

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE THE COMMON CAUSE OF HUMANITY.

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*"We are driven back, for our next fray
A newer strength to borrow,
And where the vanguard camps to-day,
The rear shall rest to-morrow."*

**ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES
(NUMBER OF SOCIETIES IN THE UNION 500).**

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies is a great association of men and women banded together for the single purpose of obtaining the Parliamentary vote for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men. It was founded in 1867, and now numbers over 52,000 annually-subscribing members, organized into 500 Societies, under the presidentship of Mrs. Henry Fawcett. The colours of the Union are SCARLET, WHITE, and GREEN. Among its members are people of all parties, and people of none. The cause that unites them is the cause of Women's Suffrage, and they work for victory by peaceful methods only. They utterly repudiate methods of violence and rely on political pressure and the education of public opinion. WILL YOU JOIN? (Membership form on p. 368.)

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Notes and Comments.

War.

As we go to press there is war, and rumours of war, in Europe. Austria has formally declared against Serbia, but there remains a hope that the war may yet be localised and a general conflagration averted. The Suffragist Foreign Secretary, by an act of conspicuous moral courage and by untiring effort, has done and is doing all that in him lies to preserve an honourable peace as between the Great Powers. This will remain a matter for special pride to Suffragists and to our country generally, whatever the end may be. Before the possibilities which are opening out the imagination reels, but one thing is clear. The fact that the spark which has kindled the conflagration was the assassination of two public persons, of whom one was a man and one a woman, may be taken as a symbol of the realities of things. Each in his or her own way, but equally, men and women must share in their country's woes. While there is hope of peace with honour for Europe at large, every man and every woman must strive unceasingly towards that, and should the horrors of war come upon us every woman as well as every man must be prepared, and will be prepared to bear their share of the burden which will be laid upon this country.

The Unhappy Dissensions in Ireland.

Bloodshed in Dublin has come at last to rebuke the strife of parties and of factions. May it, with the European menace, lead our unhappy country back to that fundamental respect for the sanctions of moral force in which alone the lasting happiness of any nation must lie.

After the Dublin affray one woman was found shot dead and two others lie in hospital severely wounded, for from the penalties of misrule, as of war, no woman is exempt.

The Lady in the Yawl.

The Times published on Monday a graphic account of a lady who steered the yawl into Howth Harbour and out again, and

steered it with skill. The Daily News speaks also of a woman at the helm, and of two others on board with her. The Manchester Guardian mentions no women at all, while other journals declare the mysterious lady of the oilskins to be a man in disguise. These things are as may be. If a lady steered the yawl, and steered it with skill, she did such a deed as thousands of women have done before—for history tells us, though the fiction of convention denies it, that women have been human beings time and again before they were women. A Grace O'Malley (the pirate, "Worst and most wicked of the wicked Irish," as the old chronicle has it), a Black Agnes, a Joan of Arc, a Grace Darling, who have stood out conspicuous among their sex, only serve, after all, as types of countless unknown women, whose hot blood or whose country's need have called them to action. This spirit, which inspired women of ancient and mediæval history, is always there—whether it is shown wisely or unwisely, whether in such leadership as a Margaret of Anjou of old, or in the disciplined efficiency of an ambulance or signalling corps, such as those which have to-day trained themselves for service in Ulster.

The Bishop of London's Bill.

As we report elsewhere the Bishop of London has withdrawn his Criminal Law Amendment Bill, and has announced his intention of bringing in a measure early next session. In taking this action he will have the hearty approval of all those who supported the Bill in its original form. The drastic amendments to it, carried last week, were, as we have already pointed out, of such a nature as almost wholly to destroy the intention of its promoters, and it would therefore have been worse than useless to proceed with it. A new Bill with a strongly organised public opinion behind it is what we must work towards now.

The Song of the Shirt.

"In the interests of the trade, it is extremely desirable that all employers, whether members of the Federation or

not, should do their utmost to have the proposed rate of 3½d. per hour for female adult workers reduced."

The above arresting statement appears in a letter recently issued by the Secretary of the Shirt and Cotton Makers' Federation of Glasgow to the members of that Federation, informing them that, contrary to the vote of the representatives of the Federation, the Trade Board proposes to fix the rate for women shirt makers at the figure of 3½d. per hour, as given above. The letter, which is prudently marked "Private and Confidential" in the original, but is given in full in *The Daily Citizen* of July 22nd, points out that in the tailoring trade the present rate for female workers is only 3½d., and that even this "would mean a considerable increase upon the rates at present paid in the shirtmaking and collar trade," and concludes with an urgent appeal to employers to send in objections to this "high rate" without fail during the statutory period allowed for the purpose. Mr. Nicholas drives the matter home in his cartoon in this issue. It is not enough to urge that all employers in these trades are not rich men. This is common knowledge; but it is also common knowledge that good-hearted employers of moderate capital who desire to pay a decent wage are the first to acknowledge legislation to be their best protection against the competition of the less scrupulous. The fact of such a letter as the above being circulated shows more forcibly than any comment of ours that the cheapness of womanhood is a canker still eating into the very vitals of our social system.

The Social Challenge.

About four thousand people gathered in the Leeds Coliseum on July 21st to take part in a non-official meeting in connection with the Wesleyan Conference, at which representatives of Non-conformity and of the Church of England met on one platform under the chairmanship of the Rev. Dimsdale T. Young. Several remarkable speeches were made, and among them one by the Bishop of Oxford, in which he dwelt upon the "great social challenge" of the Woman's Movement. The following report of his words is abridged from the local press:—

"No single man or woman should be treated as an instrument or means for any other man's pleasure, profit, or pride. He believed there was, deep in the very roots of human nature, unassailable and divinely sanctioned, a headship of man over woman, but his recognition of that did not at all impede his cordial response to the challenge of the women's movement. As to militancy, he knew hardly of any great cause which had not been accompanied by disastrous violence. There was no argument which he distrusted so completely as the argument of the thin end of the wedge. It was the argument more than any other which made revolutions. It was by granting what was just that what was excessive was moderated. Therefore, neither the movement of militancy, much as he hated it, nor the fear that women might be led from demanding something that was just to something that was excessive, would prevent him from supporting the extension of the franchise.

"He knew no body of people who were better qualified for the vote, or who could demand it with greater justice, than that vast body of women workers who were the glory of our country, who had been the greatest promoters of all real and moral progress amongst us. How they could be denied the vote with any justice he could not conceive. To say that they could not give these the vote because there was a great number who did not want it was an argument of the greatest injustice. We should never get proper legislation on a vast number of moral questions, a great number of questions dealing with woman labour and motherhood, until we had got the woman's point of view adequately represented. If they could see in the Christian Churches courage and frankness in meeting this great social challenge there would be a change, the vastness of which we cannot estimate, in people's whole conception of what Christ means."

Without endorsing the view the Bishop expresses in regard to the ultimate designs of nature, we greatly value the sincerity and courage with which he seeks to establish that equality of opportunity which alone can make possible any real solution of such problems. It is satisfactory to know that the vast audience seemed in cordial sympathy with him.

Suffragists and their Calumniators.

The Yorkshire Observer has recently published an interesting correspondence on "Women Workers and the Vote." The editorial attitude has been one of conspicuous fairness, and in regard to certain matter supplied to him by Miss Cameron (who describes herself as Press Secretary of the N.L.O.W.S.), he makes the following severe comment:—"From considerations of space, we have been obliged to make considerable excisions in Miss Cameron's letter. In some of the suppressed passages our correspondent hints at unspeakable abominations on the part of a section of Woman Suffragists. Such charges may conceivably be made in the public interest, but they should not be made without being accompanied by thoroughly sifted particulars and evidence which would convince a jury as well as a casual newspaper reader." For the most part, Suffragists prefer to treat such attacks as those referred to with the contempt which they merit, but it is well that the writers should

at least know that if they persist, they run grave risk of decent newspapers closing their columns altogether against them. Hardly less discreditable are the implications of the complicity of the N.U.W.S.S. in militancy with which the Press is flooded from Anti-suffragist sources, and the matter is dealt with at length in our leader. The crowning absurdity reaches us from America, viz., that Mrs. Fawcett is holding aloof from the Suffrage Movement because of the action of the (militant) women in England!

The Amazing Mystery of the Banned Poster.

The press of Wednesday rightly gave much prominence to the remarkable story briefly set out in the following excerpt from *The Daily News*:—

"A curious position has arisen over the proposal of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance to exhibit on the underground railways of London a striking poster designed to portray the effectiveness of the vote in reducing infantile mortality. The International Alliance, with offices at 7, Adam-street, Adelphi, in charge of Miss Mary Sheepshanks, daughter of the former Bishop of Norwich, is the new headquarters of the law-abiding Suffrage movement throughout the world. Recently a North-country lady made a donation of £150 for special propaganda work, and it was decided to commission Mr. Willy Pogani, a famous Continental artist, to design a poster.

"It depicts a mother and child, with the figure of Death approaching the infant. The woman is shown warding off the grim shadow, the manacles on her arms being broken in two to indicate that she possesses the vote, and is thereby free to protect her child. At the base of the poster are statistics comparing the low infantile death-rate in countries where women have the vote with the much higher rate in the United Kingdom.

"The underground railways were chosen for the display of the poster, and arrangements were made, but yesterday the Alliance learned that the poster was banned on all the six underground railways.

"We are also informed," said Miss Carson, one of the officials, "that the ban equally applies to all the public hoardings of London."

On inquiry at the International office we were glad to learn that Messrs. Partington have arranged with the Underground Co. that the ban shall be withdrawn, and it is hoped that very shortly Messrs. Willing will be in a position to make a similar statement. This is the more satisfactory as these firms have always hitherto been on excellent terms with the law-abiding Suffragists in London.

In the meanwhile, that such a situation could arise, shows once again the importance of sleepless vigilance on the part of Suffragists in maintaining their existing rights. The celebrated poster, price 2s. 6d., is on sale at 7, Adam Street, where guests from abroad are always welcome.

Blue, White, and Gold.

It is pointed out to us by the Press Secretary of the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society [of the "Blue, White, and Gold,"] that we omitted to refer to that organisation or to the Jewish League in our Note on "Buckingham Palace Up-to-date." The omission reflects more credit upon the Suffrage movement than discredit upon us, for as we wrote, names of important personalities and organisations surged in upon our brain, and we could only pick out a few! Of religious bodies alone, not only is there the Church League, but the "Friends," the "Free Church," the Scottish! But again we must forbear to name nearly all of those whose work speaks for them.

In Parliament.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON'S CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

The Bishop of London asked leave on Monday in the House of Lords to withdraw his Bill, for three reasons. First, that the amendments in Committee had so altered the character of the Bill that it would no longer serve the purposes for which it was introduced; second, that it is a grave question whether this Bill will really work for the good of the country; third, that it cannot possibly become law in this Session. The Bishop proposes to bring the matter forward again early in the next Session, and hopes that a Select Committee may be appointed to think out the subject. Lord Selborne said that the original Bill was backed by a great body of public opinion, especially of women, and supported the Bishop in urging that the new Bill should be considered by a Select Committee. Lord Bray hoped that the Select Committee would make use of the evidence given before the Select Committee of 1881, of which he is the sole survivor. The Lord Chancellor accepted the action of the Bishop in withdrawing the Bill, and the short Report stage was over. We are grateful to the Bishop for introducing this Bill. We are still more grateful to him for withdrawing a Bill which

is no longer his, and which might well be entitled "A Bill to protect young men from the consequences of their own actions." It is only fair, though we gravely disapprove of Lord Salisbury's amendment, to point out that its aim is, while raising the age of protection for girls from sixteen to eighteen, to protect young men under twenty-one from deliberate temptation by girls between these ages. It would not affect offences against girls under sixteen. The main lesson we learn from the discussion of this Bill is that we must "educate, educate, educate," and prepare the way for a better fate for its successor.

NOTES ON REPORT OF LAST WEEK.

It was inadvertently stated that Clause 2, beginning "It shall not be a defence under Section 5 of the said Act," was added to the Bill, whereas it was adjourned.—ED. "C.C."

Tuesday, July 27th.

MATRIMONIAL CAUSES BILL.

LORD GORELL, in moving the second reading of the Matrimonial Causes Bill, pointed out that the Bill was based on the recommendations common to the majority and minority reports of the Commission. He thought the time was ripe for removing what was felt by women as a bitter grievance, and equalising their position with that of men. No such distinction as now existed in our law existed in the law of Scotland or of the many countries which permitted divorce on the ground of adultery.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK said:—"In the ancient days of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, when a petition was made for divorce there was no such distinction made between the husband and the wife. The existing law came not from the practice or principle of the ecclesiastical Courts, but from the practice and absence of principle introduced by the old private Bill system. He recognised there were grave difficulties. . . . It was said that the lapse of the woman introduced confusion into the family. It was forgotten that the lapse of the man might introduce confusion into another man's family, or terrible diseases into his own. This inequality of standard between the sexes rankled as a sense of injustice in the minds of hundreds of the most gifted of women. There was no doubt also that its existence on the Statute-book brought to the minds of the people a conception of the moral duty of men which was most harmful to the nation's moral and physical welfare."

THE LORD CHANCELLOR declared that the Government looked with favour on the general principle of the Bill, though it was quite impossible that it should pass into law this Session. THE EARL OF DERBY appealed to Lord Gorell to withdraw the Bill. When it was brought forward next Session the noble lord might rely upon receiving his heartiest support. LORD GORELL said that under the circumstances he was willing to withdraw the Bill.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Continuation of Proceedings on Monday, July 20th.

COUNTY AND BOROUGH COUNCILS (QUALIFICATION BILL).

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL moved the Second Reading. He pointed out that as the law now stands a great number of people who might be eligible as members of County Councils are prevented from standing for them:—

"Incidentally this provision of the law has the effect of excluding all married women, except in London, from election anywhere as members of Town and County Councils.

"Whatever our ideas may be on Women's Suffrage, the House will generally agree that this disqualification should not prevent women on account of marriage for presenting themselves for election."

"MIND THE BABY."

SIR F. BANBURY (City of London, U.) did not know that he particularly objected to married women sitting upon those Councils,

"except that the duty of the married woman is in the home. The spinster had nothing to do except to go and waste her time upon one of those particular bodies, but the married woman should be at home looking after the baby and her children."

After this brilliant and original contribution to the debate, the Bill was read a second time and committed to a Committee of the whole House.

Tuesday, July 21st.

SUFFRAGETTE PRISONER (MISS GRACE ROE).

MR. GINNEL (N. Westmeath, N.) asked the Home Secretary whether Miss Grace Roe was the only prisoner who had been refused bail, forcibly fed prior to trial, and not released after the hunger strike, and what the reasons were for this exceptional treatment of her.

MR. MCKENNA: The answer is in the negative. There has been no exceptional treatment of Miss Roe.

Wednesday, July 22nd.

FINANCE BILL.

DISTRAINT ON HUSBAND'S GOODS FOR WIFE'S NON-PAYMENT OF INCOME-TAX.

MR. CASSEL (W. St. Pancras, U.) referred to the amendments set down by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which, if inserted, would not empower the Commissioners to levy a distress upon the wife's goods for the husband's tax. That grievance would be removed, but the power to levy distress on the husband's goods for what is now the wife's tax still remains. MR. CASSEL proposed to omit the sub-section giving this power.

SIR J. SIMON (Attorney-General) could not accept the proposal. It was impossible as a result of permitting the separation between the wife's assessments and the husband's assessments to leave the Commissioners in the position that unless they are able to decide which are the wife's goods, they shall be exposed to interpleaders and other actions.

SIR S. BUCKMASTER (Solicitor-General) said the Government would be prepared to accept an amendment, to be moved by MR. CASSEL, to the effect that no distraint should be made on the husband's goods unless a written demand for payment shall first have been made on the husband, and after he shall have failed to pay the amount payable by his wife within seven days.

Friday, July 24th.

HOUSING BILL.

MR. RUNCIMAN (President of the Board of Agriculture) spoke on the need for national action in the matter of housing in agricultural districts. The shortage of cottages was preventing the marriage of young couples, and in many districts where marriage did take place, it led to serious overcrowding.

LORD HENRY CAVENDISH-BENTINCK (S. Nottingham, U.):—

"If this question of rural regeneration is going to be dealt with, we cannot do better than get men and women of good will to form themselves into associations in order to tackle the problem."

Throughout the debate on housing, this was the only suggestion made that women as well as men should be called in to deal with the housing question.

Monday, July 27th.

PRINTER OF "THE SUFFRAGETTE."

MR. WEDGWOOD (Newcastle-under-Lyme, L.) asked the Home Secretary whether, since those who have published incitement to civil war in Ireland are still at liberty, he will advise His Majesty to extend his royal clemency to Mr. Drew, the imprisoned printer of *The Suffragette*.

MR. MCKENNA regretted that he was unable to advise any remission of sentence in this case.

MR. WEDGWOOD: Will the right hon. gentleman not reconsider his attitude, seeing that the incitations of the Ulster press have resulted in the loss of human life, whereas the incitations of this man —

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. member is making a statement which, whether true or not, has nothing whatever to do with the question.

MR. KING (N. Somerset, L.): Will the right hon. gentleman look at the question, which is whether Mr. Drew, who has been put in prison for printing *The Suffragette* in which there are incitements to violence, is not more innocent than —

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order.

SUFFRAGETTE PRISONERS.

MR. FREDERICK WHYTE (Perth, L.), MR. PONSONBY (Stirling Burghs, L.), MR. TOUCHE (N. Islington, U.) asked questions of the Secretary for Scotland as to the forcible feeding of Miss Arabella Scott in Perth Prison.

MR. MCKINNON WOOD (Secretary for Scotland) said Miss Scott had been forcibly fed, but not strapped down. It was not deemed advisable on medical grounds in her case to continue artificial feeding.

MR. PIRIE (North Aberdeen, L.) asked if the Secretary for Scotland's attention had been drawn to the methods of forcible feeding employed in America, in which only women doctors are employed, and the operation is carried out much more humanely.

MR. MCKINNON WOOD replied that he would be very glad to have his attention called to these methods.

U.S.A.

According to *The Woman's Journal*:—

"A victory for equal Suffrage, second only to that gained at the biennial meeting of the Federation of Women's Clubs, has been won in the National Education Association. In fact, the whole convention was a succession of victories for women, for not only did it go on record for equal suffrage, but also for equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex, and in electing ten Vice-Presidents, it chose five women."

The same journal states that Ohio has obtained "the largest initiative petition ever secured"; which means that the question of Women's Suffrage will be submitted to the voters of Ohio in November.

Durham Miners' Gala.

To anyone who has not realised the immensity the solidarity, and the pride of industry of such a mining community as that of Durham County, a visit to their annual gala is an astounding revelation. There is the beautiful little cathedral city, with its narrow, picturesque, winding streets, and for one day in the year the miners march on it with bands and banners, in their tens of thousands, and make it their own. From early morning they come in, and for hours the great procession continues; with women and children, there cannot have been much less than 150,000 last Saturday, all united in the bonds of a common industry, common struggles, common difficulties, and common dangers. All their great banners are similar—blue on red, or red on blue, with gold and silver decorations, mottoes, and realistically coloured pictures. Intensely interesting are they, in the sense they give one that they are the people's own taste and choice. Here is no striving after the alien ideas or ideals of another class. They have their own taste and style, and they stick to it. Frequent are portraits of their leaders—the names are never given—there is no need; frequent, too, is the portrayal of a weeping woman and children at a graveside. Biblical pictures are also common, the Good Samaritan being especially popular, and such mottoes as "Go thou and do likewise"; "Bear ye one another's burdens"; "I was sick and ye visited me" figure on most of the banners.

Some, however, do not strike the religious note, but content themselves with some such device as "Labour and Peace," "Unity is Strength," "Knowledge is Power," "We Unite to Assist Each Other," or "Liberty, Truth, and Justice," and one bears a dual picture—a board-room where men and masters are meeting, and beside it a miner's wife, welcoming him at the cottage-door as he returns with news of victory. Every now and again comes a banner, crepe-hung, and sometimes women in mourning walk behind. And so they stream on to the race-course, all the bands playing. Never were such vigorous bands; they did not cease playing, even up the steepest streets. And the day's festivities—well catered for by Durham folks—begin. At 12 o'clock the meetings start—two platforms—and it is significant to note that, whereas, seven or eight years ago, none but a Liberal or Liberal-Labour speaker had a chance of being invited, to-day every one of the invited speakers is either an I.L.P. man or an "independent" like Jim Larkin. Not a Liberal nor a "Lib.-Lab." have the Durham miners asked. By 1.30 the official meetings close, and then the platforms are yielded up, Platform I. (by old tradition) to the temperance speakers, and Platform II. (the very newest innovation) to the N.U.W.S.S.! This fact has been advertised and is well known. Indeed, at the last meeting of the Council of the Durham Miners' Association, the delegates were all asked to be present at the women's meeting, that their sympathy might help to make it a success. When the Labour speakers stream from the platforms not a man in the crowd moves away. They all want to hear "the women." Quickly the platform is draped with red, white, and green, and many of our good friends amongst the miners' leaders join us there.

Amongst those who were present or sent messages of regret were:—

Mr. Ch. Thompson, President of the Durham Colliery Mechanics, Mr. Th. Richardson, M.P., Councillors Bainbridge of Shields Row, Batey of S. Shields, and Cook of West Pelton, Messrs. W. P. Richardson of Usworth, prospective candidate for Houghton, J. Reece of Armfield Plain, F. Chapman of Bishop Auckland, J. H. Gray of Bearpark, A. Temple of Beamish, J. Jeffrey of the Hobson Miners' Lodge, B. Burridge of Craghead, W. Gasper of Page Bank, H. James of East Stanley, G. Brown of Birtley, R. Clark of Craghead, H. Solomon and J. Bell of Ferryhill, F. Blackwell of West Stanley, H. Bolton of Chopwell, J. Peacock of Shildon, P. Lee of Thornley, and W. Clark of Byers Green, W. Cook of Chester-le-Street, C. Macdonald and others of Quebec and Corsay Colliery.

Dr. Ethel Williams—well-known to many of the miners—opens the meeting with a short but effective speech, and Miss Matters follows, delighting the men with her wit and fearlessness. They respond with enthusiasm to every point.

Then Miss Maragret Robertson speaks, reminding them what the women voters of Colorado have done for the miners there, and the meeting ends, amid prolonged applause.

We are told by those who were present at both, that the enthusiasm at our meeting far exceeded that of the miners' meeting which preceded it. When we have closed, we take up a collection, and our COMMON CAUSE sellers scatter themselves amongst the crowd. In all, they sell 500 copies of the paper. All bring the same report—a few friendly gibes: "Are you Mrs. Pankhurst?"—"Suffragettes!" &c.—but in general, friendliness, sympathy, and an absolute acceptance of the justice and rightness of our claim. One could wish that the fairy of the Arabian Nights (is it the Arabian Nights?) would just pick up the House of Commons in the night and set it down in Durham on gala day, that the timid gentlemen who adorn the front benches there might realise that this great cause which they fear to touch has no terrors for the miner, nor fears him, but is his familiar friend.

RIGHT HON. F. D. ACLAND, M.P. RECEIVES A DEPUTATION.

The *Sussex Daily News* of July 27th reports as follows:—
"The visit of Mr. Acland to Steyning was taken advantage of by the Working Women's Suffrage Society, who are non-militants, to interview him, he having expressed his willingness to receive a deputation. The interview took place at Newham House, and the members of the deputation were Councillor Helen Chapman (President), the Hon. Lady Johnstone (Vice-President), Mrs. Dove Keighley (Storrington), and Miss Helen Wright (Secretary). The proceedings were private, but at the close Miss Wright handed a written statement to the press. Mr. Acland said he would be

satisfied with leaving it to the deputation to give the press a statement. The following is the text: In reply to a question, 'What do you think of the prospects of a Government measure?' Mr. Acland dwelt upon the general difficulties of the present political situation, and the uncertainty of the dominant issue at the next General Election. He declared, 'I went so far as to say the other day, to the representatives of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, who were in London last week, that any new Government could not avoid taking up Suffrage in some shape or form.' He also emphasised the great advance indicated by the inclusion of Women's Suffrage in the Scottish and Welsh Home Rule Bills."

Mr. Acland laid special stress, in his speech to the Young Liberals later in the afternoon, upon the importance of the Suffrage from both a human and party point of view. He put it so urgently that we feel that his visit will strengthen our work considerably in this district among the Liberals.

MR. R. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM'S CANDIDATURE FOR THE LORD RECTORSHIP OF GLASGOW UNIVERSITY

MADAM,—In the approaching election to the Lord Rectory of Glasgow University, the Women's Suffrage Society of Queen Margaret's College is warmly supporting the candidature of Mr. R. B. Cunningham Graham, the well-known Suffragist and man of letters.

The electors are the students of the University of whom some 700 are women. There are three candidates before the electors and all are, nominally at any rate, Suffragists; but Mr. Cunningham Graham is the only one who has made a name for himself outside politics; he is the only one who can be described as an active worker for Women's Suffrage; and he is the only one who belongs to a political party which has definitely given its adherence to the cause of women's enfranchisement. He is therefore whether looked at as an individual or as a member of a party, "the best friend of Women's Suffrage" before the electors. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies is pledged in political elections, to work for "the best friend of Women's Suffrage" and in arriving at a decision as to who is "the best friend" to consider the position as regards Women's Suffrage of the party to which the candidate belongs, as well as his individual opinions. Therefore, if this were a political election the N.U.W.S.S. would be supporting Mr. Cunningham Graham. But it is not a political election, and the constitution of the N.U.W.S.S. precludes our taking any part in it as a Society. But as individuals any of us who wish can hold out a helping hand to our friends and colleagues in Queen Margaret's College Suffrage Society, who are fighting the good fight in this Rectorial election; and I cordially invite them to do this by sending subscriptions towards defraying the necessary expenses incurred between the present time and the second week in October, when the election takes place, either to myself, at 2, Gower Street, London, or to the Hon. Treasurer of Queen Margaret's Suffrage Society, 89, Gibson Street, Glasgow. MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

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Correspondence.

CHILDREN OF THE LOCKED-OUT BUILDERS WANT HELP.

MADAM,—I think many readers of THE COMMON CAUSE will be glad to hear of a fine work that is being done, to a large extent by women, towards saving the children of the locked-out builders who are in terrible want, both for food and clothes.

At No. 30, Brixton-road, where are the offices of the Brixton branch of the Taxi-cab Drivers' trade union, there is an excellent organisation for helping these poor children and their mothers. The taxi-cab drivers are, many of them, devoting their leisure to making and mending boots and shoes with which they replace worn-out ones, and packets of food are given out to any genuine cases that may apply. The union guarantees to help, with food and clothes, any woman or child who may apply, bringing proper credentials.

During the taxi-cab drivers' strike last year their wives formed a union in order the more effectually to stand by their men. They have since used their organisation for purposes of thrift, mutual help in sickness, and for education and general sociability. Now that the work of relief for the builders' families is being undertaken, this wives' union is invaluable. The women (with Mrs. Goulding, the Chairman, at their head) mend clothes, make most attractive looking packages of the food, and look after cases, adding to the splendid work the men are doing that particular touch that a woman knows how to give.

By these means help has been given to fifty thousand cases in fourteen weeks, and that this help is badly needed is proved by the fact that some of the people have dragged a barrow as far as from Stratford to Brixton and back in order to obtain food, &c.

Surely many readers of THE COMMON CAUSE would be glad to send to these children clothes that their own children have outgrown. Every kind of help is needed, but garments of all sorts for children is the greatest need of all. Two whom I saw there had been obliged to borrow clothes for the afternoon before they could leave home!

Any parcels that may be sent to Mr. T. A. Mendez, 30, Brixton-road, S.W., will be most gratefully received.

Mr. Robt. Jenkins (Chairman of the Licensed Vehicle Workers' Benevolent Society) and Mrs. Goulding are always ready to give a courteous welcome to anybody who takes sufficient interest in the work to go down and see it for themselves, and I know by experience that it is well worth a visit.

MARGARET LEGGE.

THE BISHOP'S BILL.

MADAM,—I see in your issue of the 24th inst., two references to the Lord Chancellor's amendment to the Bishop of London's Criminal Law Amendment Bill. As one who was present at that debate in the House of Lords—as one who entered that House full of respect for its ancient institution, I feel impelled to write you my impression. It was this, that the forces of ignorance and selfishness were in full array, and for that afternoon *victory was theirs*. The tenor of the proceedings was "protect our boys." Boys! Young men who should have had every opportunity, by education and from environment, of learning the lesson of self-control and self-protection—whose fathers are fully represented in both Houses of Parliament. And then—the other side, young girls spoken of as "practised temptresses" and prostitutes, girls who are mainly recruited from the ranks of the poor, with little or no representation in either House, girls who in many cases have been violated as children and thus in too many cases practically forced to a life of sin!

I heard the Lord Chancellor's statement with reference to the petition from over 200 peereses and numerous societies for the Bill as it stood—that those who had studied the question for years, were apt to be led away by sentiment, and, in short, their protest did not count. As I left that House, shocked indescribably, my thoughts were these, the cause of the people and the cause of the women are one. Oh, God, save the people!

VIOLET HARRIS.

PENALISING PARENTHOOD.

MADAM,—I should like to ask, through the medium of your paper, if it is at all customary for Boards of Guardians, &c., to advertise for officials, married and without children. Recently the Daventry Board of Guardians, advertising the post of master and matron of the workhouse, restricted the applicants to young (*i.e.*, under thirty-five years of age) married couples "without family." I am sure all readers of THE COMMON CAUSE will agree with the protest made by a clergyman, a member of the Board, on the grounds that such a restriction is "against the principles of Christian morality," and "an invitation to abuse the marriage

state," and will rejoice that as a result of his protest the offending clause was omitted. The amazing point in the case is the justification for the original advertisement offered by the clerk in the shape of an "instructional letter" from the Local Government Board, deprecating the employment of officers with children. The birth and death rate statistics have just been issued, showing again the lowest birth rate on record, and in certain quarters regrets are sure to be heard that women, while refusing to bear the responsibility of motherhood, given them by nature, are grasping at responsibilities outside their sphere. It should surely be made clear that the Government, through one of its departments at least, places a premium on such a refusal on the part of its women citizens.

E. CHAMBERLAIN.

WOMAN'S PLACE IN CHURCH WORK.

MADAM,—Perhaps you will permit me to suggest the importance of women getting more into touch with the inner workings of the Congregational Churches. It seems to me this would tend towards the vitalisation of spiritual work, by thus bringing more of our essentially religious sex into more direct connection with the whole congregation. This may be regarded as a Utopian ideal for men to have the increased co-operation of women, but is it not necessary for the common betterment of all humanity? We women who are in the very midst of advanced Suffrage work, earnestly wish to spread the great ideas underlying this movement, irrespective of creed, in all religious work as well as in politics. Let me urge the importance of this question upon the attention of all thinking people, whose ideas are not *a parti pris*. Is it not true Christianity to raise the status of women, by giving them equal representation with men in the governing concern of such a progressive sect as Congregationalists claim to be?

MARGARET WRIGHT.

ACCURATE STATISTICS.

MADAM,—Yesterday, in Hyde Park, a leaflet was handed to me, published by the National Union, which states that there are ten States in America where women have the State vote, and that in one—California—there are more women than men. I think you will find that there are but nine States with full Suffrage for women, and that in California there are 124 males for every 100 females.

H. B. SAMUELS.

July 27th.

[The N.U.W.S.S. has been unable to trace the leaflet in question. We are awaiting further information from our correspondent.—Ed., C.C.]

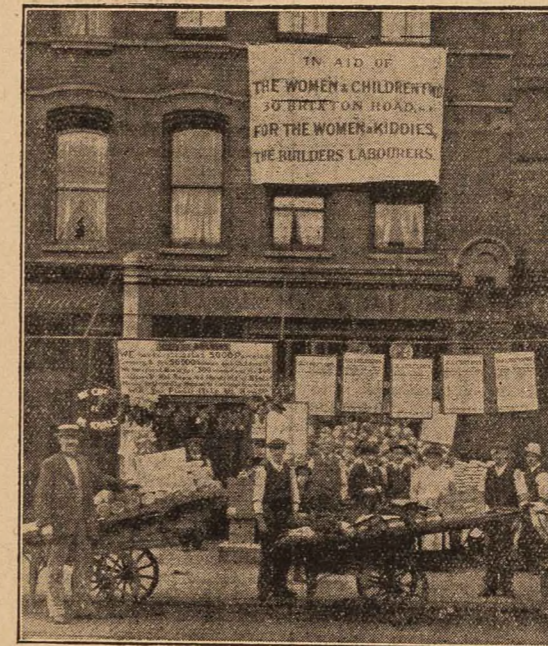
A CHAMPION IN THE BUSH.

"... My uncle has a dairy farm of forty cows at Narring, on the edge of the Bush. While there, I went with the family to a Literary Society meeting. Some drove, some rode on horseback. We went about eight miles. You could never imagine the bumping across the rough uncultivated land. We reached a little place with an institute, and it was crowded, and some of the folks had come further than we had.

"They meet there two evenings a week, and discuss all sorts of things. One evening a gentleman reads, and they go through all the old books, and end up with music. This evening they had a mock breach of promise case. All the parts were taken by men. What

pleased me more than anything was that the Chairman—a dear, old, white-whiskered farmer—in his opening speech, mentioned the English women and the vote. Why he did so was because some of the men seemed to resent having women on the jury. He said that was part of what the Suffragists were fighting for—that they might have a say in their country's affairs. Such a nice speech. He wound up by begging the women to use their vote. He told them what a different life it was for a woman out here, how free in every way, and he begged them to try and retain that freedom.

"You cannot tell how pleased I was to hear my country women spoken of in that far Bush! They are so sorry for you all. You see all sorts of things about the Aus-woman in the papers. Of course, they are rougher build than the Eng-woman. Can you wonder, when you think how hardly some of them have been brought up? An Aus-woman is on the same level as her husband; she can wield an axe, or kill a sheep and cut it up—in fact, she never says she cannot do anything. That is how they have made their country. Good luck to them, I say, for it is a country with a glorious future. England is lovely, but Australia is bewitching."



WIND AND TIDE.

By E. RENTOUL ESLER.

Author of "The Wardlaws," "The Trackless Way," "The Way they Loved at Grimpat," "A Maid of the Manse," &c.

SYNOPSIS.

Kate Burnsley is the daughter of a rough Irish farmer, but her mother had been brought up in a refined and cultured home, and had only married Burnley because her father, the Rev. John Moffatt, was reduced to poverty. On her mother's death, Kate takes her place as mistress of the farm, and performs her duties well, but she is in thoroughly uncongenial surroundings. Everything in the house that stirs her imagination, that seems beautiful, has come to Kate from her mother's people. Kate worships her brother Neil, who is training as a solicitor, and resents the admiration of Dick Nelson, a handsome but rough young man, who is obliged to work on her father's farm, because his people had wasted away all their possessions while he was still a child.

Later on, Nelson inherits some property, and writes to tell Kate that he is still fond of her, but she answers his letter rudely. A second letter arrives from Nelson, telling Kate that he has a mortgage on her father's farm, and asking if this makes any difference to her views. She replies that it does not. But Kate's father looks at him that his daughter will "have other views than to save her father and brother," especially as Neil has come home seriously ill. In an interview with Nelson he promises that Kate shall marry him, and rides off in high good humour, leaving the young man ill at ease. "He wanted more so much that he would take her against her will, but only in the hope that one day she would be satisfied."

Persuaded by her father and brother, Kate at last consents to marry Nelson, who, in spite of her reluctance, hopes to win her love in the end. He promises to do everything he can for Neil—who is in an advanced state of consumption—and treats the whole family with every consideration and kindness.

Wrought up in her brother, Kate still remains indifferent to Nelson, and when on the very day of the wedding Neil dies, she realises with dismay that she has made her sacrifice for nothing. After living with her husband a week she leaves him and takes refuge with Mrs. Morgan, a friend of her mother, who disapproves of her conduct but allows her to stay and treats her with every kindness. When Kate has been with Mrs. Morgan some days her husband comes to fetch her, but Mrs. Morgan persuades him to "be patient and wait." He goes away hurt, and puzzled and angry, leaving Mrs. Morgan full of sympathy for him and very angry with Kate, who has now taken flight again, leaving a short letter of thanks.

CHAPTER XIV.

FARMER BURNSLEY saddled his horse and ambled out into the high road. A working farmer is not usually a picturesque figure on horseback. Life is so full of necessary hard work that there is not time to cultivate the habit of elegant extras. Burnsley's horse was not well groomed, the steel of bit and stirrups was not burnished, his boots spoke more of the soil than the blacking brush, and his homespun clothing had the cut of the village tailor. But for such details he cared little, and for other reasons he was in excellent spirits.

The mortgage that had hung so long like a spiked chain round his neck was no more; with his own hands he had reduced it to ashes. Kate had sent it to him, and it was not his affair whether or not he considered her a bally fool for flinging property about in that manner. If he ever paid a jot of interest to her or anyone else now, it would be because he was honourable beyond imagination. He had told Kate the interest would be her pocket money, but if she sent him the document which proved her right, and if it no longer existed, of course the position was radically altered. No doubt she had wanted to deliver him from that eternal half-yearly claim which had kept him under so long, and which rendered it so difficult to make any real headway, times being so bad, and profits from land so small. Kate understood the few possible economies in agriculture; none better, and, therefore, being a good daughter, she had, of course, come to her father's assistance when opportunity offered. And, after all, it was right enough that she should do so; did not everyone know that it cost at least a thousand pounds to bring a child to comfortable and healthy maturity? He had been a very good father to her, she had married well; being comfortably off of course she was able to remember what Neil's education had cost, and how he, poor boy, would never be able to refund any portion of the outlay incurred for him. It was very nice of Kate to have thought of all these things as she had obviously done. No doubt Nelson might not have intended that his claims should be cancelled in this particular way, but he had offered his price for the girl, and he had got her. As to her running away, that was mere capers, and the anxiety of the wooing time might be prolonged. She had felt it hard that she should be married off without any of the flattering experiences of the betrothal time. When Nelson had pursued her a while, and fretted about her, she would come back and all would be well. For his own part, he was not sorry to have her married and off his hands. She had a cold look in her eye at times as well as a devilish sharp tongue when she was roused. Since Nelson fancied that kind, it was all right, but for his part, he liked a big, smiling, soft, sony woman. He smiled to himself at this, as if the sony type was already represented to his mind's eye. Of course, a farm fared badly without a mistress, but when a man was not too old—he was just forty-eight—there were women who would not think that too old.

He slapped his horse's neck with the willow rod he carried, jogging heavily in the saddle, as the animal broke into a trot. The air felt cold, although the sun shone redly across the horizon. The mornings had already a scent of decay in their breath. But the fields looked well; the piled stooks drying in the breezes were topped heavily with grain.

He had left the main road, and was traversing a bridle-path that abutted on his fields. This path ended, or rather was barred by a rustic gate, on which Burnsley saw that a young woman was leaning as he approached it. Her folded arms rested on the top bar, and her back was towards the farmer. The long cloak she wore did not conceal

the slim youthfulness of her figure, and the knot of hair beneath her hat brim was golden bronze. For these reasons Farmer Burnsley accosted her politely.

"If you please, Miss," he began.

The girl started, she had not heard the horse's footfall on the soft turf of the path, then she looked up and smiled.

"Kate," he ejaculated, with obvious change of intonation.

"I was on my way to see you," she answered.

"You have come from home?"

"No, I haven't."

"Nelson has told me about your—your capers," he went on discontentedly. "You must behave yourself, a married woman is a married woman."

She ignored the words.

"I sent you that mortgage," she began.

"Yes."

"Well, I want it back, it was not mine to give. He—Dick gave it to me, but I had no right to keep it, I want it back."

"Easier said than done," the man answered gruffly.

She steadied her voice before she spoke again. "You know you had his money, eleven hundred pounds—though what you did with all that—it is only fair to pay it back. The mortgage is the proof that you have had it."

"He got you in exchange," Burnsley answered, a smile twitching the corners of his mouth.

"Well, you see I have broken that portion of the bargain."

"Then you can mend it at your leisure."

"Father, I want the mortgage," she said sternly. "It was abominable of me that I sent it to you. It was not mine. I did it without thinking. I must and will have it back."

"If people don't think at first, the thinking at last sometimes comes too late. I certainly will not give you the mortgage on my farm." It afforded him a certain pleasure to play with her anxiety, and hold the question aloof for the moment.

"You would not keep what is not yours; it would not be honest."

She was controlling herself rigidly, thinking to convince him by patient reasonableness. "If I had broken into his desk and stolen his money and brought that to you, you would have sent me back with it. Well, this is the same, money's worth you know, and it is not mine or yours."

"You said he had given it to you. If he had given you money and you had handed it to your poor old dad, I should certainly have kept it, why not? He said he would take you in lieu of the mortgage; well, he got you."

"But father, I have left him. I won't live with him."

"That is your affair, and his. I did my part of the bargain."

"Oh, you would not be so cruel," she cried with a wail in her voice. "Do you not see that if I give him back the mortgage, I can go with a clear conscience, but if I take his money—oh, surely you would not shame me in this way?"

"Go back to him. He will not say a word then."

"I cannot, I cannot."

"Well, it is not fair, a wife is a wife; he bought and paid for you honestly."

"Father, I ask you for God's sake to give me back that paper. Surely you would not take advantage of the wild act of your unhappy child to ruin and shame me in this way. If Neil had lived he would have seen that to do this is to be no better than thieves. Father, for God's sake—" she panted brokenly.

"The paper is burnt," he answered with a touch of impatient shame.

"Burnt," she echoed with pale lips.

"Yes, people don't keep things like that lying about, it is burnt."

"But you can get another, or you can give me an acknowledgment that the money has not been paid back, and that the burning was an accident."

"It was no accident."

"For an instant she looked at him in stony silence. "What shall I do?" she asked in a husky whisper, not addressing him, but her own misery.

"Go back to the man you have married."

"Will you take me in at Laganside, since I have given it back to you?"

"I won't come between a man and his wife."

"How can you talk in that heartless, wicked way? You need me at home if you will only confess it."

"I don't need you. I may as well tell you the truth—truth is always best—I am thinking of marrying again."

"Then the farm may never be mine?"

"It never may."

"It is robbery, sheer, wicked robbery."

"Shut up, you jade."

"Have you not just said that truth is best?" Her face was pale; in the morning light it looked old and withered. "If you keep Nelson's property, and marry and keep it all from me, so that I can never give him back his own, then I think there is many a felon an honest man than you."

"Nelson has lots of money; he won't starve." He looked at her angrily, his thick brows twitching over his small, shrewd eyes.

"That has nothing to do with a question of common honesty."

Her head was held haughtily, and her young face had the righteous sternness of the impartial judge.

"Open the gate, I have not time to stand jawing here all day," he answered roughly. "What I have done I can stand over; I gave my daughter in exchange for money lent; the rest lies at your door. If you choose to break your marriage vows—"

She opened the gate and held it open. "You are a bad man,"

she said with pale lips. "Your wife, my mother, is dead; your son is dead, and this is all your daughter has to say to you."

He looked at her frowningly, then gave his horse a cut with the switch he carried, and sprang through the gate.

Kate looked after him coldly, scornfully, noting his elderly uncountness. At the moment it occurred to her to wonder what kind of woman could think to better her condition by union with such a bridegroom. He was not likely to prove any more tender to the second wife than he had done to the first, yet apparently some woman thought that drudgery under him would be promotion.

"The world is not an easy place for some women," she thought.

For a moment she scarcely realised how desolate she was, then she turned and went slowly across the golden landscape, towards the little enclosure that was belted with tall yew trees. A great silence brooded over the low graves, the occupants were exercised no more by earth's queer happenings.

* * * * *

Mrs. Morgan ascended the three steps that led over the yard wall into the adjacent field, and descended the turf slope on the other side, but when she arrived there, she did nothing definite, merely stood with her hands resting on her hips and stared at the wide stretch of country in front of her.

She did this once or twice daily, she could not have told why. Had the curious insisted on an explanation, she would have said she had got into the way of it, liking to look about her, and only the intelligent could have interpreted that.

It was not the labourers in the adjacent fields Mrs. Morgan had come out to see, neither was it the young colts and cattle; instinctively she craved the aloneness with nature which she found there.

The wide landscape, the floating clouds, the sweet breath of the hills, she felt as if these gave a background to her trivial duties, and ennobled them. When she stood with her disfigured eyes fixed on the horizon line she was not aware that she was praying inarticulately to the Maker of certain unswerving laws, but she did know that she carried back with her from her small act of worship some wordless consciousness that it is worth while to be industrious, honest, and kind.

On this occasion she was aware that she had more than usual to think over. The day before she had had a letter from Richard Nelson, asking the question: "Have you anything to tell me?"

She had nothing to tell, and already Kate had been lost to her for five long weeks. It was not her business to follow this perverse young woman, but her troubled sense of defeat, of futility, was emphasised by the thought of putting her lack of information into words. She felt more at one with the abandoned husband than she had done earlier, by reason of the sense of baffling which they shared.

It was a small thing in her life that a visitor had taken what the district spoke of as French leave, but her vexation enabled her to understand how much the same kind of experience might signify to a husband.

"Kate went away the very day you were here, and she did not let me know she was going; she left a little note to say good-bye, I have not heard from her since," she wrote in reply. The baldness of her communication hurt herself; it was because the numb sense of discomfort clung to her that she stood longer than usual gazing blankly at the still world about her.

"He will come to talk things over," she said to herself. "When he finds there is nothing to be done, he will settle down and go on with his work; people always do if there is any good in them."

Kate's advent and departure, with all the intimate knowledge these had entailed, had broken the routine and serenity of Mrs. Morgan's days, but the disturbance was not all painful. She knew it is good for people to feel sometimes the inrush of others' stormy and harsh experiences, so that they may not become altogether self-centred and small. As she stood mutely on the slope of her own corral, something was whispering to her about the large and silent laws of life. If there was to be a reaping time, the sowing time had to come first; and even before that, there was the breaking of the earth with the plough, later its exorciation with the harrow.

"It is a pity of the young," she said half aloud. She could not trace the line of connection in her thought, what she felt was that the young have most of the plough and the harrow, while the elderly have already come within sight of the golden sheaves. Yet perception of this circumstance did not prevent her from scolding Ann Jane when, on going indoors, she found that that damsel had let the bannocks she was baking burn. Mrs. Morgan knew that Ann Jane's mind was considerably occupied with the divagations of Andy, the second farm hand, but all the same, girls must mind their business and not waste and spoil good human food.

(To be continued.)

CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

At the half-yearly General Council of the Church League for Women's Suffrage, a resolution was passed unanimously, asking that the following "Statement" should be sent to the press:—

"The only methods employed by the 'Church League for Women's Suffrage' are those of Prayer and Education. Necessarily, therefore, the League dissociates itself from the distinctive methods, violent or otherwise, of all Suffrage Societies founded upon a political rather than a religious basis; and all such statements to the contrary, as have been sedulously published in the press and elsewhere, are either founded on a misconception of fact, or are intentionally misleading."

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The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies being a body which exists solely to obtain the enfranchisement of women, holds no official view upon any other topic. Opinions expressed upon other subjects must not be regarded as necessarily those of the Union.

The N.L.O.W.S. and the Constitutional
Suffragists.

The latest development in the strategy of the National League for Opposing Women's Suffrage is not surprising to those who have studied its methods and plan of campaign from the beginning. It is, indeed, the inevitable outcome of its fatal weakness—the knowledge that in fair and straightforward argument it stands no chance at all.

Militancy brought the N.L.O.W.S. into existence. So much both Anti-suffragists and Militant Suffragists will be equally ready to admit. As to the extent of the service rendered to the cause of Women's Suffrage by the provoking of its opponents to activity, opinions may differ. Anyhow, the N.L.O.W.S. was the offspring of militancy, and we are told that every outbreak of militancy brings members flocking into its ranks. Unfortunately, however, for the N.L.O.W.S., the British public has shown an increasing tendency to distinguish between the small body of women who have been carrying on a campaign of violence, and the enormous national organisation of law-abiding women whose educational and political work takes them into every corner of the kingdom. With this tendency to distinguish between the organisations has come a revolt against the injustice of penalising thousands of law-abiding women for the sins of a few Militants, and the desire to judge the issue of Women's Suffrage on its own merits.

What is the N.L.O.W.S. to do? "Argument" against Women's Suffrage only exposes it to ridicule. Attacks on militancy are met by the popular recognition that militancy is not Women's Suffrage, and that the Suffrage Movement is essentially constitutional. But long ago there arose in the N.L.O.W.S. a genius who said, "Let us try to tar the constitutional movement with the militant brush." And so they have been busy ever since, like the gardeners in "Alice in Wonderland," trying to paint the white roses red. And the only change in their policy in recent months is that they have sent carefully prepared pots of paint all composed of exactly the same ingredients to all their local secretaries, who are now busying themselves in the Suffrage gardens all over the country. But the paint is pathetically thin, and the supply of it woefully inadequate. For what is, briefly, the position? They cannot, and do not attempt to deny that the N.U. has published protests against militancy at least once a year since October, 1909. "But," they declare, "Mrs. Fawcett instituted militancy." Such an outrageous mis-statement defeats itself, since everyone knows that Mrs. Fawcett has been for over forty years a member and for many years the President of the Union of law-abiding Suffragists, and that Mrs. Pankhurst, who "instituted militancy," had severed her connection with the Union for some years before she adopted militant tactics. Tracked to its source, this falsehood seems to be based upon the fact that in 1906 Mrs. Fawcett was present at a breakfast of welcome to Suffragist prisoners on their release.

What was the "militancy" for which these prisoners had suffered? (It is a pity that militancy has to be such a "portmanteau" word!) They had gone on a deputation to the House of Commons, caused a technical obstruction, and been arrested. There had been no violence, no damage to person or

property. No one had suffered but themselves. It is interesting to note that the more violent "raids" made lately by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, which have brought her and her organisation into conflict with the police, are not regarded by Mr. Asquith as militancy at all. To her deputation the other day he said: "I understand you and the organisation with which you are connected dissociate yourselves altogether from the criminal proceedings which have done so much to impede the progress of your cause." Mrs. Fawcett, then, paid tribute, eight years ago, to the courage of women who had advertised their cause by a technical breach of the law (not now regarded by Mr. Asquith as "militancy"), for which they uncompromisingly suffered a disproportionately heavy punishment. At the same time, she did not express approval of their action, and the officers of the National Union wrote to the press, dissociating the N.U. from all unlawful methods.

Then, in 1909, came an utterly new departure, when for the first time "militancy" connoted violence and destruction, and from that moment the N.U. thought it necessary to make a public and uncompromising stand. The old "militancy" (now almost forgotten), which suffered violence but did none, the National Union never advocated or approved. The new "militancy," which did and does violence, it unsparingly condemned from the first.

"But," says the N.L.O.W.S., "they do not condemn the individual militants"; and half sentences, reft from their context, are torn from abbreviated reports of speeches, and marshalled forth to prove that constitutional Suffragists have actually refused to join in the hysterical cry that all militant Suffragists are criminal lunatics—nay, have even spoken with respect of the tragically misplaced courage and enthusiasm of the women who are, by wrong and foolish actions, so cruelly wounding the cause which some of them would die to serve. Let them have their proofs! It is the last thing in the world which most of us would wish to deny. Indeed, we would ask any Anti-suffragist who has read "Prisons and Prisoners" to sit down and write a signed letter to the press declaring that Lady Constance Lytton is a wicked woman, evil in motive as well as in action, a person to be placed in the category of ordinary criminals or criminal lunatics. Unless he is prepared to do this, he has no right to complain of the recognition by the constitutional Suffragists of fine qualities in some of those people whose actions they most condemn and deplore.

But whilst refusing to pretend that militant Suffragists must all be wicked women, the N.U. has equally refused to accept the position of the W.S.P.U. that courage and sacrifice make evil deeds good. To them, indeed, the supreme tragedy of militancy is the waste in it of so much that is potentially fine.

The Anti-suffragists, then, make a desperate effort to prove that Mrs. Fawcett and others have threatened militancy—but here the paint is thinner than ever! Their whole case depends on a phrase "harsher methods," which Mrs. Fawcett used when, speaking on attempts at "conciliation," she looked to the future, should these fail. These "harsher methods," as was perfectly clear from the context of her speech, were political; and they have since proved necessary, and have taken effect in the new election policy of the N.U., by which five seats have been lately lost to the Government in by-elections. This is not militant, but Liberal politicians consider it distinctly "harsh"!

Let us pass to something more up-to-date. There is the affair of a Vice-President of the London Society of the N.U.W.S.S. who has been discovered to have subscribed to the W.S.P.U. It would have seemed that anyone desiring to get fairly at the facts would have communicated with the Society in question before flying to the press. But the opportunity of publicly suggesting *male fides* was irresistible. The sequel, however, is quite undramatic! Immediately on the matter being brought before the Executive Committee of the London Society, they wrote to the lady in question for some explanation, pointing out that her action was wholly inconsistent with the constitution and methods of the Society, and at their request she at once resigned her office and membership.

Space forbids our dealing with more than one or two such "facts" put forward by the Anti-suffragists in their present ingenious campaign. This campaign is not directed against Women's Suffrage—it has been inaugurated for the purpose of misleading the public into believing that the N.U.W.S.S. and law-abiding Suffragists generally are playing a double game and are secretly in league with "militants." A few isolated instances of "suspicious" occurrences are selected, they are issued broadcast to the local press by agents of the N.L.O.W.S., and in each case a letter is built up round them to convey the impression that they are typical examples of the secret alliance. The remedy is tedious, but it is sure; let the cases be taken one

by one (there are, perhaps, some dozen in all—always the same in whatever local paper they may appear) and the truth exposed. Thus very shortly will the enemy be compelled to abandon their vulnerable position and retreat yet one more stage towards final annihilation.

The Need for Women Police.

By LORD HENRY CAVENDISH BENTINCK, M.P., L.C.C.

The readers of THE COMMON CAUSE will hardly need a defence of the idea of the appointment of women police in this country, provided they are convinced that there is work for them to do. Indeed, most of the opposition to the idea comes from the belief that it is a merely frivolous or academic demand on the part of women to encroach for no good reason on a sphere hitherto considered purely male. However this may be, there is undoubtedly a great sphere of usefulness now open to women police without in any way interfering with the work done so well by our male police force. The census tells us that something like a third of the women in this country are earning their living. This means that every day millions of women leave their homes to play their part in the industrial life of this country, to enter into public life both in their work and afterwards in their amusements. Life outside the home is no longer exclusively, or even mainly, a man's world. With the freeing of women from the supervision of the home, there has arisen a need for a different kind of police work, both in the streets and in our places of amusement and recreation, a police work that would have for its object not so much the detection and the punishment of crime, and the preservation of law and order, but simply the prevention of crime. It is to be a shield of defence, and not a sword of justice.

It is, perhaps, hardly realised how many unpleasant characters haunt our parks and open spaces, and it would be a great advantage to have the assistance of women police here and in the patrolling of the streets and railway stations. Women are so much needed for this work that several private societies pay women to do it, but these workers are not subject to any public authority and they are hampered in their work by lack of official status and powers. In the supervision of places of amusement women in uniform could do much to help the authorities, and the condition of the streets in the evenings in our manufacturing towns is a strong argument for women police. No doubt, much of the horseplay which goes on is perfectly innocent; but often a timely word of caution which could be given so well by a woman official, would prevent what is a display of high spirits degenerating into something more harmful.

The number of sex offences against women and children is very large, and is in itself a justification for this innovation in the present police force, which is manifestly inadequate to deal with this class of case. The National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children reports every year over four hundred cases of indecent and criminal assault upon girls under the age of sixteen, and nearly as large a number is brought before the notice of the Salvation Army. Often the children are little more than babies when the offence is committed, and it is one of the terrible features of the record that, amongst the cases of criminal assault, the cases of incest average 37.8 per cent. All these cases involve the taking of depositions. These have, of necessity, to be taken in detail by policemen, and few realise how painful an ordeal this is to women, and one, moreover, which defeats its own ends, for many women hesitate to give information at all, and many others give their evidence so reluctantly and so badly that it is useless for legal purposes. Then there is the opposite case involved in the practice of solicitation. Men who are at present unwilling to give girls in charge to a policeman, would probably report cases of annoyance to a woman officer, and women might be stationed at particular places where annoyance was frequent. More serious is the fact that there is at present a great temptation for individual policemen to enter into arrangements with prostitutes, who are very much in their power. Without any wish to malign a large body of public servants, it is idle to deny that in a body comprising nearly 55,000 men such arrangements are unknown.

Besides all this there is probably a good deal that could be done in the way of re-arrangement of night work in the police stations if there were women police officers. We are always told that women prisoners are looked after by a woman at the police stations, but it is rather doubtful if this excellent rule is really carried out. If we turn up the Report of H.M. Inspectors of Police, we find that the stock entry is "Female prisoners are searched and attended to whilst in the cells by wives of members

of the force living on the premises"; but occasionally we come across such entries as the following: "Female prisoners are searched and attended to whenever it is considered necessary by a matron, who lives near the premises." "Female prisoners are attended to by matrons who live close to the stations." Exactly how much supervision of women by women this means we do not know; but the fact remains that in a great many stations men are left in charge at night and can look into the cells at any moment—indeed, it is part of their duty to do so in order to see that all is right.

Not only in police stations, but in the courts themselves would women police, in my opinion, improve the administration of the law. There are many cases, notably those held in camera, where the presence of a woman official would do something to lessen the ordeal of the woman witness.

I have only attempted to sketch a few of the duties for which I think women are imperatively needed in our police force. It is not sufficient that we should have women rescue workers, or matrons, or probation officers, or women attached to a court for limited purposes. The time has come when we want women within the police force, with all the powers the law gives a constable, and official status to enhance their prestige.

How Some of Us Live.

DANGERS TO WHICH POTTERY WORKERS ARE EXPOSED.

BY OUR COMMISSIONER.

It can be imagined that the conditions described last week are not conducive to rapid recovery from an attack of lead-poisoning; but that is not the worst of the matter. In the physical condition (leading sometimes to mental depression) which results, weakened by the poison in the system, pottery-workers are easy prey to other diseases which lie in wait for the poor and ill-nourished. The Report of the Committee on Lead states that danger incurred from lead affects only comparatively few (6,865 out of 63,000), whereas those exposed to another potent danger—dust—number about 23,000.

"About 36 per cent. are liable to inhale the dusts of clay, flint, and other materials used in the manufacture of the ware. . . . The Committee are of opinion . . . that the illnesses resulting from such dusts and conditions of work connected with them are very serious. Nearly one-half of the operatives employed in the manufacture of earthenware and china are liable to inhale noxious dust of one kind and another. . . . Owing to the conditions of labour, the workers are specially prone to affections of the lungs, and the medical evidence given before the Committee proves that the mortality due to these affections is abnormally high . . . no less than 52 per cent. of those over fifty (out of 458 workers examined) . . . showed signs of lung disease; and . . . bronchitis caused 4.4 times as many deaths amongst pottery workers as amongst the general population. . . . Compared with an equal number of other artisans in these districts there is, taking the years 1900-1902, an annual excess amongst pottery workers of 148 deaths due to the diseases (of the lungs) in question; attributable, it would appear, to the unhealthy conditions under which they labour."

These extracts from the Report are given merely to prove the point I want to emphasise, that women suffer not only from liability to contract illness themselves, but also from the liability of men to suffer. The wage earned by any and every member of a workman's family, from himself downwards, is of too vital a nature not to affect the individual and family welfare generally.

The struggle to live on their infinitesimal income, when incapacitated by illness, is so great that girls are an easy prey to yet another danger. They quite naturally get married at the first opportunity. "Her wage was a help to me when she was at work," a widowed mother said to me, "but the compensation (4s. 5d.) would not keep even her. And he was pressing her—said he'd have her if she died to-morrow—so what could she do?" What she did, poor girl, was to marry him, to bear a child, and to watch it die. Before we blame, we should at least remove the horrible alternatives of choice which are all we offer to such as she.

Girls and women are more liable to contract lead-poisoning than men, though there is a higher percentage of fatal results amongst men than women. The Report states that, "in addition to the actual tabulated cases of plumbism, the evidence tends to show that the general health of many operatives is impaired, though not to an extent to give rise to definite symptoms of lead-poisoning." I am personally inclined to wonder whether the low wages which the women earn, and the consequent poor living, may not account for at least some of their greater susceptibility; but there is no denying the fact that lead in the system tends to promote miscarriage, and in this way married women run extra risks. The Report states:—

"Seeing that the excessive miscarriage rate amongst those who were

lead workers only before marriage, though not apparently as great as amongst those who subsequently continue such work, is nevertheless considerable—all women under forty-five years of age shall be excluded from employment in the most dangerous lead processes."

The only woman member of the Committee, in her Minority Report, states:—

"I should have had to concur in this proposal (the above), in spite of the fact that much hardship would have been caused in a district of one trade, such as the Potteries, had it not been that a definite alternative exists by imposing limitations on the use of the material, instead of on the classes of workers."

Surely nobody can appreciate better than women can the horror of frequent miscarriage, and nobody suffers more than mothers in the loss of babies; which circumstance, one would suppose, would make women the fittest people to decide what conditions should or should not prevail in the employment by which they get their living. It should be duly noted, therefore, that in viewing this very serious matter of the health of women pottery operatives, the men, both of the working class and the other classes who comprised this Committee, could think of nothing better than to stop the women from working; and it took a woman to propose that there was an alternative—to stop the use of lead!

The woman member also proposed, pending the abolition of the use of this dangerous material:—

"That workers who suffer should be compensated to the full extent of their previous earnings should be a condition of permission to use a glaze exceeding the low solubility standard. . . . It is necessary to insist that as long as lead is used, lead-poisoning will not be stamped out."

I have considerable knowledge, gained at first hand, of the injurious effects of exposure to danger from which pottery workers suffer, and could with much greater ease have given evidence of typical cases to illustrate this article than the course I have adopted of making the Report of the Special Committee bear the responsibility of my statements. The Report, however, may not be gainsaid; statements based on my own knowledge, might be doubted, for the facts are so disturbing that it is much more comfortable to doubt than to credit.

It may as well be said frankly, and courageously faced, that there is no sure way of abolishing poisoning by lead in the manufacture of china and earthenware—articles of everyday use, passing through the hands of everyone of us daily—except by its abolition. That is a matter for the law to deal with, or perhaps for international arbitration. Meanwhile, there is something definite here which we women can do before we get the vote and can act by means of the law. We are the chief users and buyers of crockery ware, and if we determined neither to buy nor to use any except leadless glazed ware, we should be giving a definite impulse to the demand for this, and pottery manufacturers, like all other manufacturers, are largely influenced by the demands of customers.

Of all trades, pottery-making would seem to be one where the need of trade organisation is greatest. Unfortunately, the need is only partly met, and neither men nor women are as keen about keeping this weapon of offence and defence as bright and efficient as it needs to be. The irregularities of employment, the involved systems of payment, and the dangers of the work make the need greater, and, ironically, make the actual meeting of the need by this means more difficult.

I have had constant opportunity during a long period of making friendly inquiry of the women as to the causes leading to their reluctance to organise. The greatest obstacle, I think, is the comparative irregularity of their employment. It is a prevalent opinion amongst the uninitiated that almost every married woman works in the Potteries. This is quite contrary to fact, for though some married women work all their lives on a pot-bank, and a large number work at intervals, by far the greater number of women give up the work on marriage, and some actually do give up never to return.

Almost every girl hopes to be one of the never-to-return lucky ones; and the wages are so low and some of the work so disagreeable that there is great temptation to marry early. This expectation of early marriage and possible withdrawal from work militates against Trade Unionism for women; it not only makes those who are indifferent more indifferent, but it also slackens the interest of those who are Trade Unionists. That which is going to be a life job is better worth while making a decent job than that which is merely "a putting on" till you adopt your life job—of "wife and mother." There is, of course, always the point of view of the other woman who has to keep at work, but I am personally not inclined to expect too much altruistic feeling from women whose wages average less than 10s. a week, and who come from homes such as are the lot of most pottery workers.

(Next article: Home Life in the Potteries.)

Friends of Women's Suffrage.

We think that just now, when the enrolment of "Friends" at open-air meetings is so prominent a part of the work of the N.U.W.S.S. the following account of "Friend" organisation in the London Society's area will be of general interest:—

There has been continuous development in this work during the summer months. The numerous open-air meetings held every night in many different parts of London have afforded opportunities for the enrolment of "Friends," and cards signed by new "Friends" have continually flowed into the Office. At the same time the organisation of the "Friends" already obtained has now, in most parts of London, caught up with the influx of new ones, and keeps pace with it. Nearly 150 reports have been received at the Office from Branches during the last month. Every month the local secretaries or F. W. S. secretaries subtract from the number of their "Friends" those who have become members, removed from the district, or proved untraceable; at the same time they add the new "Friends" enrolled at meetings in their own districts, or sent to them by other Branches or by the Office. A debit and credit account is thus kept both by the Branches and at the Office.

The organisation of "Friends" has become as integral a part of the work of the Society as the organisation of members. When it is remembered that many of the Branches have from 300 to 600 "Friends," and that they have to be cared for in the same way as members, but with an even greater regard to economy, since they do not give a financial return, it will be seen how much individual effort on the part of local secretaries and workers is implied.

The character of the work done among "Friends" varies very much, according to the district. In very poor parts of London, they are easily enrolled—care has to be taken to prevent them from showing the fervency of their friendship by signing over and over again. Frequent removals make the work of tracing "Friends" difficult; there is little hope of many becoming members or being able to pay much, so the work can never be financially self-supporting. On the other hand, "Friends" are generally delighted to come to meetings—if they are near enough to their own homes—take leaflets eagerly, and help in the work as far as they are able, and spread Suffrage propaganda among their friends. One very poor woman, who was enrolled at an open-air meeting in North London, took away cards with her and returned to another meeting a fortnight later, bringing the names of fifteen new "Friends." She is too poor at present to become a member, but she is saving her money, penny by penny, and has been invited to join the local committee of the Branch. In some parts of East London the delivering of notices for meetings is entirely done by "Friends." "Friends" also do much COMMON CAUSE selling, and in Bow a garden entertainment is being organised and entirely carried out by factory girl "Friends."

In outlying Branches, the work is much more like country work. There, more effort has to be made about the actual enrolling of "Friends." The Kingston and Surbiton F. W. S. Secretary describes in her last report how she and her workers visit new districts, calling at every cottage, leaving cards of invitation for a meeting, and suitable leaflets, and having long conversations with the women on their door-steps.

The preparation of each meeting is a slow business, but it leads to a steady increase in the number of useful "Friends," and also in that of members, and often to the opening out of new districts. Ninety-two "Friends" were enrolled at New Malden, at a comparatively small meeting in a new district. With the help of jumble sales and entertainments, work in the Kingston and Surbiton Branch has been more than self-supporting. Very thorough work has also been done by Ealing, which now has 578 "Friends." Among the constituencies that have had the largest increase in the number of "Friends" during the quarter are: Whitechapel, North Kensington, West Southwark, Clapham, South Paddington, and Deptford.

The total figures are 15,179 for the County of London, 5,550 for the Suburban area, and 848 not yet distributed into constituencies—21,577 in all. Of these only about 1,200 have not been reported on by Branches. Owing to the extension of the work during the year and the formation of new Branches, the "Friends" whose cards have to be kept at the Office, and who only receive notice of very important demonstrations, are very much fewer than last year. Many hundreds of county "Friends'" cards have been sent out to the Federations.

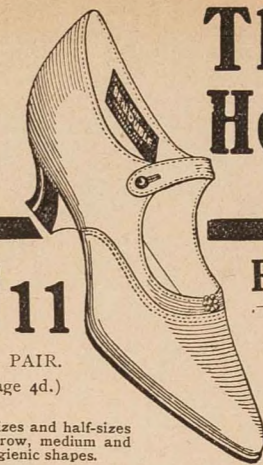
LEEDS SOCIETY AND THE WESLEYAN CONFERENCE.

In connection with the Wesleyan Methodist Conference lately held in Leeds, an unofficial public meeting in support of Women's Suffrage was organised by the Leeds Society, and presided over by Dr. Scott Lidgett. Platform invitations were accepted by leading men and women of the Conference, including Mrs. Hugh Price Hughes, Mr. W. Middlebrook, M.P., Mr. A. Henderson, M.P., and delegates from New York, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

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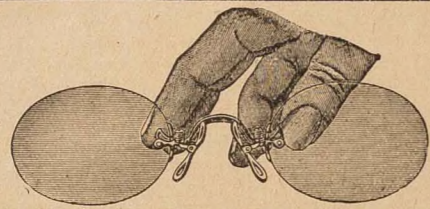
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Parliamentary Department.

Will any Federation or Society which is about to interview a Parliamentary candidate write to Headquarters for a copy of the revised Questions to Candidates? These were sent out some time ago, but it is evident that some Secretaries are still using the unrevised questions.

Autumn Demonstration.

A great demonstration is being organised by the National Union in the Kingsway Hall on Tuesday, October 20th. National Union members, please note the date! Further information will be announced in this column from week to week.

Sunday in Hyde Park.

Many Americans were included in the large crowd which gathered round the N.U. speakers on July 26th, and it was evident that they shared the intense interest shown by the English members of the audience. The questions asked were many and friendly. We should like to make a special appeal for stewards at these meetings and distributors of literature at the Park gates during the holiday months. The meetings begin at 3.30 near the Reformers' Tree. The distribution of literature begins at about 2.30. If anyone who is willing to help will write to the National Union, leaflets, "Friends'" cards, and full directions will be sent to her.

Bank Holiday.

The office will be closed from Friday night, July 31st, till Tuesday morning, August 4th.

Treasurer's Notes.

This seems an appropriate moment, just when holidays are beginning, to remind our readers that the National Union will be carrying on holiday work throughout the summer. We shall be busy at Headquarters preparing for our great Autumn Demonstration, and for our Winter Campaign, and in the country our speakers and workers will be getting up open-air meetings at various holiday resorts, THE COMMON CAUSE will be sold, new members and "Friends" will be enrolled wherever possible, and there will be unlimited opportunities for distributing all the free literature that we can afford to give away.

I appeal to those who cannot help us with personal service to spare something as a contribution towards the work which we shall be doing for Women's Suffrage while they are on their holidays. Surely they will enjoy their holiday all the more for the remembrance of the help they have given us. There are some to whom I make no appeal; they are those women in our Union who have worked incessantly throughout the year and have added permanently to our strength by the fine work they have done, and I exclude, also, from this appeal, those generous women whose constant gifts of money have been one of the chief sources of our unflinching faith and hope. The lists we publish week by week in THE COMMON CAUSE are a record of their ever-increasing sacrifice and determination. To all these we can only offer our gratitude and thanks and we can appeal to other women to try and follow their splendid example.

Election Fighting Fund.

Table with columns for names, amounts, and totals. Includes 'Already acknowledged since November 1st, 1913' and 'Special Appeal' sections.

COMMON CAUSE SELLERS.

Will any members of the N.U. who are in London during the next few weeks and can do some street selling, write to Miss Gosse, L.S.W.S., 58, Victoria Street, or call before 6 for supplies and particulars of pitches.

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I approve of the object and methods of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. I am not a Member of a Society that adopts a policy of violence, and I do not support Militant tactics. I desire to be enrolled as a member of the affiliated Society in my district, and to receive "The Common Cause."

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