

THE COMMON CAUSE, SEPTEMBER 14, 1911.

SUMMARY OF THE INSURANCE BILL. PART I.

The Common Cause,

The Organ of the National Union of

Women's Suffrage

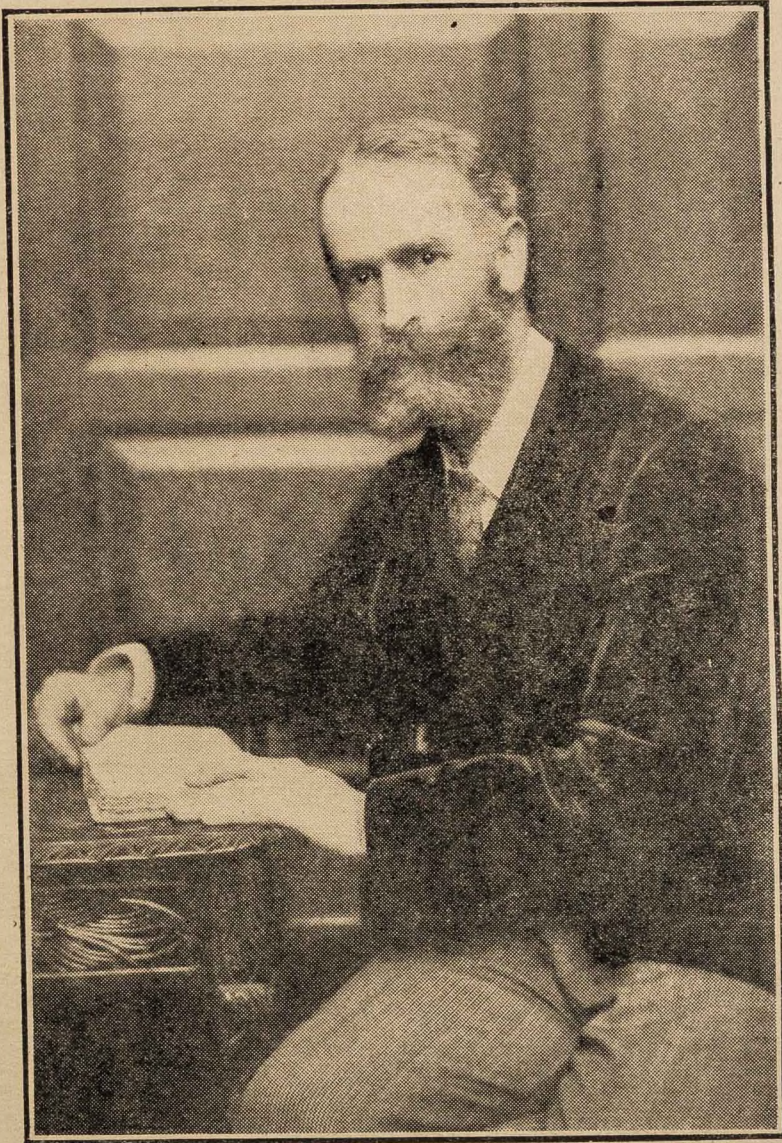
Societies.

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SEPTEMBER 14, 1911.

ONE PENNY.



C. P. SCOTT.

Notes and Comments.

Revision Courts.

Considerable excitement is being shown because in Newport thousands of voters have been struck off the electoral roll in consequence of the recent decision of the Court of Appeal that, in order to exercise the vote, a person must have his or her name on the rate-book. In London also it seems likely that a large number of persons will be disfranchised *this year* by the decision. It does not at all follow that they need *remain* disfranchised, if they will take the trouble to get their names on the rate book, which they can do even if the landlord actually pays the rates.

Women Strikers.

The Salford Flax Mill strike came to an end on September 6th in a compromise. The bonus system has not been abolished, but it has been modified and the wages of women and girls have been raised a shilling all round. The strike commanded very widespread as well as local sympathy and has had the result which we hope will be permanently good of welding the women into a trade-union. At Hull, women in sugar mills and rope-works have been striking. In France the "strike" of consumers has led to rioting and to some very queer doings.

A Fatal Prepossession.

The "Anti-Suffrage Review" only comes out once a month yet in the September number the Editor does not even take the trouble to revise the leader so as to bring the first two-thirds of it into harmony with the end. "Only a fatal prepossession," it says, "could exclude the possibility" that Mr. Asquith's pledge was for any Suffrage Bill and not for the Conciliation Bill alone. This "fatal prepossession" seems, oddly enough, to be shared by Mr. Asquith himself.

A Finnish Anti-suffragist.

We look in vain for facts in the long article by "A Finn." Such phrases as "I believe," "I seriously believe," "It seems to me" abound, but very little that shows any grip. "It was feared," he says, that since women are in a majority in Finland, there might be too many women elected to Parliament; this was not the case and he seems to think this proves something detrimental to the suffragists. "It was feared" that women would be talkative; this is not so, and he suggests that their taciturnity is a disqualification. There is no "women's party" and somehow this tells against women: we can imagine the outcry—"Anti-Man!"—that would be made if there were one! Women vote generally in accordance with their men folk and this, says he, gives two votes to the husband! Why not two votes to the wife? But when they happened to disagree! Oh then—"would it not be wiser to use a veil?"—Spinsters of course are rejected because they have not the "insight" of married women, but married women are ruled out because they are not "independent." "Women, as a class, who think they have gained immensely by the suffrage, are in reality those who have lost the most!" Really, really, is it necessary to import a Finn to write such stuff? It could be done just as well at home! Some day we shall have to tell our readers the story of the lady who "thought she was dead!"

Compare this article, if you please, with the patriotic and well-informed letter to the "Manchester Guardian" (September 11th) by a Finnish woman Member of Parliament, Tekla Hultin.

What a Fall was There!

The "Anti-Suffrage Review" publishes a report of a speech by Professor Dicey, at Oxford, in which he is stated to have said, "The Suffragist agitation was not a decent agitation, it was not a respectable agitation, it was not an agitation which a good man or woman would carry on." If an enemy had reported this we should have

supposed it to be a malicious libel on Professor Dicey. If he really did utter such a sentence it only shows how far evil communications can corrupt good manners. The Dicey that was a suffragist would have been incapable of calling honest opponents indecent, despicable, and bad.

A Spoilt Darling of the Law.

The "Western Daily Mercury" of September 2nd reported a case at Brixham Petty Sessions where a young woman applied for a separation from her husband. She was married in January, and within a week he called her foul names and threatened to kill her; he frequently got drunk and knocked her about till the neighbours rescued her; he locked her out of the house one night and she had to sleep in the cow-shed and he flogged her in the bedroom with a horse-whip so that she carried the marks for days; he kept her without food and sold the furniture of the house; she said she was in fear of her life. The evidence was not denied, but the Bench decided that they were "utterly contemptible squabbles" and dismissed the application. Counsel for the complainant gave notice of appeal.

"A Noteless Blot on a Remembered Name."

The late Dr. Furnivall's father must have been in some respects a silly fellow. He is said to have attended Mary Shelley and to have declared that she tyrannized over Percy. Percy "could not be master in his own house"—oh consecrated phrase, stiff with stupidity! "In vain did the doctor urge him not to put up with Mary's bullying." The fantastic fool! If this was not mere invention to give himself importance, can one imagine any thing more fatuous than endeavouring to sow dissension between these ardent lovers by introducing such irrelevancies as *mastership*?

Our A.B.C. Page.

The dialogue which fills our A B C page was suggested by a paragraph in the "Boston Woman's Journal," and represents some of the commonest Anti-Suffrage "arguments." They are as follows:—

- (1) That women only want the vote out of perversity because men have it.
- (2) That women can get everything they want just as well without the vote as with it.
- (3) That if women had the vote they would lose their "feminine influence."
- (4) That it is their helplessness which makes women attractive.
- (5) That a woman would not know how to use the vote.
- (6) That women should not "ape men."
- (7) That the vote "isn't everything."
- (8) That women should not "waste their time on politics" when they are "wanted in the home."
- (9) That politics are "dirty work."
- (10) That women don't want the vote and would not use it.
- (11) That if women got the vote those who did not want to use it would be compelled to do so.
- (12) That physical force should rule the world.

Our Portrait.

The cause of the enfranchisement of women has no better friend in all England than the "Manchester Guardian" and we therefore present our readers, in this special "Manchester week," with a portrait of its Editor. There are a considerable number of newspapers which profess friendliness to our political demand, but which still deal with women's questions in a tone and spirit that can scarcely be called civilized. This great paper has the quality which above all others makes for interest and continuity: it is throughout the harmonious expression of an ideal and its liberalism is not confined to measures which have been received into the sanctity of a party programme. All persons, or whatever party, who hold liberal views about women find in the "Manchester Guardian" information to nourish and judgments to stimulate their aspirations.

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

MEN, WOMEN AND MACHINES.

SHE: I should so like a sewing machine. You have one! Mayn't I have one?
 HE: Now what *do* you want a machine for? Women are always wanting what men have got! Can you point to a single thing that a machine makes which couldn't be made by hand?
 SHE: Well of course I can make clothes by hand and I *do*, but it takes twenty times as long. And handwork is so easily undone.
 HE: But handwork is so *nice*, and if you worked a machine you'd lose all your skill at handwork. Besides a woman at her needle is such a pretty sight. There's nothing pretty about a machine.
 SHE: That's all very well, but one can't live on that!
 HE: How mercenary you are. A woman ought to work for the love of her work and not always be thinking of money. Besides a woman couldn't work a machine; it's too heavy for her.
 SHE: I don't see how that can be if it does the work twenty times faster. Anyhow I'd like to try.
 HE: Try indeed! As if a woman *could* work a machine! Why there isn't a single woman who knows how!
 SHE: Of course not. Does a man know till he's tried?
 HE: You'd be sure to break it. I can't afford to have you making a mess of my machines.
 SHE: Oh! As if you didn't all of you make a mess of them at times! Besides, they're not your machines particularly. Who gave them to you?
 HE: You talk as if machines were everything. I can tell you if your cloth's bad or your cotton's rotten, your machine doesn't turn out good work. You'd be much wiser to devote your energies to getting better cloth made.
 SHE: If machines are so little good, why do you use them? But you haven't answered my question. Who gave them to you?
 HE: It would never do to have women wasting their time over sewing machines when they ought to be making clothes.
 SHE: Well that beats all! You and I are both making clothes, aren't we? And we want to make them as good and fast as we can, don't we? And if a sewing machine helps you to make them better and faster it'll help me just the same, won't it?

HE: A machine's a nasty, dirty, oily thing. You'd get covered with dirt.

SHE: Not I! Do you suppose I'm a woman for nothing? Isn't it my job to go cleaning up everywhere?

HE: No nice women want sewing machines. Look at Mrs. H..... W...! *She* doesn't want one.

SHE: No. She isn't a dressmaker!

HE: Well of all the silly answers! How about Mrs. Jones, then?

SHE: Ye-e-s. She *is*—of a sort. But you're not going to hold her up to me as a model, are you? She isn't a bit interested in her dressmaking, and you can see she isn't by the work she turns out, poor thing! Are we, who do want to do the best work, to be hindered by a lot of poor things whose "apathy" you yourself admit and regret?

HE: Well I think it would be very hard on them if you got machines, for of course they would be obliged to get them too in order to compete with you, and they don't want to be bothered to learn them. We must protect true dressmakers from "tailoresses."

SHE (*meditatively*): I wonder why you have more sympathy with their "wants" than with my "wants"? (*Pause.*) But you never answered my question. Who gave you the machines?

HE (*angrily*): My strong right arm. And I'll keep them, too. Fight me for them if you can!

SHE (*sadly*): No! I shan't fight in the way you fight, but all the same you'll find that it's as bad for you in the long run as it is for me. (*Cheering up.*)

You could keep the machines for just as long as the majority of men were blind and deaf to their own interests, but now the majority is beginning to see and hear. When I can make as much as you, there will be more clothes and holidays all round, and you'll get your share. So hurry up, old boy; I've been watching you, and I've learned more about that machine than you know. I don't want yours. I want one of my own, and I guess I've learnt pretty well how to use it too. See—your under-tension's wrong, it's too tight; and you've got a 20 needle where you should be using a 50 to carry that cotton; and why on earth don't you have that throat-plate sharpened?

HE (*with conviction*): Well—I'm—blowed!

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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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Light.

"Therefore," the voice said, "shalt thou write
My curse to-night,
Because thou hast strength to see and hate
A foul thing done within thy gate."

"Not so," I answered once again.
"To curse choose men,
For I, a woman, have only known
How the heart melts and the tears run down."

"Therefore," the voice said, "shalt thou write
My curse to-night,
Some women weep and curse, I say
(And no one marvels,) night and day.

And thou shalt take their part to-night,
Weep and write,
A curse from the depths of womanhood
Is very salt and bitter and good."

So thus I wrote, and mourned indeed,
What all may read.

E. B. Browning.

A recent letter in this paper brought the accustomed protest against our publishing anything in these columns which might shock, or enlighten young persons on matters which their elders might wish them to ignore. It is always an anxious and very grave matter for the consideration of a writer, editor or speaker, how much is gained by plainly stating shocking facts. No one with any grave sense of responsibility would ever condescend to publish such facts for the sake of sensation, to gain notoriety or to spread the circulation which depends upon vicious curiosity and no one, we are glad to say, has ever suggested that we have done that. The attitude taken up by a minority of objectors (for they are in a small minority) is that terrible abuses should be made known, "but not in our paper." "These things should be said, but not here, or not now, or not by us.

There are the organs and reports of special societies for dealing with these wrongs and there are medical books, magazines and newspapers: these are the proper media. Our paper is the organ of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, whose sole and only object is to demand the vote for women, and this paper should not contain anything calculated to shock."

We want the vote for women. Why? Because we believe that women's position of subjection to men works out badly both for men and women. We think things are not well as they are. We think women suffer great and terrible wrongs and that these wrongs are largely unintentionally inflicted, that they are due not to malice premeditated but to the fact that women are not allowed to speak effectively. If we were really "anti-man," (silly phrase!) we should despair, because we should not believe, as we do, that men are prepared to give us the vote and we should know that, even with the vote, we should be powerless if men were not sufficiently civilized to allow us to use it. But we firmly believe that they are and that the wrongs from which women suffer are due to ignorance of facts and of their point of view. Our contention would be groundless if it could be shown that women really were the "privileged sex" and that in the home or in the labour market they had consideration equal to that given to men. We assert that they have not and we are naturally met with scepticism. The average not very thoughtful men or women simply don't trouble to know how the world treats the less fortunate and their normal desire not to be bothered leads them to set aside vague statements or general complaints. You have to bring them face to face with the abomination and then you wring from the most comfortable the tortured cry of sympathy. "This is wicked. This must be stopped. Tell me how."

The writer heard from the lips of a nurse the following story. She was attending a woman who had been for many hours enduring the most awful physical agony and the doctor said that her husband would not allow her to be given chloroform. The nurse at last went down to the sitting room where the husband was reading a book, and she told him of the state of her patient and begged his leave for the use of chloroform. "No," said the man, he held that the pain was inflicted by God and must be endured. "Then," said the nurse, "you must endure your share, which is to witness it. Come with me." And she took him into the sick-room and made him a witness. In ten minutes, with streaming eyes and clasped hands he was imploring the doctor to act, for he "could not bear the sight any longer."

We bear the sufferings of others so easily because we do not see them. It is for would-be reformers to show what the weak and the unfortunate suffer; without exaggeration, giving chapter and verse, gravely and responsibly we must show wrong. We dare not keep silence.

All suffragists know how lately certain brave and devoted women were so determined to draw attention to the condition of women in England that they deliberately committed technical offences in order to go to prison in witness of their claims. We all know that they met with considerable difficulty in their object of getting themselves imprisoned and some of us think that they transferred the odium on to the wrong shoulders by their action. We, on the other hand, have always thought that all we had to do was to speak fearlessly and weightily and with full knowledge of things as they are and we should gradually win to our side all the vast majority of decent, kindly, well meaning folk of both sexes. It seems to us that these are the only alternatives for those of us who are in deadly earnest: either we must say,—as the others have done,—"these wrongs are too terrible to be spoken of, but in earnest of my revolt against them, I will go to prison, I will even die gladly that they may be righted"; or we must say,— "here, here and here women suffer cruel wrong, will you not help to deliver them?" Now come a few friends who would muzzle us and say we must never allude in plain terms to the most awful of all slaveries; we must leave that to the technical and special papers! Who

reads them? Only the members of the special societies read the publications of those societies and to leave the work of enlightenment to them only is to act like the clergyman who preaches to a congregation assembled in church about the wickedness of not going to church. Doctors and medical students read the medical books and magazines. Who is to instruct the ordinary lay man or woman in matters vitally affecting the family and the nation? The day is far away and may it ever remain far when we are to put our lives and our consciences into the hands of medical men or men of science and make them autocrats over us.

An immense range of our life is modified, even regulated by public opinion. How can a rational public opinion exist when all decent men and women are kept in ignorance? We have very little faith in coercion; we should like to see it reduced to a minimum. But we have a correspondingly large faith in knowledge. It has been found that the worst slums are made safe by being well-lighted; it has been possible in modern times largely to replace the police by lamps. We believe the same is true metaphorically. Many and many a deed would be impossible if it were known. The horrors sheltered in the dark places of the home, the strange schemes planned by "reformers" of one sex only, call for the intelligence of women and who is to direct their

intelligence unless a paper with a general circulation like this attempts it?

We are all ready to acclaim those who, in the past, spoke out and roused the execration of the corrupt and the far more general misgivings of the timid. We remember how Mrs. Butler was nearly burnt out of a building in which her supporters were assembled and how philanthropic and highly estimable ladies drew aside their skirts and looked the other way when she appeared among them at a meeting and we go on admiring the prophets when they are dead and throwing stones at them while they are living.

We do not say that this is not natural. Cleopatra, if we remember, beat the messenger who brought her ill-news. We all want to do the same. But those of us who wish to be reformers must suppress this natural desire, and if the news be true we must help to spread it. We see dimly in the Present what is small and what is great, Slow of faith, how weak an arm may turn the iron helm of Fate:

But the soul is still oracular; amid the market's din,
List the ominous stern whisper from the Delphic cave within—
"They enslave their children's children who make compromise with sin."

Louisa Innes Lumsden.

Years ago, as a school girl, I first came under the influence of Louisa Innes Lumsden. She had come to address the girls of St. Leonards, St. Andrews, the school to which, as its first headmistress, she had given its start in life, its organisation, its inspiring ideas.

Her choice of subject that evening, "Dreams," was characteristic. She spoke of the value of the dreaming of dreams. It is as a dreamer that she has left an impress on her generation, as one who has so inspired others with belief in her vision that not a few of her dreams have taken shape.

Belonging, through both her father and mother, to old families of Aberdeenshire, where her father's people have been settled and have held land since the early fourteenth century, she is a loyal Scot, proud of her name, Innes, as being reminiscent of an old Jacobite connection. She describes the springs of actions which have moved her most as love of country, love of animals, loyalty to women, and in that order.

As a girl, short periods were spent at a variety of schools of the old-fashioned type, time lost, in her eyes. Well spent, on the other hand,

were the days given to wandering in the country and dreaming and reading and sharing her brother's games, when he was at home.

In 1868 she attended courses of lectures, then beginning to be given to women, in Edinburgh, by the Professors of the University, and afterwards went to Girton, where, in 1873, she was one of the first three women, Miss Woodhead and Miss Cook being the others, to take the Honours Examination in Classics at Cambridge.

After some experience, first as residential classical tutor at Girton, and later as Classical Mistress at Cheltenham College, she called to St. Andrews came, and with it the opportunity to materialise the ideas with which her mind was crammed, in starting this girl's school, on the new system, on which she was determined. During her five years at St. Leonard's (1877-1882) it took no small effort and all her personal magnetism to educate the public into supporting reforms, now generally accepted, but then introduced for the first time, for example: The freedom and responsibility given to the older girls, the introduction of gymnastics and corporate outdoor games, the entrusting of the whole course to women,



LOUISA INNES LUMSDEN.

properly qualified, the provision of a solid training instead of showy accomplishments.

After some fifteen years of private life, she was again called to St. Andrews, this time to give a start to the new residential University college. In University Hall she sought to combine the good points of both the English and the Scottish academic systems. It is eleven years since the Hall was handed over to her successor and it still continues to live and grow. Indeed it has become the type of residential hall which those in authority are seeking to have more widely established.

At one time she took her share in the Local Government of her native district, having acted as chairman of Rhynie Schoolboard.

For some forty years she has been a subscriber to woman suffrage, being now president of the National Union Society in Aberdeen. To use her own words, "more and more I became convinced, and more and more I realised the far reaching ramifications and results of political enfranchisement. What was a feeling has become a reasoned and profound conviction."

But chronological details mean little. It is for the intensity of her individuality that she is remarkable, for the power of her personality, reinforced on occasion by her wonderful gift of oratory, to inspire others with somewhat of her own intense belief in the honourable and hatred of the base.

C. M.

The National Insurance Bill.

PART I.

Sickness Insurance.

After twelve days in Committee, seventeen of the eighty-seven clauses of the Insurance Bill have been dealt with. This summary seeks to set forth the main provisions of part I. of the Bill, so far as at present amended, and to mention further alterations which Mr.

Lloyd George has definitely, or indefinitely, promised to accept.

The Bill remains undivided and still consists of two parts, Sickness and Unemployment.

PERSONS INSURED.

There are to be two distinct classes of "insured persons," as the technical name is:—(a) Compulsorily insured persons include all regular wage-earners, men and women, married or single. Certain obvious classes of persons who are already provided for are excluded, as for example, certain teachers, many Crown or municipal employees, etc. Casual workers, such as charwomen, are also excluded. If an employee's income is more than £160 he shall be compulsorily insured only if his work is manual.

Each insured employee and his employer is to make a weekly contribution to the fund for sickness insurance, and, in addition, the State is to pay two ninths of all benefits paid to men, and one fourth of all benefits paid to women. These State contributions need not be paid into the fund till the benefits become due. They are calculated to amount to a sum equivalent to 2d. for every weekly contribution made by either a man or a woman. These contributions are shown in the following Table I. (The item "5d (?) " in the column marked "Woman's Employer" is probably correct. In different official papers it appears sometimes as 5d. and sometimes as 4d.) (b) Those who have the option of insuring or not as they see fit, are such as work on their own account at some regular occupation, on which they are mainly dependent for their livelihood. Married women, whether they are housewives only, or work on their own account, are debarred from insuring voluntarily as are those whose incomes exceed £160 a year. These voluntary contributors require to pay both their own and their employer's share of the weekly contribution. They also receive from the State the weekly equivalent of 2d. Particulars are set out in the following Table I.

TABLE I.

Age.	Daily Wages.	Men : Weekly.				Women : Weekly.			
		Contribution by		Total available for benefits.	Contribution by		Total available for benefits.		
		Man.	Em- ployer.		Woman.	Em- ployer.			
Employed workers between the ages of 21 and 70, who are not supplied with board and lodging by their employers.....	Over 2/6 2/6 to 2/- 2/- to 1/7 Below 1/6 No wages	4d. 3d. 2d. 1d. 0d.	3d. 4d. 5d. 6d. 7d.	2d. 2d. 2d. 2d. 2d.	9d. 9d. 9d. 9d. 9d.	3d. 3d. 3d. 3d. 3d.	3d. 3d. 4d. 5d. 6d.	2d. 2d. 2d. 2d. 2d.	8d. 8d. 8d. 8d. 8d.
Ditto, between 21 and 70, who are supplied with board and lodging.....	Whatever the wage, if any	4d.	3d.	2d.	9d.	3d.	3d.	2d.	8d.
Ditto, under 21, whether supplied with board and lodging or not.....	Whatever the wage, if any	4d.	3d.	2d.	9d.	3d.	3d.	2d.	8d.
Voluntary contributions at all ages under 70....	Independent of income	7d.	There is no Em- ployer	2d.	9d.	6d.	There is no em- ployer	2d.	8d.
All over 70.....	Whatever the wage	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
All working for no wages under 70.....	No wages	0d.	7d.	2d.	9d.	0d.	6d.	2d.	8d.

BENEFITS.

The insured are to receive for any illness, except maternity (see (3) below) benefits both in kind and in cash.

(1.) The benefits in kind are (a) medical attendance and drugs, this with the right of the patient to choose his own doctor from among those willing to act, and (b) treatment for tuberculosis either in a sanatorium or otherwise, if his case is considered suitable. These benefits continue throughout life.

(2) Benefits in cash consist of weekly payments while the insured person is ill at home. These are as set forth in the following Table II., except that they may be reduced while he is in arrears to weekly payments of not less than 5s. If the insured person is in hospital the payments are not made in cash to him (see below).

TABLE II.

Ages.	Weekly allowances for the first 13 weeks of illness.		Weekly allowances after the first 13 weeks.	
	Men.	Women	Men.	Women
	Under 16.....	0	0	0
16 to 21, without dependents.....	5/-	4/-	5/-	4/-
16 to 21, with dependents.....	10/-	7/6	5/-	5/-
21 to 50.....	10/-	7/6	5/-	5/-
50 to 60.....	7/-	5/-	5/-	5/-
60 to 70.....	5/-	5/-	5/-	5/-
Over 70, (Old Age Pensions are due)	0	0	0	0

The provision which so seriously affected servants, nurses, etc., in that it deprived employees, while provided with board and lodging by their employers, of the right to receive these weekly cash payments, has been deleted from the Bill. There is, however, a risk that the provision

may be reintroduced, perhaps in another form, at least, Mr. Lloyd George speaks as if the point had not been decided. Besides the above benefits, every insured married man receives on behalf of his wife and every insured unmarried woman receives for herself

(3.) Maternity benefit, that is, a sum of 30s. devoted to the expenses of a confinement. In two points it differs from the cash payments mentioned above, namely, that (i) medical attendance is not given in addition to this 30s. except for some illness not connected with the confinement and then only to the woman who is insured on her own account, and (ii) instead of being paid in cash to the mother, it is left at the discretion of the dispensing authority, that is, the friendly society, or the Local Health Committee, to decide whether or not the payment is to be made in cash. *The mother has the right to decide whether she will have a doctor, or a midwife, and to make her own choice of such.* Such doctor or midwife will be paid out of this 30s.

Besides this maternity 30s., married women who are insured on their own account receive, in addition, the usual sick pay as per above Table II., for four weeks, and that, whether their husbands are insured or not. Provision is made for a widow confined with a posthumous child, to receive benefits at her confinement as if her husband had not died.

These payments on behalf of confinements are charged as follows. When the husband only is insured, a rough sum of 30s. is paid and charged against him; when both a husband and wife are insured, *the first 30s. is charged against him and the additional weekly sick pay, amounting normally in four weeks to 30s. (see above Table II) is charged against the wife; when the wife only is insured, both sums, the first 30s. and the additional 30s. or less, are charged against the wife; when the woman is unmarried and insured, one sum of 30s. is paid and charged to her.*

EXCEPTIONS AND VARIATIONS OF BENEFITS.

Anyone falling into arrears does not at once cease to receive benefits. For those compulsorily insured the weekly cash payments are reduced according to the amount of arrears, but never below 5s. a week. But an insured person would have to be in arrears with respect to one in every four of his whole possible number of contributions, before he would cease to have the right to his weekly sick pay; and he would have to be in arrears with respect to one in every two of his whole possible number of contributions, before he would cease to have the right to medical attendance, sanatorium benefit and the maternity 30s. To make up arrears a person must pay both his own and the employer's share of the contributions, but *the societies are at liberty to make regulations for their own members excusing the payment of the employer's share of the arrears.* Arrears accruing during illness or in respect of a woman herself insured, during two weeks before and four weeks after confinement do not require to be paid up. If a woman, who, while she was married ceased to be insured, is, on becoming a widow, able to join a society, the arrears which have accrued during her marriage are paid into the society to her account by the Insurance Commissioners, out of their funds. These sums are probably to be paid out of the money which is forfeited by women when they marry, because Mr. Lloyd George has said several times that the men's fund is to be kept distinct from the woman's fund, although this is not yet in the Bill.

Those coming into Insurance immediately after the passing of the Bill, whether compulsorily or voluntarily, if they are under forty-five years of age, are to have paid by the Insurance Commissioners, on their behalf, into the societies they join, the sums necessary to enable these societies to pay them full benefits. To provide the money necessary to make these payments, a proportion of all the sums contributed by the insured persons is to be used, and, in addition, the greater part of the contributions of those under 16 is also to be set aside for this purpose. The actuaries estimate that, once the scheme is in full working order, in about fifteen years, these sums will be available for additional benefits.

When an insured person is being treated in a hospital, the sick pay (see schedule II) is to be dealt with as follows. If a person has dependants, the money is to be spent on them. Failing dependants, *if the society to which the person in hospital belongs has made an arrangement with the hospital, the money may go to the hospital.* Failing both, the money, except in the case of post office contributors, is handed over to the Local Health Committee. The unmarried mother's maternity 30s. is dealt with in the same way. In the case of the married woman wage earner, her sick pay only may be dealt with in this way, but her maternity 30s. may not be used for her dependants. Illegitimate children may rank as dependants.

ADMINISTRATIVE BODIES.

To administer the scheme a salaried body, called the INSURANCE COMMISSIONERS, is to be appointed by the Government. They are empowered to make regulations for administering the Bill and for dispensing the State contribution and certain other sums. They also act as a court of appeal on disputed points.

LOCAL HEALTH COMMITTEES, created under the Bill, are to be elected by the County Councils and the insured persons of the district. *They are empowered to make all arrangements with the doctors and the chemists.* This transference of the administration of medical benefit from the friendly societies to the Health Committees is one of the most important changes made in Committee. The Health Committee also administer the sanatoria for consumption and the maternity benefit for the post office contributors. To enable the Health Committee to defray the cost of medical attendance and drugs, they receive from the contributions of each insured person, such sum as the Insurance Commissioners may decide. So far, however, the actuaries have based their calculations on the supposition that the sum available for each person was 6s. per annum. They are authorised to increase this particular item of expense, if they can induce the Treasury and the County Council each to pay half the increase. To provide for the tuberculosis treatment in sanatoria and otherwise and for research, the Health Committee receive annually for every person insured 1s. 3d. from his contributions and 1d. from the State.

"APPROVED SOCIETIES."—Every insured person may choose the particular society, which may be either an existing society, or a new society, in which he insures and into which his contributions are paid. But a society has the right to refuse any applicant, if he is not a good life, or for any other reason, except that he may not be refused on the ground of age. These approved societies must fulfil certain conditions (a) they must consist of not less than 10,000 members or be a federation of smaller societies with this membership (b) they must deposit securities with the Government (c) they must distribute all money received in the form of benefits (d) they must be under the control of their own members. If a society is well managed, or if it consists of a group of particularly healthy lives, it is likely to have a balance after paying the ordinary benefits. This balance may be devoted to providing certain additional benefits mentioned in the Bill. If the society is badly managed, or if it consists of any group of unhealthy lives, it may have a deficit, and to meet this deficit, the members of the society will have to receive lower cash payments.

THE POST OFFICE.—(a) Into a post office fund are paid the contributions of those among the compulsorily insured only, whom no society will accept, or, who do not wish to join a society. This is not real insurance, because the sums so paid are placed to the credit of the individual, and he only draws out cash benefits, or receives medical attendance, etc., so long as there is a balance to his credit. If, however, after the depositors are paid, there should be a balance, the Insurance Commissioners may from time to time distribute it among these depositors. At death any balance is forfeited.

SPECIAL APPLICATION TO WOMEN.

Married women, on their marriage, unless they work for wages, cease to be insured and they are not allowed to become voluntary contributors, even if willing to pay

the contribution of 6d. a week. The sum standing to their credit when they marry is forfeited. If a woman who has been insured before marriage, or a woman who is now married becomes a widow, she may again insure. If she becomes a regular employee and also joins a society, the sum which should have been standing to her credit had she been paying her contributions during marriage, will be paid into the Society from the Insurance Commissioners fund, so that she may receive full benefits. This sum, however, is not paid if she becomes a voluntary contributor, *i.e.*, if she works on her own account. If she is an invalid at her husband's death, the Bill intends that she should receive 5s. a week till she is 70. But in practice this will only be if she finds a society willing to take her. Provision is made that only women shall visit women while they are ill.

Mr. Lloyd George has suggested that the Health Committees should be given the power to treat the wives and children of insured persons in the sanatoria, or otherwise, for tuberculosis, if funds permit. He has further promised to consider the possibility of admitting married women to reduced benefits for a modified contribution, possibly sick pay while in hospital, medical attendance, and sanatoria benefit. He has also expressed his personal approval of the inclusion of women on the Local Health Committees.

CHRYSAL MACMILLAN.

(As far as possible, without explanation, amendments in committee are printed in italics.)

First Principles of Liberalism.

Liberalism, by L. T. Hobhouse, M.A. (Home University Library, Williams and Norgate, pp. 254, 1s. net).

We should like all good party Liberals to read and meditate this little book. It would do them good. It is always well to test one's actions occasionally by first principles and never more salutary than when the exigencies of necessity force one to work with large bodies of others. Such social labours demand of us frequent compromises and a concentration on the immediately next thing which make it needful for us now and again to see where we stand, to take stock of how much we have yielded and to realize whether in the main we are keeping our course. Burgess for many miles of his course was actually swimming away from his goal and he never would have got there if he had not known what he was doing. Ardent party people are often in danger of being drifted right out of their course by some shoal or sandbank which interferes with it and such a chart as this little book will be most serviceable to them.

The earlier philosophical chapters are almost too condensed to be of much use. In one chapter, Mr. Hobhouse distinguishes (in only 29 pages) no less than nine varieties of Liberty and we confess that many of his statements are reduced to mere headings for discussion. We are glad to see in Chapter V. an appreciation of Mill which is certainly not exaggerated. More and more, we believe, will the moral beauty and sensitiveness of Mill's character affect the thought of moralists and political philosophers; it is Mill's temperament, his way of approaching all thought and action, that make him so great an exemplar and he was pre-eminently the great liberal.

Mr. Hobhouse has the greatest belief in individuality and in the enrichment of the common life that comes from giving it free scope.

"For the common good includes every individual. It is founded on personality, and postulates free scope for the development of personality in each member of the community. This is the foundation not only of equal rights before the law, but also of what is called equality of opportunity. It does not necessarily imply actual equality of treatment for all persons, any more than it implies original equality of powers."

The common good can only be secured by an expression of the common will.

"There are, of course, elements of value in the good government of a benevolent despot or of a fatherly aristocracy. Within any peaceful order there is room for many good things to flourish. But the full fruit of social

progress is only to be reaped by a society in which the generality of men and women are not only passive recipients but practical contributors. The heart of Liberalism is the understanding that progress is not a matter of mechanical contrivance, but of the liberation of living spiritual energy."

Those who have read Mill's essay on Liberty will remember that he solves the question whether we may coerce others by the consideration of whether what others do is purely self-regarding or social in its consequences.

Mr. Hobhouse does not trouble himself with this distinction. He says:—

"If we refrain from coercing a man for his own good, it is not because his good is indifferent to us, but because it cannot be furthered by coercion. The difficulty is founded on the nature of the good itself, which on its personal side depends on the spontaneous flow of feeling checked and guided not by external restraint but by rational self-control. To try to form character by coercion is to destroy it in the making. Personality is not built up from without but grows from within, and the function of the outer order is not to create it, but to provide for it the most suitable conditions of growth. Thus, to the common question whether it is possible to make men good by Act of Parliament, the reply is, that it is not possible to compel morality because morality is the act, or character of a free agent, but that it is possible to create the conditions under which morality can develop, and among those not the least important is freedom from compulsion by others."

Perhaps the most stimulating chapter and the one to which we would most urge readers is the one on "The Future of Liberalism" for there the author discusses the fundamentals of democracy. Will it assert itself, he asks.

"Will it find a common purpose and give it a concrete shape? Or will it blunder on, the passive subject of scares and ambitions, frenzies of enthusiasm and dejection, clay in the hands of those whose profession it is to model it to their will?"

He claims that for really good government "every grown-up intelligent person" must take part. Without such co-operation the "vitalizing element" is not there.

"Good government is much, but the good will is more, and even the imperfect, halting, confused utterance of the common will may have in it the potency of higher things than a perfection of machinery can ever attain."

This is, of course, the foundation of Mill's argument for "Representative Government" and all who have a true belief in citizenship and in the educative power of politics must hold fast by it. The thoughtful "remnant" is "better occupied in convincing the people and carrying their minds and wills with it than in imposing upon them laws which they are concerned only to obey and enjoy;" and Mr. Hobhouse maintains that "hardly any man is so much better or wiser than the others that he can permanently stand the test of irresponsible power over them." It is natural, most natural, that politicians who have long been out of power should be in a desperate hurry to push through the legislation which they think so greatly beneficent; the wish to do good "in my own way" is very insistent, yet we believe that Mr. Hobhouse has the root of the whole matter of government (as of education) in him when he says: "the perfection of leadership itself lies in securing the willing, convinced, open-eyed support of the mass."

In discussing the relation of the individual to the whole and the sense that must often come over a man of the smallness and powerlessness of one vote to influence the issues, he shows the important part which organizations play, both in securing the efficacy of the popular will and in moulding the characters of the associates. These and many other ways in which the possession of the franchise is educative are constantly overlooked by those who see no further than the actual casting of a vote at a given election for a given candidate.

It is not necessary, perhaps, to state in so many words, that Mr. Hobhouse is a suffragist. He could scarcely be anything else unless really he believed that in women "political incapacity is so deep-rooted that the extension of political rights would tend only to facilitate undue influence by the less scrupulous sections of the more capable part of the people." He does not believe this and all the arguments for democracy tell with cumulative force for the inclusion of women. Party Liberals are

fond of quoting Mr. W. E. Gladstone against our contention, as if authority had any place in liberalism of the spirit. We cannot do better than quote Mr. Hobhouse:—

"The Liberal who starts from the Gladstonian tradition has in large measure realized that, if he is to maintain the essence of his old ideas it must be through a process of adaptation and growth."

We can imagine no more bitter thought for any true reformer than that coming generations will mummify and worship what in him was life and growth and change. "Permanence sits by the grave."

Text of the Bill.

The Bill popularly known as the "Conciliation Bill," which was introduced by Sir George Kemp and passed its Second

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. Miss EDITH PALLISER (Parliamentary). Telegrams: "Voiceless, London." Hon. Sec. to Literature Committee: Miss I. B. O'MALLEY. Offices: Parliament Chambers, Great

President: MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D. Hon. Secretary to Press Committee: Miss EMILY M. LEAF. Telephone: 1960 Victoria. Westminister, London, S.W.

Treasurer's Notes.

The Scottish Federation is asking for financial assistance for the Kilmarnock Burghs by-election. This Federation is active, devoted and energetic, but is apparently handicapped through lack of funds in carrying out the election work of which it is otherwise thoroughly capable. The Federation will I am sure make every effort to spare the central funds and to bear as much as possible of the financial burden. But this by-election will be difficult to work on account of the size of the constituency, and it will be costly, because there are no less than five centres from which it is necessary to organise meetings, etc.

Everything points to this being an election of great importance from the suffrage point of view, and I appeal to all who realise the immense value of election work to send us something towards the cost of the Kilmarnock Burghs by-election.

HELENA AUERBACH.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO GENERAL FUND.

August 31st to September 7th, 1911.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged since Nov. 1st, 1910	1,667	6	10½
Subscriptions:—			
Mrs. Reid	0	2	6
Miss J. T. Mitchell	0	5	0
Mrs. Limond	1	1	0
Dr. Elizabeth Courtauld	1	0	0
Donations:—			
W. Varlow, Esq.	0	10	6
Lady Betty Balfour	1	1	0
Mrs. Dunn, for salary of organiser, N.E. Federation, half-yearly	2	10	0
Mrs. Mundella, for salary of organiser, N.E. Federation	1	0	0
Affiliation Fees:—			
Wrexham W.S.S.	0	8	0
	£1,675	4	10½

Provincial Council.

The autumn Provincial Council will be held in the Old Town Hall, St. Nicholas Street, Scarborough, on Friday, October 6th, and, if necessary, continued on Saturday, October 7th. Morning session 10.30 to 1. Afternoon 2.30 to 5.

Members of societies affiliated to the National Union may attend the Provincial Council as visitors, as far as accommodation can be provided. Admission is by ticket only, and names of such visitors must have been submitted to the local society and by them approved.

The Scarborough Society is giving a reception on the evening of Thursday 5th.

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.

Press Department.

Eight of the sixteen Federations have now appointed Press Secretaries. We shall be glad if the rest will follow their example, as it is possible that a very efficient system of organisation throughout the country will be needed in the coming months for special Press work.

On September 6th the *Standard* had a neutral article on the Anti-Suffrage canvass and its reception by Suffragists.

The *Huddersfield Examiner* has twice lately had a column entitled, "The Suffrage in Many Lands," in which it has given very favourable reports of the Woman's Movement in England and abroad.

The *Lincoln Advertiser* is giving good reports of the meetings held by Miss Fawcett, Miss Sheepshanks, and Miss Franklin during their tour in the Louth division; while the Midland caravan tour is receiving very fair treatment at the hands of the Burton papers.

Miss Waring, too, in the West of England Federation, is being well supported by the local press.

The *Daily Sketch* of August 30th had a photograph of members of the N.U. who took part in the Scarborough Suffrage Fête.

M. L. MACKENZIE.

"The Common Cause."

SELLING AT HOLIDAY RESORTS.

From Whitby we hear that on the four Saturdays in August 15 dozen copies of the paper were sold in Whitby. Middle. Stes (organizing secretary for the Whitby Society) and Mrs. Parrish of Leeds, who was staying in the neighbourhood, were the two ladies who most kindly undertook this work, and we heartily thank them for their energy and success.

Miss Hatty Baker is an organizer who never forgets the importance of spreading the paper. During her tour in Cornwall she disposed of over 240 copies. Everyone knows how it adds to the work and fatigue of an organizer to carry bundles of the paper about, in addition to all the motley apparatus that she must have and we fully appreciate those who do not shrink from this labour and who also possess the forethought to order copies to be sent to their various halting places.

"MANCHESTER "COMMON CAUSE" WEEK.

Mrs. Darlington began work in Manchester on September 4th, and spent the week in preliminary work. As a result of the work she and the Society have done the Manchester Libraries Committee have given permission

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West Heath School, HAMPSTEAD.

For Boys and Girls between the ages of six and eighteen.

[ESTABLISHED 1897.]

The school is happily situated, and attention should be drawn to its special advantages in this respect. It is no doubt considered ideal for a school to be in the country, but in the part of Hampstead where West Heath School stands, many advantages of the country are present, while those of the town, which can be turned to good use for children, are at hand.

The school has a large playing field; good well-treed gardens; is near to a quiet part of the heath, and itself faces across open country towards the Harrow Weald. It thus finds a freedom which many schools actually in the country cannot compass in these days of golf, motor-cars, and game-preserving. At the same time, the advantages of having the British Museum, the Zoological Gardens, the Natural History Museum, historical buildings, beautiful pictures and sculpture (to mention only part of what is available), within easy access for the visits of a class, are of incalculable value in the education of the children.

Particulars from the Principal.

Reference is allowed to THE REV. CANON SCOTT-HOLLAND, D.D., CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD; and DR. JANE WALKER, 122, HARLEY STREET, W.

for "The Common Cause" to be placed in all the Manchester public libraries (25), and the Executive Committee, considering this the most profitable propaganda work, has made a grant of £5 to pay for the paper being placed in the libraries for one year.

The local committees are subscribing for and placing "The Common Cause" in the local political clubs. This has already been done by the local committees in Prestwich, Withington and Didsbury, and North Salford. The political clubs in the City are being subscribed for by individual members of the Society.

The large strip posters of "The Common Cause" are to be placed all over the City for the special week, the Society defraying the cost of these. The thanks of the Committee are due to Mrs. Zimmern, Mrs. D'Auquier, Mrs. Barnes, Miss Fosbrook, Mrs. Norbury, and others for their help.

By-election.

KILMARNOCK BURGHS.

Candidates: William G. C. Gladstone (Liberal).
Thomas McKerrill (Labour).
Sir John D. Rees (Unionist).

Electorate (1910), 16,467. Liberal majority, Dec. 1910, 3,088. After nearly a week of indecision and varying rumours the Unionist and the Labour parties have put forward candidates in opposition to Mr. Gladstone who began his visits to the Liberal Associations in the five burghs on 4th September. On 11th September meetings for the electors will begin, and a very spirited campaign is expected. The three candidates have been at once questioned by us, and deputations to them are being arranged. So far the Labour candidate is the most satisfactory from the Suffrage point of view, but our policy cannot be decided till written replies have been received from all three gentlemen. The difficulty of running a campaign in this election without a long-established organization cannot be exaggerated. The five burghs lie far apart, and the journeys from one to another, covering districts outside the constituency, are sheer waste of time, from an electioneering point of view. Fortunately we have a good helper stationed at Port-Glasgow for a few days, Miss Beauchamp, who is arranging for a large meeting for 13th September. The electors in Port-Glasgow are mainly shipbuilders. The large Irish element has its orders to support Mr. Gladstone.

In Renfrew we came across some prejudice against the Suffrage cause occasioned by militant interruptions in the past at the late Dr. Rainy's meetings. The secretary of the Liberal Association, however, promised to have Mr. Gladstone questioned on Suffrage at his electors' meeting. It is much to be wished that we had a responsible worker to station in Renfrew during the election.

On 9th September I began outdoor meetings with a satisfactory one at the Laigh Kirk (Anglice: Low Church), Kilmarnock. I happened to mention Miss Lydia Becker in my speech, and after the heckling two members of the audience independently told me how they had heard her speak long ago in Manchester, and how the impression had remained with them till now. Sixteen "Common Causes" were sold, and literature eagerly accepted.

None of the election addresses are as yet published. In each case we have urged the candidate not to omit mention in it of the Conciliation Bill should he favour our cause.

Again I must earnestly beg for offers of help. Only one volunteer has so far responded. Will not others help us on in this the first by-election after the passing of the Parliament Bill? All the burghs are very easily reached from Glasgow, to which there is an excellent train service from most parts of Great Britain.

ALICE CROMPTON.

Organisation.

North-Western Federation.

Miss Norma Smith began work in this Federation on September 7th. From the 11th to the 22nd she will organise in Barrow and Ulverston and the last week in September she will be at Penrith. During October Miss Norma Smith will work in the area of the Kendal, Carlisle and Keswick Societies.

West Midland Federation.

WORK IN STAFFORD.

Miss Morrison, the present organizer for the West Midland Federation, is now hard at work in Stafford, working up interest in the suffrage movement, and she hopes, before she leaves, to leave behind a flourishing branch of the NATIONAL UNION.

On September 2nd Miss Morrison held open-air meetings both in the afternoon and evening. On each occasion there

was a large attendance and in the evening Miss Walford of the C. and U.W.F.A. also spoke. On September 6th another open-air address of fifty minutes was given by Miss Morrison, and the large crowd which collected listened with the greatest attention.

The greater part of the past week has been taken up with calling on people who are already interested in the cause, or who show any sign of being made interested. This is a very important part of the work, and though tedious, bears lasting fruit when once the nucleus of a society has been formed. Several fixtures for future meetings have been arranged with the various social and philanthropic societies in Stafford, the members of which are anxious to know more about this great movement, so Miss Morrison's time will be fully taken up for the next ten days of her visit. Anyone able and willing to help in the work will be thankfully welcomed by her. The address is 26, Eastgate Street, Stafford.

West Riding of Yorkshire.

On my arrival at Selby on Monday, September 4th, the state of affairs seemed very hopeless. Selby folk are friendly, but at present do not seem to realise the vital issues which are bound up with our cause. An attempt was made to form a National Union Society here last autumn and a meeting was held for the election of officers, etc.; but unfortunately nothing came of it owing apparently to political difficulties. I feel much encouraged at the result of an open-air meeting I held on Thursday evening in the Market Place. There was a good crowd which listened with earnest attention. At the close of the meeting one rather prominent male Anti-Suffragist came up and professed himself a convert. Twelve copies of "The Common Cause" were sold, literature distributed and several voters promised to write to Mr. Lane-Fox and point out to him that his attitude towards Women's Suffrage is not acceptable to them. My hostess, Mrs. Fred Foster, has very kindly promised to give a drawing-room meeting for me, and this I hope may help towards the formation of a society. Unfortunately more than half Selby seems to be away. During this campaign I intend to hold meetings at all the more important places in the constituency of Barkston Ash, when I hope to get promises from voters to write to their members and thus make Mr. Lane-Fox realize that there are some suffragists to be reckoned with. Tadcaster, Weatherby, Boston Spa are places I expect to visit. Names of sympathisers will be most welcome. Address: The Cot, Thorpe Road, Selby, Yorks.

M. H. RENTON.

Holiday Work.

Midland Caravan Tour.

We left Harpole early on Monday morning, September 4, and went on to Bugbrooke. This was the only wet drive we had, but just when we most wanted it, the sun came out and dried everything. We spent the day advertising the evening meeting. The rector, who is heartily in favour, was unfortunately unable to take the chair, but his sympathetic attitude was made known at the meeting. Mrs. Gerard Dowson took the chair, and the Rev. C. W. Roberts and I spoke. The meeting was very good indeed. All our "Common Causes" were sold and many questions asked.

The next day we went on to Roade, where the party broke up. Mrs. W. E. Dowson and Mrs. Gerard Dowson took a meeting at Blisworth, while Mrs. and Mr. Roberts and I took one at Roade. Unfortunately Miss Bury had to leave us in the afternoon. I do want to thank the Newcastle Society most heartily for lending her for the caravan tour for a week longer than had been arranged.

On Wednesday morning all the things were packed and sent off, the caravan and horses given over to the entire charge of our clever coachman Miss Collum, and the tour finished. All the helpers have gone away feeling more optimistic, and none the worse for their strenuous outdoor life.

HELGA GILL.

A Meeting in Derbyshire.

While staying at the International Theosophical Summer School held this year in Derbyshire I was asked to speak briefly on the reasons why women want votes. As the weather was so glorious many of the meetings and lectures were held on the lawn under the shade of a kindly old oak tree. There one afternoon a large number of the 300 students attending the school assembled and I briefly stated our case. Of course many of those present were already members of some Suffrage society, but there were those who were not yet convinced and others who had not had the opportunity of attending any of our meetings. Many of the wavering ones were won over and some of those who heard our case stated for the first time immediately declared themselves as belonging to us and gave in their names as members. As a result of this meeting and another small meeting I was asked to address in Staffordshire, I was able to send to the Union £1 0s. 6d. subscriptions from new members.

M. NORMA-SMITH.

TWO DEBATES ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

In aid of the funds of the National Organisation of Girls' Clubs, will be held at the small Queen's Hall, on Friday, October 27th, and Tuesday, October 31st, at 5 p.m.

Speakers—October 27—For resolution: Mrs. F. T. Swanwick, M.A.
Against resolution: Mr. Gilbert Chesterton.

Speakers—October 31—For resolution: Miss Cicely Hamilton.
Against resolution: Miss Gladys Pott.

Tickets.—Prices: 5s., 4s., 2/6, 1/-; or for two debates, 8/6, 7/-, 4/-, and 2/-; Application for tickets may be made at the office of the National Organisation of Girls' Clubs, 118, Great Titchfield Street, W., or to the Hon. L. H. Montagu, 12, Kensington Palace Gardens, W., Mrs. Arnold Glover, 10, Leonard Place, Kensington, W., Miss Kirwan, 47, Clanricarde Gardens, W., Mrs. Stevens, Cuckoo Hill, Finner.

WOMEN'S POSITION UNDER THE NATIONAL INSURANCE BILL.

Read two Pamphlets published by the Executive Committee of the Fabian Women's Group:

THE NATIONAL INSURANCE BILL,

A Criticism. Preface by Mrs. Bernard Shaw.

AND "HOW THE NATIONAL INSURANCE BILL AFFECTS WOMEN."

Fabian Society, 3, Clement's Inn, W.C.

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Sunderland Society.

United Demonstration.

The united demonstration and procession of Suffrage Societies held in Sunderland on Saturday, September 9, was a great success. The W.S.P.U., carrying banners and staves, led the procession with a band. Then came Miss Gordon on horseback, followed by another band, leading the N.U. Society with its banner, which had been beautifully decorated for the occasion by Miss Milbank and friends. The members of the Freedom League came next, also carrying banners.

The route lay through the centre of the town to the West Park, where four platforms had been arranged, and where the procession was met by several members of the Town Council. The societies marched to their respective platforms, from each of which excellent addresses were given. An additional platform was occupied by Aldermen Bruce (chair) and Gibson, Councillors J. S. Nicholson and S. M. Swan, who gave very effective speeches.

The National Union speakers were Councillor Margaret Ashton and Miss Mein (chair).

The weather was ideal for open-air speaking, and large crowds listened most attentively. Many questions were asked, and there was a good sale of "Common Causes." At the sound of the bugle the resolution was read from every platform and carried unanimously.

Being Loquacious.

Imagine a cliff road descending on the left to the sea but rising on the right to green-clad hills. Imagine a blue sky, a bluer sea, and the sun just over the horizon.

I was walking from Penzance to Mousehole on Bank Holiday morning. After a perfectly delightful walk of three miles I reached Mousehole. It is a fishing village attractive in its simplicity and cleanliness, delightful in its quaint beauty. The houses are small and well built of grey stone, and are connected together by a veritable labyrinth of cobbles paved courts and pathways.

I had a bundle of "literature" which I distributed from house to house. The women, to put it mildly, were uncompromising. One asked if I were selling the papers. "No, giving them," I said, and she took one, gingerly. With another I tried to talk. "Do you think that women should vote?" I asked. "No," she answered emphatically. "Me and my husband thinks as a woman is best at home. What does she know about politics and such like?" I hastily plunged into explanation—described, argued, reasoned. Finally I told her about the Conciliation Bill. "At least you do agree with that?" I ended. "That's where you and me differs," she said, her head high and her tone very final. Then I noticed her small grey eyes, her thin lips and the length of the upper one and felt vexed that I had not looked at her more closely before the harangue. She was not the kind of woman one argues with—can stone understand or adamant be reasonable? I said "Good morning," and gave her some pamphlets.

Somewhat sad I went down to the small pathway which separates the harbour from the lowest houses.

That harbour! Iridescent water, quaint multi-coloured boats, scraps of coppery red canvas—all with the blue ocean behind it.

Happening along I came across a score or so brown-faced seamen sitting on a bench in the sunshine. One or two looked up as I passed and I wished that I had not given away all my pamphlets. When I reached the harbour-wall, it occurred to me that it was plainly my duty to go and talk to them. After a few minutes I went back. The twinkly blue eyes of one or two plainly considered me a joke. I began to talk about votes and things, and at the end of about five minutes asked for questions. Meanwhile other fishermen had strolled up. Just as I finished, one came along wheeling a barrow. As he rested it alongside the bench he said that he understood that married women would get a vote under the Bill and he didn't hold with that. He was hardly allowed to finish his sentence by the row on the bench. A chorus of "Noes" drowned the end of it. One with a big voice somehow began the explanation first and so the voices of the others trailed away. He stated the case very clearly and well. The questioner "saw" and became instantly a supporter of the Bill.

"Do you know," I said when he'd finished, "that Cornish fishermen are supposed to know not a bit, and to care not a scrap about this question?"

"We're not so bad as we're painted, miss," one said, taking his pipe out of his mouth and looking slyly up.

I could not help laughing. "Evidently not."

"Well," I said, "We must finish the meeting in a proper way, you know, with a resolution. All in favour of votes for women who pay rates and taxes put up their hands!" Every hand went up.

"Carried unanimously," I said, clapping. "Good-bye," and departing round the corner I heard a voice, "Thank you for coming round this way, miss." I shall always feel tenderly disposed towards Mousehole fishermen—though of course I would not give much more than a fig for their concancy.

A. W. J.

Local Councils and the Bill.

During August an attempt has been made by the North-Eastern Federation to increase the number of local councils which have passed resolutions in favour of the Conciliation Bill, and we have been so far successful as to add six to the number. Hartlepool Borough Council, the Rural District Council of Haltwhistle, and the Urban District Councils of Felling, Spennymoor, Annfield Plain and Southwick have all passed a resolution, the last two unanimously.

Kendal Town Council on August 29th passed a resolution in favour of the Conciliation Bill.

C. M. GORDON.

Foreign News.

PORTUGAL.

Although the actual work of the "Republican League of Portuguese Women" was ended with the introduction of the new régime and its own formal dissolution, yet its members are actively engaged in pressing for social reform, especially that which concerns women. Led by Mrs. Anna de Castro Osorio they immediately presented to the new government "the minimum of their provisional demands," at the head of which stood divorce laws. Of course this raised a storm of opposition both from the Church and the Roman Catholic press, and Mrs. de Castro Osorio (who by the way is most happily married) was the centre of violent, scurrilous and often anonymous attacks. But the new government is evidently progressive, and it was not long before a law, legalizing divorce, was passed. It is perhaps not without interest to note that the first person to make use of this facility was the editor of the above-mentioned Roman Catholic paper.

FINLAND.

In view of the vague and rambling remarks made by a contributor to the Anti-Suffrage Review it may be of interest to our readers to see part of the report submitted to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance on the work of women politicians in Finland.

The women representatives laid many motions and petitions before the Diet and in many instances they succeeded in obtaining grants of money for the work they advocated.

The Diet granted money for the following objects:—To societies working for the moral regeneration of prostitutes (50,000 marks), for the establishment of schools of domestic economy (120,000 marks) a Government Committee was formed for this purpose. For the feeding of poor board school children (150,000 marks), for people's kindergartens (100,000 marks), for the anti-tuberculosis campaign (400,000 marks), for the promotion of local historical research (10,000 marks), and for people's libraries (65,000 marks).

The following motions and petitions introduced by the women representatives were accepted by the Diet:—A motion regarding the marriageable age of women. Petitions regarding the age of protection for minors in regard to outrages committed; legislative measures towards legal protection for children in cases of cruelty and neglect and a harmful employment of their working powers; the obligation of parishes to keep a necessary number of midwives; a proposal for measures in regard to registry offices for workmen and servants (this proposal has been accepted by the Diet in the form that all such negotiations should be carried out by the municipality); severer punishments for cruelty to animals; a law about the right for the Jews to live in the country and to become Finnish subjects (not yet sanctioned by the Governor and the Grand Duke of Finland. This petition was sent in by both men and women.)

The following motions and petitions regarding women and children have been presented by the women representatives but have not yet been accepted by the Diet:—A motion regarding the arranging for suitable handicrafts for minors. Petitions regarding the legal position of illegitimate children; the establishment of homes for unmarried women and their children; the mitigation of the punishment for childmurder committed by an unmarried mother at the child's birth; punishment for persons who for immoral purposes attack women in public places; the increasing of the punishment for outrage; an addition to the penal code so that sexual intercourse with an insane husband or wife should be punished as an immoral crime; the forming of a committee for taking measures against prostitution; the establishment of colonies for young criminals and for persons sentenced for minor crimes as well as for people sentenced for crimes committed under extenuating circumstances; the employment of liberated criminals in Government works; the right of women, without consideration of their sex, to apply for and obtain government employments on the same conditions as men; the right of a woman to act as advocate before a court of law; the addition of female sanitary inspectors to the sanitary boards; the establishment of motherhood insurance; the annulling of the regulations about hired servants and a research into the question of the various conditions of their work and a proposal for a protective law for that class of workers; legislative measures for the protection of small birds and the prohibition of travelling menageries; the de-

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I think it is because I have faith in the common sense of it's readers: because I think they believe in the spirit of "YOU-HELP-ME-AND-I'LL-HELP-YOU."

My last appeal to you met with a very fair response.

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velopment of co-education schools; the introduction of temperance instruction in the prisons; the establishment of sanatoria for inebriates; the establishment of a social information office. There were also several petitions presented regarding the exemption of married women from the guardianship of their husbands and placing them on an equality with their husbands in regard to having control over their children and the family property.

Among motions of general interest sent in by men and women jointly, the following may be mentioned:—An address to the Emperor and a petition regarding the restoration of the constitution. Petitions regarding the re-organising of the Judicial Department of the Senate into an independent Supreme Court of Justice; prohibition of the manufacture, import and sale of alcoholic drinks; the introduction of compulsory education; regulations for societies; regulations about liberty of the press; civil marriage; proposed legislation for the protection of clerks and shop assistants and various petitions regarding the building of railways.

Britain Overseas.

MRS. CHAPMAN CATT AND DR. ALETTA JACOBS AT CAPE TOWN.

Mrs. Chapman Catt and Dr. Aletta Jacobs have recently been very enthusiastically received in Cape Town.

On their arrival they were met by representatives of the Women's Citizen Club (Mrs. Garrett), the Women's Enfranchisement League (Mrs. C. C. de Villiers) and the Women's Christian Temperance Union (Mrs. Davison). A reception was held the same evening by the Women's Citizen Club. The next day they met the committee of the Women's Enfranchisement League at midday, and at 4 p.m. they attended an "At Home" given by the committee of the W.E.L. At 8 p.m. there was a public meeting arranged by the Women's Citizen Club, Dr. Greer in the chair. On the following day Mrs. Catt and Dr. Jacobs met the local leaders of the Women's Christian Temperance Union at the Alexandra Club at a luncheon given by Mrs. Solly. This was followed by a small "At Home." There was a public meeting at 8 o'clock in the Minor City Hall, arranged by the Women's Enfranchisement League. Sir James Rose-Innes, Acting Chief Justice, was in the chair. Lady Innes gave a luncheon party in honour of the visitors on the next day and this was followed by a large "At Home." A week's festivities were brought to an end by a public reception given by the Mayor of Cape Town (Sir Frederick Smith) in the City Hall "at the request of the various women's societies in the Peninsula." Mrs. Catt and Dr. Jacobs were presented with a basket of cape flowers—yellow, white and green, the colours of the Women's Enfranchisement League.

Death of Mrs. Ramsay Macdonald.

On September 8th died Mrs. Ramsay Macdonald after a too-short life spent in the most active and strenuous work for social betterment. Mrs. Macdonald was born in 1870 and was a daughter of Dr. John Hall Gladstone, a nephew of W. E. Gladstone. She began her experiences in work for the C.O.S. and became associated with the Women's Industrial Council. In 1895 she became a member of the I.L.P. and in the following year married Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. In 1906 she founded the Women's Labour League. Mrs. Macdonald had six children, of whom five are living, and the record of her interests and activities is indeed a wonderful one.

Suffrage Notes.

A friend who has been diving into old books sends us the following extracts from her store. The first is from "Memoirs of the 45 first years of the life of Jack Lackington." London, 1793.

"The rights of women, says a female pen, Are to do everything as well as men. And since the sex at length have been inclined To cultivate that useful part, the mind, Since they have learned to read, to write, to spell, Since some of them have wit, and use it well; Let us not force them back with brow severe, Within the pole of ignorance and fear! Confined entirely to domestic arts, Producing only children, pies and tarts."

The second is an undated extract from "Doings in London."

"I wonder why, by foul-mouthed men, Women so slandered be, Since it doth easily appear They're better far than we. Why are the graces, every one, Pictured as women be, If not to show that they, in grace, Do more excel than we?"

Why are the liberal sciences Pictur'd as women be, If not to show that they, in them, Do more excel than we? Why are the virtues, every one, Pictur'd as women be, If not to show that they, in them, Do more excel than we? Since Women are so full of worth, Let them all praised be— For commendations they deserve In ampler wise than we."

Correction.

There was a vexatious misprint in line 10 of Mrs. Kitcat's verses last week. It should have run:—"I'd stop the whole thing in a month, I would!—and kindly note—"

We find some literal-minded persons have not recognized the friendly sarcasm of the editorial disclaimer; a sarcasm directed not at our ingenious contributor, but at the critics who profess to discover something "anti-man" in "The Common Cause." We wished to warn them that Mrs. Kitcat was not "altogether serious" but unfortunately we omitted to warn them that on this occasion neither were we!

Wives' Wages.

MOTHER—a quiet lady.
TOM—her young son.

Mother is sitting by the window at the seaside. To her enter Tom, who looks annoyed.

MOTHER: Well, dear? Where is Margery?

TOM (crossly): Sitting on the shore with Harrison. I say, mother, Margery has the most extraordinary ideas, and she has no more sense than to tell them to a man like Harrison, years older than she is. He must think her an ass! I wish you'd speak to her about it, talking of what she doesn't understand.

MOTHER: What sort of ideas?

TOM: Well, just now we were all sitting on the beach, and she began about the Marriage Service—what do you think of that? Said it was time men were stopped swearing falsely to their wives—"With all my worldly goods I thee endow," you know, and then grumbling when the wife wanted a new hat.

MOTHER: What did Mr. Harrison say?

TOM: Oh, he just said it didn't do any harm, as nobody believed it, and she said that made it worse, and that girls hated to have to ask their husbands for every penny. Wait till she has the chance, I told her.

MOTHER: I must speak to her.

TOM: I wish you would, mother. But that's not the worst. What do you think she went on to propose? That every woman should have an absolute right to a third of her husband's income, just as if she was separated from him. Harrison said that oughtn't to be necessary, because any decent man would like his wife to have everything she wanted, and that the question ought never to arise between husband and wife. But Margery declared that the wife always had it brought home to her, if she had no money of her own, and that if the money question was settled by law there wouldn't be half the unhappiness there is. Rank Socialism, I call it. I was so disgusted that I just WALKED AWAY!

MOTHER: I don't know where she gets such ideas from, I'm sure.

TOM: Fortunately, Harrison knows all of us pretty well, but anyone else would think her awfully queer.

MOTHER: What began the subject?

TOM: Oh, she was talking about Violet and George. It seems she was there when Violet asked George for a new hat, or something. She said that though they were awfully fond of each other, Violet had to wait until George was in an extra good humour, and then he groused at her always wanting something new, as any man would, I say. A man ought to keep his wife from silly extravagance, specially when it's his money. Margery said Violet cried afterwards and wished she had twenty pounds of her own, so that she hadn't to ask George for every penny. And mind you, George is as fond of her as he can be—Margery doesn't deny that—and gives her everything she really wants.

MOTHER (unexpectedly): Yes, but I know what she means.

TOM (after a prolonged stare at his mother, slowly overcome by that instinct which impels the male Briton to veil the truth in decent generalities): Well, of course, some men are mean, but (reaching firmer ground) there are crowds of silly, extravagant women!

E. W.

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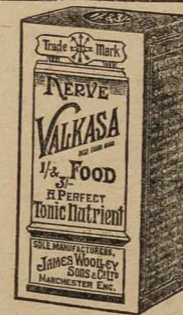
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THE CONCILIATION BILL.

To counteract MISREPRESENTATION, Suffragists and the general public should be made acquainted with its provisions and effect. Broadcast distribution of the two-colour explanatory leaflet just drawn up by Miss Margaret Robertson, B.A., is the best means of doing so. To be had only from THE WILLIAM MORRIS PRESS, LTD., 42, ALBERT STREET, MANCHESTER, at the prices following:—250 3s. 6d., 500 5s., 1,000 9s., 2,000 17s., 3,000 24s., 5,000 37s. 6d., all carriage paid.

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Miss Emily Cox, M.A., Manchester & Salford Women's Trades Union Council.

Mrs. Aldersley.

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Reviews.

THE ENGLISHWOMAN.

An admirably moderate and yet earnest and candid article is contributed to the September number by Mr. Arthur Ponsoby, M.P. It is well known that Mr. Ponsoby desires a much wider Bill than the Conciliation Bill, yet he regards this Bill as the one most likely to pass the House in 1912, and he recommends that suffragists should concentrate on 1912. "It is, then, clear," he writes, "that the attainment of some form of franchise for women is a matter that must be manipulated on non-party lines. The further steps towards manhood and womanhood suffrage can be boldly fought for with the backing of the whole party machine."

If any of our readers see the Anti-Suffrage Review, they had better read, as an antidote to its article on Finland, the very interesting contribution by Miss Rosalind Travers to the Englishwoman on the same subject. Many will be astonished to read the record, by Mrs. Julian Grande, of women's mountaineering feats. Great Britain has the unenviable distinction of being the only country whose Alpine Club refuses to admit women. We know a mathematician who says sadly: "I have three quarrels with England. My country denies me my vote, although I am qualified; my university denies me my degree, although I have earned it; the Alpine Club denies me admission, although I have done more than many of its members." Two articles on vagrancy, a very practical one on poultry keeping and many others go to make up an excellent number.

BEVIS, the story of a boy, by Richard Jefferies. (The Readers' Library, Duckworth, pp. 464, 2s. 6d. net.)

We knew a pair of small boys who raced each other to get up earlier daily in order that the first downstairs should "bag" Bevis. It is the most haunting, romantic, sensible, practical and idealistic children's book we know. Mr. E. V. Lucas, who writes a preface not for boys, knows one good and certain thing: a book as fascinating as Bevis can't be too long, so we have it entire, but with no illustrations except a rough map. We wish that *Amaryllis at the Fair* might soon be given us too.

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.

Miss Crompton writes to point out that Mr. J. D. Hope is M.P. for East Lothian (Haddingtonshire) which was Lord Haldane's constituency, not for West Fife, as we stated in our issue of August 31st. Mr. Hope was defeated in West Fife last December.

EUGENICS.

Would any reader of "The Common Cause" kindly supply the name and address of the institution or college recently founded for collecting and investigating facts bearing upon

the subject of eugenics, and also suggest books and pamphlets on sexual hygiene?

NORAH POWYS.

Parknasilla, New Milton, September 6th, 1911.
[Our correspondent probably refers to the Eugenics Education Society, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C. They publish quarterly the "Eugenics Review." We recommend "Man and Woman" by Havelock Ellis, "Love's coming of age" by Edward Carpenter, "History and Biology" (4d.) by Dr. Saleeby, "Hygiene and Morality" by Lavinia P. Dock (G. P. Putnam's Sons).—Ed. "C.C."]

The Rev. A. Powys of Meanwood Vicarage, Leeds, draws the attention of our readers to the valuable educational work of "Egeria," as recorded in Mr. Holmes' book "What is and what might be" (reviewed in our issue of August 24th), of Maria Montessori in Rome, noticed in the "Fortnightly Review" of August and to the methods in Scottish schools described in the Literary Supplement of the "Times," September 5th. He quotes us as saying that "three-quarters of the elementary school teachers in England are women" and therefore good methods are absolutely needed.

"A Greenwich Domestic" sends us a long letter, portions of which we should be glad to publish if she would send us her name and address, not for publication, but as a guarantee of good faith.

INCOME-TAX.

Mrs. Ayres Purdie calls attention to the fact that claims for the earned income rate (9d. in the £) have to be sent in before the 30th of September, otherwise the unearned income rate (1s. 2d. in the £) will invariably be charged.

The Inland Revenue Department applies this rule so strictly that earned income claims received on the morning of September 30th are ignored on the ground that the statute says "before the 30th of September." Those women who have neglected to claim the earned income rate should apply at once to their local tax surveyor for Form No. 38.

HEALTH

SOUTHALLS' Towels possess many great Advantages:—

- ☞ Their elasticity gives comfort to the wearer.
- ☞ Their complete absorbency promotes cleanliness and gives security.
- ☞ Their unique softness gives warmth and ease.
- ☞ Their thorough antisepticity is the greatest safeguard of health.

SOUTHALLS' SANITARY TOWELS

WARNING. Do not ask for Sanitary Towels—ask specially for Southalls' Other makes lack the many advantages which distinguish Southalls'. Sold at Ladies' Counters in all Drapers, Chemists, etc., in silver packets containing one dozen at 6d., 1/6 and 2/6. A Sample Packet of Towels (varying in size) will be sent post free for six penny stamps. Write to THE LADY MANAGER, 17 Bull St., Birmingham.

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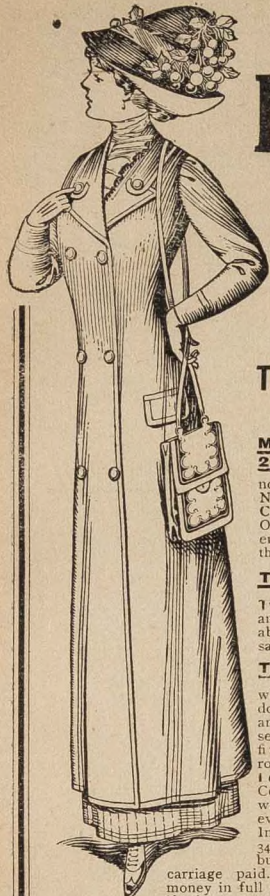
Our illustration is one of "Wilkie's" smart styles, made in blue worsted. These Costumes are carefully cut, fitted, and tailored. They are indeed stylish, pleasing, and comfortable.

Patterns, Sketches, and Measurement Forms will be forwarded on request.

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The Materials: Either Grey, Brown or Green Tweed Mixtures, or Superior plain Black and Navy Cloth—fashionable and durable cloths all of them warranted to give satisfaction in wear

The Style: Very attractive, including smart new collar which may be turned up and buttoned, and double-breasted fronts with panel back and wrapped seams. Sleeves finished with rows of stitching length soins. Conscientious workmanship in every detail. In sizes to fit 34, 36 & 38 inches bust, price 8/6,

carriage paid. Your money in full refunded, if, when you get the coat home, you are not delighted.

3/6 DELAINE
Carriage Paid. **BLOUSE**



Model 273. As dainty a Blouse as any Lady could wish for—exquisitely made in **Self-Cream Delaine**. The Blouse, which fastens at back, has the front designed with centre panel of rich, wide embroidery, with tucks, and a row of narrow embroidery each side. The collar and cuffs are also neatly tucked. Value to delight you, this, at 3/6 carriage paid.

SMARTNESS ITSELF.

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Model 2731. A charmingly effective style for present wear and at a money-saving price.

The Coat is 30ins. long and lined. It has new shaped collar and revers, the hem being trimmed with a shaped band of material and buttons.

The Skirt has six gores and box-pleat at back.

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