

The Common Cause

THE ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF

Sept. 19th,
1912.

Vol. IV.
No. 180.



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 (Societies, Miscellaneous, etc.) must reach the Office (2, Robert Street) not later than first post on Tuesday.

Advertisements (Trade), S. R. Le Mare, Advertisement Agent, 21, Paternoster Square, London, E.C.

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.

With the Best Motives.

The papers are full of accounts of all sorts of repulsive brutalities, perpetrated for the most part under the excuse of high-sounding motives. We read in Monday's *Standard* that "the intense feeling between the political parties in Belfast was proved (sic) on Saturday by a riot which suddenly developed at a football match," and we are told this is a "foretaste of what may happen any moment if Home Rule is forced upon Ulster against her wish." We read of men in the mob at the Eisteddfod dragging the clothes off women and tearing their hair out in handfuls till the scalps bled, and then wearing the shreds of clothes and hanks of blood-stained hair as trophies of men's chivalry to women; deeds of considerable brutality to women were also done at Dundee, and we cannot find that either Mr. Lloyd George or Mr. Churchill made any effort whatever to check them. In Mountjoy prison, men, with what should be the sacred mission of healing are inflicting what their medical *confères* call "severe physical torture" on imprisoned women, under the orders of a Liberal Government committed to the principle that coercion is no remedy; and then we read of Mrs. Pankhurst saying, in an interview, "We have decided to fight the men as men, that is to say by violence."

One can hear the leaders in England who speak for the mobs in Ireland invoking patriotism; one imagines the Welsh hooligans eloquent upon true womanliness; the Government defends its brutalities under the plea of law and order; Mrs. Pankhurst, alas, can find nothing better than to fight men with their own weapons.

Two Points of View.

We can imagine the Anti's seizing with joy upon the frank descriptions there have been from our organisers of the ignorance of politics among the women in Midlothian. It is a curious joy, and reminds one of the contempt shown in days gone by for the illiterate by those who had had better chances of education. The women of Midlothian are as shrewd and gritty as the men, but they have been brought up to think politics is for the men. When the men encourage the women to wider interests as they seem disposed to do, they will find that the women can turn the light of their experience on many things hitherto hidden from them. Instead of crying as the Anti's do, "See how ignorant these women are! What is the use of talking to them?" we say, "What a shame that intelligent women should remain so ignorant! They shall be taught!"

"Women Do Not Want It!"

Mr. C. Mellor, of Hull, seems to have been quite excited about women municipal voters. He is reported to have said on the 9th that

"women were obtaining so many rights nowadays that in a few years' time one might find men allowing their names to be taken off the voters' list and women's names put on. He intended to be very careful before allowing women's claims to municipal votes where men had been the tenants previously. Women were becoming so aggressive that he was inclined to think that in some cases when the overseers went to the homes women gave their names as tenants so that they might have the franchise instead of their husbands."

On the 10th, when a Mrs. Mashford claimed that her name should be put on the register in place of that of her husband, who had gone to gaol because he would not find sureties, the Revising Barrister again broke out that

"he did not want women running to the overseers with requests to be put on the lists in the place of their husbands. He was not going to encourage that sort of thing."

Dear, dear! We thought one of the reasons why women mightn't have the parliamentary vote was because they didn't even use the municipal vote. Yet here is Mr. Mellor characterising the women's desire to use the municipal franchise as "aggressive." He should really have a talk with Miss Markham.

A Warning to Mothers.

A woman was charged at Merthyr on September 3rd with "harbouring" her own daughter, and she was fined £2 for this offence, the maximum penalty being £20. The woman's daughter was adopted by the Board of Guardians and sent into service at a farm in 1910. The child "got into trouble," and came to her mother, who, instead of packing her off to the workhouse as she should have done, sheltered her. The baby was born on August 14th. On August 19th the Poor Law officers removed the young mother to the workhouse infirmary where, on the 26th, she died. The prosecution declared that they did not act "vindictively," but "as a warning to others." We have frequently been told that women are so much harder on women than men are.

Fireguards and the Parents.

A baby in Spalding was scalded to death lately, and the jury at the recommendation of the Coroner censured the bereaved mother, who, he added, "might have been convicted of manslaughter." Had the woman been able to stay at home and mind the baby she would herself have been a living fire-guard. But she had five children, and a husband out of work, and so she had to turn out to earn food for the family. She left her eldest, a child of 13, to mind the four others, and to do all the house work, and in her absence the accident befel. The woman did not possess the eighteen-pence necessary to buy a fire-guard herself. Surely it is the duty of the "legal parent" to provide either for a living fire-guard (in the person of the mother of his children), or for an inanimate fire-guard if the living one goes out to earn the food which the legal parent is supposed to provide. It would seem that the mother had to choose between the certainty of death by starvation or the risk of death by fire, and she chose the risk. And the Coroner censures her only. Of course, she might have gone away from home altogether, taking her children with her, into the workhouse, where she would have been parted from them, and the Guardians could have sued her husband for her maintenance. She had her remedy at law without adopting the degrading and unwomanly practice of working for her young. This is a practice which should be left to the lower animals.

The Censor Again.

"Edge O'Dark," Miss Gwen John's one-act play, which was produced with such success at a private performance on July 18th, and which, on Mr. Laurence Housman's recommendation, was to have been included in a triple bill at a West End theatre this autumn, has been refused a licence by the Lord Chamberlain.

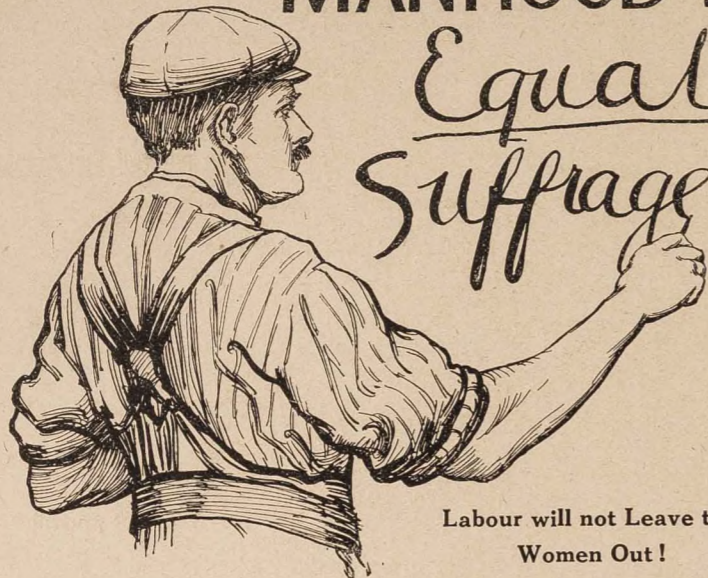
An Interesting Appointment.

For the first time in the history of the King Edward VI. Schools in Birmingham, the important office of Bailiff has been given to a woman. The Bailiff presides over the meetings of the Governors, and the office was held in 1911 by Bishop Gore, the then Bishop of Birmingham. It has now been conferred on Miss Fry, the head of the University Hostel for Women.

Conference of Women Workers.

The Annual Conference of the National Union of Women Workers will take place at Oxford from September 30th to October 4th.

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Women Out!

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A PERSONAL TESTIMONY.

There are people who tell us that our election policy of supporting, under certain conditions, the labour candidate, is a mistake, because the Labour Party is as likely to break its promises, and as likely to betray us as the Liberal Party has been, or as the Conservatives would perhaps be, if they had ever made us any promises. I feel that since I joined the I.L.P. when it first began to exist in 1893, any words of mine on this question of the probable breaking of promises, must be too biased to be of any value. But, since a true knowledge of history is good for our souls, and because at this moment it is of the utmost importance that we should thoroughly understand on what this policy is founded, I want very much to make one or two points quite clear. I hope the readers of COMMON CAUSE will forgive my writing from my own personal point of view and experience. There seems no other way to do it. I was in the Women's Trade Union movement, as an active member—by that I mean as a participator in various strikes—and as secretary, president, and so on for some time from about 1888. That experience entirely convinced me that nothing but the vote would or could possibly improve the industrial woman's condition effectively. Trade Unionism alone, was not enough, I found. Finding that the Women's Liberal Federation made no headway with the suffrage question, I left that body and I began to understand that Socialism was the only possible political creed that I could accept, because it put women on an equal footing with men. By Socialism I mean the I.L.P. interpretation of that misleading word. The I.L.P. put women on its Executive Council at once. The reason of its doing so was that its originators having, some of them, had personal experience of poverty and its attendant suffering, realised working women's needs, as people who have always lived sheltered lives cannot possibly, or at least could not in those days when neither women factory inspectors nor sanitary inspectors, etc., existed. (How much the growth of the Women's Suffrage movement owes to those two particular classes of women people seldom realise!).

Also, the working man knows his wife can earn her living in the factory or workshop, and he regards her as more his equal than, in those days certainly, the gentleman class did.

It is because the belief of the I.L.P. in the necessity of enfranchising women is founded on this intimate personal knowledge of the sweated woman's life and of the Trade Unionist woman's life that I feel together with others that when we join with the Labour Party's candidate we are working with people who know what we mean and why we mean it; and that their understanding of us is not founded on mere second-hand knowledge gained through reading. That makes all the difference—morals and economics are closely related,

very closely, and the Labour men understand that, for it is their women who are affected by bad economic conditions in a way that other women are not and cannot be affected. I am aware, of course, that the rank and file of the labour people, to a certain extent, have had to be educated about women's suffrage, but the education fell on comparatively receptive ground, and the need for it is over now. Amongst other things the White Slave Traffic Movement and the present Bill have done wonders for our cause.

But the ideals of the Labour Party differ from those of the other two parties; and they differ not only in kind, but immensely in power. It is in this difference of kind and of quality that the women's movement also derives strength.

The whole Labour Party in all countries condemns war absolutely. War is the worst foe to the women's movement. Sweating and all such economic evils are to be destroyed, obliterated, and not to be merely patched up and alleviated. This sounds, of course, to many as rather absurd and as not allowing for the frailties and difficulties of human nature. But it is, after all, thought only (and not violent action) which ultimately moves the world; and it is thoughts passionately believed in and absolutely possessing the soul, which eventually can, and do, bring miracles to pass.

It is not therefore because we believe the Labour Party to be composed of angels that we support their candidates. We know that men are men (and women are women) whatever party they may belong to. But we also know these two things; that the I.L.P. understands our cause from the inside, and that people who believe fervently in great ideals are made of the right stuff. Further, the women in that party are not made of submissive, door-mat material, and consequently the relationship between them and their mankind is of a more wholesome and cordial nature than is always usual between men, and women.

My words may, perhaps, sound foolishly optimistic. But I have never found that anything but good comes in the long run from expecting much of people, and believing much in them. Such belief and expectation puts them on their mettle and brings out the sense of honour which surely lies within all of us.

But on lower grounds—the underselling capacity of women, which affects men's labour so disastrously—the Labour Party sees it is to their interest to support us. So that those who prefer to believe that self-interest is the strongest of human motives must remember this point. We can none of us seriously believe that small motives are strong enough to carry a big movement such as ours, on their backs—only a great enthusiasm can do that; and when I seem to be too confident in my belief in the I.L.P. it is because I have keen memories of enthusiastic Labour

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MR. ISRAEL ZANGWILL.

meetings, of long, serious talks and discussions in all parts of England, years ago, on the woman's question. The enthusiasm has never dwindled, it has grown continuously ever since those days, because the understanding of what social reform means has grown; and now, nearly every one knows in that Labour world that men by themselves can effect very little. Women, as the greater sufferers, must help them. Knowledge founded on suffering has irresistible weight and power.

The Liberal Party has now, for the first time, begun to take us seriously. The "keep the Liberals out" policy alone never, as far as I have personally seen it, affected any election. It never really worked, and I entirely agreed with Mr. Asquith's remarks on that point, when we interviewed him at the Treasury. But this new development of our policy, this supporting of a definite Party is quite another matter. It is

Is This Business?

"Women's Suffragists have only similar crumbs of emotional compensation for the solid drawbacks of having slightly injured and perhaps slightly irritated the only party and Government from which their good cause has ever obtained anything, little though what it has obtained may be."—MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, September 12th, 1912.

"The Midlothian result has no immediate political significance."—DAILY NEWS AND LEADER, September 12th, 1912.

"With all respect to the Labour Party we put it to them—Is this business?"—DAILY CHRONICLE, September 12th, 1912.

The result of the Midlothian election has caused jubilation among Unionists, a tempered satisfaction among Labour and Suffragists, and every variety of anger and mortification among Liberals. The latter have, through their Press, taken a curious line of argument: they say (what is probably quite true) that the votes taken from the Liberal were given to Labour; but they go on to declare that this is not a defeat, because the Liberal and Labour parties have no real points of difference. If this were so, how strange, nay, how colossally silly, of the Liberals to insist on running their candidate after the blessing given by their own late Chief Whip and late member for the division to the candidature of Provost Brown! If we believed there were no real differences between the Liberal and Labour parties, we should have to believe that the Liberal agents and leaders actually imperilled this historic seat and gave a victory at a most critical moment to their embittered enemies, for the mere fun of bullying a section of their own supporters, or because—dare we breathe the taunt so often levelled at women?—"men cannot unite"! Of course, this is not so. Of course, we know the differences are great and deep, and when the *Daily News* says that the Midlothian result has "no immediate political significance" we know the *Daily News* are whistling in the dark to keep their courage up; and they know we know it. Is it really worth while maintaining these pretences? Would it not be better, even for the Liberal Party, if journalists and politicians took their heads out of bags and faced the real differences and the real significances? They will have to be met some day, being real. It is, we are well aware, the journalists' and politicians' convention to pretend they don't exist, and to talk about all sorts of unrealities—programmes and personalities—as if these were what mattered; but these tiresome old conventions are horribly boring, and they waste no end of time, besides debasing the whole level of political thinking in a needless manner.

Let us be honest. The differences between the Liberal and Labour parties are as deep and vital as can be. Even when they use the same phrases, they mean wholly different things. The attitude of the two parties on the Suffrage question gives so excellently fitting a key to these differences that one is amused at the contortions of Liberals in endeavouring to avoid seeing, or, at any rate, admitting the fitness. Here we have the representatives of the two parties—Mr. Shaw (Liberal), Provost Brown (Labour)—both declared Suffragists, both willing to vote for an amendment to the Franchise Bill. One, recognising that the very existence of the Franchise Bill is due to the women; that they have with unparalleled ardour and persistence laboured for their enfranchisement; that the private measure upon which they had concentrated was "torpedoed" by the Government Bill, introduced for the alleged purpose of allowing the House to give women the form of franchise which it preferred; this man, the Labour man, declined to cheat the women by allowing the Government to wreck the amendments and then pass a measure for giving every lad of 21 the vote, by which he would govern the mother who bore him, and for which he had not even troubled to do any work. The other, the Liberal was content

attacking men with proper weapons and in a really manly fashion, and not with the old-fashioned methods of fists and disorder, methods which strike leaders deplore and preach against as bringing evil results in their train to those who use them, and to their cause. It is sometimes such a comfort to be manly as well as womanly!
I. O. FORD.

FOURTH LIST TO SEPTEMBER 13TH.

£ s. d.		MIDLOTHIAN BY-ELECTION.	
Already acknowledged ..	3,922 12 1	Miss Auerbach ..	0 5 0
Mrs. Manning Prentice ..	0 2 6	Miss Loudon ..	1 0 0
E. W. (10) ..	2 10 0	Miss Alice Low ..	0 10 0
Mrs. W. S. Rendel ..	2 2 0	Mrs. A. W. Thomson ..	10 0 0
Mrs. Turnbull ..	0 5 0	Edinburgh W.S.S. ..	15 3 6
Mrs. Henry Holiday ..	2 2 0	Miss Bury ..	0 10 0
Miss E. Foster ..	0 5 0		
Miss E. M. Forster ..	0 5 0	Total ..	£3,957 12 1

to say that he "would like," "wished," "hoped"—that he would even vote for amendments—but he would put no pressure on the Government, and if the amendments were wrecked by the Government, he proposed to rivet the women's chains more securely than ever by helping the Government to pass its iniquitous Franchise Bill as it stands. This man was invaluable as a party tool to the Government, but what use was he to the women? And what use to the Labour men who want women to get votes? And what use even to Liberalism, if by that we mean a body of political beliefs and not merely a party in power?

Mr. Shaw was defeated; so was Provost Brown; Major Hope was elected, and he is an Anti-Suffragist. The *Manchester Guardian* thinks we can only have "crumbs of emotional compensation" for this result. That is not so. Our satisfaction would have been great and complete if Provost Brown had got in, but we have two objects in view at these elections where we support the Labour man: we want to get our man into the House, to work for us and vote for us; we also want to teach the Government the lesson that it may be more expensive for them to be illiberal to the women than to be liberal to them. We have not attained the first object in Midlothian, but we have done excellent work in preparation for it. We have attained the second object, and, with Crewe, this makes the second victory on the second count. There is not much that is "emotional" about this compensation: it is cool calculation only that brings any compensation for helping to get an Anti into the House, and the calculation is this. Given a really (not a nominally) fair field in the House we know we must win. Unless all Members of Parliament are liars, which we do not think, we have a sufficient majority to pass a measure of Women's Suffrage, provided that no party pressure is exercised against us. Had this condition been kept in the spirit and in the letter, we were bound to win, if we could keep up our majority in the House, and to this end we worked steadfastly, and we have more than succeeded. But the situation has changed. Mr. Asquith allowed irritation to drive him from his reasonable and placable state of mind. He is not keeping his pledge in the spirit as in the letter. He is doing privately what Mr. Gladstone did openly. He is allowing it to be understood that he will regard support of Women's Suffrage as unfriendly; he has declared that the House would "stultify itself" by voting for it; he has not contradicted the many rumours that he will resign, and that the passage of a Women's Suffrage amendment will mean the break-up of the Government. This being so, it seems clear that we have no chance with party men who put their party above their conscience, unless we can make it appear that the break-up of the Government is more likely to follow the defeat of Women's Suffrage than it is to follow its victory.

Our friendly critic suggests we have but slightly injured the Government; even if this be true, we reply that great movements may have small beginnings, and the not by any means slight irritation shown against us by party wire-pullers suggests that the beginning is seen not to be so small after all. We are used to the cry of "keep the Liberal out"; to us it seems more effective to substitute the deed for the word, and the most effective way of getting a Liberal out is to get a Labour man in. We have always believed that what was wanted in the House was a Women's Suffrage Party; we have tried earnestly to make that party out of Suffragist sections of all parties. If the Liberal Government makes such a Suffrage Party impossible, then the only existing Suffrage Party is the Labour Party; we mean to add to its representation if we can. And to tell us that we are gambling, that if we fail to get our man in, we help the enemy, is, first of all, by no means true, for the Unionist is frequently a Suffragist, and one who will vote against Manhood Suffrage, and, secondly, when it is true, when the Unionist is

like Major Hope, an Anti, we have to remember that to succeed you have often to begin by failing. It is a spirited policy which will win in the long run; safety is stagnation. We must organise, and we must test our organisation by practical election work. It is like publishing a book. You will never know whether it is good or bad till you have published it and people read it.

With a Press of their own, with candidates of their own, Labour and Suffrage may have many vicissitudes yet, but they will be living forces in a way they could never be if they waited for the Liberal Party politicians and the Liberal Party Press to act for them and explain them.

Women as Consumers and Producers.

We have received two publications of unusual interest, and we should like them to be very widely read by women, for they touch upon many points which women will have to think out all over again for themselves. Wages and what can be bought for wages are the subjects. In their style they form a striking contrast to one another; in their matter they largely complement each other. Mrs. Greig has the style of the popular speaker: she sees a good point and throws it into relief by depreciating other points; she booms her discovery like a quack medicine which contains a very useful drug well known to the pharmacopœia, but which is not popular till boomed; she is a born demagogue. Well, she has re-discovered a most important truth, and if she can present it to organised labour in such a way as to make it apprehended, especially if she can show women, whom it so vitally concerns, how to deal with it, she may give great impetus to the work initiated by the earlier philosophic Socialists, by William Morris, and by the co-operative movement. Briefly, she demands recognition for the two sides of the economic structure; demand as well as supply, consumer as well as producer, equally important and not by any means equally considered; and she draws attention to the fact that women are the more profoundly concerned as consumers and administrators, conservers and guardians of life, while men are more concerned as producers. She maintains that "the domination of the world by the producer was the historical preliminary of the birth of the profiteering system," and shows how in the long run this system will always indemnify itself for any increase in wages by a rise in prices, a rise which must be paid by the consumer. "The people," she says, "are workers and consumers. They are organised only as workers. They ignore themselves as consumers. And every backward step of expropriation they enforce upon Capital is a step upon themselves. They force up prices for themselves; they force along adulteration for themselves; they beat the profiteer in order to pay him his own price!" Even the co-operators are, as a body, "dividend co-operators," and she finds the ethical and educative part of the co-operative movement in the Women's Guild. She shows how the semi-socialistic legislation now in fashion among Liberals and Tories gives benefits which all have to come out of taxes, which when they seem to fall on capital are really passed on to prices or wages, and so in the end the worker's burden is merely transferred from one shoulder to the other. She has some caustic things to say about the women who have gone into politics or into labour organisations and taken the men's views ready made, as well as for the men who have preferred to accept this dog-like fidelity rather than to train the women to think out their end of the problem. She sees in the organisation of women as consumers an immense auxiliary to the cause of the people in harmonious working with the organisation of men as producers, and we agree with her that in development of this sort there are infinite possibilities of a world more fit for our children to be born into.

The close-packed style of Miss Rathbone's pamphlet is in marked contrast to Mrs. Greig's many repetitions; her balanced and scrupulously fair expression is the very opposite of Mrs. Greig's picturesque cocksureness. It is the object of Miss Rathbone's paper to bring more clearly into relief facts which are generally mis-stated and misunderstood by Anti-Suffragists, and too frequently not seriously faced by speakers with the Suffrage brief. Miss Rathbone's point is that what economists call the "standard of living" of a class includes the prevailing or the generally accepted social responsibilities of that class. If we make men into a class for the purpose of comparing their wages with those of women, we shall find that among the causes of their higher wages is this "standard of living," which includes the maintenance of a wife and family. That large (and

possibly increasing) numbers of men do not in fact maintain the wife and family they possess, that large and increasing numbers of men refuse even to undertake the responsibility of wife and family, and that the State, taking its taxes out of the pockets of women equally with men, is shouldering more and more of the responsibilities in consideration of which the man gets his higher wage, and is therefore actually making women pay corporately for what the men are supposed to defray individually—all these developments of modern times do not affect the truth of Miss Rathbone's contention that the responsibility for the family is an item, and an important one, in a man's reputed "standard of living," and that with a nation so sentimental and unthinking as the English, and with the governing and taxing power so exclusively in the hands of the men, the developments aforesaid are likely still to be considered as "exceptional" long after they have pinched the lives of women and children to an extent highly dangerous to the health of the race.

The standard of living, the pride and confidence in one's usefulness, the power and will to insist on decent conditions, are all so intimately bound up with one's up-bringing, one's status. The cruel and hateful habit of depreciating and sneering at women and of belittling their accomplishment has done more harm than can ever be measured in lowering the vitality of women, and reducing them to whispering humbleness. And we should like to add one more consideration to those which complicate this question of "dependents." When a man "keeps a wife and family," he "keeps" a domestic servant who very generally in the working class more than earns her "keep," and he keeps a number of children who are a source of hope and joy, and very early indeed a source of income to him. When a woman "keeps" dependents they are commonly of a less hopeful, joyful, and helpful nature; they are the old parents past work, who too often give only plaints for thanks, the drunken husband who rewards her with blows, the crippled brother or widowed sister, the children whose home comforts she has to neglect in order to be father and mother in one. These circumstances all tend to depress a woman's vitality, and with it to depress her "standard of living," even when she has dependents "like a man." These dependents will but rarely be to her any help or pride or joy.

On p. 22 Miss Rathbone indicates that she has a remedy for the solution of the problem of women's low wages. We look with keen interest to her exposition of this remedy in the future.

Meanwhile we recommend our readers to ponder these two little books. They can both be read in an hour, but the eddies of thought which they will set up will go far. They are among the first expressions of a real awakening among Englishwomen to the realisation that the study of economics has a side of special interest to women, and that women must understand and expound this side to men. In America Mrs. Gilman has done pioneer work in this direction. Even if we disagree with many of Mrs. Gilman's conclusions, it is a very great thing that she has done to shake women into opening their own eyes and seeing through them.

The Problem of Women's Wages: an enquiry into the causes of the inferiority of women's wages to men's, by Eleanor F. Rathbone, M.A. (Northern Publishing Co., 17, Corse Piazzas, Liverpool, 3d.). The Consumer in Revolt, by Teresa Billington Greig (Stephen Swift and Co., 1s. net.).

A "Home" in Stockholm.

Hemtrefnad cost 700,000 kronor (about £39,000) to build, and was opened four years ago for educated women earning their living.

It contains 94 one-, two- and three-roomed flats, each of which, with its own entrance, wardrobes, and miniature kitchen, is designed to form a complete little home. Hemtrefnad is well fitted with water, central heating, electric light, and gas requirements; but loose fixtures in the flats, such as gas stoves for cooking, globes for the electric lights, blinds, etc., are provided by the occupiers themselves.

All the tiny flats have been let from the first, and there is a standing list of women who are waiting their turn for a vacancy there. Many of the occupiers of these flats are shareholders; but no share is less than 100 kr. (about £5 10s.), this, for several reasons, being considered quite low enough. The interest paid, so far, has been from 4 to 5 per cent. More than 5 per cent. profit on the undertaking is not allowed.

The rents, approximately in English money, are £26 13s. a year for a large room tenement, or flat, £13 6s. 6d. for a smaller, £40 for two rooms, and for each of the five three-roomed flats the rent is £54 9s. Two friends frequently share a flat, for rents are exceedingly high in Stockholm.

The great building itself, with its lifts and wide, airy corridors, looks much like an ordinary institution; but this is entirely forgotten directly you enter one of its bright and cosy little homes.

I will describe the plan of a typical two-roomed flat. The pleasant little entrance is 180 centimetres square, that is, nearly six feet square (as about 91 centimetres equal 1 yard). There is a door opposite, which the occupier tells you with delight belongs to a large wardrobe, the width of the entrance, and you notice there are cupboards above it to the ceiling. The woodwork throughout is painted white, and the rooms to right and left are papered in pleasant shades. The sitting-room measures 24 square metres, and the bedroom 18 (1 metre equals about 39½ inches). In the near corner of the bedroom there is a cupboard from floor to ceiling, with pegs and shelves (floor measure 95 by 65 centimetres), which forms, with the wall opposite, a neat alcove along the side of the room for a bed. Below the windows in both rooms are the hot water pipes and a heat regulator; thus no one in Hemtrefnad has the expense of fires during the long Swedish winters. The scullery-kitchen, planned in a line with the entrance and its wardrobe, and entered from the bedroom, is arranged to suit a woman's as well as the architect's point of view. It is fitted with wall cupboards and dressers, but has no open shelves. The windows here, as elsewhere, are large, and they open inwards in order that they may be easily cleaned.

The dining-room is planned for fifty to sit down at a time. Few breakfast there, and no one is obliged to dine at the Home; but applicants for rooms who wish to dine in the house as a rule have a prior chance of entrance. The catering is managed by a little company entirely distinct from the one responsible for Hemtrefnad, though several directors of the former belong to the latter also. The premises required for this are hired in the usual way, and the *personnel* are a housekeeper, a cook, two waitresses, and a scullery-maid or two. The club room is used by a few who like to read the newspapers after dinner, but is generally deserted at other times; consequently, it will probably be replaced by a second and smaller dining-room in the next Home of this sort for small parties and dinners.

The nine servants, one to every eight or ten occupiers, and chosen by the lady manager, hire their own tiny, one-roomed flat at Hemtrefnad at 180 kronor a year (£10), and they can get their dinner very cheap in the house. Each is expected to keep some of the stairs clean; beyond that, they have no set duties nor claim. Their engagements to clean the flats are personal matters between the occupiers and themselves. Some require them every morning, others for only a weekly cleaning, some not at all. It is not obligatory to engage these servants in preference to outsiders, but this is generally done, and there are no complaints, as the system works well. The charge for cleaning the rooms is also not fixed; 30 öre (4d.) an hour, however, is generally considered to be a fair price.

The house porter and his family have their home there free, and he receives a salary of 1,500 kr. (£83 6s. 6d.) per annum. Among his many duties he is responsible as to who enter the place, and it is he who looks after the central heating apparatus of the building, and attends to all sorts of mechanical repairs.

In the attic, a square metre is allowed to each occupier for her trunks. There is also a complete instalment up there for the two washerwomen of the institution, who collect every second week from those who wish it, and wash, mangle, and iron all ordinary things at the rate of slightly less than 3d. per lb.

Not the least important asset in such a Home is the Manager, and Hemtrefnad has the good fortune to possess an excellent one in Fröken Eugenie Sundholm, a woman who combines personal interest in the undertaking with exceptional ability.

It would be money well spent could a suitable person come over to Sweden before the designs for the Home Miss Daniel proposes are settled upon and see Hemtrefnad, as well as, perhaps, a Home in Dala Street that has been given to the town by a wealthy Swedish lady for the benefit of poor working women.

ELLEN GRAHAM WACKRILL.

NOTE.—The author of this article writes that each of these flats is "as delightful as only women, if they are allowed a hand in the designs and freedom in the furnishing, can make them." She adds that the great initial expense may have been partly due to the large amount of blasting that had to be done before the foundations were laid, and she sends two photographs, one of which shows the very charming garden quarried in the rock.

Mr. Theodore Roosevelt on Women's Suffrage.

It will be remembered that Mrs. Fawcett telegraphed her congratulations to Mr. Roosevelt on his open declaration of his belief in the enfranchisement of women. She has received this reply:—

"287, Fourth Avenue, New York.

"August 28th, 1912.

"MY DEAR MRS. FAWCETT,—I wish to thank you most cordially for your telegram, and I take the liberty of enclosing you the remarks I am to make upon Woman Suffrage in Vermont. With high regard,

"I am, sincerely yours,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

The cutting enclosed was from the *New York Times*, and it stated that "He had not been converted by those women who were working for Suffrage, but by those who, while saying little about it, were going ahead to do what they could in the cause of social and civic betterment. Among them he named Jane Addams, Helen Keller, and Mrs. Florence Kelly."

It is good to hear that Mr. Roosevelt has been converted by the work of women for civic and social betterment, because this is the soundest and surest foundation, but it is a little curious to hear Miss Jane Addams alluded to as if she had not been a woman working for the Suffrage. Miss Addams of Hull House, Chicago, was the leader in the important "Hearings before the Committee of the Judiciary House of Representatives" on the subject of Equal Suffrage, and she has been one of the most active workers in that cause of late. In her book, "A New Conscience and An Ancient Evil" (which we hope to review next week), she declares

"As the first organised Women's Rights Movement was inaugurated by the women who were refused seats in the World's Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London in 1840, although they had been the very pioneers in the organisation of the American abolitionists, so it is quite possible that an equally energetic attempt to abolish white slavery will bring many women into the Equal Suffrage Movement, simply because they too will discover that without the use of the ballot they are unable to work effectively for the eradication of a social wrong."

On the next page she finds hope in the fact that

"the newly enfranchised view existing conditions more critically, more as human beings and less as politicians."

The lamentable fact is that, until the Suffragists pointed it out, politicians were only too ready to take all the good social and civic work of women for granted, and it did not seem to occur to them that it was only bare justice to give to these good citizens the sign and seal of citizenship.

Our Unprotected Women and Children.

We wish to call the attention of our readers to a case decided in the Cambridge County Police Court last Saturday. The prisoner was Clarence Smith, aged 25, and he was accused of and pleaded guilty to indecently assaulting a little girl of six who was described as being "in a terrible condition." In June, 1910, this man was given twelve months for indecently assaulting between Histon and Girton a woman whom he bound with ropes for the purpose. In December, 1908, he pulled a young woman off her bicycle and dragged her hair down with the same intention, and two cases in the same year were probably attributable to him. The Superintendent of Police said he was "hardly safe to be about." *The magistrates sentenced him to six months' hard labour, and the prisoner remarked, "Very good, sir."*

Now Mr. Bernard Shaw has been arguing that suffragists who commit arson must be restrained, because they are a danger; we entirely agree. Mrs. Leigh has been given five years because, for a political motive, she committed arson and members of the W.S.P.U. are declaring their intention of continuing such outrages. Hitherto, however, they have taken great precautions to injure no person: Clarence Smith has been guilty of a crime worse than murder, not once but many times, and this last time on the sacred body of a little child. Our magistrates (all men) would seem to be within the law (made by men, responsible to men only) in letting this man loose within six months to repeat this unspeakable horror. If Clarence Smith is insane let him in God's name be segregated in a criminal lunatic asylum. The deeds of men like this should be sufficient proof of insanity.

When such cases occur in a crowded district where the news flies among the poor mothers, they not infrequently rush together to lynch the man. We call upon all thinking and feeling women to do better: to band themselves together in such masses and with such force of righteous anger as to break down all the rubbish of prejudice and all the obstacles of inertia and secure the right to alter the laws and their administration so as effectively to protect the sacred child and the cradle of the race.

They Say—What Say They?

On September 12th Mr. Churchill addressed a crowded meeting of Liberal women in Dundee, and he was interrupted seven times by members of the W.S.P.U. He suggested that the ladies present should

"judge for themselves which was the best way for women to win political status for themselves—the way pointed out by a great meeting like that, to listen to serious discussion or the way indicated by antics of an uncivilised character."

We do not know how many the Gilfillan Hall holds, but if Mr. Churchill meant anything at all he must consider the right of women to be enfranchised as having some relation to the proportion between his audience and his seven interrupters. In his reference the day before to Home Rule and violence, the application to the women's cause may easily be made. He said:—

"Irish Home Rule was a great Imperial question. In Ireland they had a problem which was a clamant, incessant, and unavoidable problem. It was no good saying 'We don't want to hear about Home Rule.' They could not help hearing about it. No Government in the last thirty years had failed to have the Irish question brought prominently before it, and they well knew if Home Rule were to fail now, and all the hopes based upon it were cast down and broken-hearted despair were to come over Ireland, then there would be many Irishmen who read the speeches of Mr. Bonar Law and saw how he counselled violence and palliated measures, which came very near the borderland of treason who would feel justified in offering unconstitutional resistance to a Government which could only have come into power by unconstitutional and by lawless doctrine. It might be that coercion in old days was popular with the Tory party. It might be in days gone by some of the baser members of the party liked maltreating the Irish and hitting them because they were the weaker. He did not think it would do now."

The Women's Liberal League Conference has just been held in Sydney. We have received a very interesting cutting from a Sydney newspaper which, as an outcome of this Conference has an article on "Women in Politics." After saying

that a few people still hold that politics is a male business, the writer says:—

"We should say that the speeches and papers of this assembly display a power of concentration on essentials, a grip of practical principle, an industrious attention, and a sense of the meaning of politics in wider aspects, which would be creditable to a conference of supposedly harder-headed men."

He goes on to say that women's political influence ought to be a substantial asset on all sides. In some grades of life wives have more leisure than husbands. This is particularly so in the professional classes and, as a result, many highly educated men are very ignorant of pertinent issues in government and administration. This ignorance generally leads to indifference. The women of this class have generally a good deal of time to devote to questions of organisation and administration.

In other spheres the point of many a political issue is bared shining-clear under the light of hard experience. For instance, the Free Trader might confidently say that the fiscal issue is plain enough to the humblest housewife who knows best of all that under Protection her bills are bigger than they would be under Free Trade; the sociologist that no one can appreciate factory laws better than the mothers of working children; and the land-Liberal that the last clinching word on the leasehold question can be said by the mother who forsores her sons debarred from the fine pride of owning the land they work.

Most laws end up in the home so, obviously, women's advice must be taken. Most women have been experiencing and testing politics unconsciously during the whole of their responsible existence. The time has now come for them to take a conscious part.

In the writer's opinion one of women's best qualifications for political influence is that she is not a candidate.

Woman's detachment makes her the more influential and clear-sighted. We assume that having no office in view, her interest is dictated by concern for the general good and what makes for righteousness or good public policy as she sees them. Again, women reinforce the community's political strength by the particular and unique knowledge they are equipped with. There can be no "woman's party" so long as, happily, the sexes are recognised interdependent and the concern of one is the concern of all.

The specialist is an indispensable auxiliary, and women's daily occupations make them political specialists whose abilities only need application.

In conclusion, the writer claims that through women's co-operation:—

"Campaign work is directed more closely to main principle, personalities and violent recriminations increasingly become unpopular, and the demand that has to be satisfied is for a policy or a measure to be proved good or shown to be harmful."

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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Literature Department.

MARY CARPENTER.

There has been the usual slackness in literature sales during the month of August. This is, of course, not very surprising during the holiday month of the year, but we greatly hope that Suffragists will make up by laying in large autumn supplies and laying them in early. Our publishing work is fairly continuous, and we have been fortunate enough to be able to begin the autumn season with a pamphlet by Mrs. Fawcett, the first of a series. A good many years ago Mrs. Fawcett wrote a book of delightful studies called "Some Eminent Women of Our Time." This is, unfortunately, quite out of print, but we are glad to be able to announce that we have obtained permission to reprint some of the studies separately, and that Mrs. Fawcett has been good enough to write for us a special introduction. This introduction is included in the first of the series, "Mary Carpenter." As requests have been received for cheap pamphlets, an experiment is being tried with this series, and they will be sold at the low price of a halfpenny each.

A. 89. "Mary Carpenter." By M. G. Fawcett, LL.D.
Price ½d.

REFORM BILL LITERATURE.

It is urgently necessary that all members of the National Union should understand our position with regard to the Reform Bill. This is clearly explained in the short pamphlet by Mr. Brailsford which we published just before the holidays. Mr. Brailsford analyses and explains the clauses in the Bill which affect women, and shows over which points the chief struggles are likely to occur. It would be well if National Union Societies would distribute the pamphlet widely among their members before the Reform Bill comes on again. It is being sold at 6d. per dozen and 2s. 6d. per 100 in order to make this possible.

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

We also have an excellent leaflet on the same subject which should be distributed among the general public, especially among Liberals.

B. 75. "The Reform Bill and Woman Suffrage." 1s. 6d. per 100.

Those who wish to point out to women the injustice they will suffer if the Reform Bill passes into law without a woman's

amendment should read "Many Masters," by Miss Mary Lowndes, reprinted from THE COMMON CAUSE.
B. 84. "Many Masters." By Miss Mary Lowndes. 6d. per 100.

WOMEN AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

The Local Government elections will be upon us almost immediately, and the position of women candidates and electors should be clearly understood. We have published one most excellent leaflet on this subject since the holidays began. It is an answer to an Anti-Suffrage attack, and it is written by Miss Margaret Robertson with all her accustomed concentration and wit.

B. 80. "Is This Equality?" By Margaret Robertson, B.A. 1s. 6d. per 100.

Another very useful leaflet on the same subject was written by Miss Marion Chadwick, and first published by the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association; by their kind permission it has been republished by the National Union.

B. 77. "Women's Work in Local Government." By Marion Chadwick. 1s. 6d. per 100.

NATIONAL UNION POLICY.

Those who still have to combat doubts about our policy should arm themselves with Mrs. Fawcett's recent leaflet on the subject.

"The Best Friends of Women's Suffrage." 4d. per 100; 2s. 6d. per 1,000.

THE ENGLISHWOMAN.

The September number of the *Englishwoman*, with exceptionally important Suffrage articles by Mr. P. Whitwell Wilson, of the *Daily News*, and Mr. W. H. Dickinson, M.P., and with many most delightful contributions on social and literary subjects is to be obtained from the National Union Literature Department, and will be found invaluable for propaganda among educated people.

SEPTEMBER CATALOGUE.

In conclusion, may I say that the September number of the Catalogue is now ready, and will be sent free to anyone who writes for it? I should also like to remind readers of THE COMMON CAUSE that a subscription of 3s. 6d. per annum to the Literature Department (N.U.W.S.S., 14, Great Smith Street, London, S.W.) entitles members of the National Union to receive specimens of all publications.

I. B. O'MALLEY.

NOTICE.

Miss O'Malley would be exceedingly grateful if the Secretary of a Society who wrote to her at the beginning of the holidays about a free grant of literature would be so very kind as to communicate with her again, as she has unfortunately mislaid the letter.

Press Department.

The *Labour Leader* pays a high tribute to the excellent organisation of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and the efficiency of its campaign in Midlothian.

"We cannot speak too warmly of the great service rendered to the Labour cause by the band of women speakers and organisers, especially by those sent down by the N.U.W.S.S. In all the recent by-elections the National Union has thrown its weight on the side of the Labour candidates, and at places like Holmfirth, Crewe and Midlothian they rendered most valuable aid, sending down trained and well-equipped women, many of whom have a good knowledge of electioneering, and can put the case not only for political justice to women, but for social justice to men and women alike."

The Liberal papers are much concerned with reporting the speeches of members of the Government and of the House of Commons who attempt to minimise the effects of the Midlothian contest. It is quite clear that the opposition of women in the constituencies is one of the adverse circumstances which is weakening the Government, and which the *Manchester Guardian* acknowledges that it will have to face, in view of the divided Cabinet. Its leading article on September 12th recognises the fact that Liberals are viewing their successive defeats with much apprehension.

"If the forces at work in Midlothian were all to continue to move with their present direction and velocity for the next three years, their normal result would be at the end of that time the return of a small Conservative majority after a General Election in which the Liberal and Labour vote together had considerably exceeded the Conservative vote."

By-Election.

MIDLOTHIAN.

RESULT:—	
Major Hope (C.)	6,021
Hon. Alex. Shaw (L.)	5,989
Provost Brown (Lab.)	2,413
Cons. maj. over Lib.	32

The result of the Midlothian election is now an old story. For Labour and Suffrage a complete political victory has not yet been achieved, but the first step has been taken. As Mr. Holmes said at Crewe: "We have knocked out the Liberal this time—next time we will knock out the Conservative."

Meanwhile, for Suffragists, there is very much satisfaction to be derived from contemplation of the result even without regard to "next time." For the election was largely fought on the Labour Party's record and intentions with regard to Women's Suffrage. Again and again Mr. Henderson told the electorate: "You are told by the Liberals there is no difference, with regard to the great measures now before the country, between Liberal and Labour; but consider the Franchise Bill: the more women are included in that measure the more united and the more satisfied will the Labour Party be; but the more dissatisfied and the more disunited will the Liberal Party be." This was kept persistently before the electorate, both by the women themselves and by the Labour members of Parliament; it was received with a unanimity of sympathy and approval remarked on by all, and more than 2,000 erstwhile Liberals (apparently, from an analysis of the figures) transferred their votes from Liberal to Labour. The significance of this in a constituency like Midlothian can hardly be over-estimated. Traditional Liberalism has an iron grip, and for the last week of the campaign the Liberals practically abandoned all political questions to ring the changes on the "split vote," and the "glorious traditions" of Gladstone's constituency. The 2,413 votes polled by Provost Brown represent not the total amount of sympathy and support he received, but the total of men, not only intellectually convinced but strong enough for the first time to break away from Party ties, and deafening themselves to the insistent clamour "Don't let the Tory in," to vote according to their principles and convictions without fear of consequences.

That the Suffragists had a share in securing that so large a number should do so, is not questioned locally, although the Party press chooses to ignore the facts. "You women have come to Dalkeith and ousted public opinion," said one indignant Liberal worker there; and Mr. Peters, for the Labour Party, generously acknowledges that Provost Brown owed a good deal of the support which he received to the women's work. On the eve of the poll there was a complete union of the Suffrage and Labour forces, when 50 meetings were

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE. THE CHANCE OF A LIFETIME! COME TO THE INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE FAIR

TO BE HELD AT THE
CHELSEA TOWN HALL, KING'S ROAD,
On Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday,
November 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th, 1912.
From 3 p.m. to 10 p.m. Doors open at 2.45
To Buy your CHRISTMAS PRESENTS. A Unique Choice from Articles
sent by Comrades all the World Over.

Come! Without Fail! Come!!
National Dances, Folk Songs, Theatrical Performances, Action Songs,
Baker's Oven, Prize Competitions, etc.
WAYS BY WHICH YOU CAN HELP THE INTERNATIONAL
SUFFRAGE FAIR.

SUGGEST Unique side-shows and competitions.
S AND Articles for sale, specially foreign ones.
GIVE Sweets, time, money, information to perfect the "International" idea.

TICKETS 2s., 1s. and 6d.
To be had from the WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE, 1, Robert Street,
W.C., and from the Branch Secretaries.

held in support of Provost Brown, 16 of which were addressed by our speakers. In this way the Labourists were able to cover the constituency as neither of the other parties did—the Liberals coming second with 38 meetings.

On polling day we were able to lend several motor cars, through the kindness of Lady de la Warr and Miss Margaret Ashton, who sent her motor all the way from Manchester. Not only were these cars decorated with our colours, together with the white of the Labour Party, but the cars which the Labour people did not owe to us, they also decorated with the red, white and green. Motors, in this election, played an unusually important part, as the polling stations are few, and the distances so great that very many votes could not possibly be polled otherwise.

Our colours were much in evidence on polling day—even the dogs had many of them bows of red, white and green ribbon round their necks! That Women's Suffrage was a popular question there can be no manner of doubt.

Mr Shaw, in spite of his promise to support adult suffrage, put out posters on polling-day offering "One man one vote and a vote for every man." And the electors of Midlothian have given him, and the Government which he represents, their reply. Whilst the Liberals ignore the women's claims, the party which alone recognises the equal humanity of men and women will, in spite of all difficulties and obstacles, and even of the disingenuous wail of the "split vote," grow stronger and stronger at their expense. They will lose, as they are losing daily, the support of those who respect courage in conviction and a broad humanity in outlook. How much longer will they bury their heads in the sand? MARGARET ROBERTSON.

"WEST CALDER."

I was sent to West Calder on Saturday, August 24th, to take charge of our committee room. We had the lumber room of a billiard saloon, a dark, smelly room, making one feel depressed at the idea of working any length of time inside.

"No place to feed" was the message given us, but that was soon remedied. We discovered the Railway Inn, and the memory of our "Waiter" will remain for days to come (unless there is another by-election). The first week's work was all inside, writing canvass cards for West and Mid-Calder districts. Then came canvassing and working up meetings. Pumpherson and Addiewell meetings were worked up from here.

Canvassing in West Calder proved very interesting. Owing to the way some of the houses were hidden away behind other houses and at the top of stone steps, it took quite a time to get through the canvass. We found these sturdy Scotch miners very friendly on the whole. Many, while unable to give their promise for Labour, admitted their belief in the Women's Cause. Those who had been to meetings and heard our speakers were quite decided in favour of Women's Suffrage. Most of the women were quite unable to grasp half of what we told them because they had never bothered about politics. The way has been paved for new societies, however. We had about 120 "Friends of Suffrage" cards signed, and sold 200 badges. The men in the billiard room all wore the National Union badge, and ere we parted many a wish was expressed that we should soon return. At Addiewell the men were always kindly and sympathetic. Again we found the women quite afraid at first of our ideas.

We had the volunteer help of Dr. Taylor and Doris Chew, making the task of writing and canvassing very much lighter.

Now, when all is over and we know the result, we don't feel at all unkindly toward West Calder. Our surroundings were not pleasant, but we got at the people's hearts, and made them realise the value of Women's Cause. The local Labour group was very small, but we offered our help in committee room work, and these men will always remember the lessons taught them by a woman suffragist.

Contributions to the General Fund.

Table with columns for names and amounts. Includes entries like 'Mrs. A. M. Daniel', 'Miss M. E. Bridge', 'Viscountess Dillon', etc., with a total of £7,580 14 7.

National Union Van Tour.

On Monday, September 9th, we moved on to Pershore, where Miss Williams the energetic

At the close of Tuesday these men gathered in the committee room and made us promise to come again some day. They mean to have women speakers in the future and bring out their own women folk. We rode away amid cheers for the Labour and Women's Cause.

We shall hear of West Calder in the near future, and we are glad to have been there. A. TOWNLEY.

THE "COMMON CAUSE."

Owing in large measure to better organisation, the COMMON CAUSE sold well in Midlothian. Over 2,000 copies went. This seems to show clearly that in every constituency at least 1,000 a week could be sold, and in English urban constituencies we do not see why many more should not be sold. It must be remembered that at by-elections the paper presents an unmissable opportunity of making the National Union known and its policy understood, and wherever the Election Fighting Fund is at work it is imperative that our organ should be in the hands of everyone, since we may be very sure that neither the Liberal nor the Tory press will make any effort to understand or explain our policy.

Treasurer's Notes.

Suffragists are often asked by casual enquirers, unversed in the recent growth of our movement, "Why does the National Union need such large sums of money?" It may therefore be of interest to give a list of the principal objects for which money is continually needed to carry on the general work of the Union. The list gives necessarily only a rough idea of our great organisation, and such exceptional occurrences as a general election are not taken into account, but past experience has taught us that we must always be prepared with a reserve of some sort wherewith to meet a sudden emergency. The following list is drawn up more particularly from the information of the many suffragists who have only lately joined our Union:—

OBJECTS FOR WHICH MONEY IS NEEDED TO CARRY ON THE GENERAL WORK OF THE NATIONAL UNION.

- 1.—The Summer Van which is now touring and camping in the country with a party of workers; holding meetings and distributing literature off the beaten track.
2.—The free distribution of literature for the purpose of propaganda and education.
3.—Opening out new districts and founding new societies.
4.—Grants to new and struggling societies.
5.—The expenses of organising meetings and demonstrations.
6.—The expenses of by-election campaigns—which are of constant occurrence and entail heavy expenditure.
7.—Friends of Women's Suffrage. A method of canvassing the general public in order to obtain a record of those who are in favour of the movement.
8.—The maintenance and increase of our staff of organisers and speakers.
9.—The Press department—which is in communication with the Press all over the country, and has been largely instrumental in improving the attitude of the Press towards the question of Women's Suffrage by organising the distribution of correct information.
10.—The administration expenses at headquarters for the development and co-ordination of the national work of the Union.
11.—The Autumn Campaign in support of the inclusion of women in the Government's Franchise Reform Bill.

HELENA AUERBACH.

Worcester secretary had worked up a meeting for us. The police were evidently afraid we should create a great deal of trouble for them, for they would only let us have our meeting on our own responsibility. The meeting went off very well and the audience was peaceful and interested. The weather was bitterly cold and white frost covered the ground when we arrived back in camp. A little later in the evening we were visited by two people who, although they did not agree with us, felt so sorry for us that they invited us to come and spend the night with them. Unfortunately, we could not do so, as it was too dark to strike camp.

In the morning our unknown friendly opponents came to see us again and brought us some bottles of well-known locally-made cider. We left Tewkesbury on Wednesday morning, the coldest 11th of September that has ever been known since records have been kept—and it certainly felt like it. Frozen to the marrow, we were cheered, when some miles outside Cheltenham, to see the local secretary cycling out to meet us. Miss Mills had secured a very nice field for us two miles out of Cheltenham, and there we followed her. Unfortunately it turned out that there was a right of way through it, and as the programme of meetings arranged for us would take our entire party away every day till late in the evening, we decided that not even a share of the friendly shelter of a roofed-in hen shed could tempt us to make our home in that field in such

bitter weather. We accordingly made arrangements with an old ex-coachman to take care of our van in his yard and to give Peter his daily feed of oats, and we walked into Cheltenham to find lodgings. We found most comfortable and inexpensive quarters at a small commercial hotel in the town, and with the list of villages and the printed bills with which Miss Mills had provided us, we set to work to plan our campaign for the Cheltenham week. For the first time this wet and wintry summer the weather got the better of us. There was no meeting on Thursday, for our speaker was ill in bed with a bad chill. On Friday we walked out to Shardington, the second village on the list given us, and spent the afternoon advertising our meeting. Fortune still frowned on us. Our meeting had been scheduled for the very date of a Conservative gathering a couple of miles away, and when we met at the meeting-place at the appointed hour our audience was made up of a signpost and a heap of stones. The bitter cold and the coming darkness evidently frightened away the Liberal minority in the little village, for not a single soul turned up that night. Feeling very cold and disheartened, we tramped back to Cheltenham and were glad indeed to have the shelter of a roof and a glowing fire to welcome us at our little hotel.

On Saturday a meeting had been scheduled for 3.30 at another small village three miles outside Cheltenham. We started soon after breakfast and made a house-to-house visitation at Church-

down, leaving literature at most houses. The villa population was not particularly sympathetic, but many of the cottagers and tradespeople were keenly interested and heartily in favour of votes for women. Unfortunately we did not succeed in getting a meeting together, as Saturday afternoon sees most of the people of Churchdown off to Cheltenham or Gloucester. Many of them said they would certainly have come to the meeting had it been otherwise. We were the more disappointed, as Miss Jordan, of the Tewkesbury Division Society, had come over by train especially to help us with the meeting. We had to be content with an informal argument with a small group of about ten enthusiasts, who not only waited with us for forty-five minutes, but tried hard to beat up an audience for us. Undaunted, Miss Jordan promises to come and help us at the remaining meetings of this Cheltenham week. Mrs. Swiney, the president of the local society, has also promised to speak at our Cheltenham meeting on Monday, September 16th. Mrs. Browning, another member of the Cheltenham Society, who is unfortunately away, has kindly offered us the hospitality of her table on Monday before the Cheltenham meeting. We cannot be too grateful to these three members of the Cheltenham Society, and to Miss Jordan of the Tewkesbury Division Society, for the assistance they have been able to give us, for it is an arduous business to come into a strange district and advertise and get up meetings at such short notice, even with the help of printed handbills.

We have three more days in Cheltenham. On Wednesday, the 18th, we leave for Cirencester. HELGA GILL AND CO.

London Society.

The Hon. Mrs. Spencer Graves, Treasurer of the London Society, sends the following communication:—As the Financial Year of the London Society closes on September 30th, the Hon. Treasurer begs that all unpaid subscriptions be sent at once, drawing attention to the rule that non-payment precludes members from voting for the Executive Committee at the Annual Meeting in November. Mrs. Binder addressed the Battersea Women's Adult School. The audience seemed to be much interested in the Suffrage question, and ten women became "Friends of Women's Suffrage." GANNING TOWN.—On September 10th Miss Helen Ward addressed a meeting of the Ganning Town Women's Co-Operative Guild and their friends in Lees Hall, Miss Cheatham, Head of the Settlement, kindly taking the chair. Much satisfaction was expressed at the presence of Miss P. Strachey, a vote of thanks to her and the speaker being proposed by the officers of the Guild, and carried unanimously, and a request was made for another meeting. Considerable interest was also shown in regard to the forthcoming Albert Hall Meeting. When the speaker quoted a case of 70 shirts being made at 7s. a dozen, several of the women called out to give instances of worse pay known to them personally.

Federation Notes.

Scottish. GARDEN PARTY AT DUNDEE FOR THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION.

Through the kindness of Mrs. and Miss Stephen, Helenslea, Broughty Ferry, Dundee, a garden party was given in honour of the members of the British Association in sympathy with Women's Suffrage. The beautiful grounds of Helenslea presented a gay and animated scene on the afternoon of 10th September, when Mrs. and Miss Stephen received between 200 and 300 guests, who came to do honour to the distinguished group of scientists who had intimated their intention of being present. The Band of Boy Pipers from the Baldovan Institute lent additional gaiety to the afternoon, the English and foreign visitors being specially appreciative of the sword dance performed by one youthful member of the kilned band. After tea, which was served in the open air, the company gathered round a platform, from which speeches in support of the women's claim for enfranchisement were given by Professor Goddes (Botany), Dundee, who, in a speech of marked poetic quality, drew a wonderful comparison between the present component parts of our social life and the old allegorical life of the past. Miss Lumsden, LL.D., of St. Andrews University, whose speech was acknowledged by all present to be one of the most convincing and logical given during the afternoon, gave a masterly summary of the claim put forward by women and emphasised the great advantage to the welfare of all which the mutual support of men and women in the administration of the country would be.

Professor Halliburton, London, who had spoken so ably in support of the women at the public meeting some days before in Dundee, again re-

iterated his belief as a physiologist how essential to the national well being was the advance of the women. He called attention to the fact that Dundee had been the first town to bring this great scientific question before the British Association.

Speeches were made also by Professors Turner, F.R.S., Hartog, Cork, who was largely instrumental in opening the British Association committees to women; Weiss, Manchester, vice-president of the Botany section of the present British Association meeting, and Professor Oldham, Dublin, who proposed a vote of thanks to the hostess and paid a high tribute to Miss Lumsden's speech. The Rev. Dr. Walsh also spoke briefly thanking the speakers.

Miss Alice Crompton read a list of apologies for absence, and called attention to the regrettable absence of Vice-Chancellor Sadler, who was unable to attend owing to illness. Amongst the guests were Mrs. Halliburton, Professor and Mrs. Ramsay, Professor and Dr. Dorothea Moore (Yale), Sir Carlan and Lady Martin, Mrs. Bethune Duncan, the Countess de Manin, Miss Arnott Waterford, the Rev. Harcourt and Mrs. Davidson, Dr. and Mrs. Mackie Whyte, Dr. Julia Pringle, Doctor Emily Thomson, Dr. and Mrs. Scott, St. Andrews, Mrs. Finlay, St. Andrews, and many other and well-known residents in Dundee and Broughty Ferry.

MRS. SNOWDEN'S NORTHERN TOUR.

Mrs. Snowden received the first welcome to the North at Doncaster, where, despite the absence of many of the local members on holiday, and the consequent lack of support from "converted," a good meeting was held. Many of the summer visitors who attended the meeting left with the assurance that on their return home they would join their local Society, and, from the residents among the audience, the Donch Branch has secured several new members. At KIRKWALL Mrs. Snowden was welcomed by a reception arranged by the Oradian Society in the afternoon of the 24th, and, in the evening, by a public meeting in the Town Hall, when Mrs. Greig, Swambister House—a former president of the Glasgow Women's Liberal Association—introduced the speaker. The Orkney Herald, a sympathetic reporter of Suffrage, on this occasion gave Mrs. Snowden's speech in full, with the frequent notes of applause, which proved how well the audience appreciated the points. Only one objection was raised at the close, when questions were asked—that of women outnumbering men—which Mrs. Snowden met with a suggestion of an age differentiation, also pointing out the general mistake of calculating women as if they were all on the same political side. The highly appreciative report of Mrs. Snowden's meeting and address in the Town Hall, Lerwick, given by a paper not always favourable to Suffrage, shows plainly the converting power of the speech. Indeed the report confesses to this in the following words: "If Mrs. Snowden set herself the task of forming some new cult of religion, within a very short time she could not help having numberless converts." The Secretary of the Shetland Society rejoices in new members gained, and a delightful impetus given to the cause by Mrs. Snowden's visit. The night of the meeting was one which might even have excused an empty hall, a strong gale blowing, with a drenching rain—yet the audience comfortably filled the building before the hour of beginning and many were content with a standing room before the meeting closed. This unfortunate change in the weather continued. A hurricane raged in the Pentland Firth, steamers were delayed, and connections lost, with the result that GOLSPIE and STRATHPEPPER meetings were held with only me as speaker, and a very storm tossed, and shaken Mrs. Snowden arrived at DUNWALL an hour late. It was almost cruelty, yet the audience comfortably filled the building before the hour of beginning and many were content with a standing room before the meeting closed. This unfortunate change in the weather continued. 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Please mention “The Common Cause” when answering Advertisements. It will help us.

Suffrage campaign had hitherto been held there, and it is proposed that our members in these five villages should form the nucleus of a South Oxfordshire Society. Miss Sands and Miss Hudson, of Newington House, gave me most valuable help, and on Friday, August 23rd, I spoke at a small but enthusiastic meeting at Newington House, at which Miss Sands took the chair. After the meeting an interesting discussion took place, and fourteen members and seven “Friends” were enrolled. A resolution calling upon the Member for the Division to support a Woman's Suffrage Amendment to the Reform Bill was carried unanimously. Monday, August 26th, brought me back to Tilehurst. Here, constitutional suffragists have to wrestle with the prejudice roused by militant methods, but I enrolled six new members and twenty-three “Friends.” An indoor meeting was held on August 30th in the village hall, at which Miss Bryan, of the Pangbourne and Brighton Societies, took the chair, and Miss Hilda Jones, President of the Pangbourne Society, and I, spoke. Some roughs and boys attempted to interrupt the meeting, but their gentle murmur did not prove disturbing to the speakers. WILMA M. MEKLE.

READING SOCIETY is hard at work preparing for a meeting to be held on September 27th, when Miss Maude Royden has promised to speak. An office has been opened in the Market Place, and is proving a most convenient base of operations for the members of the local society and of the Federation Committee, who, together with two organisers (Miss Mason and Miss Clarkson) are engaged in canvassing the town. Miss Clarkson has addressed several mothers' meetings, and an open-air meeting has been held, which secured a large and attentive audience in spite of a rival meeting close at hand. The words spoken at the close of the meeting by Miss Louisa Turquand gave especial pleasure. On Thursday, 5th, Miss Clarkson spoke at the London Street Primitive Methodist Mothers' Meeting, and interested her audience by contrasting the conditions of the women in Borneo (where she had worked as a missionary) with those of our sisters in the East End of London, where labour is so righteously underpaid and starvation the outcome. She was convinced that without the vote women were helpless in fighting against the misery that existed there, and it was this conviction that sent her out to work and speak for Suffrage.

The presence in the town of a branch of the W.S.P.U. adds to the difficulty of our work, for we find that many friends of the principle of Women's Suffrage are loath to help for fear of having their names associated with militancy. On Thursday, 6th, the members of the Society were given an urgent invitation to attend a meeting held in a room kindly lent by the Y.W.C.A. The object of the meeting was to get help from as many as possible in the work at present being done to prepare for the public meeting on September 27th, in connection with the first Federation annual meeting. Unfortunately, a good many members are still away on their holiday, and the number present was rather disappointingly small. This was all the more regrettable that the speeches were of a high order of interest. Councillor Edith Sutton took the chair, and briefly introduced Miss Violet Eustace, who spoke on the advance made in social and political ideas in other countries. She laid stress on the fact that this advance is taking place even in Oriental countries. Dr. Sidney Gilford followed, giving the principal reasons for his conversion to the Cause. As an example of the keen sense of justice in children and the very young, he gave an amusing account of the state of affairs in the George Junior Republics in the United States, where the boys cannot reconcile it with their conscience to levy taxes on the girls without giving them votes. They need the contributions from girls to help out the financial situation, and have earnestly requested the girls to accept the right of voting, for which hitherto they have shown no desire. The appeal is being “seriously considered” by the female Republicans.

Miss Clarkson, who is at present Organiser in Reading, made a splendid and very moving speech. She compared the lot of the savage women in Borneo, where she did mission work for some years, with that of the sweated women-workers in the East End of London where she subsequently worked. Her contention that the former have a decided advantage over the latter was convincingly supported by the horrible facts and figures she quoted of the earnings of sweated workers. Mrs. Robie Uniacke made a stirring appeal to the members of the Reading Society to rally round the energetic few by whom the work is being done, and to make this work really effective by their help. She asked members to volunteer for the work of distributing handbills for the meeting of the 27th, and incidentally gave a most amusing and instructive description of how to do house-to-house canvassing.

North and East Ridings (Yorks). The Federation Garden Party at RUSBOROUGH, SALTBURN, on August 16th proved to be a great success. About 180 were present, and the following Branches were represented—Saltsburn, Redcar, Whitby, Middlesbrough and Darlington. Lady Walton, President of the Barnsley Branch, received the guests; she was accompanied by Miss Celia Wray, who had motored over from Pickering. Sir Joseph Walton, M.P., took the chair, supported by Mrs. Samuel, wife of the Postmaster-General and M.P. for Cleveland; Mrs. Clifford, wife of the Unionist candidate for Cleveland; Mrs. Stainthorp, President for the Saltsburn Branch; and Mrs. Marshall. Miss I. O. Ford gave one of her interesting and witty speeches. Mrs. Meyer afterwards appealed for funds, which resulted in a collection of £8 is. 5d. Mrs. Stainthorp and Mrs. Marshall proposed a vote of thanks. Mlle. Stes and Miss Jenkins were energetic sellers of COMMON CAUSE.

Mrs. Meyer has now returned from her holiday, and will be at the office, 10, Museum Street, York, during September. Mrs. Renton is organising in the Federation during September; after that she goes to the West Riding. The Federation Committee will meet at Scarborough on September 19th at 2 p.m.

SEARBOURGH.—The programme of meetings arranged in and near Scarborough for Mrs. Renton's visit, September 3rd-11th, has been carried out with much success, considering the roughness of the weather. When an arranged meeting was possible it was held, though frequently in a tearing wind, which was most exhausting to the speakers. However, the audiences stood wonderfully well, especially those on the Clarence Drive. Mrs. Renton and her assistants, Miss Dutton, Miss Mekle and Miss Rushbrook, held their chairs and Mrs. Renton spoke, and questions were plentiful and were kept up for quite a long time after the meetings. “Friends of Women's Suffrage” were enrolled daily from all parts of the kingdom. At a meeting in the office, Mrs. Corbett Ashby took the chair and Mrs. Renton spoke, her appeal for help in working the “Friends” scheme being quite irresistible, so much so that the Scarborough members deeply regretted that the bad weather had prevented a larger attendance. The campaign was also carried into the district round Scarborough. An excellent meeting was held by Mrs. Renton and Miss Mekle at Pickering; by the Market Cross, the audience (chiefly of agricultural labourers) appearing keenly interested. Thornton Dale was also visited. Here great kindness was shown by Miss Ida Priestman, who not only distributed notices of the meeting beforehand, but when on the appointed day the weather made outdoor speaking impossible, bore the whole expense of hiring a schoolroom and sending round the bellman to advertise the change of place. With such a good friend at Thornton Dale, we hope to arrange later for an indoor meeting to follow up the work begun. At Filey there was an excellent meeting arranged by Miss Hanks (Hon. Sec. Filey Branch), and a large collection was taken. At Scalby, near Scarborough, the campaign would up with a highly satisfactory meeting in the Temperance Hall on September 11th. To Miss Hart, Miss Walton and Miss Miln, of Scalby, is due the credit of working it up by distributing literature and notices. Miss Mekle took the chair for Mrs. Renton and made the first speech. Mrs. Renton followed, and obviously was on good terms with her audience from the first. At the end of the meeting several “Friends” were enrolled, as well as some new members. Mr. Phillips, of the Men's League, proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the speakers. The COMMON CAUSE sold well, as, indeed, it has throughout the campaign, nearly 200 having been disposed of. Here it is fitting to thank Mlle. Stes, who most kindly came over from Whitby one Saturday on purpose to help to sell the paper in the streets. Scarborough feels that it would be well worth while for all Federations with seaside towns to organise campaigns next summer (if necessary) all along the sea-coast. The local Societies may not reap much direct benefit, but numbers of “Friends” from all parts are gathered in, many of whom may help to start work in new places, and prove a tower of strength to an organiser in a strange land. WHITBY.—This Society has held a most successful market sale during August. Help with this and in the selling of COMMON CAUSES in the town and on the sands was most kindly given by suffragists staying in the neighbourhood. We should like to accord our thanks for this to Mrs. Fyfe, Miss King, Miss Lowe, Miss Mussen, Miss Simeon, Dr. Helen Wilson and Mrs. Gill. YORK.—The York Committee are busy organising a Stock Exchange Sale to be held in the office, 10, Museum Street, on September 30th. Will all members please help?

Women's Freedom League. We are holding an International Suffrage Fair in the Town Hall, King's Road, Chelsea, on November 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th. Our aim is to bring English Suffragists into closer touch with those women all the world over who are fighting the same fight as ourselves. To this end these stalls will represent the countries where women are striving for their freedom, and we are trying to procure speakers of all nations to tell us about the women of their own countries. We earnestly hope that Suffragist of all persuasions and women of all nations will co-operate with us to create such an International atmosphere as must make for sympathy and comprehension. Cookery demonstrations will be given by prominent Suffragists. We are making a speciality of articles for men and boys, and we hope to draw special attention

to physical culture for women. There will be National dances and many and varied entertainments. K. HARVEY.

Women Liberals and the Suffrage.

On September 7th, at a meeting held at the Liberal Club, INGLETON, Yorks, Miss Emily Hill gave an address on Women's Suffrage. Mr. Bentham, chairman of the Club, presided. The Women's Liberal Association convened the meeting. The speaker pointed out the inconsistency of any man calling himself a Liberal opposing the extension of the Suffrage to women. The audience listened very sympathetically to Miss Emily Hill, Miss Georgiana Hill and to Miss Fyfe, B.A., who spoke on political work. The chairman assured the speakers that the Member for the Division was a strong supporter of Women's Suffrage.

P.W.W. on the Parliamentary Situation.

In the September number of the English-woman, which we hope everyone will read, there is an exceedingly able article on “Militancy and the Reform Bill.” Mr. Wilson writes with a scrupulous resolve not to debate the rights and wrongs of militancy, but merely to consider whether or no an outbreak before the crucial divisions in the House are over can have any but a disastrous effect. He starts with the assumption that to obtain the inclusion of women in the Government Reform Bill is the desideratum of all suffragists, militant and non-militant alike. The power to achieve this now lies in the goodwill of the House of Commons, a majority of whose members are pledged to this end. It is, then, the object “of all strategy during the coming months to provoke in Parliament, not the worst, but the best, and statesmanship consists in producing the conditions social, moral and mental, in which wisdom can best thrive.” A continuance of militant tactics while the amendments are before the House would facilitate the evasion of pledges by members, as it did in the vote on the Conciliation Bill; it would go further to alienate the Nationalist support, and by alienating public sympathy would remove responsibility from the House of Commons where it now lies. Mr. Wilson makes a powerful appeal to the Nationalist party not to be misled into thinking that their interests can be advanced by a betrayal of the women's cause. As he points out, such a betrayal would put the Labour party and other members who believe both in Home Rule and in women's suffrage into a dilemma. Reprisals might be expected to follow, confidence would be lost, and the majority for Home Rule which has to be so long-sustained would inevitably be sapped. Mr. Wilson attributes the adverse vote on the Conciliation Bill mainly to the Liberal dislike of that particular Bill. Mr. Dickinson, in another article in this number, considers it was mainly a protest against militancy. Mr. Aquith, it will be remembered, actually pretended that he thought it was an anti-suffrage vote. We know that none of these causes explain the rating of the Irishmen. The truth probably is that all these causes acted with varying force on different sections of the House, but that the militant outbreaks gave a convenient excuse for all.

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Foreign News.

France. The movement in France has made quick strides of late, and an active propagandist and educational campaign is now in full swing. Branches of the National Union of French Suffrage societies are being formed all over France, and everywhere new ground is being broken and new members enrolled. La Francaise reports progress in Anjou, where the Municipal Council of the little town of Trélazé passed a unanimous vote in favour of M. Brisson's Franchise Bill. In Brittany Madame Marguerite Martin has been working hard during the holiday season lecturing and organising; and at Brest alone 50 new members were enrolled after her lecture. At Havre, where there is a strong branch of the Union, the Conseil d'Arrondissement has passed a resolution in favour of the bill; its example will probably be followed by the Municipal Council. These holiday activities will certainly be followed up energetically, when the work of the new session begins in October. The Collège Libre des Sciences Sociales, a new institution devoted to sociological study, announces, among the coming courses of lectures, one on “The inequalities between men and women in relation to custom and law.” The disabilities of women are grouped under three heads: Social, Economic, Political, and the subjects will be treated by different experts. Another course, to be delivered by Mlle. Lydie Pissargovsky, deals with the “Comparative history of Feminism.” These announcements bear testimony to the great and growing interest in the subject. Madame Orka, Secretary of that excellent institution, the Congrès permanent du Féminisme Internationale is preparing for the press a volume dealing with the part played by women in various organisations, political, denominational, social, professional, etc. Her aim is to “present a complete picture of the feminist and feminine associations in all countries.” An enormous undertaking, surely, which must result in an enormous volume! Details of the scheme may be found in the September number of La Francaise. Madame Orka, 36, Rue de Pentrienne, Paris, will no doubt supply information to anyone interested.

PROSTITUTION: ITS NATURE AND CURE. (Penal Reform League, 1, Harrington Square, London, N.W. 1912. Price 2d.) A plea is made in this pamphlet for a reasoned and scientific treatment—unswayed by the prejudice and instinctive antipathies with which the subject is commonly approached—of a problem which rankles in the conscience of a humanitarian age. None of the four groups who form the rank and file of prostitution—i.e., the feeble-minded, those impelled by a desire for more freedom, ease, or variety than they can otherwise obtain, those driven by necessity, and the victims of “kidnapping or evil design”—are, it is urged, proper subjects for penal law. “The fact is that, if we face this problem honestly, it becomes more and more clear that we all stand condemned. For, if prostitution means the buying and selling of that which should be freely given or altogether withheld, then evidently our whole economic edifice is based on this very thing. . . . And this is all because the community does not do that for which it exists—namely, to guarantee to all its members a full and attractive life.” The Criminal Law Amendment (White Slave Traffic) Bill is criticised, the futility of “harrying” the prostitute pointed out, suggestions for dealing with the “procurer” are offered, and the proposed power of whipping is deprecated. The authors are however eager to co-operate with anyone for power of arrest of suspected procurers without warrant, subject to certain safeguards, and for special women's courts, for the trial and protection of women, staffed by women police, probation officers and so forth. Further means of combating prostitution are advocated, including the institution of reformatories on ideal lines, here described by the hon. secretary of the League, but for the details of this and other proposals we would refer the enquirer to the pamphlet itself, which is a broad-minded and well-informed attempt to offer suggestions towards the solution of what is one of the deepest enigmas of civilisation, and well worth the study of all who seek to find its answer. M. F. D.

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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.

PUBLIC OPINION ON MILITANCY.

Will you kindly allow me space for a brief statement in comment on the Report published from the N.U.W.S.S. organiser working in Largs, in THE COMMON CAUSE of September 5th? She speaks of the difficulty in the work, owing to the disgust with the tactics of the militants, and specially owing to the Dublin episode of the theatre fire. As the W.S.P.U. worker, who was the chief speaker at Largs at the time of that episode, and in the work that followed it, I feel I ought to state that at not one single meeting did we have any opposition based on the Dublin incident, nor even a question dealing with it, though we spoke daily to large audiences in the open, and invariably invited questions on the militant methods. Trusting to your courtesy to insert this letter, EDITH CLARENCE, (Hon. Sec. ARMINSTER W.S.P.U.)

P.S.—I did not see the notice I refer to in THE COMMON CAUSE in time to comment in this week's issue. Coaxden, Arminster, Sept. 13th, 1912.

A CORRECTION.

I learn from a correspondent that the salaries and work of men and women Post-office clerks have been re-arranged since the publication of Miss Gore-Booth's pamphlet, from which I quoted figures in a recent issue of THE COMMON CAUSE; and strict comparison between them is no longer possible. The differentiation of work (and pay) does not appear to have placed the women in a better but a worse position however. It is easier to isolate them for attack, and the recent attempt to introduce a lower grade of women-clerks at lower salaries is an instance of this. May I correct an error in my letter of last week? I intended to write not “This shorthand-writer is personally unknown,” but “is personally unknown to me.” A. MAUDE ROYDEN, September 14th, 1912.

MISS ROYDEN AND MISS POTT. Miss Royden challenges me to give proof of her unfair treatment of Miss Pott's criticism of “Votes and Wages.” I give the following:—In COMMON CAUSE, August 29th, Miss Pott said, “I pass over the quotation from Mr. Lloyd George.” The remainder of the sentence is not mentioned; it was “because Mr. Lloyd George is not mentioned.”

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SPECIAL OFFER to our readers of a 5/6 Fountain Pen for 3/6. “Common Cause” Safety Non-leakable Fountain Pen, with a Solid 14-Carat Iridium-Pointed Gold Nib. 3/6 each. The special arrangements entered into with one of the largest British Fountain Pen Manufacturers enables us to offer our readers a beautifully made and specially constructed Safety Non-leakable Fountain Pen at the low price of 3/6. The pen is admirably suitable for ladies' use, since it can be carried in a handbag, attaché case, or in any position without fear of leakage. This pen is usually sold at 5/6. DESCRIPTION OF PEN. British made throughout of only highest class materials. Constructed to be positively proof against leakage. The nib being in the ink when the pen is closed ensures instant readiness for writing. Has an even, smooth flow of ink. The nib is of solid 14-carat gold, with hard iridium points. Every hand can be suited. These pens nicely packed in boxes printed in our colours. HOW TO OBTAIN THIS PEN. Fill in coupon below and send to The Manager, “Common Cause,” 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C., with Postal Order for 3/8 (2d. being for postage and packing). COUPON. Please send a “Common Cause” Safety, Non-Leakable Fountain Pen; fine, medium, broad pointed nib, (underline point required) for which I enclose P.O. 3/8. Name..... Address..... Please write distinctly. Coupon must accompany each Order.

amongst the audience to answer for himself. I wish we were, to tell us which Government Department he referred to where men and women do the same work for different pay. We must first examine facts and see where that is the case." COMMON CAUSE, August 22nd: "Miss Pott sets up a man of straw: she says in effect, Miss Royden says women are not consulted about their interests. What I said really was that members of Parliament would lose their seats if they did not take the trouble to understand their constituents' interest." The sentence in "Votes and Wages" criticised by Miss Pott is "The demand for women's work is cut off without their advice being asked or their wishes consulted." COMMON CAUSE, August 15th, re Trade Classes: "I said in 'Votes and Wages' that in order to remove restrictions placed on admission to technical classes direct legislative enactment is required." The sentence criticised by Miss Pott in "Votes and Wages" is "Under the Act creating Technical Education every trade class is shut to any student not working in that particular trade." I do not need to take advantage of Miss Royden's offer to see her report of the speech: I am a professed shorthand reporter and took verbatim notes myself; and quote from them, not from memory. If Miss Royden does not think the above instances show grossly unfair treatment of criticism, I do.

JANE SEYMOUR.

MISS GAWTHORPE'S PETITION AGAINST FORCIBLE FEEDING.

I enclose herewith a copy of the new petition now being promoted on behalf of Mrs. Mary Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans. By far the largest number of applications for the petition to date have come from members of the N.U.W.S.S. This is as it should be. Thousands of people who will not go even half-way on the question of sympathy with methods of extreme militancy will sign a petition which affords them the moral satisfaction of having declared their opposition to a policy of personal-physical violence, and yet at the same time of making disinterested stand against inhumanity of British prisons.

The question of forcible feeding touches our common humanity. There never has been any justification, there never will be any justification, for the forcible feeding of prisoners who in their right mind make the costly protest of the hunger-strike against unfair prison conditions.

I ask for 5,000 signatures to the petition within the next seven days. The favour of a stamped addressed large envelope will oblige, the clerical work entailed by a wholly voluntary task being very heavy.

Struanee, Shoreham, Sussex. MARY GAWTHORPE.

CONSTITUTIONAL SUFFRAGISTS.

I am glad you have called attention to Miss Crosley's letter. I have met several Australians during the summer holidays, and they were unanimous in saying that they thought all English Suffragists were militant. I have been assured that Australian women are very indignant at what they consider is a disgrace to womanhood in the recent tactics. I suppose the foreign and Colonial Press reflect the British in home matters, and we ought to have all papers of any repute watched. This cannot be done entirely from headquarters. Every society should have its press secretary; the daily paper paid for, if necessary, by the society, mistakes corrected and as many events as possible reported.

M. T. WILLIS.

DR. BARBARA TCHAYKOVSKY writes to acknowledge a further sum of about £10 subscribed to the Children's White Cross League by readers of THE COMMON CAUSE. Dr. Tchaykovsky is still carrying on her work of sending child victims of the strike into cottage homes near London for a short time. She appeals for more money to carry out this work, and also for parcels of children's clothing. The clothing should be sent to Mrs. Banks, 6, Campbell Road, Bow, E., and gifts of money to Dr. Barbara Tchaykovsky, The International Suffrage Shop, 15, Adam Street, Strand.

Mrs. DE FONBLANQUE writes to describe the proposed march of women from London to Edinburgh. The march is to assume a spiritual rather than a political character. The marchers will assemble at Marble Arch (or Trafalgar Square) on Saturday, October 19th. Each woman will be asked to pay her own expenses, and it is thought that £10 will cover the expenses of her living for the five weeks the march will take, and also her railway fare back from Edinburgh. Not less than 100 women will start, and a sum of £1,000 is asked for to cover the expenses of printing, advertising, engaging halls, etc. All enquiries should be addressed to Mrs. de Fonblanque, Duncton, Petworth, Sussex.

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Address, The Oatine Company, 282B, Oatine Buildings, Boro, London, S.E.—[ADVT.]

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TRAINING SPEAKERS.

May I suggest that the National Union should take more seriously the question of training speakers, not merely giving a dozen lessons to a tried worker here and there, but by starting a permanent class in London, open to anyone at a nominal fee, and by sending down teachers to any country centre, where the local secretary could collect students?

No other Society of equal size attempts to do so much of its work, with untrained and unpaid volunteers. The Militants, the Constitutionalists, the Anti-Suffragists, the Fabians, the Anti-Socialists, the Tariff Reformers, are all offering free training to anyone who will work for them, that it is not common sense that our workers should enter the field worse equipped. I am not referring to our hundred or two hundred first-class speakers, but to-day, when you can hardly get a bad Suffrage meeting, the demand for speakers is unlimited, and it is not only for meetings and for electioneering, that the readiness and accuracy of training would be valuable. Our Cause is discussed everywhere, and as many converts are to be made in an ordinary drawing-room or a railway carriage as in public halls.

A Suffragist who is armed merely with boundless enthusiasm and passionate convictions, but is not up in the social conditions of the day, and has not the laws relating to women at her fingers' end, and has not learnt to express herself, will carry no weight. It is not every enthusiast who can manage to attend Suffrage camps, and many members cannot afford to pay for training and then work for nothing. And outside London, and perhaps a few places like Cambridge, there is no training to be had. There is no free literature, and not even any list of books which would be useful to a student if she bought them for herself. Could not something be done on the principle of "College by Post"? Loan libraries supplied, and essays set and corrected for members in outlying districts, but beyond all and before all, let us have speakers' classes.

SYLVIA CLARK.

Church Crookham, Hants.

September 12th.
[Our correspondent does not seem to be aware of the great amount of training already done by the National Union. A list of books would readily be supplied by its Literature Department, which also issues great quantities of cheap literature, and some free. A considerable number of Societies hold speakers' classes in their districts. The Union is constantly training organisers. We do not think that much of the cramming done by special associations is any real education. It is merely a smattering of stock "arguments" with no real foundation. A sound general education is the best foundation and the National Union can scarcely embark on that.—Ed. C.C.]

MRS. ARNCLIFFE SENNETT'S PAMPHLET.

After reading the review on Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett's pamphlet, "Make Way for the Prime Minister," in last week's issue of this paper, I made a point of carefully re-reading it, for the "violent and angry tone" spoken of had altogether escaped me; and I must confess I still fail to find it. The strongest invectives I can trace, attributed to Mr. Asquith, are such phrases as, "flagrant perversion of truth," "last trick," "arrogant answer," "cruel betrayal"; and as these sentiments are supported by facts, which the writer admits are unassailable, to call a spade a spade, surely, is not to denounce, but to remove the veneer and disclose the truth.

Such I believe to be the purpose of the pamphlet. Representative Government is a travesty; Government is vested in the power of one man, the Prime Minister, and this position, says the critic, is so substantiated by fact that it cannot be challenged.

Then Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett has acquired a conception of the "unwholesome atmosphere," the "paralysing effect of the House of Commons," the "stultifying esprit de corps," and clearly shows it to be the outcome of the autocracy vested in the Prime Minister.

Is it not better to understand the nature of an enemy and meet it, than to be constantly floundering in pitfalls through ignorance?

ANNIE N. ROFF.

Other Societies.

IRISH WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION.

The Committee met at 33, Molesworth Street, on Thursday, 12th inst., Lady Dorell, U.D.C., presiding. Resolutions were adopted re-affirming the character of the association as strictly non-militant, and expressing approval of the action of Mrs. Haslam in sending her letter to the Irish Press in June respecting the window-breaking in Dublin. It was decided to invite Mr. P. Snowden, M.P., to address a public meeting here in October, and to beg all our representatives to support Mr. Snowden's proposed amendment to the Government of Ireland Bill, conferring the Parliamentary franchise upon all women who possess the local government vote. The Committee was informed of the generous bequest of £300 from the late Miss Dupré Wilson, which, however, will not be available during the lifetime of another legatee. It was also decided to urge upon the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary the insertion of some most necessary alterations in the Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Thanks to the great help received from members of the local suffrage societies, and the active support given us by some of the clergy in Middlesbrough and district, we hope to have a very successful series of services and meetings there during Church Congress week. The devotional side of our work will be emphasised, special services being held at St. Peter, St. Aidan's, and All Saint's churches, Middlesbrough, and at Christ's

Church, Coatham. Full particulars will be published in the October number of the "Church League for Women's Suffrage" monthly paper; and handbills will be widely distributed in the neighbourhood next week. We most cordially invite the co-operation of all suffragists in this effort to rouse more enthusiasm for our cause. Offers of help will be most gratefully received by the organiser, Miss L. Corben, either by letter to the London Office of the League, 11, St. Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park, N.W.; or, on and after September 25th, at the local Committee Rooms, Free Trade Buildings, Grange Road West, Middlesbrough.

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Forthcoming Meetings.

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

- SEPTEMBER 19. Preston—Horrocks' 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
- Hansworth—open-air meeting—Mrs. Chew 6.30
- Manchester—Oxford Road, corner of Victoria Park Gates—open-air meeting—Mrs. Annot Robinson, Mrs. Earp 8.0
- Bristol—The Coliseum—suffrage stall—The Misses Chate 12-10
- SEPTEMBER 20. Preston—Roebuck Street—open-air meeting—Mrs. Cooper, Miss C. Leadley Brown, Miss Deakin 12.30
- Preston—Acregate 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. Hoggin (chair) 3.30
- Banbury—Town Hall—Miss A. Maude Royden, The Lady Knightley of Fawsley (chair) 8.0
- Murial Matters 8.0
- Kewick—Market Place—open-air meeting—Miss Murial Matters 8.0
- Mappellwell—Open-air meeting—Mrs. Chew 6.50
- Bristol—The Coliseum—suffrage stall—Miss Baker, Miss Stock 12-10
- SEPTEMBER 21. Place—open-air meeting—Mrs. Cooper, Miss C. Leadley Brown, Miss Deakin 6.0
- Bristol—The Coliseum—suffrage stall—Mrs. J. Martin, Miss Pope 12-10
- Holmfrith—Vestry of New Connection Chapel—members' meeting 3.0
- SEPTEMBER 23. Nottingham—Office, 54, Long Row—"At home" and working party for E. Midlands' bazaar—Miss Quare (Ilkeston) 7.30
- Bristol—The Coliseum—suffrage stall—The Misses Tanner 12-10
- Bristol—11a, White Ladies' Road—speakers' class—leader, Mrs. Randall Vickers 2.30
- Ambleside—Mrs. Cunliffe's "at home" and white elephant sale—speaker, Miss A. Maude Royden
- Ryde—Mrs. Stanton Coit's garden meeting—Mrs. Ruth Homan, Dr. Stanton Coit Afternoon
- York—Exhibition Square—Mr. Malcolm Mitchell 7.30
- 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
- Rehill—Market Hall—Lord Robert Cecil, M.P., Miss Frances Sterling, Mrs. Mackirdy (chair) 8.0
- Kewick—Pavilion—Miss Muriel Matters, Mrs. Frank Marshall 8.0
- Bristol—The Coliseum—suffrage stall—Mrs. Senington, Miss Brownlee 12-10
- Tunbridge Wells—18, Crescent Road—"Friends of Women's Suffrage" Workers 4.30
- SEPTEMBER 25. Birmingham—Minworth Council School—Miss Helen Fraser, J. Ansell, Esq., J.P. (chair) 8.0
- Manchester—Withington—Mrs. Lejeune's drawing-room meeting—Miss Deakin, Rev. H. D. Lockett (chair) 3.0
- Bristol—The Coliseum—suffrage stall—Miss Clough 12-10
- Carlisle—Richmond Hall—Miss Muriel Matters 8.0
- SEPTEMBER 26. Manchester—Old Trafford—Mrs. Ransome's drawing-room meeting—Miss Ashton 3.50
- Hull—Waverley, Westbourne Avenue—Garden party and sale—Mr. Malcolm Mitchell 3-6
- Bristol—The Coliseum—suffrage stall—The Misses Chate 12-10
- Wallasey and Wirral—Liscard Cenozoic Hall—annual meeting—Councillor Eleanor F. Rathbone 8.0
- Milom—Co-operative Hall—Miss Muriel Matters 7.30
- SEPTEMBER 27. Cheltenham—Wesley Court, Clarence Square—drawing-room meeting—Miss Bathurst 3.15
- Bristol—The Coliseum—suffrage stall—Miss Stock, Miss Baker 12-10
- Cambridge—Assembly Room, 20, Green Street—Miss I. B. O'Malley 8.0
- SEPTEMBER 28. Birkenhead—Conservative Club, Oxton—"At home"—Miss Muriel Matters 7.30
- Bristol—The Coliseum—suffrage stall—Miss E. Edwards 12-10
- SEPTEMBER 30. Croydon—34a, The Arcade, High Street—"At home"—five-minutes' speeches on current topics 3.30
- Bristol—The Coliseum—suffrage stall—Mrs. Willis 12-10
- Bristol—Queen's Hall, Clifton—meeting for teachers—Miss Bathurst 8.0
- Nottingham—Office, 54, Long Row—"At home," and working party for E. Midlands' bazaar—Miss Parrow 7-9.30
- York—10, Museum Street—Stock Exchange Sale 3-6
- OCTOBER 1. Bristol—The Coliseum—suffrage stall—Miss Brownlee, Mrs. Senington 12-10
- Bristol—11, St. James' Square—meeting for teachers—Miss Bathurst, F. Pickles, M.A. 8.0
- Birmingham—Sloe Lane, Smethwick—women's meeting—Mrs. Ring 3.15
- Holmfrith—Drill Hall 7.30
- OCTOBER 2. Sevenoaks—Kilington Parish Room—Miss C. D. Corbett, Rev. H. P. Thompson, M.A. (chair) 3.30
- Sunderland—"Autumn Market"—Opener, Viscountess Howich, chair, Miss Maude Royden 2.30

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- SEPTEMBER 19. S. Paddington—75, Hereford Road, W.—suffrage meeting for London Society's bazaar—members and friends from all constituencies welcome 2.30
- W. Newington—corner of Panton Place and Kennington Road—open-air meeting—Mrs. Stanbury, Mr. Malcolm Mitchell, Mr. Lewis Phillips 8.0
- SEPTEMBER 21. Muswell Hill—Durham House School, 102, Crouch Hill, N.—Mrs. Power Swiney's garden meeting—Mrs. F. T. Swanwick, M.A., H. G. Chancellor, Esq., M.P. 4.0
- Norwood—Suffrage Offices—debate—Miss Emily Green v. H. H. Higgins, Miss A. Fritchard (chair) 8.0
- SEPTEMBER 23. N. Paddington—47, Clifton Gardens, Maids Vale, W.—suffrage meeting for London Society's bazaar—members and friends from all constituencies welcome 2.30
- W. Southwark—corner of Borough Road and St. George's Circus—open-air meeting—Miss Ellen Walshe, Dr. C. V. Drysdale, Miss M. Robinson 8.0
- SEPTEMBER 24. Schoolroom, 52, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.—Westminster Women's Adult School—Miss Dawson 8.15-8.45
- SEPTEMBER 26. Bush Hill Park, Enfield—Avenue Hall—W. L. A.—Miss G. Hill 3.0
- Walworth—corner of Liverpool Street and Walworth Road—Miss Agnes Dawson, Miss M. Robinson, Mr. Malcolm Mitchell 8.0
- SEPTEMBER 30. N. Lambeth—open-air meeting—Miss M. E. Hewitt, Mr. Malcolm Mitchell 8.0

MEETINGS ADDRESSED BY MEMBERS OF THE UNION

- SEPTEMBER 22. Long Eaton—Market Place—Labour meeting—Mrs. Cowmeadow 6.30
- SEPTEMBER 23. Hucknall—Women's Adult School—Mrs. Cowmeadow 6.30
- SEPTEMBER 26. Long Eaton—B.W.T.A.—Mrs. Cowmeadow 8.0
- SEPTEMBER 27. Bristol—The Friars—Friends' discussion class—debate—Mrs. Hicks, B.A. 8.0
- SEPTEMBER 29. Bristol—Oakfield Road, Clifton—discussion class—Mrs. Martin 3.0

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—Rev. G. H. Davis. Leading Articles. Let us Pray. Blame to Whom
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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 what-
ever 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.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE

WILL HOLD

REGULAR PUBLIC MEETINGS

ON

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOONS,

At CAXTON HALL.

SPEAKERS—September 25th:

D. M. MASON, Esq., M.P. (who at its First Reading moved the rejection
of the Franchise Bill now before Parliament because it did not include
Women).

Mrs. DESPARD and Mrs. COBDEN SANDERSON.

Chair to be taken by Mrs. HUNTSMAN promptly at 3.30.

MISS L. B. EVETTS, F.R.H.S.

Care of Gardens from 5/- per day. Gardens designed & laid out.
ADVISORY WORK.

SPECIALITY made of Pruning; the laying out of herbaceous borders;
rock and wall gardens, etc., etc.

Further particulars apply:—

28, WATERLOW COURT, HAMPSTEAD WAY, HENDON, N.W.

THE NATIONAL UNION

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

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

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

Name _____

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

Address _____

(in full.)

To the Secretary _____ Society for Women's Suffrage

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