

THE COMMON CAUSE, AUGUST 10, 1911.

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# The Common Cause,

The Organ of the National Union of

# Women's Suffrage

Societies.

VOL. III. No. 122.

Registered as  
a Newspaper.

AUGUST 10, 1911.

ONE PENNY.



*By kind permission of the "Manchester Guardian."*

### DEPUTATION OF PIT BROW WOMEN.

A deputation of Pit Brow women from Lancashire went up to London last week under the leadership of the Mayor and Mayoress of Wigan to protest against the amendment to the Mines Bill, prohibiting the employment of other women in the future, in the same work.



### Notes and Comments.

#### Payment of Members.

Among the many incidents which occur daily to impress upon women the ignominy of their voteless condition, there is none which brings it more acutely home than the proposal for the payment of Members, which is to be brought forward on Thursday. This payment would be made out of Imperial taxation to which women contribute as well as men and in return for which they get nothing at all. Members of Parliament represent the Electors and not a single woman is an Elector. We hope that Mr. W. S. B. McLaren will secure support for his amendment.

#### The By-Elections.

The last of the crop of by-elections is now over and it may interest our friends the Antis to know that only one out of the nine successful candidates was a professed Anti-Suffragist and that was the notorious Col. Mark Sykes, whose "reasons" caused so much amusement. Of the four professed Adultists, Mr. Macpherson (Ross and Cromarty) and Mr. Harmsworth (S. Beds.) promised not to oppose the Conciliation Bill, while Mr. Masterman (S.W. Bethnal Green) and Sir Ryland Adkins (Middleton) left the issue uncertain. Baron de Forest (N.W. Ham), Col. Boles (W. Somerset), Mr. Dundas White (Tradeston), and Mr. Gordon (Brighton) all support the Conciliation Bill.

#### An Unresponsive Patient.

We are glad to read a rather fuller report of Lord Cromer's speech on June 30th. Our readers will remember that he complained of the apathy of the Anti-Suffragists. "No doctor in the world," he said, "can do much good for his patient unless the patient responds to treatment, and if our patients—the British public—are so sluggish in temperament that they cannot be stimulated into action, I am afraid we shall not be able to do them much good." The Antis *can't*, it seems, get John Bull to believe he will be ruined if he allows Mrs. Bull to speak her needs. "I am sure," Lord Cromer went on plaintively, "I shall be voicing what must be the opinion of many ladies here present in saying that men are often a great difficulty. In this case the difficulties arise not from their defects but from their good qualities." We are so glad to find ourselves in agreement with Lord Cromer. It is precisely men's good qualities which make them so resistant to the Antis and since, happily, men with such qualities are largely in the majority in England, Lord Cromer will probably find them an increasing "difficulty."

But what a funny commentary on the Antis' contention that *we* are Anti-Man!

#### Chinese Ideals.

Lady Jersey on the same occasion distinguished herself by solemnly relating how one of the Chinese representatives in London watched our procession, and then said "with quiet emphasis, 'I am sorry for their husbands and their sons.'" Many of these husbands and sons were themselves marching in the procession, and proud to think they were one with their womenfolk in the desire that all should be free to speak. What a libel on our men to suppose the majority of them are not! What a ridiculous pretence of pitting men against women! As if many of us had not first learned to know and love liberty and responsibility from the lips of men, from John Stuart Mill and Abraham Lincoln and William Lloyd Garrison and James Stansfield! Was it not a man, with what is commonly called the strength of a man and the tenderness of a woman, who wrote "Of equality—as if it harmed me giving others the same chances and rights as myself, As if it were not essential to my own rights that others possess the same."

#### A Cape Suffragist in England.

Mrs. Macfadyen, who was for a long time President of the Cape Town Women's Enfranchisement League, has

come to England and took part in the Races Congress, where she spoke on the "Black Peril" and on the responsibility for it which white men must share. She spoke in particular of the demoralization caused by abolishing native customs, and not substituting any effective moral guidance and of the nemesis that fell upon white women for the sins of white men in their dealings with black women.

#### Death of Dr. Rawlings.

Dr. Rawlings, who died recently in his prime, after a short illness, will be greatly missed in the neighbourhood of Dorking, where he was known as a staunch suffragist. His sister is Hon. Secretary of the Dorking Society and he was a cousin of Mrs. Fawcett.

#### A Children's Officer.

A correspondent has very kindly sent us the official report of the debate in the French Senate, which took place on May 18th on the amendment of M. Philippe Berger that women should be eligible to a new post to be established in connection with children's courts, of an officer to make enquiries into cases of children under 13 charged with any offence under the law. The amendment had been rejected by the special commission, but after an interesting debate it was passed by the Senate. The Lord Chancellor opposed it on the ground that it was a concession to "feminism" to which Mr. Berger replied pertinently that it was in the interests of children. Even logical Frenchmen will, it seems, say curiously unreasonable things. As if there could be anything reprehensible in a "feminism" which held that women should be appointed to deal with children of tender years!

#### The Rate-paying Qualification.

In our A.B.C. explanation of the Conciliation Bill we stated that "a woman paying 2/6 or less" might have a vote. A correspondent objects that the stating of any amount is confusing to the ignorant. Of course the example was given to shew that even the smallest amount of rent was no bar to the possession of a vote. Under the latest decision, a woman whose name appears on the rate-book or whose rates are compounded by the landlord may qualify under the Conciliation Bill. We who have always explained the Bill as a Bill to give the vote to *Women Ratepayers* have nothing to take back after the decision.

#### Anarchic Women.

In a humorous letter to the "Times" Sir Sydney Olivier alludes to women as "an anarchic and only half-human race" and compliments them upon having brought forward "some very live and somewhat disconcerting considerations," at the Universal Races Congress. Several other writers have made analogous reflections. Prof. Margoliouth also writes protesting against misrepresentations of his speech introducing the subject of "The Present Position of Women." A notorious Anti Suffragist actually objected to his mentioning the political enfranchisement of women! As if one could possibly discuss the position of women without discussing this most burning question.

#### Regularizing Charwomen.

It is good news that the charwomen of the London County Council Schools are to be properly organized and arranged so that they are to get at least 30 hours a week of work and 14/- wages and their tenure of work is also to be safeguarded.

#### A Shadwell Park.

We hope that something will come of the proposal to make a riverside park at Shadwell as part of the memorial to King Edward. We can imagine no memorial which would be more consonant with his kindly feelings and with those of the present King and Queen than the provision of open spaces and green turf for the starved and parched children of our East end. The proposed site is Shadwell Market

## The A. B. C. of Women's Suffrage.

# To WOMEN TAX-PAYERS

Women have to pay the same Taxes as Men. The Government takes their money though it is not responsible to them in any way, and allows them **NO VOICE AT ALL** in deciding how that money shall be spent.

Now they are to be asked to

## PAY THE SALARIES OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

These Members of Parliament do not represent Women: they only represent Voters, whose votes sent them to the House of Commons, and who can turn them out at the next Election if they are not represented justly.

Then ought not their salaries to be paid by the Voters? But Government is not going to get the money out of the pockets of Men only: Women will have to pay too. Therefore

## WOMEN CLAIM THE VOTE

by which alone Members of Parliament can be made responsible to them as they are already to men.

## NO Taxation Without REPRESENTATION.

### National Union Women's Suffrage Societies

(CONSTITUTIONAL—NON-PARTY),

Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

This is printed in the form of a leaflet, to be obtained from the Offices of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster. 9d. per 100.



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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 possible day, not as the one upon which all news should arrive.

NOTICE.—This paper should be 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, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester, giving the name and address of the newsagent or bookstall from which they wish to be supplied.

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### The Insurance Bill as it Stands.

The lady who writes the rather violent letter on the attitude we have adopted towards the Insurance Bill has not even begun to understand the point of view from which we have, from time to time, examined its provisions. She plainly regards the Bill from a party point of view and because it is brought forward by the party to which she belongs, she sees nothing but good in it and can see nothing but party feeling to account for opposition to it. We, on the other hand, belong to no party at all and we examined the Bill in order to see whether, so far as it goes, it operates equitably as between men, women and the state and we find that, being constructed on a wage-earning basis, it does not operate equitably, since a very large portion of the most important work done by women is not paid for in money wage. The title of the Bill, which we have quoted in the editorial note to the letter, speaks of insurance against "loss of health," not loss of wage, and of "prevention and cure of sickness." Many of Mr. George's speeches also make these much wider claims, yet the Bill as drawn by him after three years of consultation with Doctors and Friendly Societies, made no provision whatever for married women working at home (except 30s. maternity benefit), cut them out even from sanatorium and medical benefit, proposed to pay the married woman who worked for wage and insured herself, no sick pay at all during maternity, but only 30s. maternity benefit which was to be taken from the women's fund and laid upon the women's fund also the burden of the unmarried mother's maternity benefit and left unprovided the widow of an insured man except in the comparatively rare cases when the widow returned to an insurable employment.

We did not use language of the vigour and passion of one Liberal Member of Parliament who denounced the treatment of married women as "a foul blot upon the measure. A harsh and cruel

injustice," but we do consider that our cartoon—illustrating Mr. Lloyd George's own words, that "if there is any money left" when the men's benefits had been paid, it should go to the wife and children,—was not in the very least unfair as an illustration. Men, by their physical construction and by the part they play in the world's economy, are able to earn money wages for the work they do; women by their physical construction and by the part they play in the world's economy are, when mothers, largely unable to earn money wages for the work they do; but the work they do is no less vital to the well-being and in fact to the continued existence of the nation. The health of the child-bearing mother should, in our opinion, be a charge not upon the women, but upon the men of the country. The men get their higher wage largely on the assumption that they maintain the women and yet here we have a "National" Bill to insure against "loss of health" and for the "prevention and cure of sickness," which starts out with separate funds for men and for women and lays upon women (who for a large part of their lives are prevented by their necessary and national work from earning money wages) the whole charge of women's health and even the charge of maternity benefit for the unmarried mother! And consider: the man's 4d. will come in nearly all cases out of the housekeeping, not out of the man's pocket-money; the employer's 3d. may very likely be simply laid upon the cost of the articles produced and so raise prices, which women have to pay; the State's 2d. is paid out of taxes which are levied on women as on men; and finally, the cost of administration, Mr. George has told us (July 7th), will come not out of the Insurance Funds but from the State,—i.e., out of taxes. All men of the working classes were to be insured and the State was to pay 2d. a week for each one of them; the millions of married women of the working classes who cannot go out to earn wages, were not insured and the State was to pay nothing in respect of them for the whole of their married life.

This was the Bill as it left Mr. George's hands. Concessions have been made and the more important of them are not inconsiderable. We have been promised:—(1) The wage-earning, insured, married mother is to have not only 30s. from her husband's fund but 7s. 6d. a week from her own for maternity. As the Bill originally stood, she was to have only 30s. and that from the women's fund! The wage-earning, insured, unmarried mother is however still to get nothing but 30s. benefit and that is to come from the women's fund. The women's fund is to have charged upon it the cost of a man's desertion of his particular duty. Where is the equity of that? If you cannot make the individual man shoulder his responsibility, would it not be juster to make the community of men with their higher wages, make good the deficiency rather than the community of women with their lower wages? The unmarried mother ought of course, if insured, to draw the 7s. 6d. sick pay during disablement from maternity as from any other cause.

(2) Hopes are held out that married women may be admitted to sanatoria and medical benefit and that while in institutions they may even have sick pay to provide for a substitute in the home. To those who know how grievously women have injured their health by working in the home when unfit, this is perhaps the biggest concession of all. If only it is humanly and sensibly administered!

(3) Domestic servants and those who get board and lodging as part of their pay are to have special reduced contributions, probably to cover disablement and medical and sanatoria benefits.

(4) Women are to have choice of doctor or midwife and where the midwife has been obliged to call in a doctor, the payment of the doctor's fee is to be "sympathetically considered."

(5) Mr. George has promised that women shall be represented on the Advisory Boards and Health Committees.

It is very widely suspected that Mr. George is very much out indeed as to the number of widows that can possibly re-enter benefit. There are no conclusive statistics (as the Government actuaries admit, in their

official report) but it seems likely that as few as 5 per cent. of the widows of the working classes may be found to go back to an insurable employment. The women, therefore, in the original bill were most heavily penalized for marrying at all, since by marriage they lost all during marriage and something like 95 per cent. of the widows even got nothing. Something must be done to improve the hard and most undeserved cruel lot of widows.

The Bill has been improved in Committee, but it is in essence the same Bill and being conceived to fit men who work outside the home, it does not fit women, much of whose work is inside the home. It hits hardest those who are poorest and those are always the women. It sets a seal on the already too prevalent notion that cash value is all the value that counts. Worst of all, it taxes only women to make provision for a maternity for which a man is responsible and which he has shirked.

### Pit Brow Women and Legislation.

On August 1st in Committee on the Mines Bill, Mr. Atherley Jones protested against men miners being compelled by law to have baths; on August 2nd the same Mr. Atherley Jones demanded that the employment of women at pit-heads should be in future prohibited by law. The contrast is striking and instructive.

There are 5,188 women employed at pit-heads, 2,000 of these being in Scotland. The women are healthy and happy, they like their work and wish to continue in it; the statistics of morality shew that they are not an immoral class and their wages are not exceptionally low. But the Miners' Federation (all men) supported the amendment and in spite of protests from the women themselves, the amendment, which would prohibit women from following this work in future, was passed by 15 votes to 13. The majority was small, and the amendment was opposed by Mr. Stephen Welsh, M.P. for Ince, in whose division many of the women work, and by the Government. We hope and believe that it will not pass into law, but it is not amiss to consider what motives lead men to fuss about in this absurd way, and what their fussiness costs women.

It is not the first time that it has been proposed to abolish the "pit-brow lassies." Such a measure has been threatened before and defeated by the protests of the women themselves. Now it is again proposed, and again the women are having to defend their right to earn an honest livelihood. What is advanced against it? Sir A. B. Markham, who moved the amendment, maintained that the women had to push heavy trucks; other speakers objected that they got dirty with coal dust, and that they were exposed to the weather and, more vaguely, that it was "hard, dirty, repulsive work." Mr. Atherley Jones actually called it "foul" work, and spoke of its being an offence to "decency" that women should be doing it. Now the lives that many women have to lead within the sacred home are an "offence to decency," the shameful wages many women get and the dangers and risks of their employment, the bad ventilation, the interminable hours of confinement, all these are a "disgrace to civilisation," but we fail altogether to see how the lives of these pit-brow women can be so characterized.

For very many women as for many men, life in the open air with exercise is far better than sedentary life in stuffy rooms, and there is nothing "degrading" about coal-dust, even if it does not add to women's "charms." If the work were really so heavy, we should find that the women suffered from strain; but there is very little sickness among them, and no serious accidents, and at one colliery at Hindley it is actually stated that 30 out of the 90 women working were there on "doctors' orders." In fact, the work is a fine remedy for anaemia and phthisis. They have an eight or nine hour day too, which must cause them to be the envy of many a home-keeping woman, whose work is never done, and out of this they have an hour or an hour and a half for meals. Their wages average 10s. to 12s. a week, not high

certainly, but higher than many, and they only work five days.

What can be the reason of the Miners' Federation wishing to abolish these women? We have seen the same thing in the Edinburgh printing trade. They would like to turn out the women in order to find work for men. Where are the women to go? What are the women to do? That is not their concern. Perhaps they would say "Let the women become domestic servants. The demand there is greatly in excess of the supply. They will have better paid work, and work for which they are better fitted."

Now to our way of thinking, women are the best judges of that which "fits" them. It is not only that women of this class are not fitted for domestic service; it is that some women prefer an open-air life, and why should they not have it? It is, further, that you can only improve the conditions of domestic service by allowing freedom to women to pursue alternative employments. Formerly a "lady" could only be a governess and a "working girl" must be a servant. By the opening up of other employments both trades have been improved, and will be still further improved. It is constantly stated that domestic service is healthy, and so it is, under the most favourable conditions; but we still see wicked overcrowding of growing girls, who suffer from hernia and other internal troubles, varicose veins and strained hearts, inflamed knees and anaemia. The uncertainty and length of the hours, the closeness of the rooms, and the dreadful lack of freedom and companionship also make many girls feel they prefer any other life, while the statistics of illegitimate births shew that this class of women is the one most victimised by men. Because domestic service has the sanction of the ages, and because we of the comfortable classes all want to be served, it is still held up as the one kind of work most suitable for women, but quite a good case might be made out by anyone who set out to shew that much of our domestic service is very like slavery, and as such is a "disgrace to civilisation,"—much more so than the work of the free, jolly, healthy, red-faced pit-brow girl.

Well, they came to London last week, over two score of them, in clogs and shawls, and clattered up to the House of Commons in charge of Mr. and Mrs. Sam Wood (Mayor and Mayoress of Wigan), and there were also local doctors, parsons, and colliery managers, good men and true, all ready to speak for them, and they were received at the Home Office by Mr. Masterman, who had defended them the day before, and who spoke words of good sense and good cheer to them; Mr. Neville, Mr. Walsh, and Mr. Harwood Banner also defended them, and we hope Sir A. B. Markham felt a little foolish. To quote Mr. Masterman's own words: "The chief impression raised in his mind was that the arguments used were a proof of the need of the extension of the franchise to women, so that a question of that kind, which was essentially a women's question, might be decided by themselves. When he found that the Miners' Federation of Great Britain was opposed to the employment of women on the pit banks, and that it was composed entirely of men, the women having no voice in it, the impression their decision made on him was considerably weakened in his mind. He thought the argument was unanswerable that if they had an occupation for women which was acknowledged to be healthy and not dangerous to their limbs or their morals, a men's Parliament selected by men had no right to prevent that occupation."

Mr. Masterman suggested that the women should set to work to convert the Members of Parliament who had voted against them, and this is what they will have to do if they want to keep the work for those who follow them. But we should like our readers to realize that these perpetual assaults on their means of subsistence are constantly being made by men who have power on women who have none, and that it is unfair and wrong to exact from women that they should be always spending money and effort in merely defending their "life, honour and liberty" against the assaults of men. It is a poor sort of "protection" which takes such shapes.



### The Women and the Umbrellas.

It happen'd some women were out in the rain; They sought for protection, but sought it in vain, Till one of their number said "Look over there! Those men have a lot of umbrellas to spare. Let us ask for their help," and so she, with the rest, Approached them and proffer'd her modest request. The men burst out laughing as soon as they spoke, And viewed their demand as an excellent joke. But when they had argued and argued again, Until they were perfectly soaked by the rain, When some had adopted a desperate course, And attempted to snatch the umbrellas by force, When a great deal of patience and time had been spent, Then some of the men seemed inclined to relent. They said "It is clear we should grant the request Of those who are richly and handsomely dressed, They must have umbrellas or else it is plain They can never protect their nice clothes from the rain." But others declared they were perfectly sure That they first should consider the needs of the poor, For the clothing they wore was so threadbare and thin They would otherwise simply be soaked to the skin. They reason'd, and wrangled, and "begged to explain," While all of the women were drenched by the rain, Till one, who was really in earnest, said "Come, If we cannot help all, we at least must help some." And he thought out a plan, which the women thought good, Treating each class as fairly as ever he could. "It is not perfection," they said, "for no doubt We shall most of us still have to manage without, But those with umbrellas will all do their best, To afford what protection they can to the rest." But some of the men "saw no reason or sense In indulging the rich at the workers' expense." (Though it chanced that the workers, to almost a man, Did all that they could in support of the plan.) "Give umbrellas to girls!" exclaimed some. "It's a shame! Their mothers have surely a paramount claim!" Though the mothers, unheeded, were arguing thus—"The girls' getting wet is no comfort to us! They will give us what shelter they can, I am sure, And at least we shall be no worse off than before." I am sorry to say they are arguing yet While all of the women are out in the wet; For some of the men have adopted the view That they will not help all, though they might help a few, While others protest that when all's said and done, They will offer umbrellas to all or to none. But while they are talking, they must not forget That the women are getting most terribly wet!

G. M. GEORGE.

### An Appeal to the Anti-suffrage Women.

Now that the great Suffrage Procession is over with its very striking evidence of the strength and tenacity of thousands of women (representing many other thousands) in their struggle for the vote, seems to me the opportune moment to appeal to the Anti-Suffrage women to come over to our side and I should like to give some reasons for this appeal. I must first mention that though an ardent suffragist of many years standing my lines have been cast in somewhat anti-suffrage surroundings, or rather I might say where the tone in past years has been one of complete indifference to and ignorance of the causes of the struggle, so that when discussion of the subject has been initiated by me it has been the means of my hearing the views of the opposition more fully than would perhaps otherwise have been the case.

I will divide these opponents into 5 classes for brevity's sake, with their views tabulated below.

BEFORE DISCUSSION.

AFTER DISCUSSION.

1. Those who say they 1. Admit that they had do not know much about no idea so much could be

Women's Suffrage and do not feel clever enough to enter into discussion.

2. Those who tell me they do not intend to be drawn into the controversy and are quite satisfied with their own home conditions.

3. Those who say men have behaved very well to them and they are quite sure that man rule is the best.

4. Those who call themselves anti-suffragists, i.e., have joined a league and work for it.

5. Those who call themselves strong anti-suffragists, i.e., have joined a league and work for it.

I now place the numbers in a row and draw one conclusion therefrom, viz., that all 5 classes are really in favour of the principle i.e., that some qualified women should vote.

Of course, as may readily be seen, the difference of opinion in the 5 classes is enormous, but I maintain with the greatest confidence that with the principle once admitted as a basis and ample opportunities for instruction, discussion and greatest of all mutual intercourse and friendship between now and the next moving of the Suffrage Bill in Parliament, we shall not only find our opponents turned into supporters but a splendid united body of women that will be fit and worthy to use the vote they have fought for and who will be welcomed by the best men of the nation as true help-mates both in word and in deed.

CAROLINE WILKINSON.

### Text of the Bill.

The Bill popularly known as the "Conciliation Bill," which was introduced by Sir George Kemp and passed its Second Reading on May 5th 1911 by a majority of 167 (only 88 voting against), reads as follows:—

#### A BILL TO CONFER THE PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE ON WOMEN.

- Be it enacted, etc.
1. Every woman possessed of a household qualification within the meaning of the Representation of the People Act (1884) shall be entitled to be registered as a voter, and when registered to vote for the County or Borough in which the qualifying premises are situate.
  2. For the purpose of this Act, a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being registered as a voter, provided that a husband and wife shall not both be registered as voters in the same Parliamentary Borough or County Division.
  3. This Act may be cited as The Representation of the People Act, 1911.

It will be seen that this Bill would not give the vote to all women, nor to women "on the same terms as men," but only to women householders, whether married or unmarried.

said in favour of women voting, that they would like to know more and would certainly read any literature sent them.

2. Admit that there is very much to be said in favour of women voting and that many other women's home conditions are very bad, but hold firmly that they do not wish to fight or to be drawn into the struggle.

3. Seem perfectly amazed on being shewn Lady Maclaren's booklet or pamphlets showing the injustice of many laws affecting women and consider our case to be much stronger than they had any idea of.

4. Usually say that they are sure we shall get the vote in time, but the time is not yet and they signed the petition chiefly as a protest against unladylike behaviour.

5. Usually say they would go so far as to give the vote to women of property only, but think the disadvantages of extending the franchise so greatly outweigh the advantages that they will work tooth and nail to oppose it.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
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### The "Latchkey" Decision.

The following is the opinion of the Editor of "Law Reports":—

"Very much as we expected. The decision will make no difference in the rural districts, and with regard to London and the large towns, it will not, so far as can be anticipated, make any material difference in the number of voters. It applies *only* to cases where the landlord resides on the premises; and the revising barristers had already anticipated the decision of the Court by disallowing the votes in *those* cases, so the decision will make little difference.

In any case, the latchkey voter can get himself put on the rate book and vote although his rates are paid by the landlord or some other person. This would, of course, apply to female occupiers. It becomes unnecessary to consider the lodger question. The statement that the 'latchkey voter is dead' is nonsense."

ARTHUR P. STONE.

Mr. Foote, Counsel in the case before the Court of Appeal on July 27, concurred.

### In Parliament.

#### AN AUTUMN SESSION.

The Insurance Bill was taken in Committee every day last week except Thursday and on that day Mr. Lloyd George stated that the proceedings in committee would be suspended after Friday 4th, to be resumed about the end of October or beginning of November. It was proposed that the House should rise on Friday 18th.

#### PAYMENT OF MEMBERS.

Mr. George gave notice on August 4th that on Thursday 10th he would move the following resolution:—"That in the opinion of this House provision should be made for the payment of a salary at the rate of £400 a year to any member of this House, excluding any member who is for the time being in receipt of a salary as an officer of the House or as a Minister or as an officer of His Majesty's Household."

#### HEALTH COMMITTEES TO ADMINISTER.

On Monday and Tuesday the effects of the Insurance Bill on hospitals and what should be done with the benefits of patients in hospitals were subjects of discussion. An amendment proposed on Tuesday by Dr. Addison to transfer the administration of medical benefit from "approved societies" to "local Health Committees" was accepted by Mr. George and passed by an overwhelming majority.

#### PROTECTING MEN.

On (c) in subsection (2) of Clause 13 (which provides that "women shall not be visited otherwise than by women") Mr. Booth moved an amendment which he subsequently withdrew, which added the words, "and men by men," explaining that he was anxious lest men should be "displaced by women and turned adrift." He suggested that married men, or men with sisters should be appointed agents, so that the women attached to the men by family ties should visit insured women!

#### AN INCOME LIMIT.

On Wednesday an attempt to introduce a wage limit of £2 a week was opposed by Mr. George and defeated, but local option was given to enable health committees to require any persons whose income exceeds a limit to be fixed by them to make their own arrangements and Mr. George accepted this.

#### MATERNITY BENEFITS.

In reply to a question from Mr. Philip Snowden, on August 3rd, the Chancellor of the Exchequer replied:—

"Under the Bill as proposed to be amended by the amendment which I have put down, maternity benefit will be payable as follows:—

"In the case of a married woman who is an insured person, out of the husband's fund, if he is an insured person, and if he is not an insured person, out of the wife's fund; in the case of a married woman who is not an insured person, out of her husband's fund; and in the case of an unmarried woman who is an insured person, out of her fund."

We beg to call the attention of our readers to the fact that this answer shews we were in error in stating (P. 281, July 27th, 1911) that the unmarried mother was to have maternity benefit from the men's fund. It seems that maternity benefit is to be paid for out of the "women's pool" in two cases: (1) for all unmarried insured mothers and (2) for married, insured mothers whose husbands are not insured.

On Friday, subsection (2) of Clause 16 (prescribing how maternity benefit shall be paid) was deleted, the manner being left to the discretion of the approved society or local health committee; a further amendment of Mr. Keir Hardie's was accepted which states that the mother shall decide whether she shall be attended by a registered medical practitioner or by a duly certified midwife, and shall have free choice in the selection of such practitioner or midwife.

Mr. McKenna promised, on behalf of the Government that the case should be "sympathetically considered" of the woman who, as the wife of an insured person was receiving maternity benefit but not medical benefit, and who had been obliged (for special reasons provided under the Midwives Act) to call in a doctor in addition to the midwife.

#### A REVIEW.

Clause 17 having been passed on Friday 4th, Mr. Lloyd George summarized the progress made and the amendments accepted. It had been agreed, he said, that the scheme should (1) be compulsory (2) "should universally apply to the industrial classes of the country," (3) should be worked through friendly societies. In speaking of the amendments, he drew attention to (1) extended sanatoria treatment "within the limits of their resources," to women and children of insured persons (2) the concessions to doctors in allowing free choice of doctor (3) the administration of medical benefit by health committees. With regard to women he drew attention to the fact that the Government had "consented to consider proposals which would enable married women who had been contributors to continue their contributions for modified benefits during the time of marriage." Medical and sanatoria benefits he thought they might have and sick pay when they were in institutions. In addition to these concessions there is the further concession that an insured married woman is to have 7s. 6d. a week sick pay in addition to the 30s. maternity benefit from her husband's fund.

#### THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE TWO PARTS OF THE BILL.

An interesting and important admission was made by Mr. G. Roberts (Lab., Norwich) who said: "The Labour Party were anxious to do what they could, consistently with full deliberation on Part I., to get it through as early as possible. They wanted to make certain that Part II. was running no risk. The great bulk of the trade unionists desired Part II., and, whatever action the Labour Party took, they would be guided by the wish to get Part II. through this Session in company with Part I. (Cheers.) If they failed to secure Part II., Part I. would not be quite acceptable to them."

Now Part II. deals with unemployment in trades followed by men only and the Labour Party is so anxious to get Part II. enacted that they are willing to sink many of their objections to Part I. Mr. Lloyd George knew this perfectly well and made the Sickness and Unemployment parts of one Bill in the belief that the Unemployment portion, popular with electors, would pull through the less popular Sickness portion.



## NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

**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.

**Hon. Secretaries:** Miss K. D. COURTNEY. **President:** Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.  
**Hon. Secretary:** Miss EDITH PALLISER (Parliamentary). **Hon. Secretary to Press Committee:** Miss EMILY M. LEAF.  
**Telegrams:** "Voiceless, London." **Hon. Sec. to Literature Committee:** Miss I. B. O'MALLEY. Telephone: 1960 Victoria.  
**Offices:** Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

### From Headquarters.

#### HOLIDAY WORK.

Will all members of the N.U. who are staying at holiday resorts send us their names and addresses, so that we may put them into communication with the Secretary of the nearest Society? Special work is being undertaken by Miss Hatty Baker in Cornwall during the whole of August; by Miss Fawcett, Miss Sheepshanks, and Miss Franklin in Lincolnshire after August 14th; by Mrs. Darlington in Blackpool till August 20, after that in Scarborough. Any members of the N.U. who will be in those districts are asked to let us know and we will at once send them names and addresses of organisers.

We should also like to remind members that they could do much by distributing literature. A list of our publications appears in this number of the "C.C.," and those who cannot spare much time might expend a few shillings on leaflets and leave them at hotels, waiting-rooms, etc.

#### NEW SOCIETIES.

Four new Societies have just joined the National Union:—Accrington, Berkhamstead, Heathfield, and Leven. It is interesting to note that three of these are in constituencies represented by strong Anti-Suffragists. Accrington is represented by Mr. Harold Baker, Berkhamstead by Mr. Arnold Ward, and Leven by Mr. Asquith. One wonders whether these and other Anti-Suffragist members have any idea of the light in which the payment of members appears to Suffragists.

The proposal is to be dealt with on Thursday and Friday this week, and a Whip was at once sent out from headquarters urging all M.P.'s to support the amendment put down by Mr. Walter McLaren.

### Treasurer's Notes.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE GENERAL FUND.

JULY 28th—AUGUST 3rd, 1911.		£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged since Nov. 1st, 1910...	1,558	15	10	½
Donations—				
Mrs. C. H. Jolliffe		0	10	0
Mrs. Fagan		1	1	0
Collected by Miss M. A. Sloane		0	10	0
Subscriptions—				
Mrs. Coombe Tennant		0	10	0
Miss Margaret Hare		0	2	0
Lady Clayton		1	1	0
Miss B. A. Clough		25	0	0
Countess Cairns		1	1	0
Mrs. McCarthy		0	5	0
Mrs. Greig		0	5	0
Miss A. Payne		0	2	0
Mrs. Hervey		0	10	0
Miss A. Hervey		0	5	0
Miss M. Radford		0	5	0
Mrs. Powell		0	1	0
Mrs. Rawson		0	5	0
Affiliation Fees—				
Leven W.S.S.		0	6	3
Heathfield and District W.S.S.		0	5	9
Seaforth W.S.S.		0	17	6
		£1,591	16	4½

#### FOR SPECIAL WORK IN SUPPORT OF THE CONCILIATION BILL.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	1,117	2	6
Mrs. A. M. Alliott	1	0	0
"A Sister"	10	10	0
	£1,128	12	6

HELENA AUERBACH.

### Literature Department.

The National Union has one more new leaflet to offer this week. It is called "WHAT WORKING PEOPLE SAY ABOUT THE CONCILIATION BILL" and contains lists of Trade and Labour Councils and of Trade Unions and Federations which have passed resolutions in favour of the Conciliation Bill. We owe this valuable leaflet to the kindness of Miss Gore Booth, of the Lancashire and Cheshire Women's Textile Representative Committee, by whom it was originally compiled. Its number is B. 38, and its price 1s. per 100, 8s. per 1,000.

In view of the discussion in Parliament on payment of members, I should like to remind Societies and members that we have a handbill on the subject, addressed to Women Taxpayers, which might well be given away broadcast. The price has been reduced to 9d. per 100 for this occasion.

Suffragists who are doing work among school teachers, according to the Edinburgh Council Resolution, will be glad to learn that the Memorial of Headmistresses of Secondary schools to the Prime Minister (1909), originally sold at 1d. each, has been reduced to 9d. per 100, and is therefore within the reach of those who want to give it away in quantities while doing propaganda work. Another old but useful leaflet which will be good for giving away at the present crisis is "To Adult Suffragists." 1d. per 100.

Please notice our lists of pamphlets and leaflets in the advertisement columns. The names given are only some among many! Our literature is varied, and that it is also fresh may be judged from the fact that within the last fortnight we have sent specimens of eight new or revised leaflets round to the Societies. We hope they will encourage us by buying largely in spite of the slack season.

I. B. O'MALLEY.

### "The Common Cause."

#### MRS. DARLINGTON'S WORK.

Vigorous efforts are being made all round the coast to make known "The Common Cause" as the organ of the National Union. From Penzance to St. Andrews members of the local societies are working to place copies of the paper in reading rooms, hotels, hydros, working men's clubs, and every other place where "The Common Cause" would be useful in educating the country. Permission has been obtained in many large cities to place "The Common Cause" in the public libraries, and it is hoped that members who cannot take a more active part in propaganda work will pay for one or more copies for this purpose, through their local secretary. For instance, Manchester has 24 free libraries, and the Manchester Society has permission to place "The Common Cause" in them all. Already the secretary has two subscriptions for this purpose, and as soon as the members come back after their summer holidays, it is hoped the rest will be received. The Blackheath Society has placed the paper in eight libraries in its district, and these are only two of the many places which are doing this kind of work.

Mrs. Darlington had an encouraging week in Berwickshire, and there should now be no difficulty in getting the paper in every part of that county. Among those newspapers who are known to supply the paper are:—

Miss Aikman, 4, Castle Street, Duns, N.B.  
 Mr. Buglass, Chirnside, Berwick-on-Tweed.  
 Mr. Newell, 24, Castle Gate, Berwick-on-Tweed.  
 Mr. Miller, Hide Hill, Berwick-on-Tweed.  
 Miss Gray, 7 and 9, High Street, Berwick-on-Tweed.  
 Mr. Plenderleith, bookseller, Berwick-on-Tweed.

This week and next Mrs. Darlington is working in Blackpool, with very few helpers, as most members of the Blackpool Society are away. Any member going to Blackpool, Lytham, St. Annes, or Fleetwood, who can give a few hours to Suffrage work is asked to write and let Mrs. Darlington know. Her address is 125, Hornby Road, Blackpool.

On the 21st August Mrs. Darlington goes to Scarborough, where the Society is already working in view of her visit. Visitors to Scarborough might let Mrs. Catt know if they can give any help. The address of the Scarborough Society is 8, Falconer's Chambers, Huntriss Row, Scarborough.

### By-election.

#### MIDDLETON.

Result: Sir Ryland Adkins (L.) ..... 6,863  
 Professor Hewins (U.) ..... 6,452

Liberal majority ..... 411

Although Sir Ryland Adkins was not satisfactory enough to be supported by the National Union, he was more satisfactory than Prof. Hewins who was an avowed Anti. Sir Ryland will vote for the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill and is ready to meet his constituents with regard to the Third Reading.

The whole division is undoubtedly prepared to support the Conciliation Bill, and there should be little difficulty in getting overwhelming representations made to Sir Ryland Adkins when he comes to consult his constituents before he casts his vote on the Third Reading of the Bill. The general impression left on the minds of all speakers and workers has been the same. The county (in the North at any rate) no longer requires conversion. It does approve the principle embodied in the Conciliation Bill. All we have to do is to make it see that the Conciliation Bill does embody the principle of which it approves.

### Holiday Work.

#### Work in Cornwall.

Miss Hatty Baker was to address a drawing-room meeting on the National Insurance Bill at Mrs. Bache's on Saturday afternoon and in the evening she was giving an address on the Religious Aspect of the Suffrage. On Monday she was to be in Sennen and on Tuesday to have a public meeting at Pendeen. Miss Jones was taking the sailors' wives in Mousehole and Marazion. Wednesday is to see them in Liskeard and there is to be a garden fête at Doublebois with another address on the Insurance Bill.

As a result of the meeting on August 5th, one lady offered to take 2 dozen "Common Causes" regularly on sale or return. Miss Baker is making a special feature of pushing the sale of the organ of the National Union everywhere.

### Organization.

#### EAST MIDLAND FEDERATION CARAVAN TOUR.

On the conclusion of the tour in the West Midlands, Miss Helga Gill and the caravan will start from Burton-on-Trent on August 21st for work in the East Midland area. The constituencies selected are South Derbyshire, Mid Northants and South Northants. A portion of Leicestershire will also be visited en route.

The following is the probable itinerary for Derbyshire and Northants:—

**DERBYSHIRE.**—August 21st to 26th: Burton-on-Trent, Repton, Chellaston, Melbourne, Ticknall, Swadlincote, Evesley, Coton and Fullington.

**NORTHANTS.**—August 30th to September 5th: Welford, Long Buckby, Crick, Daventry, Weedon, Byfield, Towcester and Brackley.

Miss A. M. Dowson, Upper Broughton, Melton Mowbray, will gratefully receive offers of hospitality or of help in getting up meetings, from Suffragists living near the line of route.

### Federation Notes.

#### West Riding of Yorks.

##### DONATIONS TO ORGANISER'S FUND.

Mrs. Alfred Illingworth, 25 guineas (£26 5s.).  
 Miss I. O. Ford, one month's expenses.  
 Miss C. Wray, one month's expenses.

A. M. FOSTER.

#### West Midland.

Mrs. Harley writes "The Demonstration at Stratford on July 25th has borne excellent fruit in converting the Mayor, Mr. Alderman Deer from an Anti. into a keen Suffragist and he now offers help to the Cause."

### Local Councils and the Bill.

The Wrexham Town Council has unanimously passed a resolution in support of the Conciliation Bill.

### Thoughts as Well as Deeds.

We as Suffragists are hoping our long-drawn-out struggle is nearing its end, but we must also realize that this is the moment to concentrate all our energies. We must go on, never hesitating, never losing the tight grip—holding fast to that sense of right which in the past has enabled us to overcome all difficulties.

I have recently canvassed the Town Councils of three South-Western towns, and have had various and interesting experiences of the attitude of mind of the men-folk in regard to our demand for the franchise. From a man who is a pronounced Anti-Suffragist one comes away with one's spirit little daunted. One knows the type, and realizes that he fears the change may not make things better for him, but it might perchance make things worse. But what is to be done with the man who says sweetly: "My dear madam, I quite see the justice of your claim. I have said for years the woman who pays rates and taxes should have the Parliamentary vote," yet when one says (feeling very encouraged), "Then I may rely on your vote when the resolution is put?" answers, "Oh! no. I could not promise that, you see, we are there to arrange municipal matters, and we really cannot take up time with an outside thing like Women's Suffrage."! He then adds conciliatingly, "You know you will get it in time, if you are patient." With these words the busy man bows you out, feeling he has been so kind in having given you ten minutes of his valuable time.

All this makes one come away with a feeling of hopeless resentment, and makes one wonder what lever can be used to further our cause.

It takes a big courage to go on and on with no weapon! No wonder sometimes our hearts fail us, and we are inclined to think it is all time thrown away! But then comes the wonderful part of it. When we realize that no word in the cause of truth and justice is ever lost, and that we are building, in the invisible world around us, thought-forms which send out vibrations the power of which we can never analyze. Powerful thoughts envelop and surround us; convincing first of all the people near us, then the community at large, and finally spreading in ever-widening circles, until countries, continents—the whole world—is gradually permeated by the forceful thoughts of the workers in this great woman movement.

If we could once convince ourselves of the truth of this invisible power, we should never falter or get downhearted, knowing that all our thoughts of a gloriously free and emancipated womanhood will one day so fill the air that every one will be thinking of it, in spite of themselves, perhaps never knowing just when and how they were convinced.

So let us not undervalue the power of thought any more than spoken word; for powerful thoughts of truth and justice are near akin to prayer.

S. NORMA-SMITH.

### The Baptist Union Conference.

For the first time in the history of the Baptist Union a woman has been appointed Secretary to the Baptist Union Conference. The lady who has thus been distinguished is Mrs. W. Lawson, a member of the Committee of the Brighton and Hove Women's Franchise Society (N.U.W.S.S.). As Secretary to the Conference, the organisation of the Baptist Congress to be held in Brighton this year, will be in her hands.

### Women's Suffrage in New South Wales.

Speaking in Manchester on July 9th the Prime Minister of New South Wales, Mr. Cowen, said: On the question of franchise, people in this country seemed very much afraid that women would become less womanly if they were enfranchised, but that had been disproved by experience in Australia, where the possession of the vote by women had left them every bit as good mothers. The vote had vastly raised the level of intellect among women and had brought a new moral quality into political affairs.



## Foreign News.

Those of our readers who are going to Stockholm in September to the meeting of the International Council of Women, may be interested to hear of "The Ladies' Hotel" in Copenhagen (in the Ladies' Reading Club Building, 1, Gammel Mønt), where rooms may be had from 2 kroner upwards. It is kept by suffragists, and situated in the centre of the town, where it may prove a convenient stopping-place on the way. (Jus Suffragi.)

## SWEDEN.

The members of the Swedish Woman Suffrage Association are at present devoting their energies to the forthcoming elections to the Second Chamber, and are working hard in support of those parties which have taken up Women's Suffrage on their programme, and who have worked for it in Parliament. The recently formed Swedish Men's League will doubtless prove a most helpful ally in this campaign.

## HUNGARY.

Our Hungarian sisters have been undergoing some trying ordeals of late at the various open-air meetings for universal suffrage at which they also attempted to put in a few words; at one place it proved to be only an attempt, as the noise made by her opponents prevented the speaker from being heard. But as a rule their resolution was carried unanimously. The Men's League, formed after the International Conference at Stockholm, has held its first meeting, followed by a lecture on the mental faculties of women and women's suffrage.

## GERMANY.

This seems to be a year of International Congresses and Exhibitions, for no sooner was our own most interesting Convention in Stockholm concluded than a Conference on Hygiene and Women Suffrage was arranged in Dresden, under the auspices of the International Hygiene Exhibition. Two most interesting days were spent in discussing questions affecting the general health of the community, such as the protection of working women and children, the care of the young, the suppression of prostitution. It was all summed up at a large public meeting, devoted entirely to women's suffrage, where great stress was laid on the importance of women's votes for the good of the family, the parish and the State—for until women are recognised as citizens, much will remain undone in the important field of public health.

## SWITZERLAND.

Miss von. Petzold, from Birmingham, is the first woman who has been permitted to preach in a church in Zurich, where she took part in a Sunday evening service, and preached from the pulpit. Two days later she addressed a large audience on the subject of "The rights of women in the Christian Church," showing that a minister of the Gospel needs just those qualities of heart and mind which are usually considered as being particularly characteristic of women.

## Sweated Workers and the Insurance Bill.

A public meeting was held at the Caxton Hall, Thursday, July 27th, under the auspices of the National Anti-Sweating League, to consider the position of Sweated Workers under the provisions of the National Insurance Bill. Miss Clementina Black took the chair at 3.30. Lord Henry Bentinck, M.P., expressed himself as sincerely in favour of the principles of the Insurance Bill, but said that the discussions in the House of Commons revealed the fact that from the Sweated Worker's point of view, it needed some re-construction. Speaking as a Conservative, he agreed that it was the business of the State to come forward and help workers to insure against sickness, and to prevent the increase of underpaid labour in the country which produced inefficiency and put a bar to future progress. He was supporting amendments to relieve the Sweated Worker, but he feared that even if they were admitted, the employer's contribution would eventually fall on the worker. The Bill did not meet the problem of casual employment, and he had no solution to offer beyond the suggestion that the clauses relating to the Sweated Worker should be deferred to future consideration, when the prevention of the sweating system might also be faced. He moved the following resolution, "That this meeting, believing that in the case of workers whose wages fall below a bare subsistence level, there is no margin, which permits even a penny premium, urges that there should be no reduction in respect to the benefit conferred upon such workers by the National Insurance Bill." Mrs. Lowin who seconded the resolution spoke as a working woman who had experienced the hardships of a Sweated Worker. Her words, full of pathos, gave a simple and very sad description of the struggles of the class for whom she was speaking. The factory hands, she said, most of whom get a few months' unemployment during the year, would all get into arrears. She knew from her own experience that such women spent 1½d. a day on their mid-day meal, and had often nothing but a miserable tea afterwards. On Friday the woman often went without a mid-day meal altogether because she was short of money. Was it fair to ask such people to pay 3d. a week, which would mean going without mid-day meals for two more days? Then there was the case of the

girl who lives in lodgings with a woman who relies on her to help pay the rent. If such a girl gets ill, she must go into the hospital, and then the benefit would be claimed by the hospital, and she loses it. That is not all! When she returns, she will probably find the woman has been obliged to take in another girl, and she will be turned out of the house, and will have to look for another friend, and a "good friend" she added "is not always easy to find for girls in our class of life." She had spoken to many factory workers about the Insurance Bill, and asked them how they would manage with the 3d. deducted from their wages. They had always answered they would have to go without food.

Mr. Snowden declared his belief that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer could have heard the moving words of the last speaker, they could not have failed to influence his opinion with regard to the Sweated Workers under the Bill. He thought that the present National Insurance Bill differed from past legislation in this fact, that whereas former measures had sought above all to give relief to those who could protect themselves least, the present Bill chiefly helped those who could best help themselves. He therefore criticised it because it departed from a well-established policy. He emphatically protested that in low-paid trades, compulsory deduction from wages would lessen by that amount the food supply for the family. Mr. Lloyd George had said that without this contribution there would be pauperisation, but he asked whether old age pensions and free education had produced this. Such a statement would imply that even a minimum wage would be pauperising because it had been established by the State. As a matter of fact the effect had been the reverse. Let a clear sense of responsibility exist with a realisation that one must work in co-operation with one's fellows, but for the Chancellor of the Exchequer or others to talk about self-respect in relation to people who could scarcely keep body and soul together was insulting. The majority of poor women workers earn less than 15s. per week; this applied to two-thirds of those working in the clothing trade. An additional burden of 3d. per week really amounted not to State charity but to robbery. Two million women every week had to keep a family of five on £1, perhaps less. He did not believe in employers' contributions at all, but least of all in low paid trades. Under the Wages Board Act the minimum wage in certain trades was very low, sometimes 2½d. an hour; the only justification for such a wage lay in the fact that the industry could not bear a higher one; but if by this Bill it meant that the employers must pay the additional 5d. and 6d. per week extra, a new burden was going to be imposed on that industry. It could either bear

West Heath School,  
Hampstead.

[ESTABLISHED 1897.]

A SCHOOL where Boys and Girls are educated together, and where they learn the respect for each other and gain the wholesome and natural knowledge of one another which is a foundation for all that is best in the mutual relations of men and women.

Children are received from the ages of six to eighteen; thus obviating the disastrous break at thirteen or fourteen years of age, in the continuity of their intellectual work, which is a necessity (for moral reasons) in schools where boys and girls are educated separately.

At West Heath School the Boys and Girls share each other's pursuits, whether in work, games or leisure (with certain obvious exceptions). They have, in fact, in this respect the freedom of a large family, in conjunction with the help due to the supervision of a staff of experienced educationists.

At the same time, the even proportion in the staff of men and women gives ample opportunity for the association of boys with men and girls with women, which must be an inherent characteristic of any true system of co-education. Where boys and girls are thus brought up, false ideas as to predominance find no acceptance, and a standard, honest in being alike for all, is upheld.

Particulars can be had from the Principal.

Reference is allowed to the

REV. CANON SCOTT HOLLAND, D.D., St. Paul's, E.C.,  
and  
MISS JANE WALKER, M.D., 122, Harley Street, W.

it, or it could not. The extra burden would fall on the worker, who in these cases has no Trades Union to protect him. The alternative would be to displace this human labour by machinery. In cases where wages were so low, Mr. Snowden said he would place the whole responsibility on the State. He would like to see the Bill amended in such a way, that it really carried out the principles which Mr. Lloyd George had so rhetorically advocated. Mrs. Pember Reeves added some terrible reflections on the budgets of the poorest working classes, and Miss Clementina Black declared that certain investigators had reported that charwomen had been described as a class as presenting a more healthy appearance than other women workers. They had discovered that the cause of this lay in the fact that women who had employment of this sort received at least one good meal a day. The resolution proposed by Lord Henry Bentinck was then re-read and carried unanimously.

## Driven to the River.

Oh the wind is bitter blowing from the East unto the West,  
And the swift, swift river's flowing North and South—  
It is calling, calling to me with sweet promises of rest  
And dreams of wet cool kisses for my mouth.

There close gathered to its bosom will my heart no longer  
wake  
To shudder at the long, long ache of life—  
No more in that grey twilight will my scanty slumber break  
To the endless toil and wearing useless strife.

Hope nor Future lies before me—whirring wheels from day  
to day—  
A blighted youth—a starved and wretched age—  
"Work, work," cruel voices bid me—"Linger not to rest or  
play—  
Work, white slave—and claim your paltry woman's wage!"

In my heart are human longings—Oh! great world that  
wrongs me so—  
Think, sweet mothers, with your dainty daughters safe;  
Pause, fond fathers, shielding those you love from ev'ry care  
and woe—  
Take some thought for the oppressed down-trodden waif.

I have dared to dream of happiness—have dared to dream of  
love,  
To picture scenes where life was passing sweet;  
But away such 'witching madness—Fate relentless shrieks  
above,  
"Work and starve in winter cold and summer heat."

I must hasten—courage fails me—Oh! I know I dare not  
wait—  
Pleasure woos me who am still so slight and young—  
I who love all things of beauty must go fearful soon and late  
To be tempted by the serpent's silver tongue.

Nay, they tell me God is living—let Him judge my woman's  
cause,  
Let Him judge the bitter strife 'twixt man and me—  
For sure were women working under better, juster laws  
This wild act of mad despairing need not be.

Cold Death will give me comfort—Oh! River bring me  
dreams!  
Oh! Winds make murmur'ing music in mine ears  
So I may forget the past—but oh! my God, how hard it seems  
That life has only brought me work and tears!

Oh! the rushing river claims me—flowing ever North and  
South—  
It is luring me with promises of rest,  
With dear dreams of long cool kisses pressed upon my hungry  
month,  
With deep dreams of charmed slumber on its breast.  
MARY M. CUNCHOD (MYRA).

## Reviews.

Messrs. J. W. Arrowsmith, Ltd., have published a new and cheaper edition (in crown 8vo. size, price 2s. net) of "Josephine Butler: An Autobiographical Memoir," edited by G. W. and L. A. Johnson. The original edition at 6s. net, published two years ago, has met with considerable success, and it is hoped that the cheaper issue will make the book accessible to a still larger public. A certain amount of revision has been made in the text, and an index added. A picture of Josephine Butler is included as a frontispiece.

In *The Essentials of Self-government*, by E. T. Powell (Longmans, 1909), we have a statement of the intricacies of registration and election. The author has several suggestions to make for bringing the House of Commons more into harmony with the electorate—e.g., he suggests that a Redistribution Bill, so much hated by the party official, whose calculations it disturbs, should be passed at each census. He advo-

cates proportional representation, and would do away with the absurdity under which one vote in Durham equals five in Manchester and eighteen in Romford. The author rightly condemns the present system under which outside organisations spend large sums of money for election expenses, and are asked for no account. He favours the registration of all canvassers and restrictions in the use of posters. By making election expenses date back, he would check the habit of "nursing" a constituency. He favours payment of members and of returning officers and other expenses from the public funds, with a right to demand reimbursement in the case of hopeless candidature. He would make it an official duty to put the qualified voter on the register as it is now to put him on the rate-book. The qualifying period should be three months, and supplements to the register should be made quarterly. The author would punish false statements made at elections, and would limit the number of conveyances, allowing them only for the infirm and sick. He also suggests that 55 per cent. of the total electorate, probably 60 per cent. to 70 per cent. of the effective strength, should have a right to dismiss a candidate. This, he contends, would be a much better test of the feeling of the country than the present by-election.

There are one or two points on election law needing a word of comment. The author does not appear to refer to the fact that the Presiding Officer, either through ignorance or carelessness, often allows papers not bearing the official mark to be put into the ballot box. This is serious, as the entry of even one such paper enables a most effective method of bribery to be carried on for the rest of the day. The author is, we think, wrong in saying that allowing the candidates and their agents to see the ballot papers as they come out of the boxes from the various districts does not "imperil the secrecy of a single vote." In a small place the agents know well how 90 per cent. to 95 per cent. of the electorate will go, and the knowledge of how the remaining 5 per cent. to 10 per cent. (say twenty or thirty voters) have actually voted tells them with almost absolute certainty how the particular men they want to know about (just the men the ballot is framed to protect) have gone. For this reason the Returning Officer in a district one knows very well, at the recent election, for the first time kept the candidates' agents back from the counting table until the individual boxes were checked and the ballot papers thoroughly mixed. One wonders if 5 per cent. of the Returning Officers of the whole kingdom took this course. The difficulty is that the agents for all the candidates want the information, and the Returning Officer bends feebly to the general wish.

The book is a useful book of reference on the complicated subject it treats of, but one ventures to doubt whether it will prove quite as epoch-making as the elaborate description on the title page and the four canons of self-government might lead one to expect. FRANK LEIGH.

## 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.

## MR. ASQUITH'S PLEDGES.

Fully concurring in your remarks upon the "manœuvres" of a prominent politician, I remain a confident believer in the promises of the Prime Minister. May I point out that they are two in number? The first relates to the Electoral Reform Bill promised by the Government to its supporters, and was made to the Women's Liberal Federation in 1908. Mr. Asquith pledged the Government "to accept one amendment" to that Bill which should extend the franchise to women. The degree of such extension was not stated.

The second promise is for time for "the Women's Enfranchisement Bill" for "next year." Sir George Kemp's Bill was the subject of Mr. Asquith's letter to Lord Lytton, as you show. Mr. Asquith's words are quite clear. It is very possible, however, that the Government Reform Bill may precede the Conciliation Bill "next year" or even be taken in next session, in which case the earlier promise is the one on which I rely as  
A LIBERAL  
Manchester.

[With a Home Rule Bill promised for next year we see no probability of a Government Reform Bill in the same session. In fact Mr. Lloyd George has plainly alluded to 1913.—Ed. "C. C."]

## "ABUSE."

You ask in your footnote to Mrs. Acland's letter if she will quote terms of "abuse" applied by your paper to Liberal Suffragists. What is your cartoon of July 27th but "abuse" of Mr. Lloyd George, a prominent Liberal Suffragist? In that shameless calumny your represent him as the captain of a wrecked ship, sending off the men in safety, and leaving the women and children to take their chance. Let me show you how false that picture is.

You and many of the writers in your paper have misunderstood all along the aim and scope of the Insurance Bill.







Scotland Association, assisted by a valuable contingent from the Edinburgh Society and other friends. On the last day of June—too late for that month's report—the EDINBURGH SOCIETY held a novel "At Home," in the form of an "American Tea." Admission was on the terms of bringing a gift to be sold and buying a gift before departure. Amusement and interest were lively, and the sum of £15 was realised. In place of the "At Home" during July the Society instituted working parties in preparation for a fancy fair in October. Mrs. Mapleton and Miss Scott Moncrieff gave, as they did last year, a garden party and debate on the 14th July at Aln Lodge. The debate resulted in a complete victory for Suffrage, the Anti-Suffrage speaker with difficulty obtaining a seconder, all other votes going to her opponent. A pleasant feature of the entertainment was a speech from Mrs. Stops. The visit of the National Council to Edinburgh was thoroughly enjoyed by the Society and willing hospitality was offered to the delegates, who attended from all parts. The GLENFARG SOCIETY held a most successful garden party, with cake and candy sale, on the 26th at Duncrevie, by the kindness of Mrs. Adamson. An interesting address from Miss Cotterill, Edinburgh, won new members, and the sale realised £10.

#### SURREY, SUSSEX, AND HANTS. FEDERATION.

Mrs. Crosfield's garden meeting at CROYDON on June 26th was very successful. Mrs. Robie Uniacke and Mrs. Dempster had a large audience, and cakes and sweets sold well. At a small meeting at the Adult School next day Mr. Crosfield's, Mrs. Dempster's, and the Rev. A. G. Creed's speeches were applauded, Mr. Eliot Thorp sang "The Awakening" well, and the men asked questions freely. The organiser's visit concluded with a delightful garden-meeting at the Vicarage, Thornton Heath, on July 1st. The Rev. S. Udney introduced the speakers—Mrs. Dempster and Miss Crickney—and gave a strong Suffrage address. A new branch is hoped for at Thornton Heath.

At CHERT on July 3rd and 4th Mrs. Dempster spoke in Colonel Mayhew's garden, and on the green from Miss Antrobus's motor; preliminary work having been done by Farnham and Haslemere. On July 26th Mrs. Renton addressed Col. Christie's garden-meeting successfully. Afterwards she paid calls at WRECCLESHAM, FARNHAM, and LOWER BOURNE, and held two out-door meetings. In June the Farnham Society's annual meeting took place in Mrs. Patterson's garden. Mrs. Kineton Parkes addressed a moderate audience on "Tax-resistance," provoking animated discussion. The accounts showed a small deficit, besides liabilities of £3.

The EASTBOURN SOCIETY arranged a drawing-room meeting at Mrs. Farnell's on July 4th, addressed by Mr. Laurence Houseman, and one at The Mount, Westham, Hastings, on the 6th, addressed by Mrs. Strickland. Fresh people were interested, and 23 members joined.

The WORTHING and BRIGHTON Societies gave a successful Suffrage tea at Shoreham on July 6th. Councillor Ellen Chapman presided at a meeting afterwards addressed by Mrs. Dempster, Mrs. Chapman (who described the effects of Women's Suffrage in Australia), and the Working secretary (who explained the working of a Society), offered the help of Brighton and Worthing at Shoreham. A good many joined the proposed Shoreham Society.

Miss Merrifield presided at a meeting at Preston that day, in the absence of the Clerk of the Education Committee. Mrs. Duncan



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Harris explained the treatment of women under the Insurance Bill to working-class mothers and the Co-operative Guild. Songs and Suffrage recitations followed. Ten members and three associates joined, making 43 new adherents out of 60 non-members present.

The Brighton and Hove Franchise Society arranged a garden fête on July 26th at the Manor House, Southwick, including speeches by the chairman, Lady Maud Parry, and Miss Cicely Corbett, and a duologue and play. Col. Kensington proposed the vote of thanks, including the hostesses, Mrs. Cummins and Mrs. Dunlop. There were over 160 people, and £14s. 10d. was collected.

The New Forest Society held its annual meeting on July 8th in Brockenhurst School, the secretary kindly providing tea. Many attended, despite the great heat, and the President, Miss Clough, and Miss Corbett made excellent speeches. The report mentioned the formation of three branch societies and committees, and sixteen meetings held in support of the first Conciliation Bill.

Miss Brandenburg read a paper on "Married Women's Labour" at a members meeting at PORSMOUTH on July 10th; an interesting discussion followed. Many members brought self-denial offerings. A resolution was passed protesting against the treatment of women under the Insurance Bill, and calling on the Government to enfranchise women that they might share in electing our financiers.

The local branches of the N.U.W.S.S. and C.U.W.F.A. got up a Suffrage week at WORWSE from July 11th. Three "At Homes" were held by Mrs. Keller, Mrs. Howlett, and Miss J. Campbell and Miss H. S. Davies-Colley, and one members' meeting at Mrs. Cox's, one dinner-hour meeting at Urwin's printing works, and three open-air ones, two being very good. The speakers were Mrs. Dempster, Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Mackinlay (both of the Men's League), Lady Betty Balfour, Prof. Urwick, and Mr. Stables. Literature and "The Common Cause" were given away and sold. Ten new members joined.

On July 19th Mrs. Auerbach, president of the REDHILL AND REIGATE branch, held a garden fête, with a concert and a cake and flower fair and various amusements, for Suffrage funds. The gardens were illuminated at night, and a meeting was held, Mrs. Auerbach presiding and speaking on political matters. Mrs. Dempster moved a resolution calling for the earliest possible facilities for the Conciliation Bill. Mrs. Fagan seconded. The resolution was carried.

On July 24th Mrs. Hilson gave a garden meeting at CAMBERLEY, when Mr. Basset spoke on "Women and the Insurance Bill." Camberley hopes to start a Suffrage lending library next autumn.

The ROBERTSDEN and BLACK CROSS SOCIETY held its first meeting in Miss Michael's garden on July 31st. There were about a hundred people, including the Countess Brassey. Madame Sarah Grand presided, and Miss Macnaughten gave an eloquent address.

BOURNEMOUTH.—The Bournemouth branch invited about 100 outsiders to a garden party held at Mrs. Hanbury Rowe's, St. Anne's, Surrey Road, on Saturday afternoon, July 22nd. Several Antis were present and had the opportunity of hearing the present aspect of the Conciliation Bill now before the country fully and lucidly explained by Miss Hooper, of London. Questions were asked and answered, and interest in the Women's Question greatly stimulated, several ladies joining the branch. Mr. Long and others made short speeches, and some pretty songs were rendered by Miss Chiddell. Mr. Chas. Fletcher delighted the audience with two violin solos, and altogether a very pleasant afternoon was spent.

HUDDERSFIELD.—The seventh annual meeting of the Huddersfield Society was held in the Parish Room, Honley, on July 29th. It was followed by a garden party, by the kind invitation of Miss Siddon, at Honley House. Miss Siddon (the president) presided at the meeting. The General Council presented its report, which showed a great amount of work accomplished in the year. Miss Siddon was re-elected president and Mrs. Josiah Lockwood chairman of the Council. Vice-presidents, committee, and other officers were also elected. Miss Ford then gave an able address. She spoke hopefully of the enfranchisement of women in the next session of Parliament, provided women persisted in their work for it. She said that she was glad that both the great societies were now working on the same lines. She moved a resolution in support of the Bill, which was seconded by Mrs. Jagger and supported by Mrs. C. J. Brook. There were between 200 and 300 at the garden party. Mr. Allan Hopkins, of New Zealand, gave an interesting speech, testifying to the good results of the granting of the vote to the women of New Zealand. Miss Siddon was warmly thanked for entertaining so large a company.

#### Other Societies.

##### THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

The Rev. C. Hinseliff, who founded the School Nature Study Union, will be glad to give lectures on Nature Study at schools or elsewhere, all profits to go to the Church League. Prayer cards for children of Suffragist households can now be obtained at the office. Subscriptions and workers are still needed for the campaign during the Church Congress at Stoke-on-Trent.

##### THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

The campaign in Essex is now over. We are now making arrangements for a campaign to start in Lowestoft on the 15th of this month.

##### THE CATHOLIC WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.

Catholics staying in Devonshire are asked to communicate with the hon. treasurer, who is staying at Sunny Side, York Road, Babbicombe, South Devon, as we hope to get up a meeting in Torquay. It would be a great help if all members would try and do this wherever they are staying. So many people do not know of our Society, and would gladly join if they were told and had it explained to them. We must not forget that even though we are on our holiday Suffragists never entirely rest from work, and we each have our six new members to get before the autumn. Ladies are asked to volunteer to lend their drawing-rooms for meetings in the early autumn. Badges may be had, price 2d.; also pamphlets, "The Views of Cardinal Moran and the late Cardinal Vaughan on Women Suffrage," pub. N.U.W.S.S., price 1d.

#### Forthcoming Meetings.

AUGUST 10.	Ramsey (Huntingdon)—Open-air Meeting—N. L. Ingle, Esq., Mrs. Rackham.	7.0
AUGUST 14.	Norwich—Miss C. M. Nichol's Drawing-room Meeting—Dr. Mary Bell.	8.0
AUGUST 19.	Eccles—West Leigh, Broad Oak Park, Worsley—"Bohemian Tea"—Tickets, 6d.	3-6
AUGUST 28.	Scarborough—Belvedere Gardens—Garden Fête.	12.0
AUGUST 29.	Scarborough—Belvedere Gardens—Garden Fête.	11.0
LONDON.		
August 13:	Southwark, Adult School (Men's), Crossway Institute, New Kent Road.	9 a.m.
August 31:	Southwark, Crossway Central Mission Hostel, New Kent Road, Mrs. Richardson.	8.0

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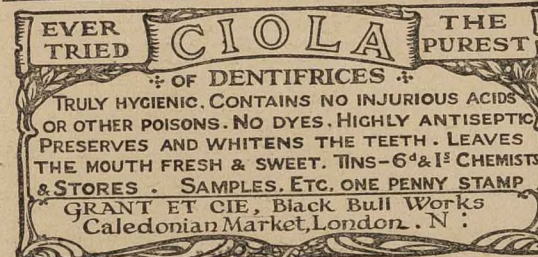
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