dixon	2	6	
Mr. J. Horsfall	2	6	
Miss Mary Batta	1	0	0
Miss S. Whitnack	1	3	
Affiliation Fees:—			
Witness W.S.S.	5	0	
	27,322	19	6

National Union Van Tour.

IN THE W. LANCs., W. CHESHIRE, AND NORTH WALES FEDERATION, Aug. 24-31. The second week of the van tour in our Federation was spent in Flintshire with Mold as headquarters. Arriving on a day of continuous rain, we were lucky indeed to find after much

wandering a friendly farmer, who consented to let us camp in a large and airy barn. Genial companionship, good meals after hard work, shelter from inclement weather, these things so quickly impart a feeling of "home" to the modest habitation that I am sure we shall all remember that barn with affection despite the hardness of its boards and the midnight revels of its mice!

On Tuesday half the party set off to Holywell by motor 'bus, but were disappointed in finding it impossible to hold a meeting there as there was no available pitch, and further half the town was away, it being a holiday. However, the day was not wasted as literature was distributed from house to house. Miss Mason and I held a meeting at Northop, and were once again surprised to find the willingness of a country audience to stand and listen through a sharp shower. There were warm invitations to return again to Northop, and we shall certainly try to do this. On Wednesday the whole party concentrated on a meeting in Mold, and were amply rewarded by the largest and best audience of the tour. Our good "coachman"

kindly brought the van for us to speak from, which was well, as we should not have been able to address so large a crowd comfortably from a chair. Miss Gill's speaking gave great pleasure, and we not only obtained long notices in the local papers; but a prominent notice on one of their posters! Individual calls in this town brought to light so many sympathisers that we all agreed it would be a good place in which to develop a local society. A very large number of postcards to the member were signed at this meeting—no easy matter now that daylight fails us and we have to get it done by lantern light.

On Thursday we again divided forces, Miss Mason and I riding to Flint and Miss Gill, Miss Bury and Miss Colquitt driving in the van to Buckley. Here the miners gave them a splendid hearing, which was all the more gratifying as we had been warned to look out for squalls at Buckley.

Miss Mason and I found the meeting in Flint a difficult one—partly because speaking in the square of a noisy town was physically hard, and partly because the audience though large and

"Thinking Women Read The Standard"

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

"WOMAN'S PLATFORM"

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

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

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

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

quietly attentive gave little sign of real sympathy.

In many of these places an audience was listening to speeches about women's suffrage for the first time. The Members for Flintshire and Flint Boroughs both being favourable—but, as in this district has not seemed pressing—but, as is always the case when a fresh area is opened out, we shall certainly have to return and carry on the work begun.

On Friday we had to say good-bye to Miss Mason, to the sincere regret of the whole party. We moved camp to Caergurle, where Miss Colquhoun had been beforehand and secured, with the help of our good friend, Miss Hamilton, a most delightful camping ground.

Miss Gill and Miss Bury took a meeting at Hawarden, at which Miss Helen Gladstone most kindly presided. Miss C. Leadly Brown came and spoke for us to a large audience on Caergurle Castle Hill. These two meetings brought our tour to an end. Happy recollections of the fortnight will I know go with us all. We separated to go our different ways with real regret, only consoled by the thought of possible future meetings.

I cannot end my report without thanking most heartily all the party for the splendid work they have done for our Federation while they have been with us.

EDITH ESKRIDGE.

Federation Notes.

Scottish.

ORGANISERS' REPORTS.

ROXBURGHSHIRE.—The efforts of Miss Jean Riddle and me to keep alight the suffrage torch in Jedburgh and neighbourhood, though full of interest in the doing, are dull and flat in the telling.

We began by concentrating in Jedburgh, spending a week's hard work canvassing, and finishing with a public meeting addressed by Mrs. Hope and me. The result in immediate fruits was disappointing, the undoubtedly prevailing sympathy being hindered in expression—among the men by the feelings voiced in "I'm no sure. Ye see, I might be the only man there," which persistently answered my invitation, in spite of my suggesting the easy remedy of bringing companions, while among the women, though the Anti becomes daily rarer

A Diploma Course in Social Organisation.

There is about to be an interesting development in the courses of instruction offered by the University of Leeds. To quote the words of the descriptive prospectus, "There is a growing need for systematic instruction in the study of social problems and social administration," and the University has established a course of instruction and a Diploma to meet this need. The University is sufficiently alive to the needs of the time to have recognised the fact that a growing number of young people are taking up social work as a profession, and intend to give their whole time to it. There is now a demand for trained social workers as secretaries of Charity Organisation Committees, Hospital Almoners, Wardens of Settlements; and local authorities requiring trained workers in connection with Public Health, Insurance, Labour Exchanges, etc. For those men and women who desire special training for these and other posts the course of lectures and the Diploma offered by the University will be especially welcome. Candidates for the Diploma must already be graduates of some university or must in some other way satisfy the Vice-Chancellor of the University that they have had a good education and are likely to profit by the course. The course includes lectures on economics, public health, the ethics of citizenship, the history and principles of social work in England from 1700 to the present time and the industrial history of England from 1800 to 1900. The late Mr. J. R. Green, in an interesting essay, once pointed out the marked change and improvement which had taken place in the general tone of English literature from the time when women had to be reckoned with as a substantial proportion of the public which every author addresses. It is probably not fanciful to attribute these courses of lectures and tutorial classes on social organisation and public service instituted by the University of Leeds to an analogous cause. The modern university

the merely passive are far too many, and the "ready to approve but slow to act" prevail. Society-forming here requires time, and time is just what we lacked.

After Jedburgh all villages within cycling distances were systematically visited—roused by means of free leaflets, long talks on doorsteps, and arguments with passers by on the highways. People were much interested; we did not find the statement true, "the men and women of Roxburgh do not trouble their heads about such things"—quite the contrary, especially when the position of the woman farm worker was discussed. The feeling expressed was that her work was as hard, if not harder, than a man's, and her pay much less. One realised how strongly our new Policy touches the Liberal electors from the opinions given by some staunch Liberals we met. One irate and abusive boot-maker attacked us for "not having patience with the Liberals and going off to the Labour Party, letting in the Tory," and he became more irate than ever when he could not defend the action of his Party towards the Conciliation Bill, and the true position was revealed. Abuse of the Insurance Act gave us an easy opening to enforce the weight of the Vote, and many a lecture on the Act did men and women extract from Miss Riddle.

Extreme rains prevented many outdoor meetings, much to our chagrin. We attempted one at Anstruther without success—it ended in us both hanging over a gate and talking suffrage to a knot of men, one of whom mended my cycle "for the good of the cause." At Crailing the Annual Show and Sports absorbed the inhabitants, so we admired flowers and talked suffrage, inspected cakes and scones and argued women's position in the home and in the industrial market; there was no chance for public speech, but we left late feeling we had accomplished much by promiscuous talks with all and sundry. Morebattle, Linton, Yetholm, and other places were visited in like manner, and then our work was suddenly cut short and meetings set aside by the call to Midlothian and the by-election work there.

EMILY FOGG.

LARGS.—I have found the work everywhere exceedingly difficult, since the Militants' attempt to set fire to the Dublin Theatre. The W.S.P.U. were working in Largs and holding open-air meetings daily. When I first went there I was told I should find it impossible to start a branch, as everyone was disgusted with the tactics of the militants. I am glad, therefore, to be able to report that I have started a very satisfactory branch. On August 14th, by kind invitation of Miss Kirkwood, a most successful drawing-room meeting was held at her house. Mrs. Geddes took the chair, and the speakers were Mr. J. Y. Kennedy and me. An influential local committee has been formed, Miss Paton, Mansfield, is the secretary. Several new members have joined, and it is hoped that immediately there will be enough members to enable the branch to form a separate society, affiliated to the National Union and the Scottish Federation.

has now to provide the sort of education and training which women want for their special work as well as the education and training which men need for theirs.

Irish Notes.

The Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation is happy in having secured Mrs. Despard as a speaker for a second time this year. She comes to Ireland on September 5th. Her object had been a series of open-air meetings, but owing to the very uncertain weather, most of the meetings will be arranged to take place indoors. She will speak at some of the seaside resorts of Dublin; spend a week in County Cork; will then go north for meetings in Armagh and Dundalk, and will conclude the tour in Sligo on September 18th.

In October we are to enjoy the privilege of having Miss Abadam amongst us. She comes on October 14th, and will address meetings in Belfast, Lisburn, Newry, Dublin, Cork and Waterford. The Irishwomen's Reform League has asked her to make the White Slave Traffic and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill the subject of her speech in Dublin.

The Hon. Mrs. Spring-Rice, of Valentia, Co. Kerry, recently organised a very successful meeting in the Town Hall—the first suffrage meeting held in that district. Miss Day, Hon. Sec., M.W.F.A., was the speaker. Miss Fitz-Gerald took the chair. Miss Day also spoke at a meeting informally organised by Lady Egerton at an hotel in Waterville, Co. Kerry.

Miss Moser, Hon. Sec. of the Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, was very successful in organising a meeting at Ballycastle, Co. Antrim. The meeting was held in the Da'riaa Hall on August 30th. Mrs. Dempster, of the National Union, gave an interesting address, and Miss Montgomery, of Belfast, took the chair. The

Rev. J. Jackson proposed, and Mrs. Wetherall seconded a vote of thanks. Great praise is due to Miss Moser for her energy and enterprise in thus pushing the cause of women's suffrage in a district where it is so extremely difficult to arouse much interest in any question not bearing upon the burning topic of Home Rule.

Foreign News.

Bohemia.

Here it is our duty to record a set-back to an apparent success. Although, as already recorded here, a lady member was duly elected to the Diet in accordance with electoral law of Bohemia, the authorities have refused to allow the validity of her election. This has given rise to a heated controversy among legal authorities, many of whom consider the refusal unconstitutional. The matter will certainly not be allowed to rest here.

China.

Chinese women are busy organising what should prove a very interesting and important Congress. Lingtansui, President of the Shanghai Suffrage Society, announces as the programme of her party the equality of the sexes and the suppression of polygamy, slavery, and prostitution. The National Council of Chinese women is to be organised in six sections, each under the direction of a sectional president. It is hoped that branches of the Council will be established in all the large towns.

Reviews.

THE MONTESSORI METHOD. By Maria Montessori (Wm. Heinemann, 7s. 6d. net).

It was as physician and scientist as well as an educationalist that Dr. Montessori approached her life study of the education of children. Fifteen years ago, being then assistant doctor at the Psychiatric Clinic of the university of Rome, she became interested in the methods of Séquin and Hard used in the Italian schools for deficient and idiot children. These methods, and others invented by Dr. Montessori herself, enabled the feeble-minded pupils to be presented at the ordinary public schools' examinations. Their success led her to the conclusion that the teaching in the elementary schools retarded the mental development of the scholars and made her anxious to apply those methods employed in the training of deficient to the children of the Infant Schools.

This book is the history of such an experiment conducted scientifically. It is also an account of the physical and psychic growth of the children experimented upon; children between the ages of three and seven years designedly left free to develop their powers of mind and body.

In 1906, Dr. Montessori was invited to organise and to supervise the infant schools then being opened in the model tenements owned by the Association for Good Buildings in Rome. These tenements are inhabited by the poorer class of workpeople and the Director wished to provide a place in which children between the ages of three and seven could be cared for by an educated and refined woman who would also live in the building, and make friends with the parents. This was the opportunity for which Dr. Montessori was waiting. She gladly accepted the charge and early in 1907 the first "Children's House," as these schools are called, was opened under her supervision.

The fixed desks and seats of the ordinary school were replaced by tables and chairs so light that they could easily be carried by children of four years old, and rugs on which the little ones could sit were spread on the floor. The children move about freely, they run in and out of the court yard, or garden, attached to each "House," and amuse themselves with the various games and toys provided. There is very little group teaching, very little direct teaching at all. A short lesson may be given couched in very simple language, but as far as possible auto-education is aimed at. The children's personal liberty is only bounded by the good of the community. Dr. Montessori is an apostle of liberty; she believes that discipline

must come from within and not in response to commands. She holds that the child's greatest need is freedom to develop his growing powers of mind and body. If he is given the opportunity to do this he learns patience, endurance, in a word, self-discipline. Obedience can only come through knowledge. The sense exercises and the games are used to satisfy the child's unconscious craving for sensory development, at that age more insistent than his need for intellectual development. Perhaps Dr. Montessori lays too much stress on the great importance of sensory education as a refining and moral force; in her system the training of the imagination has very little place. The education in her schools is extremely practical, far more than that of the Kindergarten. Her children learn to wash and dress themselves, to clean the room, tidy the cupboards, lay the table, serve the midday meal, and wash up the glasses and plates without breaking them. They learn how to sit very still during the silence games, to move with grace and precision, to care for and tend animals and plants, to behave with consideration and politeness to their companions and to speak clearly and accurately.

The directress is the guiding spirit of the Children's House, and hers must be no mean task. She has "to stimulate life . . . to help the soul which is coming into the fulness of life, and which shall live from its own forces." She has to combine within herself the unwearied spirit of the scientist with that of the devotion of an apostle. She must possess infinite tact, great knowledge of child nature. She must guide rather than teach. Her influence must permeate the Children's House. It must extend over the parents, yet it must never interfere to check healthy development.

Her place as teacher is largely taken by the didactic material employed. In the sense exercises the control is at first perfect; so that the child corrects himself automatically. Later his eye and touch are sufficiently trained to take the place of the fixed control. He learns to distinguish between articles of slightly different weights and shapes, to remember shades of colour, to recognise blindfolded familiar articles and textures. The sense exercises lead to the acquirement of graphic language. The same methods are employed. The child traces the sandpaper letters, at first looking at them, and then blindfolded repeating their name as he does so. To gain the mechanical skill necessary to manipulate a pen he traces outlines round geometric figures, and fills in the spaces with lines in coloured pencil. Tracing the sandpaper letters and filling in the designs lead to writing; recognising the letters and repeating them to reading. As Italian is a phonetic language, words can easily be built up from the letters, and children of four and five learn to write in six weeks or a month. The account of their spontaneous acquirement of the art of writing is most interesting. Their joy in this new power was so great that they wrote everywhere, on the floor, and the doors; on their mothers' pavements. The average time taken by the child to read was generally a fortnight longer than that taken to write, and even then, though they could read a simple fairy tale with mechanical ease, they did not realise the significance of written language as a vehicle for the transmission of ideas. To make them understand this Doctor Montessori wrote questions and directions, at first on the blackboard, and later on slips of paper.

It is difficult to criticise the Montessori method, the creation of a woman's genius, that ranks with the works of Froebel and Pestalozzi. When we consider the result of her experiment in the Children's Houses, there is little room for anything but admiration, and with our admiration there is profound pity for the waste of child energy that goes on daily in our own elementary schools. Even in our best infant schools, the child is pinned down to a fixed seat for a large part of the schoolday, group lessons are given in which all must take part; above all, the teacher is the active element in the classroom, not the child. He is taught; he is not allowed to teach himself. Given a reasonably good home, even in town, the child has probably far more chance of development if he remains in it, helping (?) mother, than he has in the lower divisions of our infant schools.

The Montessori method can be applied to children living in their own homes, and this book should be studied by the mother as well as by the teacher; by anyone who has the care of children, and who has their well-being at

SPECIAL OFFER to our readers of a
5/6 FOUNTAIN PEN
for **3/6.**

"Common Cause"
Safety Non-leakable Fountain Pen, with a Solid 14-Carat Iridium-Pointed Gold Nib.

3/6 each.

The special arrangements entered into with one of the largest British Fountain Pen Manufacturers enables us to offer our readers a beautifully made and specially constructed Safety Non-leakable Fountain Pen at the low price of 3/6. The pen is admirably suitable for ladies' use, since it can be carried in a handbag, attaché case, or in any position without fear of leakage. This pen is usually sold at 5/6.

DESCRIPTION OF PEN.

British made throughout of only highest class materials. Constructed to be positively proof against leakage. The nib being in the ink when the pen is closed ensures instant readiness for writing. Has an even, smooth flow of ink. The nib is of solid 14-carat gold, with hard iridium points. Every hand can be suited. These pens nicely packed in boxes printed in our colours.

HOW TO OBTAIN THIS PEN.

Fill in coupon below and send to The Manager, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C., with Postal Order for 3/8 (2d. being for postage and packing).

COUPON.

Please send a "Common Cause" Safety, Non-Leakable Fountain Pen; fine, medium, broad pointed nib, (underline point required) for which I enclose P.O. 3/8.

Name.....

Address.....

Please write distinctly

Coupon must accompany each Order.



THE MAKERS GUARANTEE EACH PEN.

heart. If little children, through the poverty of their parents or through any other circumstances, must go to school when they are little more than babies, it should be to schools modelled on the lines of the "Children's Houses."

D. P. J.

LEGISLATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF WOMEN. By Lord Charnwood. (P. S. King and Son. 2d.)

This little pamphlet is so typical of the minds of many comfortable unimaginative men as to be very well worth the attention of women. It shows such a mind regarding as trivial matters of vital import to others, not out of callousness but out of incapacity to realise another's point of view. In regard to affiliation orders, for example, the author remarks that "there are defects in the provisions for receiving the sum ordered which are hard upon the woman," when, in fact, these defects are omissions on the part of the law which actually nullify it in a vast number of cases. A similar lack of imagination causes Lord Charnwood to regard dangers that need to be avoided in any reform of the law as inevitable concomitants of such reform. He argues, for instance, against raising the age of consent, because it would be unjust to punish a young lad who had been led away by an elder girl. The very common tendency to suppose that facts with which we are not personally acquainted do not exist leads Lord Charnwood into serious injustice. "There is," he writes, "unhappily no reason whatever to suppose that the influence of women's municipal votes has ever been effectively used to improve local administration where it lies under suspicion in this respect"—i.e., the protection of women. It would be interesting to know what enquiries Lord Charnwood has made into the influence of women's municipal votes and, to take a concrete instance, whether he has any acquaintance with the municipal record of Miss Sutton, of Reading.

Finally, when he says that the immorality of men should be more leniently judged than that of women, their temptations being "wholly unlike," any woman who knows the temptations to which poor girls are constantly exposed must at once smile and sigh. Unlike indeed! For very few men is the temptation weighted by the difference between privation and comfort, between dull prolonged ill-paid toil and easy living. Nor does Lord Charnwood seem to observe that the immorality of men involves the immorality of some women and, in effect, the devotion to vice of a whole class of that sex which he declares inclined by nature to shrink from it. This state of things habit has taught him—a man plainly anxious to be just and benevolent—to regard with equanimity; but it is one which women when once they come to understand it consider as degrading to humanity and as a horrible danger to the young of both sexes.

[In regard to women's municipal votes an interesting statement will be found in our Notes and Comments on p. 371.]

LOVE'S VICTORIES. By M. M. Lee (The Happy Publishing Company, 133, Salisbury Square, E.C., 1s. net).

The Happy Publishing Company believes itself to be the first publishing enterprise conducted solely by women, and proposes to issue books written and printed only by women. It is decidedly satisfactory to find women entering into an occupation which is understood to be lucrative; and all suffragists will watch the experiment with interest. Successful publishing, however, demands business knowledge of various kinds, in addition to a stern discrimination in the selection of literature, and it cannot honestly be said that "The Happy Publishing Company's"

NOTE.

All the copies of last week's "Common Cause" (August 29th) are sold. Please send orders for this issue as early as possible.

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

first venture attain a high standard. "Love's Victories" is a collection of little sketches that are rather sentimental, rather commonplace and entirely without distinction. We earnestly hope that the next volume with the company's imprint may be one that we can honestly and heartily praise.

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.

THE APATHY OF THE WOMAN ELECTOR.

As we are on the eve of the Municipal Elections, I think we ought to consider the reasons for the apathy of which the anti-suffragists accuse women municipal electors, and how the causes of such apathy can be removed.

As a matter of fact, there is little difference between men and women in this respect; but, as we are immediately concerned with the woman voter, we can for the present leave the male voter out of the discussion.

It is the general experience that it is impossible to rouse the same interest in municipal problems as in the great Imperial problems, even though the former more directly affect the comfort and welfare of the individual, and the reason is obvious. It is much easier to form an opinion on broad national questions than on the innumerable details of administration by which legislation on such questions is carried into effect in municipal life, on each of which some technical knowledge is required. For example, an elector may have strong views on the general principles of Socialism, and yet not be qualified by experience to judge whether such principles affect, say, a particular housing scheme which may come before the Council. Now the present economic conditions make it peculiarly difficult for a woman elector to obtain this expert knowledge. Eighty per cent. of the women electors are working women whose time and strength are absorbed by the mere struggle for existence. Their lives are inevitably restricted, and they have not the same opportunities as the men of their class of coming into contact with their fellows by means of clubs and other societies. Even amongst the wealthier women, at present only a minority have the commercial and professional responsibilities which bring home to the elector the nature of the material interests involved. The general tendency of girls' education has also hitherto been to specialize in details of home work to the exclusion of the wider interests which are needed for efficient citizenship and motherhood as well as for the duties of citizenship.

In addition to these limitations, until recently there has been comparatively little attention paid to the women voters at municipal elections, unless there is a close contest when every vote is needed, and naturally political associations take no steps to instruct them as to the real issues, for if electors began to think for themselves there would soon be an end to the supremacy of the caucus. They therefore save the electors the trouble of thinking by sending them a list of candidates half-marked with the party watchword which they expect them to accept *en bloc*.

When we take these facts into consideration, can we wonder if women have not shown greater zeal than men in recording their votes?

The remedy for this state of affairs is, of course, the systematic education of women in civic duties. This must needs be a slow process, but a beginning can be made, and I would suggest that before the coming municipal elections all suffrage workers should acquaint themselves with the subjects on which the elections will be fought in their respective constituencies, and supplement the efforts of the Local Government societies by holding meetings and debates for the instruction of women electors as to the manner in which their interests are affected, and the powers they possess to make their opinions felt.

I believe that though there will be a severe strain on all the suffrage societies this autumn, the result of this propaganda would be worth the time spent on it, for the more women understand their municipal rights and interests, the more they will realize how these rights are curtailed by the want of the Parliamentary vote.

MARION CHADWICK.

19, Phillimore Gardens, London, W.

WOMEN IN COURT.

In reference to your footnote to my letter in THE COMMON CAUSE of August 22nd, regarding the presence of women in court, I may say that your point, with which I entirely agree, is a new one to us. In the Glasgow courts women are not turned out of court except when the general public are turned out, and I understand that is the general practice in Scotland. A judge may, when a very objectionable case is coming

Clear your Complexion
 BY PURIFYING YOUR BLOOD. PURIFY YOUR BLOOD BY TAKING **BRAGG'S CHARCOAL**
 It eradicates all impurities by absorption, thus removing the CAUSE of Eczema, Blisters, Pimples, Spots, and the like. Highly recommended by Doctors. Sold by Chemists and Stores. Biscuits, 1/-, 2/-, and 4/- per tin; Powder, 2/- and 4/- per bottle; Lozenges, 1/12 per tin. CAPSULES, 2/- per box.
 Free Samples sent on receipt of this advt. and 3d. for postage in the U.K.
 J. L. BRAGG, Ltd., 14, Wigmore St., London, W.



Soap in Flakes
 THE PUREST FORM OF SOAP PRODUCED.

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

To be obtained in 1d. and 3d. Packets from all Stores, Grocers or Oilmen, or send 1d. stamp to Dept. C.C., for Free Sample.

JOHN KNIGHT LTD.,
 Soapmakers by Appointment to H.M. King George V.
 The Royal Primrose Soap Works, London, E.

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

on, suggest that the women should leave, but that is a very different thing from clearing the court of women only, and even that is rarely done.

NELLIE M. HUNTER.

Glasgow, August 31st, 1912.

M. WATSON.

"VOTES AND WAGES."

I am in favour of Woman Suffrage, but also of fair methods of controversy, and a straight game; and I wish to point out to my fellow Suffragists that Miss Royden's version of a criticism of her pamphlet, "Votes and Wages," given by Miss Pott, in July, is untrue and unfair. I was present at Miss Pott's meeting (but had to leave before the vote was taken), so heard all the speech, and the extracts as now given by Miss Royden in the COMMON CAUSE are grossly dishonest. Why cannot our champions play a straight game and face the music? I ask you to publish this letter in your next issue.

JANE SEYMOUR.

THE WOMEN'S VOTE IN COLORADO.

I see in last week's COMMON CAUSE that Miss A. Maude Royden has already answered the correspondent who asked for any details of laws passed in Colorado since equal suffrage was granted in that state showing how much good has resulted from the woman's vote.

If I am not too late I would like to mention a few laws that have been passed since 1893 when the suffrage was granted to women without very much trouble on their part.

The one that transcends all others in importance, to my mind, is the one that was passed first after women were enfranchised, and that is—An equal guardianship law which entitles the mother as well as the father of a legitimate unmarried minor child to be entitled to its custody, services and earnings; before a minor child had but one parent, the father. They have also in Colorado the most advanced laws of any State for the care and protection of the home and the children, the best Juvenile Court law, the best child-labour law, the best compulsory education law and last, but not least, the best laws for the prevention of cruelty to children and the enforcement of the obligations of fathers to support wife and child. Are these not enough to show that the women's vote must be for good or they would never have been passed, as they were, entirely owing to the power and influence of the women, and it must be remembered that in each of the equal enfranchised states that the men outnumber the women?

One has only to visit Denver to see for one's self what a woman's influence can do. Forty years ago it was only a mining district where the miners paid for their foods, etc., in nuggets, and now it is one of the most beautiful cities, with its handsome, clean and stately buildings, its parks and grass plots all watered by irrigation, a home for the saddest of all people, consumptives in all the different stages, and where they are rightly kept a little away from the rest of the inhabitants, but are not treated as lepers, as they are in other States, and where women are treated with the greatest respect simply because they are women, fulfilling the high positions in the Capitol, the Post Office, and other places, by their own merit, and where they are a thousand times more civilised than they are in that most unlovely city, New York, where bribery and corruption is rampant, and where it is not even safe for a woman stranger to inquire the way from another woman, or where the police live and grow rich on the bribes of the poor fallen women of the streets.

Another thing I forgot, is that politicians in both parties have to reckon seriously with the woman's vote because they know that men of immoral character dare not be nominated. Oh, for some abler pen than mine to tell of the true womanliness that still exists in Colorado in spite of unwomanly anti-suffragists, who cannot bring one reason against the justice of our cause; but I am glad of the opportunity of stating that it is entirely out of gratitude to them after seeing for myself, that I have worked unceasingly and with hope for the last ten years in the cause of the suffrage for my own sex in England.

S. COLGATE THOMAS.

Forthcoming Meetings.

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

- SEPTEMBER 5. Scarborough—Esplanade Gardens—Mrs. Renton 5.0
- Spennymoor—open air meeting—Miss C. M. Gordon 7.0
- SEPTEMBER 6. Scarborough—Clarence Drive—Mrs. Renton 11.30
- SEPTEMBER 7. Scarborough—East Pier—Mrs. Renton 11.30
- Sheffield—Mrs. O. M. Doncaster's Garden Party—Miss St. John 3.30-6.30
- SEPTEMBER 10. Thornton Dale—Village Cross—Mrs. Renton 6.45
- SEPTEMBER 11. Scarborough—Clarence Drive—Mrs. Renton 11.30
- Scalby—Temperance Hall—Mrs. Renton 7.0

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

SEPTEMBER 12. Muswell Hill—The Exchange—Irish W.S., and Local Government Association Committee meeting 11.30

LONDON.

- SEPTEMBER 5. S. Paddington—75, Hereford Road, W.—Sewing Meeting 2.30
- SEPTEMBER 7. Muswell Hill—The Exchange—open air meeting 8.0
- Norwood—Suffrage Offices—Miss E. Green, Miss L. Tysan 8.0
- SEPTEMBER 9. N. Paddington—47a, Clifton Gardens, Maida Vale—Sewing meeting 2.30
- Battersea—Women's Adult School, Congregational Church Schoolroom, Bridge Road—Miss Rinder 8.0
- SEPTEMBER 10. Canning Town—Deas Hall—Women's Co-operative Guild—Miss Helen Ward 7.0
- SEPTEMBER 12. S. Paddington—75, Hereford Road, W.—Sewing Meeting 2.30
- SEPTEMBER 15. N. Paddington—47a, Clifton Gardens, Maida Vale—Sewing meeting 2.30
- Stepney—Stepney Meeting House—London Young Liberal Federation—Miss Ransom evening 8.0
- SEPTEMBER 17. Abbey Wood—Women's Co-operative Guild 3.30

SCOTLAND.

- SEPTEMBER 6. Dundee—Ghillan Hall—Sir Victor Horsley, F.R.S., Prof. B. Moore, Prof. B. Latta, Prof. F. E. Weiss, Prof. P. Geddes, and other members of the British Association. 8.30
- SEPTEMBER 10. Broughty Ferry—Helenslea—Mrs. and Miss Stephen's Garden Party—Vice-Chancellor Sadler, Prof. H. H. Turner F.R.S., Prof. S. J. Chapman, Miss I. Lumsden, and other members of the British Association. 3.30
- SEPTEMBER 18. Aberdeen—Lady Cowdray's Garden Party—The Lady Frances Balfour, Lady Abercromby 3.30

PREPAID ADVERTISEMENTS.

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

SUFFRAGE NOTICES.

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

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.

SUFFRAGISTS and others requiring flats, rooms, etc., furnished or unfurnished, temporary or permanent, are invited to apply to "Unique," care of The Minerva Publishing Co., Ltd., 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

TWO SUFFRAGE DIALOGUES, 3d. each. Comedy, 6d.—"S," Fordel, Glenfarg.

EDUCATIONAL AND PROFESSIONAL.

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

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

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

LADY recommends good dressmaker, fit, style, economy guaranteed; day and evening gowns; reasonable.—Haynes, 1, Courtnell Street, Bayswater, Side door.

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

MISS DAVIS WEBSTER'S CLASSES, Elocution and Rehearsal, open Oct. 2nd, Clavier Hall, Hanover Square, W. Can give private lessons now. Write 38, Flanders Mansions, Bedford Park, W.

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

OPEN-AIR TREATMENT on the Surrey Hills. The Children's Home, Tatsfield. Principals Miss Mitcheson and Miss Bourdon. Medical, Surgical or Convalescent cases from 3 to 12 years of age. Fees, from 10s. 6d. weekly. A few adults also received from £1 ls. weekly. Nearest stations, Westerham (S.E. & C.R. and Oxted (L.B. & S.C.R.).

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

FOR SALE AND WANTED.

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

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

FREE!—Over 200 patterns of charming Irish linen Autumn Costume Fabric, "Flaxzella"; light, cool, washable; wears for years. Scores of beautiful designs, fascinating shades. Write to-day.—Hutton's, 159, Larne, Ireland.

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

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

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.

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

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

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

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

TO LET, bed-sittingroom, use of flat, board as required. Terms moderate (Inclusive), Piano, telephone, constant hot water. Two minutes Bakerloo Tube. Inspection invited. Wright, 169 Clarence Gate Gardens, N.W.

WHERE TO LIVE.

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

HOSTEL FOR LADIES.—Central. Highly recommended. Miss Sullivan, 50, Osnaburgh Street, Portland Road Station, W. Terms moderate.

HOSTEL FOR STUDENTS, Professional Women and other Ladies. Near British Museum, University College and Women's School of Medicine. Central, quiet. 9, Burton Street, Tavistock Square W.C.

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

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



Typewriting and Shorthand.

(Miss Mildred Ransom.)

Educated Women trained as Private Secretaries.
Careful attention given to each pupil.

Second-hand Typewriters bought and sold.

Meetings reported; MSS accurately
copied. First-class work.

195-197, EDGWARE ROAD, LONDON, W.
Telephone - - 6302 Paddington.



Are YOU Sure You are not Paying TOO MUCH TAX TO JOHN BULL?

We have recovered or saved Large Sums
for Women Taxpayers.

WHY NOT CONSULT US? IT WILL COST YOU NOTHING.

Women Taxpayers' Agency (Mrs. E. Ayres Purdie),
Hampden House, Kingsway, W.C. Tel. 6049 Central.

AUTOMOBILES.

Do you want to SELL a Car?
Do you want to BUY a Car?
Do you want any TYRES or ACCESSORIES?
Then write at once to Mr. HILLCOAT, and he
will give you the best value for your money.

C/o ARTHUR TURNER & Co., Ltd.,
173, Piccadilly, W.

THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. Monthly Paper, 1d.

CONTENTS OF SEPTEMBER NUMBER:—

The Church and Politics.—Prof. Bethune Baker. Sex Dominion and Genesis.
—Rev. G. H. Davis. Leading Articles. Let us Pray. Blame to Whom
Blame. A Shameless Slander.

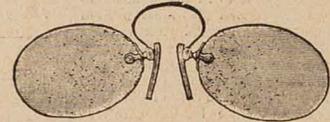
Postal Subscription, 1s. 6d. Yearly.

Offices: 11, ST. MARK'S CRESCENT, REGENT'S PARK, N.W.

21/53 SPECTACLES & EYE-GLASSES FOR RIMLESS EYEGLASSES.

Rimless Glasses have quickly leapt into popularity because they are scarcely visible on the face, thus doing away with the old idea that the glasses were disfiguring. Rimless Glasses reveal the natural beauty of the eye, and give the wearer that pleasing alertness of expression, and absolutely eliminate that suggestive old appearance which is the impression given by the people wearing the old style.

We are the pioneers of this popular style of glasses. Rimless glasses are especially appreciated by doctors and scientific people who understand the value of a wide field of vision combined with lightness, which of course with the heavily rimmed glass is practically impossible; TRY a pair NOW; you will be more than delighted with the result.



10-ct. Gold-Filled Rimless Eyeglass, with best-quality spherical lenses, and your eyesight examined by a qualified Optician, and a guarantee for life, is what you get for 5/3. Oculists' and Hospital Prescriptions made up correctly for 3/6 extra. If you can't call to have your eyesight thoroughly tested, send for self-test chart.

BLOOM'S, Qualified Opticians,
53, BEDFORD ST. (Strand Corner),
LONDON, W.C.

THE NATIONAL UNION

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

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

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

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

Address _____
(in full.)

To the Secretary _____ Society for Women's Suffrage

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