

The Common Cause

THE ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF



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Women's Suffrage

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

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

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

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

Notes and Comments.

An Obstructive Corporation.

An interesting case was heard this summer, in which a woman shopkeeper sued the Christchurch Corporation for causing an obstruction in front of her premises, which hampered her in carrying on her business and reduced her takings from customers. The obstruction consisted of a heap of rubbish, gravel, etc., which was thrown up in the course of some drainage work, and remained for several months. That she would have had a claim for damages if such a mound had been made and left by any private persons was not denied, but the Corporation pleaded that they were not liable to pay compensation because they were acting under statutory authority. The County Court judge decided in the Corporation's favour, and a Divisional Court confirmed his judgment. The plaintiff, however, appealed and the Court of Appeal made a very proper distinction between obstructions that were unavoidable and those that were preventable, and concluded, apparently, that no drainage works can have necessitated the retaining for months of a rampart before a shop door. Moreover, the Public Health Act of 1875 expressly provides (section 308) that where any person, not himself in default, sustains damage by the exercise of any powers of that Act, full compensation shall be made to such person by the Local Authority exercising such powers. Yet, in face of this clause, the lower courts decided against the claim, on account of an old judgment. This woman, fighting out her own claim in the conviction of its justice, has won an important victory for herself and others.

Registered Nursing Homes.

An association has been formed for the registration of *bona fide* nursing homes, the main objects of which are "to see that every matron of a home holds a certificate of some recognised training school, and that the nurses are also certificated; to safeguard the homes from unjust comment, and to protect the public from undesirable homes." A small subscription will be required from members of the association, but any surplus

remaining after the payment of the necessary expenses of administration will be placed in the hands of trustees and used for furthering the objects of the association. Some such federation as this had become urgently necessary, and we hope that the new body may, by its very existence, help to eliminate some of the many fraudulent, and often worse than fraudulent, enterprises which assume the honourable name of nursing homes.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union.

Women teachers have for some time past been growing more and more indignant at the manner in which the question of women's suffrage has been treated by the men of the National Union of Teachers and of the London Teachers' Association. The rowdism of a party of men at a meeting of the latter society on June 26th turned the indignation of the suffragist teachers into the channel of action, and they have now formed a separate Suffrage Society (the Women Teachers' Franchise Union) one object of which is to concentrate forces upon a suffrage resolution for a conference of the National Union of Teachers. A fiery little leaflet has been drawn up which sets forth that "Politics govern the whole of the professional life" of women teachers, that "Education aims at making the best possible citizens; women are denied the rights of citizenship," and concludes by urging women to take their share in the things that concern them and to rescue the control of the teachers' organisations from "such reactionaries as those who would not 'play fair' on June 26th." The President of the new Union is that energetic suffragist, Miss Agnes Dawson, and the Hon. Secretary, Miss H. M. Townsend, 27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.

Forcible Photography.

A correspondent sends us a cutting which gives an account of a case in the police court at Leigh, Lancashire, in which two photographers were fined 10s. and costs for having entered a shop where a girl was at work and photographed her against her will, one of them holding her round the waist while the other used the camera, after which they demanded with threats that she should give an order for postcards to be produced from the negative. Our correspondent says, justly, that the infliction of a nominal fine seems quite inadequate to the offence. It is at least to be hoped that the magistrate ordered the destruction of the plate. The injury caused to a respectable girl's reputation, and even to her business, by the circulation of such a photograph might be very great; and even if no such injury were in question the assault was an outrageous one.

Constitutional Suffragists and the Press.

On page 402 will be found a letter from Miss Crosley, who complains that the constitutional movement for Women's Suffrage is hardly known in Canada. By the same post came a letter not intended for publication from a New England suffragist, in the course of which she observes: "If I depended upon the American Press for news, I should think the English suffragists as a whole were militant, as very little reference is made to the great army of law-abiding suffragists in England." The question of how to get our work properly reported in the New World is evidently one which constitutional suffragists ought very seriously to consider.

The Fault is in Ourselves.

An article in the *Anti-Suffrage Review*, headed "Women in Politics. By one of them," contains some wise and true words which suffragists may well remember and apply. After remarking that some people think all political work unwomanly, the writer proceeds: "All that we political women can say is that, if we are unwomanly, the fault lies not in the things that we touch, but in ourselves and the way we touch them."

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RIGHT OPPORTUNISM.

There are certain words in the English language to which, by a general association, but without any real reason, a meaning exclusively evil has come to be attached. Perhaps the most curious instance of this is to be found in two companion words, "credulous" and "incredulous." Language here presents us with an *impasse*: we cannot be either credulous or incredulous as to the good intentions, say, of a Government or the professions of party-politicians without an implied reproach against ourselves. And yet, in a given set of circumstances, one or other of these attitudes must be right; but, as Mrs. Berry complained, after search for a right description of herself in the dictionary, "Johnson haven't got a word for us."

In the same way an evil meaning has come to be attached to the word "opportunism," and though nine-tenths at least of current politics are conducted on opportunist lines, so that no practical politician can altogether exclude opportunism from his plans, yet so surely as the opportunism of any section in politics cuts across party lines and disturbs the equilibrium of the party wire-pullers, so surely shall we find that some calculating political "Johnson," whose plans our opportunism disturbs, "haven't got a word" that is bad enough for us; and when such opportunism is practised for the defence or furtherance of some great principle, against which by general consent the party-system has banded itself, then at once we shall hear that our conduct is "unprincipled."

We Suffragists of the Fighting Fund Policy are hearing it to-day; and it simply means that we have hit upon a device which is making our opponents, who trusted in the party-system to defeat us, "sit up." They don't like it; and that in itself gives us a *prima facie* reason for thinking that we have done well. The abuse that follows comes merely in the order of nature.

Now a plain reason why some opportunism must be practised in politics is that scarcely any two men think entirely alike; but no two men in the political world can by themselves put their thoughts into effect; and so the party-system has come to their aid, and by artificially exaggerating the amount of agreement that exists in one section of the community, and artificially exaggerating the amount of disagreement which exists between that and some other section, has persuaded a great many unreflecting people to think that "principle" resides within the bonds of party, and that opportunism of a base kind is always involved in any alliance which, for the support of some neglected principle, brings a new grouping of political forces to bear. There is an attempt, that is to say, to make conventional or party opportunism orthodox, and unconventional or non-party opportunism heretical.

Yet so long as we base our legislative effectiveness on the party-system—whether of two or more—subordinating the action of the individual to that of the group he works with, so long must there be of necessity an opportunism in politics, which can only be kept healthy by a preparedness on the part of some at least to break down party-lines in whatever way may prove most practical and most effective. And if that be

true of those who possess the vote and belong to a party, it is still more true of those who are without the vote and claim to be of no party; these, though they stand outside, must still be watchful critics of the party-system, and must be prepared to direct a stroke against that system, when, satisfied with its possession of power, it is consenting to the perpetuation of some great injustice. For a cause which seems to them supremely just, important, and urgent, non-party workers must, if they would be practical politicians, seize their opportunity; they must, therefore, in some degree or other be opportunists; and they must be prepared to hear their opportunism denounced as base and unscrupulous by those who do not regard the cause they fight for as the greatest of all. Especially will they be so accused when their opportunism has a very direct and influential bearing on the political situation.

Now if peaceful penetration of the party-system has failed to save a just cause from intolerable evasion and delay, then some more direct and threatening form of invasion must be tried; for whatever may be said against opportunism, inopportunism is worse. What, then, is it to be? Experience has shown that for practical politics it is not sufficient to stand outside the party-system, when that system, with all its organised powers, is helping to perpetuate injustice and injury. When that is the case, then you have got to "get at" the system and disturb its balance. To do so is really a logical outcome of the non-party attitude into which the evils of the system have driven you. Your principles have merely forced you to make an attack more frontal in character. That is the position of those non-party Suffragists who are supporting the Fighting Fund Policy; and they are told in consequence, more especially by virulent Anti-Suffragists, that such a course is unscrupulous and opposed to principle.

Now let us see on what possible lines, under present conditions, the political action of Suffragists could be purged of opportunism.

It might seem, on the face of it, that to run Suffrage candidates of their own would be a counsel of perfection pure and undefiled. But a Suffrage candidate would still have his own opinions approximating probably to those of a party; he would claim the right to express them, and when he did he would be giving his support to that party. The most he could promise would be that when matters bearing on the Suffrage were under discussion, Suffrage interests should have first place; and for the sake of securing a member so pledged Suffragists would be opportunist towards the rest of his opinions.

The anti-Government policy, again, though on one side it presents a front of principle which in theory is perfect, involves in practice the support of other candidates with whose opinions Suffragists by no means agree. Yet if the anti-Government policy could succeed in turning election after election against a Government which was devising means to postpone the enfranchisement of women, no one who put the woman's cause first and foremost could object to it on the score of principle. Whole-hearted Suffragists can only object to it now because they happen to think it ineffective, but faced by such results

the Government would be forced to modify its attitude before final defeat overwhelmed it; and thus, though opportunism would be forced on the Government itself, principle would triumph. But that triumph would only have been brought about by a certain measure of right opportunism.

Opportunism crops up again in the previous election policy of the N.U.W.S.S., of which the present is a development—a similar opportunism (in return for a less effective pledge from the favoured candidate) to that involved in the running of an independent Suffragist. And here again you are bound to judge of your opportunism—whether it is justifiable or no—in relation to its effectiveness in bringing about the triumph of your main principle. If your "non-party" support impartially distributed does not in effect lift the Suffrage cause above party in the House of Commons and secure that its members shall vote irrespective of party interests, even as you have supported them irrespective of party, then your opportunism is out of touch with Parliamentary conditions, and you have been supporting your principle in the persons of men who are prepared to throw over that principle when it conflicts with something—namely, party interests—which they value more; you find, in fact, that you have committed yourself to a policy which has more "give" in it than "take"; and you come, as this year all Suffragists have come, face to face with a defeat of principle, because the material you have been working with is too opportunist in its calculations to be relied on for a fair and honourable return. That is a situation which, in defence of principle, you are bound to meet and, if possible, to control.

Now if the Suffragist members of the Liberal party would do what the Labour members have done, and refuse to vote for the final passing of any Franchise Reform Bill which did not include women, then the position for which the Fighting Fund was instituted would be practically gained, and the immediate danger brought about by Liberal defection from principle would vanish. The Government has only to be taught that a majority for the third reading of the Bill as it now stands does not exist, and there would result—no destruction of the Liberal Party, no overthrow of legislative hopes which many Liberal Women Suffragists hold dear, but merely a readjustment behind the scenes—perhaps a small amount of Cabinet reconstruction—and the elimination from the Government's plans of a malignant bias which the second reading debate on the Reform Bill made abundantly evident. If this were done, then the crisis which made the Fighting Fund an immediate necessity would be over; and, assured of a firm ground of principle within the Liberal party, we might be able to take a fresh view of the situation and reconsider our policy.

But, meanwhile, is it fair for any whole-hearted Suffragist to regard as unscrupulous opportunism a policy which has

as its immediate aim the restoration of principle to its right place within the party-system? An opportunist element, as we have shown, there must of necessity be whatever course of action is taken; but you must judge of it in relation with that which it has to face—that vast machinery of the party system without the aid of which we have always had to fight, and which has in effect been so sedulously directed against us.

In this great non-party fight of ours, that party-system has been our chiefest obstacle; and in one party alone—that of Labour—have the machinery and the interests of party ceased to be manipulated against us and been turned in our favour; in the programme of that one party alone has the principle for which we are fighting been accorded a recognised place.

And when a party has gone thus far towards recognising a principle which with us stands foremost, are we to be debarred from giving a corresponding recognition to that party? Anyone who denies to us that right, denies to Woman's Suffrage the first place we claim for it.

The N.U.W.S.S. (of which I speak as an outsider) does not identify itself with the Labour Party, or with its opinions, any more than it did with those of other candidates whom it has supported in the past. The element of opportunism, to which as practical politicians we of the Fighting Fund are committed, is no more and no less than that of the N.U.W.S.S. in the past, but just as then, the N.U.W.S.S. favoured individual candidates because their position in regard to Woman's Suffrage was stronger than that of their opponents, so now does it favour a group of candidates who have made an organised advance in support of the Suffrage which cannot fail to have its effect in the Parliamentary arena.

And let Suffragists remember that it is in the Parliamentary arena now that our battle has to be fought; in the place where, more than any other, party has shut out principle.

LAURENCE HOUSMAN.

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Will the lady who came into the National Union office some week ago, and gave £1 anonymously to the Fighting Fund, promising to make it £5 if the Labour Party announced its intentions of voting against the third reading of the Reform Bill unless women were included, kindly send her address to the Secretary of the Election Fighting Fund?

Women and Household Work.

None of the external arrangements of human life are unchangeable. The shoemaker working in his own shop and living behind or above it gives way to the "hand" tending a Goodyer machine in a great factory to the throb of a steam engine or the hum of an electric motor. The seamstress plying thimble and needle yields place to the treadle machinist and she, in turn, to the power machine, which not only stitches as many as seven parallel tucks at once but also outdoes the treadle machine in speed as much as that outdid the hand-guided needle and thread.

Yet, no doubt, in the days when the seamstress ran yards of cambric frilling for eighteenth-century shirts and the shoemaker fashioned shoes for the reception of diamond buckles there were many worthy people who thought that such methods of production were ordained by heaven and unalterable.

In like manner a writer in this month's *Anti-Suffrage Review* regards as unalterable and inevitable the double burden of the working woman who after a day's labour for payment in factory or mill returns to perform another half-day's labour for no payment at home—cooking, cleaning, washing and mending not only for herself, but for her male relatives whose evenings

are left free. With joy this writer comments upon a note in the COMMON CAUSE of August 22nd, wherein the overwork thus resting upon industrially employed women was pointed out as an explanation of that apathy with which working women are so often reproached. "Inevitably," said the COMMON CAUSE, "the brother, released from his share of the household toil, grows in comprehension and in knowledge." "Quite so," cries the *Anti-Suffrage Review*, "and for this very reason in the beginning of time 'male and female created He them'—an observation that seems a little irrelevant when we reflect that Eve assuredly neither worked at a trade, washed up dishes, nor darned Adam's stockings. The writer goes on to expound the importance of the various "domestic jobs" performed by women and their value to the "well-ordered State." As generalities his remarks are quite sound, but they do not include any suggestions as to those labour-saving reforms by which the domestic jobs of small households might be so much more efficiently as well as much more cheaply done. When, however, this particular anti-suffragist proceeds to say that "it is only the suffragist who ignores the basic importance of the 'domestic jobs' and would pretend that they are menial and worthless," we must politely and firmly protest—and that on two grounds.

In the first place there is no such person as "the suffragist";

there are only suffragists—many thousands of them, and no two exactly alike. Some are actually teachers of domestic economy. Some, no doubt, dislike domestic occupations and some enjoy them; these differences exist in every large group of women, and depend not upon intellectual beliefs but upon inborn disposition. If any general rule could be discovered it would probably be that the woman who genuinely loves housework is seldom the same person as she who genuinely loves children.

In the second place if there be indeed any typical character who despises domestic work and who holds it menial and worthless, that character must surely be looked for not among average women—who habitually do it, even though they do not always like doing it—but among average men who neither consent to do it nor expect to pay for it.

Housework, as generally carried on in this country, is one of the most backward of industries. The results, as compared with the cost in time, labour and money, are dishearteningly poor, and a very large proportion of the persons engaged in it are without either technical skill or that satisfaction in their work which gives savour to the day's task. To anti-suffragists who constantly express so strong a sense of the value of good homes we would, in no spirit of irony, but quite sincerely, commend the consideration of these undeniable facts.

To any person familiar with the conditions and processes of other industries the reason for this backwardness is obviously that domestic work (or rather that residue which is still carried on in individual homes) has not yet passed through those stages of evolution by which the branches which have left the home, such as spinning, weaving, medicine and sick-nursing, have been transformed. Division of labour and the use of highly specialised appliances are the characteristics of modern industry and are necessary to efficiency in a social state so complex as ours; but neither condition can be secured while each woman labours alone with her individual cooking stove and scrubbing brush. In the large houses of wealthy people specialisation has established itself; the cook does not wait at table nor the nursemaid clean the silver. There the workers are well paid, and (partly as a result of payment) their work is worth paying for.

But wherever there exists a supply of very cheap labour improvement in methods of production lags. One main reason why match-boxes long continued to be made by hand instead of by machinery was that women and children could be found to make them at home at rates ranging from 2½d. per gross. Now in respect to domestic work there exists the cheapest supply of labour in the world. Wives, sisters, and formerly daughters—but daughters are nowadays growing restive—have for generations done domestic work in return for board and lodging only. To-day hundreds of them are doing it and at the same time earning their board and lodging by some other industry. This, no doubt, is a transitional stage; by and by women will cease to cook and sweep singly as they have ceased to carry their own water from wells or to spin and weave their own yarn. That change as it gradually comes will solve all those complications of the differences between rates paid to men and women for similar expenditures of time and labour and will make home, even for the working woman, a place of rest and comfort instead of a place of endless toil. It will for the first time in the history of the civilised world enable us all to live in really clean surroundings and will lift the union of husband and wife, mother and child above the daily struggle with endless petty details.

The precise form in which the change will come cannot be foretold, for who can yet reckon up the possibilities of labour-saving machinery? It seems safe, however, to conjecture that electricity will do our heating and cooking, that an improved type of vacuum cleaner will visit our rooms at short intervals and that our crockery will be washed in deep receptacles fitted with appropriate shelves of grating through which abundant streams of boiling water followed by streams of cold water and then by streams of dry hot air will flow.

Two points are however fairly certain: the first is that as long as family privacy continues to be desired each family will retain its own separate dwelling even although it sheds its separate kitchen and its separate broom; the second is that the real and natural family duties—the duties implied in the text which says that 'male and female created He them'—belong to an altogether different region from the performance of domestic service. There were doubtless good wives and good mothers—and also bad ones—when our race lived in caves and wore woad; there were good ones and bad ones when the spinning wheel tapped in every living room, when water was brought in in pails and wood was chopped by hand at the

back door. There are good wives and mothers—wonderfully, heroically good ones—wearing themselves to death to-day in the struggle to live two working lives in one; and while the core of our nation remains as sound as it is among working women to-day, more leisure for self-cultivation, less fatigue, more time for the children's company, more knowledge of the wider life of the world will make them—as it has made the men of their class—more intelligent, more sober, better parents and better citizens.

Meanwhile the fatigues of the transitional stage would be greatly lightened if it would occur to the men of households in which both men and women are wage-earners that justice demands a sharing of housework. Some men perceive this for themselves; there are some husbands and brothers who already do all the scrubbing, coal-carrying, and blacking of grates in their own homes while the women cook and sew. Theirs is practical chivalry by which the tired women, their relatives, are really helped. Moreover, whenever men largely undertake domestic burdens we may feel sure that those burdens will be on the way to get abolished, since men—happily for the progress of the world—have not that patience which is willing to go on suffering unnecessary discomfort.

British Association and Women's Suffrage.

(From Our Special Correspondent.)

A gathering unique in the annals of either the British Association or the history of Women's Suffrage was held in the Gilfillan Hall, Dundee, on Friday, September 6th, when an imposing array of scientific men met under the auspices of the Dundee Women's Suffrage Society to proclaim their faith in the scientific aspect of the movement towards granting the extension of the franchise to women.

Dr. W. R. Scott, Professor of Economics in the University of St. Andrews who presided, in introducing the principal speaker of the evening, Sir Victor Horsley, F.R.S., expressed himself as convinced that the welfare of the State demanded the inclusion of women in Parliamentary affairs.

Sir Victor Horsley, F.R.S., moved: "That this meeting calls upon His Majesty's Government to secure that the enfranchisement of women be included in the passing of the Franchise Bill." Sir Victor pointed out in his speech the illogical attitude of those who urge women to take a greater share in the government of local affairs which involve the administration of highly complex laws in the making of which they have had no share, and yet object to the granting of that power to women which would make it possible for them to help in framing the laws they are obliged to administer. Sir Victor declared that science is the basis of all true politics, and that the health of the body politic could not be maintained without proportional representation, the true balance of the whole, without the participation of the parts. He strongly condemned the administration of forcible feeding to suffrage prisoners, and the misuse of science which such treatment involved; he protested against the quasi-scientific statements read by Mr. McKenna in the House of Commons, the authors of which had concealed their names. Sir Victor also pointed out that, if women were granted the vote, it was quite probable that the present existing numerical inequality between the sexes (of which men are so afraid) might disappear, as at least one destructive factor in our social life—the abuse of alcohol—would most certainly be relegated to its proper place when women got the vote, and it is an undoubted fact that alcohol contributes largely to the death-rate amongst men.

Professor B. Moore, F.R.S. (Bio-Chemistry, Liverpool), in seconding the resolution, discussed the subject from the point of view of social evolution. He pointed to the rapid advance during the last century in religion, the evolving from the crude concepts of future pain and punishment, joy and felicity as rewards for the observance of dogmatic rules of life, to the finer apprehension of life itself as the reward. Notable advance in the treatment of children and in the ideal of women had been made, and the intelligent young man of to-day could not be satisfied with the early Victorian type of woman for his wife. The advances of the sexes must be mutual; the voice of the mothers and of the women workers must be heard in the councils of the nation; the protection of the vote must not be withheld from those who shared in the nation's existence and industry.

Professor Latta (Logic, Glasgow) strongly advocated the giving of the vote to women as an educative force, not only to themselves, but to the men also. Such education was possible only through the exercise of the function.

Professor W. D. Halliburton (Physiology, London) considered two well-known physiological arguments used by anti-suffragists against granting the vote to women. As regards the difference in weight between the brains of men and women, he ridiculed the contention that weight should decide the ruling power of the brain, pointing out that an elephant's brain was heavier than a man's, and that an ant, from which we have Scriptural authority to believe we may learn wisdom, has the smallest brain on record. Professor Halliburton, whose humorous treatment of the subject excited the delighted laughter of the large audience, commented on the further argument that maternal duties excluded women from voting. He did not think that the babies made a point of arriving on polling day, and he said it was as senseless to preclude a woman from taking part in politics because of her maternal potentiality as to forbid a man to vote because he was liable to be attacked by influenza. Professor Halliburton said he would consider he had failed in his duty as a medical man if he did not publicly express his strong condemnation of forcible feeding. He was inclined to believe that those "scientific" incognitos quoted by the Home Secretary were creatures of the imagination. It was incredible in our so-called civilisation that such torture should exist.

Professor Chapman (Economics, Manchester) expressed his opinion that the giving of the vote to women was a fundamental reform more essential to the welfare of the nation than any other social reform. He felt that the affairs of the social sphere into which politics now penetrated could not be efficiently administered without the help of the women.

At the close of the meeting, the resolution was unanimously passed.

On the platform, besides the speakers, were Professor Arthur J. Thomson (Zoology, Aberdeen), Professor Weiss (Manchester), who proposed a vote of thanks to the chairman and to Miss Alice Crompton, whose untiring energy had made the meeting such a success; Miss Doris Mackinnon (assistant to the Professor of Zoology, University College, Dundee), Doctor Jeannette Miller, Doctor Julian Pringle, Doctor Emily Thomson, Dr. Templeman (Medical Officer of Health, Dundee), the Rev. C. M. Grant, D.D., members of the Parish Council and School Board, and the officials and committee of the Dundee Women's Suffrage Society, of which the President, Mrs. Mill, proposed a vote of thanks to the speakers.

In the long list of sympathisers unable to be present whose messages were read, occurred the names of Professor Schäfer, F.R.S., President of the British Association; Sir Henry Miers, F.R.S., Chancellor of London University; Professors Arthur Schuster, F.R.S., Manchester; Sims Woodhead, Cambridge; Cush, F.R.S., Aberdeen; Mackenzie, Cardiff; Muirhead, Birmingham; Alfred Hughes, Birmingham; McKendrick, F.R.S., Glasgow (retired); Findlay, Manchester; Green, Sheffield; Dr. J. W. Evans, and other members of the geological section; Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D.; Miss Sara Burstall; Miss Chrystal Macmillan, and Doctor Elsie Inglis.

The beautiful banner of the National Union, kindly lent by the Committee, was erected behind the speaker's chair; the banners of Dundee, Edinburgh, and Glasgow also being hung in the hall.

A Contrast.

By A. T. ALLEN.

The rustle of papers, soft footfalls, and the low whispering voices of the highly fashionable audience, ceased abruptly as the Judge began to speak. All eyes in the sombre court-room, except those of the prisoner, were turned on him, as, in his voluminous red robe and imposing wig, he addressed the miserable-looking occupant of the dock. He was an important-looking man, this judge, and the accoutrements of justice around him served to make his words appear most weighty and solemn. The men and women in Court felt hushed and awed by his demeanour. One or two experienced a sense even of foreboding, as though his words of condemnation were addressed to them.

Only the prisoner seemed unmoved. He, insignificant in appearance at ordinary times, seemed almost lost in the large area of the dock. His curiously-shaped skull and indeterminate chin were almost all of him that was visible to those in the well of the Court. Now and again his hands, twitching restlessly, came into sight on the dock rail, and his gaze for a moment would pause in its nervous wandering round the Court; but such evident attempts to rivet his attention always failed, and the hands would fall nervously to his side, his eyes flit once again unseeingly around.

"You have been found guilty"; the Judge's solemn tones reverberated throughout the still Court and struck into the heart

of every listener except that of him to whom the words were addressed, "of a most deliberate and fiendish murder, and your crime is aggravated by the fact that your victim, through his kindness to you, had the greatest claims upon your gratitude and affection. The fact, too, that in your attempts to clear yourself, you have spared no effort to blacken the character of the murdered man, and hold him up to public execration"—the tones became more condemnatory, and one or two of the more sensitive occupants of the Court grew pale and shrank a little in their seats—"makes your crime blacker, if such a thing is possible. In passing upon you the only sentence which the Law allows for the crime you have committed, I have the feeling that in your case it is well merited. The Jury has not recommended you to mercy, and I can hold out to you no hope that you will be reprieved."

A perceptible shudder ran through the Court as the Judge solemnly donned the black cap, and repeated the words of the death sentence.

"... and may the Lord have mercy on your soul." Directly the last words had been spoken, the creature in the dock was touched on the arm by a warder at his side and shepherded down the steps leading to the cells. After a short wait, he was led away to where the prison van stood ready in the yard, and once within it, was quickly transported to the grim prison wherein his last days were to be spent.

On his arrival, and after the preliminary formalities of his admittance had been observed, he was ushered into the condemned cell; one slightly larger than the others in the prison and much more comfortably furnished. Still his distraught manner and lack of comprehension of what was going on around him, remained. When the prison garb was brought him, he changed his clothes with dumb obedience, and sat down on the edge of his bed gazing at the watchful warders with unseeing eyes.

Soon the cell door opened afresh. It admitted the bearer of a tray, on which was a fair-sized meal, hot and savoury-looking. When it was set before the prisoner, he roused a little to enquire heavily:—

"What's this for?" "Your dinner," was the reply vouchsafed by the warder, in tones which still retained some traces of humanity, "better get it down you."

The prisoner sat a moment in blank silence. Then he spoke again in the same heavy, monotonous voice.

"They feed me when I'm not hungry," he said, and turned his head aside, feebly.

"It's the rules," replied the warder in his most official manner.

* * * * *

II.

Two long tables stretched down the school-room; tables covered with stiff, white cloths and flanked with long forms. The children, roughly clad and insufficiently booted, sat each before his or her plate. There was a curious look of expectancy on every face.

At one end of the room a huge stewpan simmered soothingly, and every now and then the lid would lift and fall again abruptly, letting a tantalising odour of the contents of the pan into the room. Here and there, the nostrils of the waiting children would twitch as the appetising smell reached them, and involuntary lickings of the tight-drawn lips would ensue.

Signs of dawning impatience at the delay in serving were allayed on the entrance of the prim school-mistress with her assistants. The latter immediately proceeded to serve the meal, and the scene became more animated, eyes and faces more bright, as the stewpan was uncovered and its steaming contents transferred to the little platters.

Beginning at the end of the room farthest from the stove and progressing towards the source of the supply, the plates were filled with mathematical precision. The appetising odour of the food seemed increased a thousandfold when it was transferred directly under the noses of the young diners. It seemed to diffuse, too, a spice of cheeriness into the room. Even the schoolmistress' mouth relaxed into the glimmerings of a smile, and her strained eyes grew softer.

Yet, withal, there was something lacking to make the scene complete and satisfying. A restraint, almost overcome but still present, bound the whole assembly. The little fingers, which twitched to be using the spoons and forks in the manner for which they were intended, had perforce to remain still. Mouths, opening involuntarily like the beaks of young birds on the advent of the parent with food, were shut again, without being filled with the tempting morsels placed so near to them. The eyes of those whose plates were already filled, watched with increased impatience the progress of serving out the food. Something like a sigh of relief seemed to breathe through the assembly as the

last plate was placed noiselessly back on the table and the schoolmistress called sharply, "Grace, please."

Obediently the children scrambled to their feet and gabbled through the thanksgiving. If their thanks were not expressed in words so fervently as they might have been, actions repaired the omission. The manner in which the food was attacked must have rejoiced the provider far more than mere words could have done. These children of poverty, whom a sympathetic nation had decreed should be fed first and taught afterwards, now cast aside restraint, and the scene of feasting was one to fill the soul of the onlooker with a satisfying sense of benevolence.

But suddenly the harmony was broken. A discordant note struck in upon the sounds of conviviality. From outside the door a sob was heard to come, followed by another and yet another. The mistress in a moment became her grim self again. Quickly she strode to the door and opened it, to disclose to view a little eight-year-old girl, tidily clad but with a dirty, tear-stained face, crying bitterly. Not at all a nice sight to obtrude at such a time. The children, without knowing why, felt there was something wrong in it; the mistress knew that such a thing was not in accordance with the scene pictured by those who had drawn up the rules regulating the feeding of the children.

She felt called upon to be severe, but was weak enough to pretend to an ignorance of the cause of the child's pain.

"What are you doing here?" she asked in the monotone which she had acquired through years spent in suppressing her individuality and conforming to the rules of her profession, "go away now, and don't be such a naughty girl."

The little one snuffled a moment, then with a gulp, conquered her tears sufficiently to be able to speak.

"I—I'm hungry," she gasped, and glanced along the rows of feeding children. For a moment her misery was forgotten in envious contemplation of her luckier school-fellows. Her eyes grew brighter at the sight of food.

The mistress, speaking, recalled her attention. "You were late for school this morning, Emily Brown," she said, without either sympathy or condemnation in her tone, "and so you can't have any dinner. You know what the rules are."

She closed the door again quietly, before the child seemed quite to realise that the meal, the sight of which had for a moment raised her hopes, was not after all to be shared by her. The tears which once again broke out, soon died away.

Child as she was, she knew that "the rules" would not hear her.

They Say—What do They Say?

The following letter has been sent to us by a correspondent, who has omitted to tell us the name of the paper from which it has been cut:—

The magistrates at Merthyr who fined a woman £2 for "harbouring" her own daughter when she was in dire trouble may have been justified by the circumstances; but I wonder.

The girl had been adopted by the Board of Guardians, and placed by them in a situation where she got into trouble. She went home to her mother and gave birth to a child. The Poor Law officers took her away to the workhouse, where she died. Then the mother was charged with having "harboured" her, and fined under the Act of 1898.

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.

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From Headquarters.

Apart from by-election and other political work, which is ever with us, the two events upon which we ask our members to concentrate their attention, are the General Council and the Albert Hall Meeting. Important dates in connection with the

This mother may have been totally unfit to have control of a daughter. But the daughter did not think so, for in her hour of trouble it was with her mother, and not, oddly enough, with the Board of Guardians, that she sought a harbour of refuge. Should the mother have refused her this "harbour"? Under the letter of this Act, apparently, she should; yet it would be a strong law indeed that could compel a mother to turn away her own daughter when she came to her for help and shelter. Obviously the Act was never intended to apply to such a case, and it seems strange that even the death of the younger woman, in the hands of the Guardians, was not held to have wiped out her mother's offence in helping her.

There are laws which must be vindicated, even in cases where they were not meant to apply. But a fine of a shilling would surely have met this strange case. FILSON YOUNG.

Last week we urged upon members of local suffrage societies the desirability of supplying notes to local papers. A copy of the *East Berks Gazette and County Review* has been sent us which contains an excellent set of such notes, some giving general suffrage news and others information from the neighbourhood. One of these mentions that in a small town a woman who kept a little shop, having put into her window a bill announcing a suffrage meeting, "a lady customer" came and informed her "she would cease to deal with her and would dissuade all her friends from doing so, too." A needlewoman who would have liked to join the local society reported that she was afraid to do so, having been told that half her customers would leave her if she did; while another working woman said "she had been given to understand that if she had a vote she would no longer be able to take care of her children." The latter statement may have been based upon some misunderstanding; but the threats to deprive women of work if they dared to express openly a belief in the need of enfranchisement for their sex are in the highest degree cruel and improper.

At an inquest recently held at Stockton into the death of a young girl who had poisoned herself, the Coroner (Mr. J. Hyslop Bell, J.P.) is reported to have said that he sometimes thought if they had women's juries such cases would be more drastically dealt with—an observation which is partly explained by the jury's declaration that the girl's lover, who was many years her senior, deserved public censure.

Mr. A. C. Benson, writing in the *Church Family Newspaper* upon the life of General Booth, dwells upon the importance of the work of women in the Salvation Army, and reminds his readers that—

the Salvation Army is perhaps as much the creation of Mrs. Booth as of General Booth. The strength of its appeal and of its perception is that it emanated from a singularly beautiful and united marriage, a private domestic council, so to speak. That is a very important point, because one of the most salient features of the whole movement is that it combines more definitely than perhaps any other religious organisation the powers of both men and women. Thus it has this strong note of modernity about it, in its recognition of women's work from the first and all along. Most great missionary movements have been inspired and started by men; and though the work of women in the mission field has been enormous and widespread, yet I doubt if there has ever been a movement which has so clearly emphasised the equality of women's work as the Salvation Army. Mrs. Booth, who was a woman of high genius and devotion, was as much the mother of the movement as the General was its father. It was not a mission which called in the help of women as auxiliaries; women were an integral part of the scheme from the start, and Mrs. Bramwell Booth, the wife of the new General, has the same status as her husband. This is one of the essential characteristics of the Army, and it is to this that it owes much of its marked success.

former have already been circulated to the Societies. Resolutions for the printed agenda must be posted to us on September 17th; for the final agenda on October 1st. Tickets of admission and invitation cards for delegates will be enclosed as usual with the final agenda, and secretaries are asked to look for the envelope containing them before writing to us to say that they have not been sent. All applications for hospitality

and proxy-delegates must go to the Secretary, Grosvenor Chambers, 16, Deansgate, Manchester.

We hope to circulate handbills announcing the Albert Hall Meeting in the course of the week. Applications for seats should go to the Secretary of the London Society, 58, Victoria Street, Westminster. GERALDINE COOKE.

By-Election.

MIDLOTHIAN.

Provost Brown (Labour).
Major Hope (Unionist).
Hon. Alex. Shaw (Liberal).
Polling: September 10th.

Election Fighting Fund Organiser: Miss Margaret Robertson.

Office 49, Shandwick Place, Edin- Miss Kirby in charge.

Distict. 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.

By the time this report appears the result of the election will be known; any sort of prophecy would, therefore, be out of place. We must say, though, that whatever the result, we are well satisfied with the campaign so far as Women's Suffrage is concerned. The workers, some of them with an experience of many elections, are agreed that no constituency has ever shown itself more unanimously favourable to our claims, or more enthusiastic in its reception of our speakers.

Our co-operation with the Labour party has been very complete and very satisfactory during the last stages of the fight. Every night of the week our speakers have taken part in Labour meetings, and at almost every one of our indoor meetings some Labour M.P. has made a stirring speech in support of our position.

On Monday Mr. Ramsay Macdonald spoke at Addiewell and West Calder, and on each occasion I was the only speaker, and had to talk three-quarters of an hour pending his arrival. On each occasion he opened his speech with an absolute identification of the Labour party with the cause of Women's Suffrage, assuring the women that the Labour party was unitedly determined to fight their battle and to see it through.

We were fortunate in being able to secure Mrs. Philip Snowden's help for the first two nights of the week, and on Monday she addressed three Labour meetings, appearing in each case with Provost Brown, the Labour candidate. On Tuesday the meetings at which she spoke were arranged by the National Union, at Rosewell and Dalkeith. Both were packed, and gave the speakers an enthusiastic reception. At both meetings Mr. Tom Richardson, M.P. for Whitehaven, spoke. He demanded absolute equality between men and women: equal pay for equal work, equal status, equal opportunities. He urged, from the point of view of the miner's wife, that she should have the power to demand such legislation as would safeguard her husband's life; and expressed his conviction that the enfranchisement of women would bring into our government a truer sense of values—a realisation of the sacredness of human life rather than property. At Rosewell he further assured his audience that the Labour party was pledged to a man to do all in its power to prevent any Franchise Bill becoming law without the inclusion of women.

At Dalkeith, Mr. Richardson was followed by Mrs. Annot Robinson, whose keen grasp of the issues of the election, and particularly of the inconsistencies of the various exponents of land reform, delighted her audience. A leaflet which she has drawn up on these lines has been in great demand. On both days the kind loan of Lady de la Warr's motor-car, in which she took Mrs. Snowden from meeting to meeting, was an enormous help to us.

On Wednesday our great meeting was at Penicuik, in the Cowan Institute, which holds over 1,000 people, and was packed to the doors. What delighted us particularly was the large numbers of women who were present—a most unusual thing at Scottish political meetings. Mr. Egerton Wake took the chair, and opened the meeting with an admirable speech, impressing upon the audience the greatness and dignity of the cause which they were called on to support. Miss Alice Low, Mr. Tom Richardson, and I followed, and the response was splendid. Mr. Wake, who is Labour agent in Berwick, told

us afterwards that we had made a fine impression, had turned many people completely round, and decided them to attend all the Labour meetings henceforward.

At the same time, in Juniper Green, one of the most difficult suburban places, Mrs. Annot Robinson and Mr. James Parker, M.P., were bringing a somewhat light-minded audience to a sober, and finally deeply sympathetic, attitude towards our demand. Mrs. Chew, meanwhile, who is always eagerly sought after by the organisers of Labour meetings, was addressing several such meetings, one after another, in the open-air; and Mrs. Aldersley and Mrs. Earp were also addressing open-air meetings.

On Thursday night our ten speakers addressed, among them, twelve meetings—seven being organised by the Labour Party and five by ourselves. At two indoor Labour meetings—Gilmerton and Liberton—I spoke until Mr. Henderson, M.P., arrived, and each time he gave special prominence to the suffrage question in his address, and made allusion to the great battle which the Labour Party was prepared to wage on behalf of the women in the near future.

Friday was a great night, for we had taken four large halls in different parts of the constituency—Ratho, Stow, Pumpherston, and Bonnyrigg. The Ratho meeting was unique, as it was the first time we had had the pleasure of welcoming the candidate on our platform, and the first time that Provost Brown had appeared at Ratho during the election. Miss Matters had prepared the ground by a splendid speech, and he had a fine reception and spoke well for us.

At Stow, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Inglis, and Mrs. Annot Robinson addressed a crowded meeting; and at Pumpherston Miss Gordon and Mrs. Chew and Mr. Robert Small were well received.

At Bonnyrigg, when Miss Beaver, Miss Blackstone and I arrived at the hall, we found the whole local Labour Committee waiting, asking to be allowed to come on the platform and support the speakers. When I had spoken, a motor rushed me across to Newtongrange, where I took the place of Mr. Anderson, who returned in the motor to finish the meeting at Bonnyrigg. Both were packed out, and full of enthusiasm. Indeed, at Newtongrange the unanimity was extraordinary. The vote will go pretty well solid there for Provost Brown. Meanwhile, Mrs. Aldersley was addressing several Labour meetings in the West Calder district. Altogether our speakers have addressed between 40 and 50 meetings in the week.

What this has meant in the way of hard, steady spade work in preparation only those who have done it know. Each day our cars have taken forth our workers, two by two, and set them down in distant villages, to go through the weary, but interesting, canvass from door to door, which alone ensures a really successful meeting. Miss Foggo has been indefatigable in this work. Day after day she has willingly set herself to any job, no matter how difficult and unpleasant, and has carried it through with uniform success. Her work has not been in the limelight, but it has been the steady foundation on which we have been able to build.

Of Mrs. Tozer's work, too, it is impossible to speak too highly. All through the election she has lived out at Dalkeith, under none too comfortable circumstances, managing the committee rooms, sending out workers in all directions, going out herself to work up meetings and to canvass in some of the most difficult districts. She is a first-rate canvasser, and as successful a seller! On Saturday night she actually took 11s. 8d. for penny badges from the men at the Labour demonstration.

Whilst Mrs. Tozer has done wonders at Dalkeith, Mrs. Townley has been working with extraordinary success, under still more trying circumstances, at West Calder. The committee room there, when all allowances are made, is not the pleasantest or healthiest place to stay in, but it has been as much a centre of activity as if it had possessed every natural advantage. There Mrs. Townley, with devoted assistants, has written out canvass cards; thence she has gone canvassing herself and from her experience and practical ability, given invaluable help to the local Labour organisation whose gratitude is warmly expressed. She has had many trials in this dreary district, but she emerges from them all smiling, and ready always to return to the fray. She has already been appointed checker, so her duties will not be over till the polling day is done.

Of the rest of the workers it is impossible to speak adequately. Miss Crum, Mrs. Philips, Mrs. Dickson, Mrs. Hope, Miss Beaver, Miss Bury, Miss Blackstone, Miss Jameson, Miss Scott Moncrieff, and many others have done invaluable service. For hospitality we have also to thank Mrs. Turnbull, Miss Loudon, Dr. Inglis, Mrs. Guyer, and the Misses Henderson.

The COMMON CAUSE has been going splendidly under Miss

Moody's able management. At the Labour demonstration on Saturday night, which Miss Low describes elsewhere, 233 were sold. The total number sold must now be close on 2,000.

In counting our gains, before we know whose will be the victory at the poll, we are all, I think, agreed that nothing we have been able to do has been of more value than our encouragement of the women to attend political meetings, and of the men to welcome them there and to recognise the need to educate them politically. There has been a most striking increase in the number of women who come to Suffrage and Labour meetings, whilst at the other meetings they were conspicuous by their absence; and the Labour Party are recognising that herein lies future strength for them.

The magnificent advocacy of the cause of women's freedom and equality from political platforms by men speakers has given the question a weight and standing in the election which it has seldom been able to win. The Labour Party has fought on Women's Suffrage, and the Suffragists have been able to make its courage its gain. The chairman of the B.S.P. in Dalkeith has been again and again to our committee rooms for Suffrage literature to canvass with. "For," he tells us, "although the electors are divided on other questions, on the right of women to vote they are unanimous." He is, therefore, able to approach any man, otherwise unsympathetic, through the gate of his sympathy with the women's cause. He has told us repeatedly what splendid work we have done for them, and on Saturday night he volunteered to sell COMMON CAUSES for us at the Liberal meeting, and disposed of nearly four dozen. One could go on and on with the pleasant tales which reach us of sympathetic utterances and actions. Every day our committee room has been a perfect bower of flowers from sympathisers. We may not yet have achieved a complete political victory in Midlothian, but we have raised the self-respect of the women; we have helped to waken the men to a juster and more comradely view of women; and we have left there many friends whom we shall not readily forget.

MARGARET ROBERTSON.

SATURDAY NIGHT.

The rain descended in a steady drizzle on the roof of the marquée where the Labour Party were to hold their great demonstration.

Dalkeith looked its wettest and dirtiest, but among those who thronged the streets and trooped to the meetings was a spirit of intense excitement, that excitement which pervades the air when a great political battle is to be fought.

The speakers pushed their way through a densely-packed crowd in the tent and mounted to the platform by a step-ladder. The audience, composed of miners from Rosewell, Newton-grange and Niddrie; carpet weavers from Bonnyrigg, and paper makers from Lasswade, surrounded the speakers spreading on either side, almost from end to end of the great marquée. Clouds of tobacco smoke hung about the platform as the miners pulled at their cutty pipes or smoked innumerable cigarettes.

Looking down on the sea of faces, one thing was plain—the old, old custom still held good and that Saturday was the day to be happy in more ways than one.

Many of the men could truthfully have sung the well-known old Scottish ballad:—

"We're no that fou,
We're no that fou,
But just a wee drop in the ee;
The wind may blow,
The cock may crawl,
But we will drink the barley bree."

Councillor Fogarty had a hard task as chairman to keep in check the exuberant spirits of the audience which broke forth at intervals in roars of laughter at the smallest joke, or rounds of cheers at a clever political gibe. Mr. Harry Twist, Labour candidate for Wigan, Mr. Adamson, M.P. for West Fife, and Miss Margaret Robertson had to "hold the fort" till 9 o'clock, when Mr. Will Crooks was eagerly looked for.

The palm was easily carried off by Miss Robertson, who

seemed to get command of the audience the minute she rose to her feet, and whose well-reasoned arguments on the inconsistencies of the Liberal Party on their land policy and on Women's Suffrage, drew round after round of applause from the meeting. Will Crooks knew how to touch the hearts of the men at the very beginning of his speech by a reference to the famous football club, the "Heart of Midlothian," and a recent victory. He is a comedian as well as a politician, and must appeal particularly to a Scottish audience, for his humorous remarks, given with an unsmiling face, and the kindly spirit behind even the most caustic jest, is not unlike our own favourite, Harry Lauder.

When the great meeting surged into the street, close on ten o'clock, there were glad hearts on the platform, for once again assurance had been given that Labour was steadily gaining ground in Midlothian. In the Foresters' Hall, meanwhile, the

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:

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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.

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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.

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.

FAMILIAR INITIALS AND THEIR MEANINGS.

U. W. S. S. (National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies).—Objects.—to obtain the Parliamentary Vote for Women on the same terms as it is or may be granted. to men. Methods.—Constitutional.

N. S. P. U. (Women's Social and Political Union). Objects.—Same as above. Methods.—Militant.

T. P. W. B. (Templar Printing Works, Birmingham.) Printers for both above great Organizations (and many others) Objects.—To obtain by trading. Funds to be used exclusively for the extension of the Cause of Temperance—no personal profit-getters or shareholders. Methods.—For our employees—Trade Union Conditions. For our customers—Best work at lowest remunerative prices.

MAY WE SERVE YOU?

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

grandson of the "Grand Old Man" did what he could to recall the spirit of the Liberal of the past to resuscitate the Liberals of the present.

The Hall, crowded three nights before for Mrs. Philip Snowden, was only half filled for Gladstone. "I sh'd have thought," said a Liberal worker, in a tone of great disgust, "that W. G. Gladstone could have commanded an audience in Midlothian." Of the "Great Unionist Demonstration" in the afternoon little need be said, the rain poured, and, as Shakespeare said, "the gentlemen roared," but demonstration there was none, for nobody came.

ALICE LOW.

REPORT OF PRESS WORK.

We have had hard work with the Press, but the barrier of silence has somewhat broken down since the beginning of the election. All the papers will take a certain amount of "communicated" material, and the *Scotsman* has reported two or three of our meetings briefly.

The best compliment, however, has been paid to us by the *Edinburgh Evening News* which has waxed very indignant as the effect of our work has become apparent. "A Liberal Worker," writing an article in it the other day, expressed doubt that the "Suffragettes" would turn 500 votes, with all their oratory."

In the *Forward* this week is a fine article by Mrs. Robinson, and there is also a brief allusion to the "splendid work" of the women. The *Labour Leader* publishes an effective statement by Mrs. Chew, several of whose paragraphs have also appeared in the local Press.

The *Standard* has published an interview with Miss Robertson.

In the election sheet of the Labour Party, the *Midlothian Citizen*, Mr. Brown expresses his support of Women's Suffrage, and Mr. Snowden calls upon the electors to help the Labour Party "to do justice to our women who have demanded citizen rights so long."

Treasurer's Notes.

Our readers will remember the generous contributions amounting in all to £240, which Miss Philippa Fawcett has given us during the past twelve months. Miss Fawcett now

Contributions to the General Fund.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged since Nov. 1st, 1911 ...	7,822	19	6
Received from Aug. 31st to Sept. 6th:—			
Donations:—			
General Fund—Mr. B. Elsassner ...	10	0	0
Scottish Federation towards Organiser's salary ...	12	10	0
Collection at Burnham per Mrs. Streeter ...	1	5	4
Subscriptions:—			
Miss P. G. Fawcett ...	10	0	0
Mrs. S. Bonwick ...	2	0	0
Mrs. Leland Buxton ...	0	0	0
Miss Cathie Macmillan ...	2	0	0
Miss Clara Collet ...	1	1	0
Miss Adela Baumann ...	1	6	0
Mrs. F. Richardson ...	1	0	0
Mrs. I. Gordon Murray ...	1	0	0
Mrs. J. C. P. Thompson ...	2	0	0
Miss Grace Hartley ...	2	6	0
Mrs. Alexander ...	2	6	0
	£7,561	10	4

National Union Van Tour.

To our great regret Miss Eskrigge had to leave us at Caergwile, thus bringing a most pleasant fortnight to an end. That the campaign in the West Lancashire Federation was so successful is undoubtedly due to the splendid leadership and energetic work of Miss Eskrigge, whose never-failing good humour turned the most trying experience into amusing memories. Nor can the nucleus crew of the van be sufficiently grateful to Miss Beavan for the consideration and care bestowed on the preliminary arrangements and catering department.

When Miss Eskrigge and Miss Colquitt, the indefatigable COMMON CAUSE seller, left us, we went to Overton where we stayed over Sunday.

At Wellington the local Society, through Mrs. Clemson and Mrs. Van Holmrigg, had arranged a meeting and found a splendid camping place for us. When the van arrived in the town the first person we saw was Miss Franklin, whom we had thought to be completely lost, parading the town between two sandwich-men. She had been travelling hard from Ireland since the morning before, and had luckily timed her arrival to coincide with our appearance from another quarter.

announces that she is prepared, for the ensuing year, to give a still larger contribution, promising us the sum of £272.

This announcement will call forth the heartfelt gratitude of all suffragists. Such acts of generous devotion have become the commonplaces of suffrage history, but nevertheless with every fresh example we feel increasingly a sense of personal obligation, as though we each individually had our share in the benefit which accrues to our Cause.

I have known for some time that the current year would prove to be a record of progress and activity achieved by the National Union, and though I cannot yet give detailed figures to show the large increase in money given us by members of the public for our work, I can state with accuracy that the money raised by the Union for the first nine months of our financial year, already exceeds the total raised in the previous twelve months by a considerable amount.

This is a very sure sign of the growth of our Movement; but these figures which show the large sums that are being spent are perhaps most impressive to those of us who know all that they stand for, and who look upon them as representing the strength of the purpose and of the ideals which the highest development of womanhood has yet produced. These figures are impressive also to those who know the hard and unremitting work that has been going on without a break all over the country during these past months. Take as an example the facts that since January 1st, 1912, 104 new Societies have been added to the National Union, and considerably over 1,000 important suffrage meetings were held under our auspices in the first six months of this year. We have no intention either of slackening off; on the contrary, we have already for some weeks been preparing for a great autumn campaign, having for its objective the inclusion of a Women's Suffrage Amendment in the Government's one-sided Franchise Reform Bill. This campaign will culminate in the great mass meeting at the Albert Hall on November 5th, and we already appeal to suffragists throughout the country to help in every way they can to make this demonstration a living proof that our demand is real, is profound, and is invincible.

In view of the present situation we shall ask especially for donations or promises for the Election Fighting Fund, but any sums not earmarked for this purpose will be devoted to the general funds of the National Union.

HELENA AUERBACH.

it. A good deal of literature was distributed and a dozen COMMON CAUSES were sold.

On Monday, September 9th, we move on to Pershore, and thence through Tewkesbury to Cheltenham, where we stay for a week.

HELGA GILL AND CO.

Federation Notes.

West Midland.

BREAKING NEW GROUND.

STOURBRIDGE.—On Tuesday afternoon, September 3rd, a well-attended drawing-room meeting was held, by kind permission of Miss Edwardes, at Oldswinford Castle, Stourbridge. The chair was taken by the Rev. M. S. Newland, vicar of St. Thomas's Church, who dwelt on the justice of women's claim to the franchise. The chief speaker, the Rev. W. A. Newman Hall of Dorridge, Warwickshire, gave a most interesting account of the beneficial results from the women's exercise of the vote in New Zealand, where he had worked for three years. Miss Ellen Farnell (organiser) spoke of the past and present work of the National Union and of the proposed amendments to the New Franchise Bill. A resolution in favour of granting a moderate measure of Suffrage to women was passed unanimously. Eighteen of the audience have become members of the National Union and doubtless a Society will now be formed.

What have all our societies been doing during the month of August? No doubt most of the hard workers have been spending a well-earned holiday in order to come back to Suffrage work with renewed ardour, so I must not complain that only two societies sent in any report.

The National Union van has visited WELLINGTON and BRIDGNORTH. At the former place the local society made all the arrangements, and a good open-air meeting was the result. Bridgnorth was canvassed by two members of the Shropshire Society before the arrival of the van, and Miss Gill reports an excellent reception there which is most encouraging. Our Federation will shortly send an organiser to form a society in Bridgnorth.

SOLIHULL AND DISTRICT reports that their new secretary has been working in Tamworth-in-Arden, Claverdon and Henley, and has secured three new members and twenty-one "friends." She also went to Stratford-on-Avon to enquire as to the attitude of the local associations towards Women's Suffrage, and had a most satisfactory interview with the editor of the "Herald," who expressed himself strongly in favour of the movement.

SHEREWSBURY reports that some quiet work has been done during the month in gaining "friends," and a good deal of success has been experienced. In the small village of Condover, which is now being canvassed, there

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.

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

are already forty "friends" enrolled, and the canvasser is hopeful of many more as the work proceeds. A collection is being raised for the Election Fighting Fund; donations are coming in very well, and it is expected that quite a good sum will be handed over to the National Union on the occasion of the coming Albert Hall meeting in November.
Shrewsbury, Newport and Ludlow electors are being asked to sign a circular letter to their respective M.P.s, urging them to vote for the inclusion of women in the Reform Bill.
The Federation Press secretary reports that the Press work is now well started and promises to be very active, but she makes an urgent appeal for a Staffordshire and Herefordshire County Press secretary. The County Press secretaries are doing excellent work in Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Shropshire, but the organisation cannot be complete without one for each county in the Federation. Surely there is some one who could come forward and take up this interesting work, which is really not arduous when subdivided, as is the case in this Federation? Will someone write to Mrs. Harley, Federation Press Secretary, Conover House, Shrewsbury, and offer herself, and thus complete the Press organisation?

East Midland.

LEICESTER. The office of the Leicester and Leicestershire W.S.S., at 20, Granby Street, has been given up. Communications should be addressed to the Secretary, Miss Elgood, B.A., 90, New Walk, or to the Hon. Sec., Miss Sloane, M.A., 13, Welford Road.

Scottish.

August in Scotland is generally a month of holiday idleness; the reports from our Societies prove this August indeed an exception. Some of these reports, being parts of Mrs. Snowden's wonderful run through the northern mainland and isles, have been retained for next week's issue, that the full list of towns visited may be complete.

The OBAN Society reports a branch formed in Blairmore, of which Mrs. Leggat, Dunst Tower, has become Secretary. On July 29th a public meeting was held in the Village Hall, when Miss Kate Robertson, from Oban, gave a very interesting address. Some heckling was so well answered that a village tradesman suggested the question "would he speak?" The Rev. Robt. Primrose showed himself, by his earnest and eloquent words from the chair, a warm friend to Women's Suffrage, as also did Mr. Jeffrey; and the vote of thanks to Miss Robertson, proposed by Mrs. Cochran, met with a most hearty response from an audience that had filled the hall to overflowing. Literature was sold at the close, and several members joined the branch. Miss Leggat bore all the expenses of the meeting, thus helping the funds of the Federation.

The SHETLAND Society took advantage of their Member's meeting in Lewis on August 10th to question him on his unsatisfactory attitude towards their cause. In reaffirming his intention to "stand by" the Referendum as the only means of deciding the question, he declared that women outnumbered men in the land, because men risked their lives for their country more than women, and he thought this consideration should weigh with women. Mr. Watson forgot—in giving as examples lives risked, and not what he will probably receive, statistics regarding women's lives not only risked, but forfeited, which, if they do not alter his views, will prove how little such considerations weigh with him.

The INVERBERTY Society held a most successful garden fête on August 3rd in the grounds of Caerlee House, kindly thrown open by Mr. and Mrs. Norman Ballantyne. About 250 visitors enjoyed a delightful afternoon; amusements were provided in the grounds; stalls of cake, candy, and flowers were arranged for sale on the verandah, and tea was served on the lawn. After tea the chair was taken by Mr. N. Ballantyne, who read out, among other letters of apology, one from Mr. Donald Maclean, M.P., regarding the absence of the speaker and looking forward to being present at the next gathering on September 4th. The chairman then, after a short speech of thorough Suffrage sympathy, introduced Miss Low, who gave a most interesting address. Taking up recent legislation—the Insurance Act, Home Rule Bill, Welsh Disestablishment, etc.—Miss Low showed how women immediately affected by such Bills had no means of enforcing their opinions on the legislators. Hearty votes of thanks were given to Miss Low on a call from Mr. Buchanan, and to Mr. and Mrs. Ballantyne with three cheers, called for by Mrs. Brown, Vice-President of the Society. The proceeds of the sale, with donations, amounted to over £25, and several new members joined during the afternoon.

The St. ANDREW'S Society took the opportunity of the St. Andrew's Annual Fair on the 13th and 14th inst. to carry through a Suffrage Demonstration, reaching, on such an occasion, hundreds of Mr. Asquith's electors, who came in from the constituency surrounding the burgh. A waggone, decorated with the National Union colours, drove through the dense crowds, the occupiers distributing everywhere leaflets, selling literature, and every here and there collecting audiences whose attention—in spite of bands, merry-go-rounds and the thousand noises of a fair—was held by Miss Watson and Miss Foggo, a heavy strain very bravely and successfully sustained. A testimony to the success of the demonstration was given by a man in the street, who said, "You don't do this kind of thing half often enough. You should have outdoor meetings all through the summer. There are plenty of young men in the town beginning to be interested, and wanting to know all about your movement." The Society is glad to report the appointment of Mrs. Rowland as their "Common Cause" Secretary, and hopes to increase the circulation of the paper in the locality.

GLENFARG Society has reports of two very successful gatherings. On the 15th a Cake and Candy Sale, by kind invitation of Mrs. Boyd, was held at Glendouglie, realising £10. Miss S. E. S. Mair opened the sale, and gave an excellent address; there was a large attendance. The weather was fine, and a beautiful tea was provided by Mrs. Boyd. On the 28th a grand concert and variety entertainment was given in Glenfarg Public Hall,

realising £9. A delightful programme of music—songs, violin solos and orchestral, varied by a Suffrage dialogue and Highland solo dances—was rendered, evoking hearty applause. Dr. Elsie Inglis presided, introduced by Mrs. Kirkland, and gave an impressive address in the middle of the programme. The vote of thanks, called for at the close by Mr. J. B. Stephenson, was enthusiastically given.

The BANFFSHIRE Branch held a Drawing-room Meeting, by the kindness of Mrs. Gowan, Cullen, on the 22nd, at which Mrs. C. C. Stopes gave an interesting address. Touching on the legal, moral and religious aspect of Women's Suffrage, Mrs. Stopes held the attention of a large audience, who joined in a short discussion afterwards, when the actions of the militant party were strongly condemned.

The EDINBURGH Society hopes that members and friends will bear in mind the Fancy Fair they are to hold on October 26th, and spare no effort to make it a great financial success. The Society's report of work in August is that of the Midlothian election, already given in by-election columns, adding a long list of helpers' names to those given there by Miss Robertson. The Federation correspondent supplies instead the following remarks:—"The Edinburgh Society's arrangements have been entirely overturned by the Midlothian election, which, at the very beginning of a well-earned holiday, brought Miss Alice Low, and soon afterwards Miss Lisa Gordon, back to office and hard work. Some of the members, who were comparatively near at hand, also sacrificed their holidays to assist, and others are returning from further afield; but the capital preliminary work in Midlothian done by the organisers required the full strength of their active and willing members to properly reach its climax—a climax which has been and is being fully realised and most generously supplied, the list of friends, members and organisers given in the delightful reports of the by-election columns being proof and the Federation acknowledges, with pride, its debt of gratitude to the friends, members and organisers of the Society, as well as to its own organisers, for so bravely upholding its character for strenuous work."

North Western.

CARLISLE.—We had the kind help of Miss Janet Heyes for a few days at the beginning of August. She held for us very successful open-air meetings at the town-cross, and a meeting for nurses at the Infirmary, by kind invitation of the matron. She also initiated what we hope will be a series of cottage-meetings intended to draw working-women to the cause.

KEWICK.—On August 9th a very successful meeting was held in the Market Square, when there was a large attendance of the visitors and townspeople. Mr. Frank Marshall kindly took the chair, and was supported by Mrs. Marshall, Miss Knight, and Miss Alice Crompton, who gave an interesting address, and who dealt forcibly with the futile objections which are frequently stated with Anti-Suffrage platforms. At the close of the meeting a resolution calling upon the House of Commons to pass an amendment to the Reform Bill giving some share of representation to women" was passed almost unanimously.

On August 9th, a village meeting was held at Threkeld. Dr. Goodchild was in the chair, and Miss Newling and Miss Knight (Hon. Sec.) addressed the meeting. A resolution "calling upon the House of Commons to pass an amendment to the Reform Bill giving some share of representation to women" was passed unanimously. Copies of these resolutions have been sent to the four Party leaders and the Government Whips.

Surrey, Sussex and Hants.

CENTRAL SUSSEX.—On July 13th a garden-meeting was held at Lea Copse, Burgess Hill, with Morris-dancers. Mrs. Carey presided, and Mrs. Francis spoke. The same evening the latter addressed an outdoor meeting at Burgess Hill at eight. On July 26th the Rev. E. Creswell Gee presided at a garden-meeting at Knowles, Tooth, Hurstpierpoint, when Miss Chute Ellis spoke. Next day a jumble-sale was held at Cuckfield, followed by a suffrage dialogue by the Misses Drew. All these meetings were very successful. The New Forest annual meeting took place at Brockenhurst on July 11th. The speeches of the President, Miss Clough, and Mrs. Bonwick were much appreciated. Mrs. Bonwick will work for this society for a week from November 29th, and Mrs. Dempster is expected on October 28th. Miss Sylvia Clark addressed open-air meetings for a week round Lymington, beginning on August 12th, in dreadful weather. The audience was large on Milford Green on the 15th, and many questions were asked. At Brockenhurst the village cricket club formed the nucleus of a large gathering; but the largest was in Lymington High Street on the 14th, when Miss Helsby and Mrs. Rothwell spoke also, the former presiding very well. All hostility shown at these meetings was toward militancy, not women's enfranchisement.

On August 10th Dr. Drysdale addressed an outdoor meeting outside the Council offices, Worthing. Prof. Urwick was prevented from coming. Rain prevented a similar meeting on August 5th, for which three speakers were engaged. One came down from London.

The REDHILL and RETGATE Secretary read a paper to working-women, on August 15th, on the history of the National Union, the power which the vote gives to poor women, and legal inequalities. The audience was much interested; but only one, a mother of about 22 children, 13 of them still living, would become a "friend" or sign a postcard to the M.P. All must consult their husbands. Mrs. Duncan Harris addressed a Women's Adult School at Battlebridge, Redhill, last month.

Councillor Ellen Chapman held a successful garden-fete on August 28th at Broadwater, Worthing. Fancy and home-made articles, garden-produce, rammage and literature were sold, besides tea, and Lady Chance opened the fete. She mentioned the extension of the franchise among men, the rise of the industrial classes

to political power, the increased number of openings for women-workers, legal sex inequalities, and the inability of male politicians to understand women's needs, as contributing causes of the movement for Women's Suffrage. She also prophesied the inevitable granting of this demand when the time was fulfilled, and said

Foreign News.

Norway.

We are indebted to Fru Johanna Minter of Denmark, for the following extract from the letter of a Norwegian friend of women's suffrage, which throws some interesting light on affairs in that country. The writer, after deploring the damage done by militancy in those countries still struggling for political rights, states:—"With us, however, the influence is negligible since we have already a certain degree of voting power, and at the present time universal suffrage for women forms, with the exception of the Liberals, part of the official programme of all political parties. The elections for the 'Storting' take place this autumn, and I do not believe a man exists who has a chance of being returned if he pronounces against this view. The Conservatives have been antagonistic for a long period, but at their National Conference this summer they, too, finally adopted universal suffrage. Women deputies have a place at this Conference and are able to make themselves felt."

United States.

We learn from the Standard that the vote in Ohio has gone against the suffragists. The forces of reaction led by the saloon-keepers have carried the day this time. It is disappointing that the splendid work of the American suffragists has not been crowned with success on this occasion, but the work will certainly not be lost; the flowing tide is with them, and we can but wish them better success next time.

Meantime, the Presidential campaign is doing much for the cause. It is the first time any large number of women have been qualified to vote, and the efforts made by all candidates to win their suffrage afford a splendid object lesson in the practical value of the vote and the advantage of direct over indirect influence. As an editorial in the "Woman's Journal" for August 24th points out, "every party makes its appeal to women as well as to men for support, and calls attention to those features in its platform which it thinks likely to commend themselves to women's approval. . . . It is also funny to see how each party charges its rivals with doing this insincerely, and for the sole purpose of capturing the women's votes in the six enfranchised states. These accusations are especially comic when made, as they often are, by prominent anti-suffragists who have been assuring us for years that if women ever got the ballot they would lose all their influence, and no one would any longer pay any regard to their wishes. Truly nothing succeeds like success."

Hopeful news came from Wisconsin. The suffragists have assurances that all but one of the 11 Wisconsin Congress men are in favour. There are a large number of Scandinavians in this State, and these, especially the Norwegians, will all stand by the suffragists. The Italians, too, seem to be favourable, and a special celebration known as "Italian Day" brought together several thousand sympathisers.

An interesting leaflet has been published by the College Equal Suffrage League of San Francisco, for distribution among the college women in the campaign States. It consists of nine questions and answers, dealing with the state of things in California itself. One question, "Do women vote?" is answered by showing that at the very first election at Los Angeles 95 per cent. voted. In local elections throughout the State the average has been about 90 per cent. Other typical questions are: "Does the 'bad woman' vote swamp the good woman vote?"; "Is woman's influence better than her vote?"; "Do men treat women with less respect?"; The answers are most carefully motivated, and being based on experience, they should prove useful in other countries as well as America.

The Happy Publishing Company.

A representative of the Happy Publishing Company writes to explain that it was the Daily News and not the Company which expressed an opinion that this was the first firm of women publishers. The Company does not commit itself to any opinion upon the point.

the news from America was most encouraging. The hostess proposed the vote of thanks, and Miss Wright seconded. Lord Robert Cecil will speak at a public meeting at Redhill when the Federation Committee meets there on September 24th.

The Case of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans.

Miss Mary Gawthorpe (Struanlea, Shoreham, Sussex), is preparing a petition to Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Birrell, on behalf of the two ladies now being forcibly fed at Mountjoy Prison, Dublin. It asks that they shall be treated as political prisoners and that their sentences shall be greatly reduced. Any persons desiring copies of the petition are requested to enclose large envelopes addressed and stamped.

Women Freemasons.

Some Freemasons have obtained charters from the highest authorities which will permit the initiation of women on equal terms to certain Lodges. For the present, and until some considerable number have been admitted, the fees for women will be half those usually asked. Applications will be received by Mr. del Lé, care of the Poetry Review, 93, Chancery Lane, W.C.

Reviews.

AMOR VINCIT. By Mrs. R. S. Garnett. (Duckworth, 6s.)

Mrs. Garnett's remarkable first novel: "The Infamous John Friend" set its many readers looking rather anxiously for her second. A talent that can produce one fine piece of work is by no means always able ever to rise again to the same height and not until a second achievement brings its corroboration will the prudent critic pronounce upon the depth of a writer's powers. "Amor Vincit" proves that Mrs. Garnett is likely to go on at the high level upon which she began. It does not, perhaps, anywhere quite equal the very finest page or two of its predecessor; but it is more equally good, better constructed, and in respect of character drawing wider in range.

The scene of the story is North Staffordshire, and it may almost be said that out of the scene the story has grown. In its closeness to its home, its gloom, passion and strength, it recalls "Wuthering Heights"; but has neither the tragic sweep nor the unreality that characterise that bad dream of a poet. In "Amor Vincit" these are replaced by a broad-minded sanity that seems to incarnate itself in Ellen Brindley, who could never have breathed in Emily Brontë's fantasy. Above the jealous battles of the two men, one of whom is her brother and one of whom she silently loves, Ellen goes about her daily tasks beneficent, uncomplaining and not even uncheerful. For people so inwardly illuminated as she is by loving kindness there can be no such thing as eventual happiness, and indeed happiness radiates from her upon her surroundings. Although the characters of the men are admirably rendered and contrasted and the descriptions excellent, it is in the character of Ellen, so little salient yet so towering, that the real triumph of the book lies.

NO SURRENDER. By Constance E. Maud. (Duckworth, 6s.)

Miss Maud's amusing novel tacitly assumes, as so many writings by "militant" Suffragists do, that the movement for Women's Suffrage is solely in the hands of that group to which she apparently, belongs. Moreover the story would be more convincing if all the "antis" were not so intolerable. There are, in real life, antis in considerable numbers who are perfectly sincere, not all knavish and not glaringly foolish. As a picture of the world in which we live, therefore, "No Surrender" falls short. It is, however, eminently readable; and the fifty pages that deal with the heroine's experiences in prison bear the stamp of truth.

THE WIND AMONG THE BARLEY. By M. P. Willcocks. (Mills and Boon, 6s.)

The best of these West Country stories have a completeness in their own kind that is sometimes wanting in their author's longer works. Finest of all however are the two descriptive sketches called "Midsummer Night" and

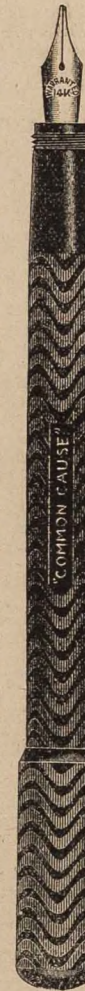
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British made throughout of only highest class materials. Constructed to be positively proof against leakage. The nib being in the ink when the pen is closed ensures instant readiness for writing. Has an even, smooth flow of ink. The nib is of solid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

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"Dormouse Time." It is difficult, indeed, to name another living writer who could have given so precisely the right atmosphere of the country and of the hour. Readers pent in towns will find in "The Wind among the Barley" the same sort of refreshment as is given by a good landscape hanging in a room.

MAKE WAY FOR THE PRIME MINISTER!
by Mrs. Arcliffe Sennett. [T. R. Beckett, Ltd., Eastbourne, Id.]

The central idea of Mrs. Arcliffe Sennett's tract is that the one real obstacle to the enfranchisement of women in Great Britain is the personal will of Mr. Asquith, and the facts as she marshals them are so impressive that it is difficult for any suffragist to challenge her position. Yet the tone of invective in which the argument is couched is so violent and so angry as greatly to weaken its effect. Denunciation may be momentarily acceptable to people who share the denouncer's opinions, but as an instrument of conversion it fails; and conversion is, after all, the main object of suffragist arguments.

Until we can understand how and why our opponents stand where they do, until we can even, in a sense, sympathise with them, we are not in a position to reach the foundation of their beliefs or prejudices or to demonstrate wherein these are erroneous. It is not enough to say that any anti-Mr. Asquith or another—is narrow-minded and stupid, even although it may, in the particular case be true. We must show how that narrow-mindedness or that stupidity came to be, and how it is discounted by the way in which it came. In regard to politicians in particular, we need to understand the peculiar and paralysing effect of the House of Commons—its tone, akin to that of some schools, of being a world apart, its etiquette, its "good form," its stultifying *esprit de corps*. It is necessary that suffragists should acquire as true a conception as possible of that strange and unwholesome atmosphere, partly because unless we do we cannot possibly judge fairly of the men who are exposed to it, partly because if we do not realise its existence we shall certainly fail to attack those men in the way that is most likely to conquer them. Half the unnecessary offence that has been given by suffragists to these gentlemen—who are, unfortunately, the arbiters of our fate—lies in the fact that the rules of their game have been (often unwittingly) broken.

THE ENGLISHWOMAN.

The *Englishwoman* this month contains two important articles upon the political situation, one by Mr. P. W. Wilson, better known perhaps to readers of the *Daily News* as "P. W. W.," the other by Mr. W. H. Dickinson, M.P. Both are important and deserve to be carefully read and pondered. Especially striking are the comments of Mr. Wilson upon the openly discussed possibility that Mr. Redmond may a second time coerce his followers—the majority of whom, when left free, have voted for Women's Suffrage Bills—into voting against every amendment in favour of women to the Reform Bill. This course, he believes would seriously complicate the position of the Irish party and very gravely damage Mr. Redmond's own prestige. Mr. Dickinson examines the position chiefly in regard to the pitfalls of procedure offered by the Reform Bill. He inclines to think that the best chance is offered by what may be called the intermediate amendment, narrower than Adult Suffrage, but considerably wider in its scope than the Con- ciliation Bill.

The rest of the magazine is, as usual, full of interesting matter.

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.

A LIBRARY FOR SUFFRAGISTS.

Will you allow me to call the attention of your readers to the library now being formed at the International Women's Franchise Club, at 9, Grafton Street, Piccadilly? Mrs. F. C. Bentinck has generously presented to the Club her Feminist Group Library, a most valuable collection of books dealing with every aspect of woman's work and status. Other books of special interest to Suffragists have also been presented; and we are

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endeavouring to make the Library representative of all countries in which the demand for Suffrage has been made. Such a central library has long been a want for speakers and writers and this Club, with its membership of men and women, representing all the different aspects of the Suffrage cause, seems a specially suitable place to serve as a study centre. It is hoped that the books will be in their place by the end of this month or the beginning of next, under the charge of an experienced librarian, who will be able to advise and help readers. Members of the Club will have the privilege of taking books home to read as well as the opportunity of studying them at the Club. To defray the initial expenses of shelving, etc., a sum of about £30 is required, of which a part has already been subscribed. Gifts towards this object or for the purchase of books will be greatly welcomed. It is believed that the number of volumes available is not far short of a thousand; and it is hoped that new books of importance will be added as they appear. We believe that there is a wide field of usefulness before this new departure, and are anxious to make it widely known among those who may wish to profit by it.

ALICE ZIMMERN.

Member of the Library Committee, International Franchise Club.

"VOTES AND WAGES."

In reply to Mrs. Seymour's letter, I beg to state that the extracts as now given by Miss Royden in the *COMMON CAUSE* from Miss Pott's speech, are taken, word for word, from a verbatim report taken down on the spot by an expert shorthand writer. This shorthand writer is personally unknown, and attended and made her report simply as a matter of business, because Miss Pott, in spite of my repeated challenges to her to do so, refused to put her criticisms in print, and it was necessary that I should know what they were. I must therefore ask Mrs. Seymour to withdraw her assertion that these extracts are "grossly dishonest" as publicly as she has made it.

I wish also to protest against the way in which the accusation is made. Mrs. Seymour brings against me in a dozen lines the most serious charges that can be made against a public speaker, in language the most abusive that could be devised. But she does not give a single instance in proof, and she therefore makes defence impossible. If I were not, fortunately, in possession of the verbatim report I spoke of, I should be unable to do more than oppose my simple negative against Mrs. Seymour's accusations.

If, in spite of the fact that the extracts she complains of are given in Miss Pott's own words, Mrs. Seymour considers that there is other matter for complaint in my reply, she should state it in definite terms, and I challenge her to do so. I believe I cannot, without making myself legally liable, reprint the whole of Miss Pott's speech, but if my accuser is unable to trust her memory to substantiate the charges she has not hesitated to make on the strength of it, I will gladly submit to her my typewritten report if she will call on me at any time when I am in London.

A. MAUDE ROYDEN.

11, Bedford Court Mansions, Bedford Square, W.C. September 7th, 1912.

Surely before Mrs. Seymour's letter was inserted in last week's issue of *COMMON CAUSE* she should have been required to give chapter and verse to prove her astounding assertions of Miss Maude Royden's "grossly dishonest" statements. Whereas she neither quotes date of report of Miss Pott's speech nor of Miss Royden's replies to enable her readers to judge of the matter. I, too, look for fair modes of controversy and feel we must say, "preserve us from our friends" if this is what a Suffragist thinks a fair letter.

"NOT A FRIEND OF MISS ROYDEN'S."

CONSTITUTIONAL SUFFRAGISTS.

I have just returned from a few months' visit in Montreal, and am wondering if others have found the feelings of Montrealers towards the Women's Suffrage question the same that I did. I found that very many do not know of any society but the W.S.P.U., and are so prejudiced against the Cause through militant tactics, that they will not listen to the question at all, nor believe that there is any difference in the views of the different societies. If only the Militants could half realise the ridicule and hatred that they are creating in Canada, and I should say in other parts of the world too, they would not be so proud of the advertisement they give so noble a cause. If it were possible for the N.U.W.S.S. to send a *COMMON CAUSE* sometimes to the Public Library there, "The Fraser Institute," it might do some good.

M. CROSLY.

A COURSE IN SOCIAL ORGANISATION.

In THE COMMON CAUSE of September 5th, I see that there is an interesting account of the New Course in Social Organisation at the University of Leeds. It may interest your readers to know that such courses have been held for some years at the Universities of Liverpool and Birmingham, in co-operation with the local settlements and other recognised agencies which take charge of the practical training of the students. I enclose a copy of the Birmingham syllabus, but this need not be followed in its entirety by busy people who do not aim at the diploma, and detached courses of the lectures prove very valuable to suffrage and other workers. The course in Birmingham has proved to fill a distinct need, and has attracted students from all parts of the country. Many of them are now working in responsible posts, e.g., in labour exchanges, as organisers of charity organisation societies, of care com-

mittees, etc.; one has become a hospital almoner, and another a relieving officer. Not less important has been the help given to leisured women who wish to qualify themselves for good voluntary work. We have each year some students of this class, and we hope that their number will increase.

Similar courses are being started in Bristol, Manchester and Glasgow, and the main problem now is to throng them with students who wish to attain to a juster appreciation of the rights and duties of citizenship.

M. OCELE MATHESON,
Warden, Birmingham Women's Settlement.
[The programme of work for the Social Study Diploma which Miss Matheson encloses is extremely interesting and thorough, including, as it does, University courses, visits of observation and practical work. Under the latter head we are glad to note that some training in office work appears. The lack of such training is a hindrance to the work of many otherwise competent women.—Ed. "C. C."]

THE WOMEN'S MARCH.

Will you allow me to call your readers' attention to a new scheme to advance the cause of Women's Suffrage? A great march of about 100 Suffragists, led by horse-women, is being organised to start early in October. The object of the march is to carry the flag of women's suffrage from London to Edinburgh, and to protest against any further extension of the Parliamentary franchise to men unless women are included.

There are many women anxious to do something for the Cause who feel unable to take any very prominent



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part. Now is their opportunity to do a simple piece of work which, by combination, will be effective to rouse fresh interest.

Several women have joined, and donations of £50 and other sums have already been received. But much money will be required to carry the scheme through, as well as many more enthusiastic volunteers.

Requests for further particulars and promises of help should be sent to me without delay.

(MRS.) FLORENCE DE FONBLANQUE,
Dunton, Petworth, Sussex.
September 9th, 1912.

Other Societies.

WOMEN'S TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE.

A successful demonstration was held in East Ham on September 4th in connection with the sale of Dr. Healy's goods. A procession marched from East Ham station to the auction rooms with "no vote no tax" banners, and the auctioneer, who expressed his sympathy with the protest, allowed Miss Hicks, M.A. to make a short speech, at and after the sale an open-air meeting was held, at which Miss Haslam, Miss Hicks and Mr. Wilks explained to a large and sympathetic audience the reasons for tax resistance on the part of voteless women. The following resolution was passed with two dissentients:—"That this meeting protests against the taxation of women as long as they are politically unrepresented, and calls upon the Government to remove the injustice by giving votes to women during the present session of Parliament."

Forthcoming Meetings.

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

SEPTEMBER 12.	Dublin—33 Molesworth Street—Irish W.S. and Local Government Association Committee meeting	11.30
Buckden (near Skipton)—Schoolroom—Miss St. John, Miss M. M. Gough, Rev. R. Anderson (chair)		8.0
Reading—19, Castle Street—Members' meeting—Mrs. Robie Uniscoe, Dr. Gilford, Councillor Edith Sutton (chair)		8.0
SEPTEMBER 13.	Charlton—open-air meeting—Miss D. Mason	6.30
Arcliffe (near Skipton)—Lane Top Farm—Miss St. John, Miss M. M. Gough		7.0
SEPTEMBER 16.	Nottingham—Office, 54, Long Row—"At Home"—Miss Cooke	7-9.30
Bristol—Coliseum—opening of Suffrage stall		12-10
Barnsley—May-day Green—open-air meeting—Mrs. Chew		6.30
SEPTEMBER 17.	Wombwell—Market Place—open-air meeting—Mrs. Chow	6.30
Stocksfield—Institute—Cafe chantant		3.0
SEPTEMBER 18.	Preston—Strand Road—open-air meeting—Mrs. Cooper, Miss C. Leadley Brown, Miss Deakin	12.30
Preston—Booth Corner—open-air meeting—Mrs. Cooper, Miss C. Leadley Brown, Miss Deakin		7.30
Outworth—The Pond—open-air meeting—Mrs. Chew		6.30
SEPTEMBER 19.	Preston—Horrook's Mill—open-air meeting—Mrs. Cooper, Miss C. Leadley Brown, Miss Deakin	12.30
Preston—St. Paul's Road—open-air meeting—Mrs. Cooper, Miss C. Leadley Brown, Miss Deakin		7.30
Hemsworth—open-air meeting—Mrs. Chow		6.30
SEPTEMBER 20.	Preston—Roebuck Street—open-air meeting—Mrs. Cooper, Miss C. Leadley Brown, Miss Deakin	12.30
Preston—Acrogate Lane—open-air meeting—Miss Cooper, Miss C. Leadley Brown, Miss Deakin		7.30
King's Sutton—The Schools—Miss A. Maude Royden, Rev. A. C. Bedden (chair)		3.30
Banbury—Town Hall—Miss A. Maude Royden, The Lady Knightley of Fawley (chair)		8.0
Keswick—Market Place—open-air meeting—Miss Muriel Matters		7.30
Mapplewell—Open-air meeting—Mrs. Chow		6.30
SEPTEMBER 21.	Preston—Market Place—open-air meeting—Mrs. Cooper, Miss C. Leadley Brown, Miss Deakin	6.0
SEPTEMBER 23.	Nottingham—Office, 54, Long Row—"At home"—Miss Quare (Ikeston)	7-9.30
SEPTEMBER 24.	Preston—Penwortham House—drawing-room meeting—Miss A. Maude Royden	3.30
Preston—Assembly Room, Public Hall—Miss A. Maude Royden		7.45
Redhill—Market Hall—Lord Robert Cecil, M.P., Miss Frances Sterling, Mrs. Mackridge (chair)		8.0
SEPTEMBER 25.	Birmingham—Minworth Council School—Miss Helen Frazer	8.0

LONDON.

SEPTEMBER 12.	S. Paddington—75, Hereford Road, W.—Sewing Meeting	2.30
SEPTEMBER 16.	N. Paddington—47a, Clifton Gardens, Maida Vale—Sewing meeting	2.30
Stepney—Stepney Meeting House—London Young Liberal Federation—Miss Ransom evening		8.0
E. Enfield—St. Augustine's Hall—Miss Helen Ward, Miss Fielden, Mrs. John Wood (chair)		8.0
SEPTEMBER 17.	Abbey Wood—Co-operative Hall, Federation Road—Women's Co-operative Guild—Mrs. Rogers	3.30
Battersea—Battersea Free Library—Battersea Branch W.L.G.A.		8.0

SEPTEMBER 18.	S. Islington—Theberton Street, Upper Street corner—open-air meeting—Mrs. Rackham, Mrs. Ansell (chair)	8.0
SEPTEMBER 19.	S. Paddington—75, Hereford Road, W.—Sewing meeting	2.30
SEPTEMBER 21.	Muswell Hill—Durham House school—Mrs. Power Sweeney's garden meeting—Mrs. Swanwick, H. G. Chancellor, Esq., M.P.	4.0
SEPTEMBER 23.	N. Paddington—47, Clifton Gardens, Maida Vale—Sewing meeting	2.30
SEPTEMBER 24.	Schoolroom, 52, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.—Westminster Women's Adult School—Miss Dawson	8.15-8.45

SCOTLAND.

SEPTEMBER 17.	Beechin—Mechanics Hall—The Lady Frances Balfour, Mrs. Stopes	8.0
SEPTEMBER 18.	Aberdeen—Lady Cowdray's Garden Party—The Lady Frances Balfour, Lady Abernethy	3.30

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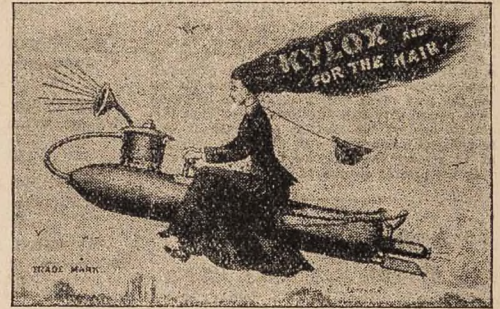
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