THE MATERNITY BENEFIT BY ANNA MARTIN.

The Common Cause,

The Organ of the National Union of

Women's Suffrage

Societies.

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ONE PENNY.



The House That George Built.

John Bull:—Well, I'd like to look a bit closer at it before I take it.

House Agent:—It's a rare good house. Why, it took me three years to build it!

Mrs. Bull:—I can't see no room for baby, John. And where's my mangle and the sewing machine to go?

House Agent:—You must take the house, my good man. Women always will be finding grievances. They like 'em. She'll settle in all right when she know's she's got to.

(See Mr. Lloyd George on the Insurance Bill, Birmingham Town Hall, June 9th, 1911.)

Union is Strength.

The news that the Women's Social and Political Union is going to work at all by-elections to support the candidate who will support the Conciliation Committee is the best news we have heard for a long time. It is a really statesmanlike resolve on the part of their leaders, and suffragists will feel themselves happy that now from end to end of the country their ranks are closed, their objects and methods are the same and the 'twelve months' hard labour '' of which Mrs. Lawrence spoke at the Queen's Hall last week will all be directed

North West Ham, South Bedfordshire, West Somerset, Central Hull, Tradeston division of Glasgow all offer a fine field for our united efforts.

An Argument for Women's Suffrage.

Letters continue to pour in on us and on other papers too, exposing the hopeless misfit that the Insurance Bill been cut out for men) is proving for women. Lord Kerry, a well-known Anti-suffragist, said at a meeting of the officials of Friendly Societies on June 17th, "he had heard it argued that if the Bill went through in its present form, it would be a direct argument for women's suffrage.'

Encouraging Sweating.

In a leaflet issued by the Manchester and Salford Women's Trade and Labour Council, it is pointed out that women earning 15s. a week are forced to pay at the same rate as men (3d. in each case) and for this they get 7s. 6d. while the men get 10s. a week for the first thirteen weeks. They go on to point out that the rajority of women workers are unfortunately included in those earning 15s. or under and they conclude that the extra 2s. 6d. paid to the man is "the result of an extra contribution of 1d. or 2d. levied on the employer in the interests of the favoured sex, which is of course a direct encouragement to the sweating of women.

Sympathy and Apathy.

Lord Cromer speaking in London last week deplored the apathy of anti-suffragists and stated that "the mass of the people were really on the anti-suffrage side.' Queer how retiring these people are! Would anyone have thought that crowd which watched us on June 17th was "really" opposed to us? They used not to be so reticent in the brave days of old. It was one of the densest crowds London has seen, Trafalgar Square and Northumberland Avenue and Hyde Park Corner being a vast sea of faces; yet the fact that this crowd did not is actually cited by the Antis as proof that "this kind of thing is no longer new" (with which we heartily agree) and that "the movement has failed to keep alive any popular interest in it"!! Popular interest is shown, then, by jeering?

The Antis also profess to find in the facts that the 'Constitutionalists' outnumbered the militants in the streets, but the militant meeting was the larger, some sinister meaning; whereas even an Anti might have appreciated the very simple fact that there is only one Albert Hall and therefore if the "militants" have engaged it the "constitutionalists" can't.

Passive and Active.

It is a little difficult to stomach Mr. Lloyd George in a hortatory mood and this seems to be the best he can ever vouchsafe to women. He preached the other day in London, and is reported to have said "Take any reform the extension of the franchise. The people who moved to extend it were the people who already had it. Had it not been for them there never would have been any extension and he would say to the ladies that they would have the franchise through the other sex who already had it." Now this is but a half truth. Of course "the ladies" can only be given the vote by those who already have the vote but Mr. George knows that a good bit of

the "moving" has been done by women, and we are glad to think that it is this stirring spirit in the women which has "moved" the men. It is far healthier and of better augury for the future than it would be if the women really were passive, patient Griseldas waiting for Mr. George to adjudge that the time had come to upraise

Educating Parents.

Mr. Runciman last week received a deputation from the British Medical Association about medical inspection and treatment of school children. He spoke of the fear of the rates going up, but also of the unpopularity of aspection among "ignorant parents." that inspection will never be actually popular. No one—not even Mr. Runciman nor the writer of these lines would enjoy being inspected. But is it necessary to complicate this natural aversion by a de haut en bas treatment of parents which leaves untouched the deplorable gnorance and creates in addition, a sullen antagonism? Since it is the women again (as in the Insurance scheme and in education and a hundred other social affairs) who have to bear the brunt of the inspection, would it not wise to conciliate the women? to educate the women? and even—we say it with all due respect—be educated by

Baron de Forest and Peace.

It is stated that Baron de Forest who is the Liberal Candidate for West Ham has given £20,000 to promote the peace movement by circulating the book by "Norman Angell' entitled "The great Illusion."

Parliamentary Business.

It was certainly wise of the Government to abandon the "time-table" which their less discreet followers have been advertising as part of their policy with the Insurance Bill. Nothing could give a worse impression in the country or make the provisions more difficult to work than a prevailing impression that the country was being

Many people will remain somewhat puzzled at the liplomatic answers of the Prime Minister (page 227) with regard to payment of Members. It is certainly a measure which ought not to be passed until after the Conciliation Bill has become law.

A Women's Hospital.

The Clapham Maternity Hospital (Jeffreys Road, Clapham), which had its annual meeting on June 16th, was founded in 1889 by Dr. Annie McCall for three purposes (1) To provide for maternity patients attention by centlewomen under the immediate supervision of doctors i their own sex. (2) To provide hospital accommodation for the better class of unmarried girls from Rescue Homes. (3) To afford the means by which women may be trained in midwifery or monthly nursing by doctors of their own sex. An interesting address was given by Mrs. Brownlow who spoke of the hespital as one of the evidences of the great spiritual force behind the Woman's Movement of to-day, the women of the upper and bettereducated classes caring for and trying to improve the conditions of their less-fortunate sisters. Up to quite a recent period there was no surplusage of women such as recent census returns reveal because such an enormous number of women died in child-birth, a very different state of affairs to that shown by the figures just read. The hospital relies as to one-third of its income upon patients; another third from probationers, and the remaining third from voluntary contributions.

Trinity College Dublin.

We hear that, for the first time in the history of Trinity College, Dublin, a woman student, Miss Olive McCormack, has won a mathematical scholarship. She obtained second place. Oxford and Cambridge women, who have a grateful heart for Dublin on account of its hospitality to them, will congratulate her.

ALL BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS should be addressed to The
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Advertisements should reach the office by first post on Tuesday.

For long enough, and not support these by the state of the control of the control

JULY 6, 1911.

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CORRESPONDENTS ARE REQUESTED TO NOTE that this paper goes RESPONDENTS ARE KEQUESTED 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

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

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The National Union and the Bill.

In all this you have much to do, and we have much to do both in Parliament and in the country outside. And I want to give you a pledge of my earnestness in this matter. You have been eaked to carry out another nine months' hard labour, as your chairman put it, when, as we all know, the question might have been settled here and now. Well, we, your friends in Parliament, members of the Conciliation Committee, in accepting this Government promise, and in asking you to accept it and work with them in order to fulfil the opportunity when it arrives ought, I think, as your chairman has said, to show that they are prepared to work with you during those months. And in proof of my zeal, the zeal and earnestness with which I eak you to accept this decision. I promise you to devote, as far as I am concerned, the whole of those months' interval to your cause. I intend during those months to put this question before other political questions, to devote such time as I can to the work which will be necessary in order to make sure of this opportunity and to concentrate, so far as the public and private time at my disposal is concerned, upon this Bill. And if this opportunity is fully used I sincerely trust that before another year is over we may meet once more in order to shake hands at the final accomplishment of our work.

—Lord Lytton at the Queen's Hall, June 26.

On the 7th and 8th will be held the half-yearly Council

On the 7th and 8th will be held the half-yearly Council Meeting of the National Union, when the many schemes for the coming half year will be debated and decided. In view of this, we hope that all concerned will review the recent history of our movement in Parliament and in the country and will carefully determine upon such a course of action as will consolidate our present position and greatly extend it. Also, as time, money and human powers are limited, we would appeal for a reasonable concentration. We know that different kinds of communities find different kinds of work most fruitful or most congenial; methods of propaganda which suit a rural constituency may not best for an urban one and the great congeries of constituencies called London, the home of the Court, the seat of Parliament and the city where our own headquarters are established, must of course in many respects differ widely from any other part of the kingdom. Therefore it would be unreasonable to insist upon too rigid a uniformity. Still we must remember not to engage up too many kinds of work at once, because work is much more effective when done in masses and

For long enough, and not unnaturally, there have been two tactical schools—the one argving that nothing ever passed until it was made a party measure and was put forward by the party in power and these argued that we must attack the Government. The other school held that our question never had been a party question and was unlikely to become one and that a steady conversion of men of all parties would attain the desired end. This steady conversion has been going on for over two-score years and ever since 1886 the non-party majority for women's suffrage has steadily increased. As long, however, as the Government itself blocked the way of progress to anything beyond a Second Reading, there was something to be said in favour of opposition to the Government, as a Government. Now at last a pledge has been given to us by the Prime Minister, which leaves no doubt whatever that the Government will not any longer of pose fair play. The pledge is public, and is given by the head of the Government; it names a definite time and promises time not only for a Second Reading but for further stages.

Let us recapitulate the various statements: On May 29th, Mr. Lloyd George in the House, speaking for the

"They will be prepared next session, when the bill has been again read a second time, either as the result of obtaining a good place in the ballot, or (if that does not happen) by the grant of a Government day for the purpose, to give a week (which they understand to be the time suggested as reasonable by the promoters) for its further stages."

Further enquiries failed to get any satisfactory explanation of what was meant by giving us "a week" for the further stages and Mr. Lloyd George would not give any assurance that the closure would be allowed or that the week would be extended and in fact showed very clearly his own desire that no measure of enfranchisement should be passed until the Government should bring in its own Reform Bill in the third session of this Parliament (1913). Things looked black until Sir Edward Grey, speaking on June 1st at the National Liberal Club, cleared away ambiguities. He said:

"The time having now come when a definite opportunity has been promised to the House of Commons, it is important that people interested in the subject should understand that that is a real opportunity, and that neither on the part of the Government which makes it nor on the part of the House which counts it is it.

Government which makes it nor on the part of the House which accepts it is it a bogus offer.

"I would like to remove two misapprehensions which, I hear, are possible with regard to that offer. It is suggested that the week proposed by the Government cannot possibly be sufficient for the three stages of the bill—Committee, Report and third reading—and that being so it is suggested that even if the House completes the Committee stage in a week, then the Government will stage intervant though only one even if the House completes the Committee stage in a week, then the Government will at once intervene, though only one or two days are wanted for the future stages, and having fulfilled the letter of its promise will use all its machinery to prevent those two days taking place. That is not a reasonable interpretation of the Government offer. They are not pledged to more than a week, but to suppose that if the House of Commons in a week showed itself to have a combined, determined majority, substantial and united, anxious to proceed with the bill—to suppose that the Government would then use all its Whips and machinery to say that even though one or two days only more were required it would use all its influence to prevent those two days being used—that is not a reasonable interpretation of the offer. They are pledged to nothing more than a week, but they are not pledged at the end of a week, if the House of Commons wishes to proceed,

end of a week, if the House of Commons wishes to proceed, to step in and intervene.

"It is also suggested that a week might be useless because the promoters of the bill will be the mere helpless butt for obstruction during the week without any powers of defence, making themselves and the bill ridiculous. That is not the intention of the Government offer. The intention, of course, is that those who are interested in the bill, its promoters and supporters, should have a fair chance which any people ought to have of defending themselves by the means which the rules of the House place at the disposal of majorities for defending themselves against obstruction, and for making the rules of the House place at the disposal of majorities for defending themselves against obstruction, and for making reasonable progress. The whole question is now in a new situation, in which it is open for those who are in favour of it to devote the interval which must elapse between this year and next to so combining their efforts as to make the best use of what is a real opportunity in which effective progress may be made."

There were then found wiseacres who said that, after all, Sir Edward Grey was only one member of the

Cabinet and Mr. Lloyd George was another and as between the two, who was to decide what the Government really meant to do? This question has now been settled by the Prime Minister who, in a letter to Lord Lytton, dated June 15th, endorsed Sir Edward Grey's speech, which, he said, "accurately expresses the intentions of the Cabinet." And he made the assurance much more definite by continuing,

definite by continuing,

"It follows (to answer your specific inquiries) that the
'week' offered will be interpreted with reasonable elasticity,
that the Government will oppose no obstacle to a proper use
of the closure, and that if, as you suggest, the bill gets
through Committee in the time proposed, the extra days required for report and third reading would not be refused.

"The Government, though divided in opinion on the merits
of the bill, are unanimous in their determination to give
effect not only in the letter but in the spirit to the promise in
regard to facilities which I made on their behalf before the
last general election."

This then, is the situation. We are promised that in 1912 the Conciliation Bill shall be given adequate facilities to pass all its stages. We know we have a large majority for the Second Reading. But we have now to look further than the Second Reading. The Bill is so drafted as to be "capable of amendment" in Committee and we are now certain that it will reach the Committee. All the Women's Suffrage Societies are united in their demand. It is that unity which they must communicate to their supporters in the House. It is essential that all the friends of women's suffrage should vote for the Bill in the form in which it emerges from the Committee stage. Signs are not wanting of an unholy alliance" between extreme adultists and antisuffragists. The latter have even been amusing themselves by drafting widening amendments and if they could only persuade a sufficient number of adultists to vote for these, they could secure that the bill should be presented for third reading in a form in which it could not pass. These strike us as dishonest and dirty tricks, but they are clearly not impossible. If the Antis, voting solid for widening amendments, could seduce enough suffragists into accompanying them into the lobby to secure majority for these amendments in Committee, they could then rat on the third reading.

We believe these tactics have only to be exposed to be defeated; it is therefore our duty to expose them. It is our duty to make plain to honest adultists that the result they desire can be in no way prejudiced by allowing the Conciliation Bill to pass next session. This will clear the ground and leave the House really free to decide for or against including women in any wider measure that may be contemplated.

The coming year, then, is a year not of fighting but of education and organisation. The Bill must be further explained and published and popularised. Our forces must be more and more concentrated upon the Bill. It is not too much to hope that Members of Parliament and even members of the Cabinet may, in Sir Edward Grey's words, "devote the interval which must elapse between this year and next to so combining their efforts as to make the best use of what is a real opportunity in which effective progress may be made." Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Birrell, we know, favour this Bill. Perhaps many other suffragists in the Cabinet might be brought to speak for it also if they could see how it would simplify the situation. Of the Conciliation Committee we are sure. The spirit of true chivalry breathes in the gallant words of Lord Lytton with which we head this article.

The Maternity Benefit.

In the extract quoted last week from Mr. Lloyd George's Birmingham speech, he intimated that the reason he had determined that the maternity benefit should be spent for and not by the mother, was his desire to put an end to the disgraceful infantile mortality we have in this country." By which remark the Chancellor showed he had not mastered the elements of the problem. He errs, indeed, in good company. Lord

Cromer last Spring, in an Anti-Suffrage speech, charged the working women of England with being responsible for the high death rate among their babies. On April 11th Dr. Addison, the member for Hoxton, on introducing a Bill into the House of Commons to secure the instruction of girls in infant hygiene, declared that 150,000 children under the age of five died every ear in this country, and that in at least 50,000 cases death was due to parental ignorance. Nay, more. Sir George Newman, now Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education, whose own book on "Infant Mortality ought to have taught him better, quotes on p. 262, with approval, the dictum of the Medical Officer of Health for Burnley that "death in infancy is probably more due to ignorance and negligence than to any other cause.' All such statements seem to show that men do not possess and apparently, cannot acquire the specialised knowledge ecessary to interpret statistical tables dealing with the This is not surprising, of course. Women would probably make just as sorry an exhibition over—say—the shipping returns. The mischief is that men, in their genuine desire to improve social conditions, keep on trying to legislate about questions of which they have this inadequate comprehension.

Let us compare two London districts, each of which happens to be well-known to the writer.

According to the last report of the Medical Officer of Health of the London County Council, Hampstead, a suburb inhabited mainly by well-to-do people, showed almost the lowest infantile death-rate in London—viz., 75 per thousand; whereas Bermondsey, an exceedingly poor district, showed almost the highest—viz., 138 per thousand—a difference of six per cent. to the disadvantage of the working-class mother. "What need we any further witness?" The figures, however, will not bear the interpretation commonly put on them.

In the first place, the rate for Bermondsey includes the mortality of the offspring of the defective and of the drunken mothers, classes which hardly exist in Hampstead, and which show both great fecundity and a high child death-rate. Dr. Garrett Anderson lately told us of 92 mentally deficient mothers who had given birth to 850 children, of whom 373 had died in infancy. Sir George Newman tells us in "Infant Mortality" that the death-rate among the children of alcoholics increases with the length of the family, till with the sixth or seventh child it may reach 100 per cent. No precise figures are available, but it is clear that even 150 such mothers in a population of 90,000 would perceptibly raise the Borough rate of infant deaths. Sir George Newman also tells us that one-third of all the children who die under twelve months perish from ante-natal causes—in essence, the physical inability of the mother to pass on sufficient vigour to her offspring to enable it to maintain a separate existence. Some babies perish from immaturity even in favoured Hampstead, but if 33 per cent. be the proportion for the whole country, the proportion of deaths from this cause must be far greater in a place like Bermondsey, where mothers go through such dire experiences as were recorded in last week's

Taking these things into account, is it not probable that the surplus percentage of infant deaths that can by any possibility be ascribed to the action or inaction of the mothers of the industrial classes is nearer three per cent. than six? But this is not the whole case. If a baby is to thrive, Harley Street tells us, it must have plenty of air and space, abundant mother's milk or a satisfactory substitute, regular hours for food, sleep, and exercise. All these the typical Hampstead baby has; none of these are available for the average Bermondsey one. It shares two or three small, dark, low rooms, perhaps up a court, with the rest of its family; its overdriven, under-nourished mother, knowing she cannot afford the expense of artificial feeding, suckles it to the last possible moment, but her milk often lacks all nourishing qualities, and to still the child's hunger it has to be given bits from the family table. If the natural supply fails altogether, the baby is perforce fed on boiled bread and tinned milk. So far from being solely the child's

nurse, the woman has to attend to the wants of the entire household, and the infant must take its sleep, food, and exercise as happens to be convenient to its father and other relations. The fact that the infantile death-rate in places like Bermondsey and Shoreditch (the two worst in London) differs so little from those of Hampstead and Lewisham (the two best) is, in truth, a magnificent tribute to the skill, devotion, and self-sacrifice of the average working-class mother. The trained nurse who presides over a local Babies' Institute exclaimed lately to the writer, "Not with all my training and experience could I do half as well with their babies in their circumstances as they do!" And yet these women, who against such odds wage such a successful fight for their children's lives, are not considered fit by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be trusted with the spending of their own maternity benefit! When will our legislators learn that the only way to improve the condition of the masses is to raise the status of the mother? They will not do this by treating her as if she were a child or an idiot. But Mr. Lloyd George had probably other ideas in his mind. Do not drunken and bad husbands exist, and might not such conceivably appropriate the money to their own uses? The intemperate husband is no new phenomenon in English society, nor his luckless wife a new apparition in our police courts. English Law has left her to struggle on all these centuries as best she could, giving her no right to release, no legal claim to any proportion of her husband's earnings, yet practically holding her responsible for the condition of the children. She has had nothing to aid her in her unequal contest but her own moral force, the remnants of good left in her husband's character, and the public opinion of her street. Yet the worst drunkard knows that if he means to drink his wages he must visit the public house before he reaches home. Once the money gets into his wife's hands, he realizes he has little chance of seeing it again. Let the maternity benefit be paid direct to the wife, and she will not fail to hold it in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of a thousand. At least this is the opinion of working-women themselves, and no one is more likely

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to know. As regards the possible attachment of the money for arrears of rent, the same considerations hold good. any case, if Mr. Lansbury's amendment to Clause 51 is carried, whereby the restraint of the power of eviction of, or of levying distraint upon, persons in receipt of sickness benefit is extended to cover maternity, the danger will reach vanishing point. The writer will be reminded that there is a class of women below the decent poor for whom she is pleading, women broken and degraded, and who might themselves mis-apply the money. True, but this is no excuse for allowing the failings of one very small section to influence legislation to the detriment of the rest. This is one of the worst results of the exclusion of women from citizenship. Men tend to lump all the unenfranchised together and try to legislate for them en masse. It must not be forgotten that the "degraded" class is by no means co-extensive with women who drink more than most people would approve. One of the first lessons to be learnt by the middle-class student of workingclass life is that a very considerable degree of intemper ance in both men and women can exist without moral collapse. Yet one has only to look back to the days of the younger Pitt and of Charles Lamb to see how recently. it has become the custom to visit occasional excess with serious reprobation.

One last point must be touched upon.

Theorists may fear that the payment of the maternity benefit directly in cash, as is done by the Hearts of Oak, would act as an inducement to reckless propagation. That an epileptic like Mr. B -- mentioned last week should be allowed to bring fresh children into the world for the community to support seems to the writer a seandal and an absurdity. But a Parliament of men has never shown any desire to apply direct coercion in such cases to the father, the really responsible party, and women have a right to demand that the Law shall not attempt to coerce him indirectly by passing laws to the detriment of the wife.

ANNA MARTIN.

Mrs. Chapman Catt's Presidential Address.

SIXTH CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

(Continued from page 206, last week.)

In Great Britain, the United States, and the four Scandinavian countries, further extensions of suffrage to women are sure to come soon. It is not easy to make prophecy concerning the outcome of the woman suffrage campaigns on the Continent. Certain it is that the victories which are shortly to come in England and Scandinavia will greatly accelerate the rate of progress there and since the surprising developments in Portugal, prophecy becomes impossible. As all the world knows. an obstinate and recalcitrant government alone stands between the women of Great Britain and their enfranchisement. A campaign which will always be conspicuous among the world's movements for human rights, for its surpassing fervour, sacrifice and originality has been maintained without a pause. Fifty town and county councils, including the chief cities of Great Britain, have petitioned Parliament to pass the bill, the Lord Mayor of Dublin appearing at the bar of the House of Commons to present that petition in person; 300,000 men during the late elections petitioned Parliament to the same end, and complete evidence has been presented that there is a tremendous public sentiment demanding Parliamentary action. The chief men of Australia and New Zealand have sent their strongest and unreserved approval of the results of woman suffrage in their respective countries. The Parliament of Australia has cabled its endorsement to the British Parliament and now Australian and New Zealand women voters are organizing to aid their English sisters. The Government evidently nurses a forlorn hope that by delay it can tire out the workers and destroy the force of the campaign. It little comprehends the movement. When a just cause reaches its flood-tide, as ours has done in that country, whatever stands in the way must fall before its overwhelming power. Political parties, governments, constitutions must yield to the inevitable or take the consequences of ruin. Which horn of the dilemma the English Government will choose is the only question remaining. Woman suffrage in Great Britain is inevitable

In the United States, five Legislatures have submitted the question to the voters and we await the result. One decision will be given this year in October, the others next year. In Denmark, there are two suffrage organizations whose combined membership make the suffrage organization of that country, in proportion to population, the largest in the world. A few weeks ago, had the pleasure of visiting the Parliament, and speaking with many men of many political parties. The Premier, the Speakers of both chambers, the leaders of parties and many others assured me that the Parliamentary vote for women would not be long delayed. It requires three years to amend the constitution in Denmark, and we must therefore be patient. The women have worked wisely and well; they are doing womanly and intelligent political work and the evidence presented for the actual step cannot in reason be long delayed.

It was my pleasure also to visit Norway. I wish Parliaments of all countries could pay that country a visit so that Doubting Thomas could see what I saw in Norway. It is difficult to describe. One feels the difference between the enfranchised and unenfranchised countries in the spirit of things rather than in tangible form. That sex antagonism which everywhere exists, whether we like to admit it or not, is gone, and in its place has come a comradeship on a high moral plane. It seems like the peace and relief of mind which is always manifest after the satisfactory adjustment of an invitation of the second irritating difference of opinion. The men have been just to the women and they are proud of their act; the women have had justice done and they are grateful. this state of mutual good feeling, the men promise that they will remove the tax qualification and make the

women's invasion of modern industry, are attempting to

regulate their wages, hours, and the conditions under

which they shall work. Already serious wrong has been

done many women, because of this ill-advised legislation.

Overwhelmed by the odds against them in this struggle

for existence, thousands are driven to the streets. There

they swell that horrid, unspeakably unclean peril of

civilisation, prostitution, and their numbers are aug-

mented by the White Slave traffic and by the machina-

tion of male parasites who live upon the earnings of

women of vice. The time has come for action; the prosti-

tute is no longer a moral outcast to be mentioned with

bated breath or treated as a subject too indelicate for dis-

cussion. She has become a problem of entirely new

significance and demands our attention. Her state is

now well-known to be the breeding ground of dangerous

and insidious diseases which are surely and steadily de-

teriorating the race. She enters the palaces of kings and

the hovels of the poor. Something must be done; the

race must be preserved while there is time. In accord-

ance with modern discoveries concerning tuberculosis the nations have organized campaigns against it; we women,

armed with ballots, must attack this far more serious

foe. These wretched women, designed by nature for the

sacrament of motherhood, have been told off by distorted

unnatural conditions and degraded into a secret plague which is sapping the life of the race. We must be

merciful, for they are the natural and inevitable con-

sequence of centuries of false reasoning concerning

women's place in the world. We may perhaps, draw the

curtain of obscurity over those women who because of inherent evil have voluntarily sought this life; investiga-

tion has proved that at least two-thirds of them have been

driven to this last despairing effort to live by economic

conditions. For these women we have to fight. Their

wrongs are our wrongs. Their existence is part of our

problem. They have been created by the very injustices

victims, of the army of women in all lands who, in shops

and factories, are demanding fair living and working

conditions, which turns the energies of more favoured

women to public service. It is the demand for a complete revision of women's legal, social, educational, and industrial status all along the line which permits no delay,

no hesitation. The belief that we are defending the

highest good of the mothers of our race and the ultimate

welfare of society makes every sacrifice seem trivial, every

duty a pleasure. The pressing need spurs us on; the certainty of victory gives us daily inspiration.

We have come upon a new time, which has brought

new and strange problems. Old problems have assumed

new significance. In the adjustment of the new order

It is the helpless cry of these women who are the

against which we protest.

suffrage universal for women as it is for men. The Prime Minister assured me that the four political parties differed widely on many questions but they were quite one mind in their approval of woman suffrage. Norway presents an ideal example of woman suffrage in practice and is an achievement of which we may boast with no reservation of doubt. Two hundred and ten women sit in its town and county councils and three hundred and seventy-nine serve as alternates for councillors. Everywhere, women as officers, as jurors, as voters, are patriotically and intelligently working for the public welfare of their country in dignified and womanly fashion.

I have reserved Sweden, the land of our hostesses, as the last country to be mentioned. Sweden has a Saint Birgitti, a woman who was canonized because of her goodness and religious work. The guide books tell us that she was the first woman's rights woman in the world, for she was outspoken and emphatic in demand for woman's freedom. Later Fredrika Bremer, well known in all lands, advocated rights for women. She was a woman ahead of her times. Her last book published in 1865 set forth the reforms she considered necessary in order to establish a correct and fair status for women. Many of these proposed changes have been made, but so new were these ideas that the book was received with a storm of disapproval. Her former admirers became critics and her friends thought she had lost her balance of mind. Two weeks before her death she wrote to a friend: "I have lost all my popularity, my countrymen no longer approve of me, my friends are lost and I am deserted and alone; nevertheless I wrote that book in response to the highest duty I know, and I am glad I did it." It is sad to think of that wonderful woman dying in this enlightened land, with possibly no true companion of her great soul to understand the service she had rendered womankind and the motive which inspired it. But her prophecy of yesterday has become the history of to-day. Undoubtedly as the result of her teaching, municipal or communal suffrage was granted to tax-paying widows and spinsters in 1862. Later the Fredrika Bremer Association was organized, and cultivated education and independence among women. In 1899 two of its members petitioned Parliament for an extension of suffrage rights, and when our first international conference was held in Washington, it sent a delegate. Measures concerning women were pending in Parliament, and it was determined to organize an association which should have woman suffrage as its purpose. That was in 1902 and from that date the movement has made amazing progress. The municipal suffrage has been extended to married women, and eligibility secured. Organizations exist in 170 towns, some of them north of the Polar Circle and there is a paid membership of 12,000; 1,550 meetings have been held since the London Congress. A member of Parliament tells me it is the most thoroughly organized undertaking in Sweden. Does this history indicate a receding wave? Since the days of St. Birgitta this movement has been marching forward to certain victory. No country has made such progress in so short a time. Two political parties now boldly espouse the cause, and the third merely pleads that the times are not ripe for it. It requires three years to amend the constitution here as it does in Denmark. The women are intelligent, systematic, alert and active, worthy descendants of Birgitta and Fredrika Bremer. They will not desert the cause, or pause in their campaign. It is not difficult to predict the

The Suffrage Association is not the only force at work for full woman suffrage. It has an interesting ally in the many curious inconsistencies in the law which defines the status of women. These must appeal powerfully to the common sense of the people and thus hasten the con-version of the country to political suffrage. I shall name

(1) Women may vote for Town and county councils and these bodies elect the Upper House, but they are accounted wholly unworthy to vote for members of the Lower House.

(2) Women are eligible to municipal councils and nine women are now serving as town councillors. These women have a direct vote for the Upper House and therefore more suffrage rights than most men, but these same women may not vote at all for members of the Lower

(3) A gifted woman will speak at our Congress, and in recognition of her rare endowments has secured the Nobel prize; she may vote for a municipal or county councillor, but with all her genius, Selma Lagerlöf is not permitted to vote for a member of Parliament.

(4) The president of the Swedish Suffrage Association is a learned lady. By ancient ceremony at Upsala she has been, in acknowledgment of her wisdom, crowned with a laurel wreath; yet with all her learning she is not considered by her government intelligent enough to cast a vote for a member of Parliament.

(5) In Sweden people possessed of a certain income may qualify to cast many votes, the highest number of votes allowable being forty. There are many women who have forty votes in the municipal elections and I have myself met several, who started in life with nothing in their pockets, but who, by their own initiative and enterprise have accumulated enough to entitle them to 40 votes; yet these same women cannot cast a vote for Parliament. Parliament which sees nothing amusing in these illogical discriminations has no sense of humour.

The Scandinavian peoples represent a race which does not forget that its ancestors were Vikings who sailed the seas without chart or compass. There are modern Vikings in all these lands, as fearlessly ready to solve modern problems as were those of old. It is unlikely that all the people were bold and courageous in those ancient times. There were undoubtedly pessimistic croakers who declared the ships would never return, that the men would be lost at sea, and that the enterprises were foolwhom we now find among university professors; but we recall that it is the Vikings who are remembered to-day.

In order to learn the whole truth concerning our movement I put to all our presidents a Questionnaire. Among the questions was this: "What are the indications that the woman movement is growing in your country Not one president of our 24 countries found signs of backward steps. Instead such volumes of evidence of onward progress were received that it is quite impossible to give any adequate idea of its far reaching character. In a number of countries the entire code of laws affecting women is under revision and liberal measures are proposed to take the places of the old. Denmark will take the oath of obedience out of the marriage ceremony. The Bishop of Iceland has supported a bill to make women eligible to ecclesiastical office and declared St. Paul himself would have favoured the change were he here. In Silesia where women landowners have the right of a proxy vote in the council election, nearly 2,000 women exercised this privilege to the amazement of the public. Unusual honours have been given women in all lands. Simultaneously, women were elected Presidents of the National Teachers Associations in Great Britain and the United States. For the first time positions heretofore closed have opened their doors to women. Equal pay for equal work has been granted to the 13,000 womenteachers of New York City, after a splendid campaign of several years. The press is everywhere more friendly. Distinguished people are joining our ranks. The argument has changed ground and the evidence is complete that women are no longer the forgotten sex. George in his accession speech spoke of his wife as " helpmate in every endeavour for our people's good." It is believed that no other King in English history has thus publicly acknowledged his Queen Consort as sharing responsibility. I can only say that evidence is overwhelming that the walls of the opposition are falling down like those of Jericho of old before the blare of our suffrage trumpets. Some may ask why we are not now content to wait for the processes of reason and evolution to bring the result we want; why do we disturb ourselves to hasten progress? I answer, because we refuse to sit idly by while other women endure hideous wrongs. Women have suffered enough of martyrdom through their false position: they have been hot and impatient perhaps; we accept nothing less. So would bequeath to those who come after us a fair chance To the wrong that needs resistance Modern economic conditions are pushing To the right that needs assistance hundreds of thousands of women out of their homes into To the future in the distance the labour market. Crowded into unskilled employ We give ourselves. ments for want of proper training, they are buffeted about like corks upon a sea. Everywhere paid less than Text of the Bill. men for equal work, everywhere discriminated against, The Bill popularly known as the "Conciliation Bill," which they are utterly at the mercy of forces over which they 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: have no control. Law-making bodies, not understanding

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 (1834) 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 purposes 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.

In Parliament.

PAYMENT OF MEMBERS.

On Monday 26th June Mr. Asquith informed Viscount Wolmer that in order to allow an adequate opportunity for the discussion of the conditions under which members should be paid the Government would put down a resolution on the paper. They did not propose to introduce a Payment of Members Bill this session. On Monday July 3rd he said "the intention of the Government in regard to payment of members was stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his Budget speech and, subject always to Parliamentary exigencies, the Government hope to give effect to it. I cannot at present

name any day for dealing with the subject.' It will be remembered that Mr. George said it was proposed to establish the payment of Members in this session and that a bill would not be necessary.

THE INSURANCE BILL.

On Monday July 3rd Mr. Asquith stated that the Committee stage would begin on the 5th and would be pursued continuously. For the present the Government had decided to allot no definite time but they hoped to secure the passage of the Bill by means of the ordinary facilities under the Standing Orders of the House.

THE HOME OFFICE VOTE.

On Monday 26th on a resolution for the reduction of the Home Secretary's salary "to testify disapprobation of his administration" the votes were, For the amendment, 143; against the amendment, 175; Government majority, 32.

PRIVATE BILL.

On Friday 30th the Intestate Husband's Estate (Scotland) Bill, which assimilates the Scottish to the English of things, we women demand an equal voice; we shall law, passed the Report stage and third reading.

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. Telephone: 1960 Victoria.

Offices: Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

From Headquarters.

HOLIDAY TASKS.

When people are away from home, and released from their daily routine, their minds are more receptive of new ideas. Who will give time to work in holiday The holiday season is approaching and must not be neglected by suffragists. It offers good opportunities for propaganda, and more especially, for the sale of "The Common Cause."

New ideas. Who will give thic to work in holiday resorts? Surely those who are taking a long holiday will give an hour a day at least during part of it to suffrage work. Those who can do nothing else could sell "The Common Cause." and would probably have little difficulty in disposing of a large number of copies

If every member of the National Union going for a holiday would undertake to sell a definite number of copies of "The Common Cause" every week the circudation would rapidly increase. Send names and addresses with a weekly order for "The Common Cause" and subscription forms to The Manager, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester

Names and addresses of those willing to speak or to do other kinds of work should be sent to the Hon. Secretary, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W. No spot is too remote for propaganda; I found a copy of "The Common Cause" in the Concordia Hut at the top of the Great Aletsch Glacier, two years ago! Visitors to Switzerland please take notice! Order plenty of copies of "The Common Cause" and leave one wherever you go.

NEW SOCIETIES.

In the course of the last six weeks the following new societies have been affiliated to the Union:-

NORTH.—Chester-le-Street, Hartlepool, Ashton and

EAST.—Bury St. Edmunds, Stowmarket. WEST.—Instow, Appledore, Barnstaple. SOUTH.—Crowborough, Rotherfield.

DELEGATES TO THE N.U.W.W.

The following are the delegates elected by the N.U.W.S.S. to the Conference of the National Union of Women Workers to be held at Glasgow in October: - The Lady Frances Balfour, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Miss I. O. Ford, Miss Clementina Black, Mrs. Ramsay Macdonald, Mrs. Heitland, Dr. Ethel Williams, Mrs. Alfred Illingworth, Miss Sturge, Mrs. Stanbury.

COUNCIL MEETING.

The Council Meeting to be held at Edinburgh on July 7th and 8th promises to be an important one, and it is hoped that those Societies which are not able to send a delegate have arranged for at least one proxy. The next twelve months will be critical in the history of the suffrage movements and the best means of using the time will be discussed at the Council.

The Council will be held in the Queen's Hall, Queen Street, Edinburgh, on July 7th and 8th, and the Edinburgh Society has most kindly invited the delegates to a reception on the evening of the 7th. Those who have attended Council Meetings know how much these opportunities for meeting friends from all parts of the country are welcomed.

UNCLAIMED PROPERTY.

All the banners and poles labelled with the names of the Societies to which they belonged were returned immediately after the procession.

The following is a note of poles, strings, etc., which were placed in the National Union Van unlabelled. We shall be much obliged if their owners will claim them as soon as possible, otherwise they will inevitably be mixed with the poles, etc., belonging to Headquarters.

An umbrella was left at the Portman Rooms; it will be forwarded to the owner if she will kindly send a description to the office.

1 Large banner. White ground, two lilies facing, seven-rayed star. Motto: "Consilio non Vi."
2 Pennants on red sticks with white knobs. Pennants made of red and white muslin. Green bow at head.
2 Pennants on white sticks. Centre stripe (broad), red. Stripes either side, green. Outside stripes, white. Material,

12 Pennants on bamboo sticks. Red, white, and green. Material,

7ft. long.

2 Red wood poles (polished). 10ft. long.

2 Red wood poles (painted), big red knobs. 10ft. long.

1 Red wood pole (painted), minus knob.

1 Yellow wood pole, with knob. 7ft. long.

2 Mottled bamboo poles, with no fittings. 6ft. long.
2 Mottled bamboo poles. 9ft. long.
2 White bamboos, with no fittings. 9ft. long.
1 Plain wood pole, with notch at top. 9ft. long.
1 Stained wood pole, with gilded knob. 6ft. long.
3 Peacock-blue slings.
1 Red, green, and white sling (satinette).
1 String-coloured sling.

1 String-coloured sling.

3 Green with yellow slings.

Treasurer's Notes.

This week will see us all assembled in council at Edinburgh and, judging from the agenda that is before us, we may expect much useful work to be the result of our

I shall be especially interested in any scheme that will be put forward for increasing our present number of organizers. In view of the work that will be necessary in the immediate future, this is a matter of the first importance. There is no need for me to point out the particular nature of the "straw" that will be necessary for the making of these "bricks." One anonymous donor has already come forward with a generous donation of £100 for increasing our staff of organizers. This will, I feel sure, be a great encouragement to the Council, and should be an example which we hope will be followed by others who are anxious to couple generosity with

We have every reason to be proud of the organizers to whose capacity we owe the recent increase in the strength of our Union, and all who subscribe money for this purpose will have the satisfaction of knowing that they are promoting work which will have immediate

HELENA AUERBACH.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO GENERAL FUND.

JUNE 21st TO JUNE 30th, 1911	£ s. d.
Already acknowledged since Nov. 1st	
Subscriptions—	0 1 0
Miss E. M. Hall	0 1 0 2 0 0
Mrs. G. Crosse	2 0 0
Miss Lloyd Davies	0 5 0
Port Glasgow W.S.S.	0 14 0
Woking W.S.S.	
Woking W.S.S. Crondal and Crookham W.S.S.	0 5 0
Llangollen WSS	0 6 0
Weybridge and District W.S.S.	0 8 6
Hastings and St. Leonards W.S.S	0 11 0
Barnstaple W.S.S.	0 7 3
Newton-le-Willows	0 5 0
	£1,120 5 8½
Anonymous, for additional organisers	£100 0 0
PROCESSION FUND.	
JUNE, 1911.	
00111, 1511.	£ s. d.
Already acknowledged	294 4 1
Miss Finke	0 5 0
Miss Jessie Muntz	5 0 0
Mrs. Walter Carey (2nd donation)	2 0 0
Miss E. H. Ford	2 0 0
Miss Milton	0 10 0
Mrs. J. S. Turner	1 0 0
Miss Hepburn Mrs. W. E. Dowson	0 2 0
Mrs. W. E. Dowson	1 4 8
	2306 5 9
BY-ELECTIONS.	
DI-EBECTIONS.	s. d.
Mrs. Dunn (for Hull)	
Mrs. Foster (for Hull)	

CORRECTIONS.

The money received by the Cuckfield Society should have been described as "from June to April," instead of "from January to April." The donation of £1 1s. from Miss Jacomb Hood should have been entered from Mrs. Seyd.

Press Department.

saturette.

2 Yellow wood poles (polished), with brass fittings. Each pole in two pieces and screw piece to fix.

2 White (painted) wooden poles and crossbar. Four slings attached.

"The Nexth Wales Chronicles which were The Bangor and District Society Secretary has sent

"The North Wales Chronicle, which was, we believe, the first local paper in North Wales to support the Suffrage Movement, has been giving us strong assistance lately. They publish regularly "Suffrage Notes,"

report fully local meetings, and gave a very good account of the Procession. We hope our members will show their appreciation of the North Wales Chronicle's attitude.

The South Western Federation reports:-

JULY 6, 1911.

'The Western Daily Mercury has given us good sup-They send a suffragist reporter to report local meetings, and have constant suffrage news and favourable

The Western Weekly gave a particularly good account of the Procession. They always favourably report suffrage news.

The Express and Echo and the Western Times will print suffrage news."

Literature Department.

Every suffragist should read the pamphlet on the Married Working Women which the National Union publishes this week. It is by Miss Anna Martin, whose articles on the maternity benefit are now appearing in "The Common Cause." It is an illuminating study of the lives of working class mothers, and shows with great clearness how they are affected day by day by the fact that they are not even potential voters. They are forced to fit themselves to the law instead of the law being made to fit them, and the result is often to add a handicap in their heroic struggle. The pamphlet as now issued contains the whole of the two articles in the "Nineteenth Century and After," for which there has been so much demand. It contains therefore an unusual amount of interesting matter, and as the price is only 3d. it is hoped that every member of the Union will buy it. It is published with bright green and red covers, which will look well upon a stall.

The leaflets addressed respectively "to Men and Women of the Conservative Party," and "to Men and Women of the Labour Party," announced last week are now ready, and it is hoped that they will be very useful in the by-elections. Like the leaflet addressed to Men and Women of the Liberal Party, they appeal to party men and women in the words of some of their own leaders. The Conservative one includes extracts from Labour one gives the opinions of Mr. Lansbury, Mr. Shackleton, Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Snowden

For the convenience of those working at elections the leaflets have been printed on different coloured paper so that they can be rapidly distinguished from each other. They contain as much matter as the old twopenny pamphlets on the opinions of Liberal and Conservative leaders, and they can be had at leaflet price.

The demand for information about the Insurance Bill is very great. In addition to Miss Macarthur's leaflet on this subject the National Union has now arranged to stock an excellent and detailed pamphlet published by the Fabian Women's group on "How the National Insurance Bill affects women." For the benefit of those who wish for a clear general statement it is also stocking a pamphlet by Mr. Philip Snowden on the same bill. A "Colonial Statesmen and Votes for Women," published by the Women's Freedom League will give some additional information to those who have already had our leaflet on the Australian Senate's Resolutions. It can be had from the National Union.

Our work has been growing so rapidly lately that our literature has to be rapidly renewed in order to be kept up to date. A limited number of the following pamphlets and leaflets of which the National Union has too large a stock will be sent as a gift to any society which will write at once and pay postage.

"Some Prominent Politicians on Woman's Suffrage" (leaflet). "Wanted, a Statesman" (pamphlet).

"Why Should Women Work at Parliamentary Elections?"

"Is Woman's Only Sphere the Home?" (pamphlet).

"Physical Force" (pamphlet).
"Portraits of Leaders."

"The Common Cause."

WORKING WOMEN AND THE PAPER

A correspondent from the Midlands writes:-"A member reports an interesting fact bearing upon the sale of our much valued "Common Cause." A working woman near Birmingham to whom a weekly C.C. had been sent suggested that she should put up a poster in her small "general" shop. Her suggestion was acted upon, and already, in a very short time, five new subscribers have been gained and one new suffrage member. What a practical suggestion! It is to be hoped that many will be found to follow the example of this good suffragist."

ANOTHER DONATION.

We gratefully acknowledge a donation of two guineas from Lady Gibb towards the Procession expenses.

Many friends have expressed a wish that we would always have the colours on our front page. We will gladly do so, whenever kind friends will defray the cost.

COMMON CAUSE WEEKS

The report of the work done in the Birmingham Common Cause week has now come in from Miss L. E. Bowler of the Franchise Club, who organized the work in conjunction with the Birmingham Society. This Birmingham week was, as already reported, a great success from our point of view, twenty-two special advertisements were obtained, and a number of newsagents promised to stock the paper and to show one of our contents bills every week. A substantial sum towards the expenses was received from those who were unable to give personal help, and the National Union strip posters in the colours were shown on the hoardings for three days before, and during the whole of "the Week." An advertisement of "the Week." appeared in the "Birmingham News," and the editor of that paper also inserted short notice of the work done. The helpers numbered 41 and they report that with one exception they all made an attempt at an interview at every house in the roads they undertook. Some were unable to pay a second visit, but it is evident that all in greater or less degree did most valuable propaganda work. The ignorance and indifference encountered were even more striking than was expected, and in large numbers of cases distributors had to overcome quite elementary objections and prejudice the speeches of Lord Robert Cecil, Lord Selborne, Mr. of the most benighted order, before making any impres-Balfour, Mr. Lyttleton and Lord Hugh Cecil, and the sion at all. It is satisfactory to find, however, that in many cases an impression was made, and the workers have sent in lists of people who were so far interested as

to be worth working up later.

We value very highly this evidence of the good done by
a "Common Cause Week." Newcastle-on-Tyne is the next society to undertake this piece of work, and Mrs. Darlington is now working there. We should be glad if some seaside places would apply to the National Union for the services of the organizer at the end of July and the beginning of August. The great crowds of people who will be at the seaside then provide magnificent opportunities for propaganda work, and we are confident that the workers would not fail either.

By-elections.

Speakers are urgently needed in West Somerset, South Bedfordshire and North West Ham.

Elections offer the best opportunities for reaching voters and putting pressure on Members of Parliament, but the organizers cannot carry on an effective campaign unless they have an adequate supply of speakers. Who will sacrifice part of their time to this most important work? Names and addresses should be sent to the organizers as soon as possible.

NORTH WEST HAM. NORTH WEST HAM.

Candidates: Mr. Ernest Wild (U.)
Baron de Forest (L.).

Date of Poll: Saturday, July 8th.

Committee Rooms: 2, Workman's Hall Buildings,
Romford Road, Stratford.

Organizer: Miss Rinder.

We have submitted the following questions to the candidates:—(1) Will you declare yourself in your election address

to be in favour of the Conciliation Bill for the Enfranchise-

ment of Women?

(2) Will you vote for the second reading of the Conciliation Bill and will you support it through all its stages? Mr. Wild's reply to both questions is "No"; to the first Baron de Forest answers "It is already printed, otherwise it should have been done," and to the second question "Yes." The National Union has therefore decided to support Baron de

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National Union has therefore decided to support Baron de Forest.

We opened our campaign on June 28th with a meeting at the Workman's Hall at which Mrs. Swanwick made a most interesting speech. Considering the very short notice there was a surprisingly large audience, and it was most sympathetic. On Saturday evening we had a very enthusiastic meeting in the Town Hall; the speeches were continually punctuated with applause. Miss I. O. Ford's witty remarks provoked sympathetic laughter, and Miss Sterling's stirring speech was duly appreciated. Miss Courtney asked voters to send postcards to Baron de Forest expressing their pleasure at his attitude on our question. We sold forty "Common Causes," and resolutions expressing gratification at Baron de Forest's replies and the National Union's decision to give him its cordial support were passed nem con. at both of these meetings. We have also held several open-air meetings, and are holding many this week. We need more speakers and helpers of every kind in order that the best may be made of our present excellent opportunity, and we hope that all those who can lend motor-cars or carriages will do so. West Ham is keenly interested in the question of Women's Suffrage, and we have had endless expressions of sympathy from members of every political party. Several of the Conservatives have admitted that our decision to support Baron de Forest was the inevitable consequence of Mr. Wild's reply to our questions. Among those who have already helped in various ways must be mentioned the Hon. Mrs. Spencer Graves, Miss Strachey, and Miss Cockle.

Our committee rooms are easily reached by train from Aldgate or Bow Road Stations on the District Railway. Our waggonette, gaily decorated with the National Union colours and posters, attracted much attention, and on Saturday we were admitted at the tail-end of a local carnival which advertised us excellently.

W. GLADYS RINDER.

SOUTH BEDFORDSHIRE.

Candidates: C. Harmsworth (L.).
J. O. Hickman (U.).
Committee Room: 54, Wellington Street, Luton.
Organizer: Mrs. Renton, Franklin's Hotel, Luton.

Committee Room: 54, Wellington Street, Luton.
Organizer: Mrs. Renton, Franklin's Hotel, Luton.
The Coronation honours, whereby Mr. Gair Ashton has been raised to the peerage, have necessitated a by-election in S. Beds. Both candidates have been interviewed.

Mr. Hickman is definitely against us, although he admits that if there were many more bills as unfair to women as is the Insurance Bill, he might change his views.

Mr. Harmsworth has as yet given no definite answer, but promises to study the Conciliation Bill, and if convinced that its passage into law would in no way jeopardise this as a Liberal seat, he would support it.

A committee room has been opened in a central part of Luton, and with its brilliant display of our colours and posters, has attracted a large amount of attention. On Saturday last it was kept open till 10 p.m. and Miss Davenport, who is here helping me, and I had all our time fully occupied in distributing literature outside to the crowd which was sometimes five deep, also in talking to those who were not too shy to come inside. One person was enthusiastic enough to spend 10d. on literature and volunteered his services as steward at any meetings we hold here.

We need help, as the constituency is a very wide one. In Luton itself, with its population of over 50,000, we could do with a small permanent staff of speakers, who could combine Dunstable and Leighton Buzzard the only other towns of any importance in South Beds., and easy of access by rail. The whole of the northern part of the constituency is composed of small villages where much work should be done if we can get the offer of services from those who will speak at open-air meetings. We have drawn up an exhaustive plan of suitable areas to combine, and have already arranged some open-air meetings this week.

A motor would be invaluable to us, as the villages are very

meetings this week.

A motor would be invaluable to us, as the villages are very far apart and some distance from railway stations. Can anyone help the Cause by lending one? Polling day is not likely to be before the 20th inst.

I shall be glad if those who can help as speakers or otherwise, if only for one day, will send me a postcard immediately to let me know the day, hour of arrival and departure and whether they will speak at a village meeting, to a mixed crowd of industrial workers and others such as there will be in Luton or if they will help in the committee room.

M. H. Renton.

WEST SOMERSET. Candidates: Colonel D. F. Boles (U.) Mr. C. H. Dudley Ward (L.) Organizer: Miss Norma Smith, 14, The Crescent, Taunton.

Miss Norma Smith was joined on Tuesday by Miss Dutton from London, and Miss Chambers from Bath. We have thought it best to make our headquarters in Taunton

instead of Wellington, as the candidates have moved their committee rooms there. Our great need was for a motor-car and this has been most kindly provided by Mrs. Roger Clark. Meantime any friendly offer would be gladly received by Miss Smith. Neither candidate is at present quite satisfactory. Mr. Dudley Ward (L.) is an Adult Suffragist, and has so far refused to support the Conciliation Bill. Colonel Boles writes courteously in favour of a "limited Bill" being passed at the earliest opportunity, but has not yet given a definite pledge to support the Bill. Our small society at Taunton will doubtless be greatly strengthened by the by-election work in its midst, and it will be an excellent opportunity for propaganda in a hitherto unworked constituency.

Editherent Contractions are constituency.

CENTRAL HULL. Candidates: Mr. Mark Sykes (U.). Sir R. W. Aske (L.). Polling Day: July 6th.

Polling Day: July 6th.

This election is being conducted under extraordinary and exciting circumstances. The Coronation festivities were scarcely concluded when the seamen and dockers' strike, with its riotous scenes, broke out in the centre of the election district. Indeed, what with the Coronation festivities and what with the strike, the riots and clamour, it has been extremely difficult to concentrate interest either on the election or on Women's Suffrage.

Fortunately the task of deciding our policy was a very simple one. Colonel Mark Sykes is a definite opponent, and Sir Robert Aske a definite friend. He has not only answered all our questions in the affirmative, but has further asserted that satisfactory social reform will never be attained until women have the vote. Therefore the National Union Executive and the Hull Society unanimously decided to oppose Colonel Mark Sykes and to aid Sir Robert Aske.

On the arrival of Mrs. Davies, the National Union organiser, a number of out-door meetings were arranged, and these have since been held. All have been extremely successful, and very little opposition has been encountered. On Monday, June 19th, Mrs. Lucan Davies spoke to a large audience in Paragon Square, and replied to the many questions asked. Again, twice on Wednesday, June 28th, dinner hour and evening, large outdoor meetings were held at which at least 500 people were present, most of whom were sympathetic. Mrs. Richardson (president), Miss Hyde (secretary), Miss Maud Cussons, Miss Thomas, Miss Williams, Miss Pearson, Miss Gardner and Miss Napier, our stalwart banner-bearer, have each rendered heroic service in supporting Mrs. Davies.



FUR SALE.

Being the Stock of the BOND STREET FUR COMPANY

We have purchased the stock and goodwill of the Bond Street Fur Co., and the present Sale is being held with a view to clearing the whole of this stock, comprising Model Fur Coats and Wraps, and various Fur Stoles and Muffs. The garment sketched here is a typical bargain.

Smart Model Fur Coat in fine Caracul Kid, trimmed with fancy silk and braid, lined art satin.

Original Price, 29 Gns. Sale Price, 141 Gns. Catalogue Post Free.

Debenham & Freebody Wigmore Street, London, W.

A motor-car is engaged daily and ardent Suffragists with banners flying advertise the open-air meetings and endeavour to impress the public with the reality and depth of woman's desire for the vote. Mrs. Longman, who is just recovering from a serious illness and not yet able to speak out of doors, is always ready to ride with us or to help at the committee room, and indeed to do anything and everything her strength nermits.

JULY 6, 1911.

room, and indeed to do anything and everything her strength permits.

On Tuesday night in the Royal Institution we held a public meeting. Mrs. Frederick Richardson, president, took the chair, and the speakers were Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Miss A. Maude Royden, and Mrs. Lucan Davies. There was a very good attendance.

In her opening remarks Mrs. Richardson mentioned that questions had been submitted to both Sir Robert Aske and Colonel Mark Sykes on matters dealing with women's suffrage. As regards Sir Robert he had mentioned women's suffrage in his election address, and this was before they had submitted their questions to him. His reply was that he would do his best to push forward their claims. (Applause.) Miss Royden explained the Bill and the Parliamentary situation, Mrs. Ashby pleaded for a wider life for women, Mrs. Davies gave some of her experiences at the Cheltenham election and Dr. Murdoch was most enthusiastically received when she rose to propose a vote of thanks to the speakers.

GLASGOW (TRADESTON). Candidates: Mr. J. H. Watts (U.). Mr. J. Dundas White (L.).

Polling: Thursday, July 6th. Committee Rooms: 133, Eglinton Street, Glasgow. Organizer: Miss Crompton.

Committee Rooms: 133, Eglinton Street, Glasgow.
Organizer: Miss Crompton.

Neither of the Tradeston candidates bids fair to equal the ex-member, Mr. Cameron Corbett, in zeal for our cause. Neither has mentioned us in his election address. Mr. Dundas White promises to support the Conciliation Bill. Mr. Watts will not pledge himself beyond not opposing it, so we are confined to propaganda in our work. The division is essentially working-class, and in the dinner-hour and in the evening it is always easy to secure large attendances at open-air meetings, the crowds being invariably sympathetic. Our activities are to culminate in a big outdoor demonstration on the eve of the poll, when Dr. Elsie Inglis, Miss Chrystal Macmillan and others are coming from Edinburgh to aid the local speakers. An excellent ground-floor shop in a main street has been secured as committee rooms, and large crowds are attracted to look at our posters and study the Conciliation Bill and other leaflets in the windows. It is a bad time for our campaign, as many people are holiday-making. But the secretary of the Glasgow Society is working most vigorously, and quite a good show is being made despite the usual shortage of speakers and of funds. The W.S.P.U. is also in the field, but no complications have arisen from clashing of tactics, since they have dropped the anti-Government policy, and, like us, are restricting themselves to "propaganda only." The issue of the contest is quite uncertain.

EAST KENT.

ALICE CROMPTON.

Mr. R. McNeill (U.). will probably be returned unopposed. BRIGHTON.

Mr. Gordon, returned unopposed, promised the Men's League that he would vote for the Conciliation Bill.

Federation Notes.

Surrey, Sussex and Hants.

ORGANISING WORK IN WORTHING AND DISTRICT.

Organising Work in Worthing and District.

On June 1st a meeting was held in Shoreham Town Hall, at which which Mrs. Duncan Harris and Miss N. O'Shea spoke very ably, under the chairmanship of Colonel Kensington. This is the first Suffrage meeting which the N.U. has held in Shoreham and it broke the ground to some extent for Mrs. Dempster, who spent most of the time allotted to the Worthing Society in work at Shoreham, Steyning and Bramber. It was found impossible to find a suitable room or garden at Shoreham in which to hold an inaugural meeting for the proposed new Society. Mrs. Dempster is returning to address a garden party on July 6th to be given by the Brighton and Worthing Suffrage Societies in Street's Tea Gardens, when it is hoped that the new Society will be formed.

In Worthing Mrs. Dempster carried out a very satisfactory canvass of the Nonconformist ministers.

West Midland.

West Midland.

A committee meeting of this Federation was held in Birmingham on Thursday, June 29th. Mrs. Langley Brown presided. Societies represented were: — Birmingham, Coventry, Olton, Rugby, Shrewsbury, Solihull, Warwick, Leamington. Not represented: —Worcester, Wolverhampton, Stratford-on-Avon, Oswestry, West Bromwich, Sutton Coldfield. The following elections were made: —Miss Power and Miss Wilks, vice-chairmen. Federation representatives: —Mrs. Aubrey Dowson, Mrs. Harley. A caravan tour for the month of August was discussed, and a sub-committee was appointed to organise it. The East and West Midlands propose

to work this scheme together, each Federation having the caravan for a fortnight in their respective areas. Funds are urgently needed. Mrs. Harley's advertisement in "The Common Cause" asking for help did not bring much result with the exception of a very touching anonymous gift from one who probably could ill afford it.

The Midland Societies were splendidly represented, and in-uded a large proportion of working women, many of whom ould not have afforded the railway fare had not a fund been

could not have afforded the railway fare had not a fund been raised to assist them.

It is calculated that our section, which comprised the East and West Midlands as well as Mid-Bucks and Reading, was a thousand strong. Three special trains, gaily decorated and causing a sensation at every station, conveyed them to London. Each Society carried its own banner, many of them most beautiful, and all testifying to the love and care and enthusiasm which had been expended on the making of them.

Local Councils and the Bill.

The Paddington Borough Council was approached by a deputation of women ratepayers on May 30th. Dr. Garrett Anderson spoke on behalf of the deputation, and the N.U.W.S.S. was represented by the Hon. Mrs. Spencer Graves and Mrs. Spring Rice. On June 20th the request of the deputation again received consideration and the Council passed a resolution expressing a hope that the Government grant facilities for considering the Bill during the present session.

Reviews.

FABIAN PUBLICATIONS.

FABIAN PUBLICATIONS.

We should like to recommend most heartily that everyone should read the admirable little pamphlet entitled The Working Life of Women, by Miss B. L. Hutchins (Fabian Tract No. 157, one penny). It has in a very compact form facts and figures relating to the lives of working women that will be of the greatest use for speakers and for all who desire to study the extremely difficult and complex problem of the industrial and domestic employment of women.

The Insurance Bill and the Workers embodies the amendments recommended by the Fabian Society. A very large proportion of these deal with the needs of women.

How the Insurance Bill affects Women (Fabian Society, 3, Clement's Inn, Strand, price one penny). A brief summary of the Bill is given, and amendments suggested which are directed in the main to secure for wage-earning women compensation for loss of wages as well as maternity benefit, and to improve the position of non-wage-earning married women. This pamphlet should be studied in connection with the Insurance Bill itself.



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Eyeglasses from 5/6. Spectacles from 10/6.

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The Sign of Purity and the Guarantee of Excellence.

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.; 1, AMEN COURT, St. Paul's, E.C.; and Dr. JANE WALKER, 122, HARLEY STREET, W.

A Correction.

We much regret two misprints in the poem by Miss Mills quoted last week on the A.B.C. page. It should have run:

"But we so long have thought this thought,
And still this thought proclaim,
And for this thought so fight and fought,
And it with such hard thinking bought,
And so to children's children taught
This thought with human hope so fraught,
That though of truth it be not wrought
It's really just the same!"

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

HOUSE PROPERTY AND THE INSURANCE BILL.

"Voteless people are inclined to be overlooked by Cabinet Ministers," as Miss Magee says, but I do not agree that women property owners should have been regarded quite apart from men property owners, if that were done we should be opening up the question of separate legislation for women and men. Personally, I don't agree with the clause at all, whether from the point of view of men or women, but I quite agree with Miss Magee that if the clause became law it would mean ruin to numbers of women

mean ruin to numbers of women.

But may I point out to Miss Magee that our voteless position could hardly chafe us as it does, did we not realise how much our lives are affected by legislation? We must remember that women have had the municipal vote for more than twenty years, and surely that has helped the political education of women. Considering the ways in which municipalities treat with property owners, I marvel that any woman who manages her own property should not see that the making of the laws affects her very closely. The awakening of womanhood is indeed slow, and I agree with Miss Magee that the possession of the vote will be her valuable educator.

Langashire June 30th 1911

Lancashire, June 30th, 1911. [The clause referred to is Clause 51 dealing with distress. Mr. Lloyd George says this clause has been misunderstood and misrepresented.—Ed. "C.C."]

TAX RESISTANCE.

I was one of those who attended the debate on Tax Resistance held in the Memorial Hall, Manchester, on May 10th, and I voted in favour of tax resistance. My opinion has not changed as to the value of the weapon of tax resistance, but I now think that in the altered circumstances in which we find ourselves, it would be unwise to adopt tax resistance as a plank in the N.U. policy. In view of Mr. Asquith's pledge, let us defer the question. This is indeed an instance of "Circumstances alter cases."

C. C. Manchester.

Your correspondent, who supports her objection to tax resistance by quoting our Lord's words, "Render unto Cæsar, etc.," makes more than one mistake in her applica-

This answer was not given to would-be tax resisters, as your correspondent asserts. The ethics of taxation, as such, were not in question. Our Lord gave this answer in order to frustrate an attempt which was being made to entrap Him into an arrogation of the rights of an earthly king.

And even if His words could be taken in support of obedi-And even if His words could be taken in support of obedience to the laws of taxation, your correspondent errs in assuming that women who are now protesting against being taxed are not in perfect agreement that it is the duty of a citizen to submit to taxation. As soon as citizenship is assured to women they will come into line on this matter; meanwhile those who choose this method of protest are only temporarily withholding financial support from schemes over which they have no control.

To these, and to many others, tax-resistance appeals as a quiet protest, a logical protest, and one which leaves no soreness behind it.

Hampstead, June 30th.

ENNIS RICHMOND.

[If every voteless adult is justified in withholding taxes, this would seem to be an argument for adult suffrage.—ED. "C. C."]

In this week's issue of "The Common Cause" we are told not only to work in the area of our local Society but to make strenuous efforts to start another branch during the coming

THE COMMON CAUSE.

aloof would have been a serious loss to us.

My experience has shown me that while the electors are not averse to our claim, it does not enter greatly into their policy. Time was when they were strongly opposed to giving us votes. We have got them a step further along the road of progress and enlightenment, and the next step will soon follow if we go on shoving in the approved style, and ours is the approved style. Keep on as we are doing now, and in a short while those who are merely passively acquiescent to our demands will swell the ranks of those men who are, thank Heaven, restive at the continual sight of their womenfolk disappointed once more in their suffrage hopes; men who every time our hopes are dashed to the ground, who see our strength, our means, our patience taxed to the utmost by these unnecessary delays, are becoming more and more personally keen that this intolerable strain should be lifted from the daily lives of their women. Adopt tax resistance and the apple of discord is thrown amongst us. "Dignified, effective militant action" as the leader of the Conciliation Committee calls it, to others, less well versed in the ways of militancy, it may not appear to be dignified or effective, and as our work this year is to be more than ever the bringing of the merely acquiescent right into the suffrage fold, and inasmuch as one of the best pieces of tangible evidence regarding conversion to Women's Suffrage, and which counts most effectively, is professed membership of a W.S. Society, I do hope most earnestly that the N.U. will do nothing at this juncture to check the influx of new members and the growth of new branches by adopting a policy which public opinion will not consider us honestly able to proclaim as "law abiding" and which the average citizen will hesitate to support.

DOROTHY EDWARDS. Fircroft, Fleet, Hants, 30/6/11.

THE INSURANCE BILL AND MATERNITY BENEFIT.

THE INSURANCE BILL AND MATERNITY BENEFIT. While not abating one jot of just objection to the Bill, let us be careful not to prejudice our cause by raising in our official paper fancy bugbears. I refer to the indignation expressed in a leading article of your paper last week, that Maternity Benefit is not to be paid direct to the mother but to be disbursed into suitable channels by the public authority. The idea is doubtless that should the form of benefit most needed be the attendance of a doctor, that doctor may be relied upon to attend because he knows that his fee—an extremely inadequate one, it is true—will be paid, and further that the midwife's fee shall be similarly



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secure. Now we women do ourselves no good by pretending that we are all saints and that all working people will pay their doctors' bills. Some do, but the hard fact remains that many do not. Laws are made to control the sinner, not the righteous and if there is any indignity in treating all women alike in this matter, then it is the fault of the unrighteous ones, with whom in this world the righteous do inevitably suffer. It is true that, as stated in another article in your paper that doctors have in their great charity attended cases for the ridiculous fee of 10s. or 15s. or even frequently enough for nothing at all. But what has been done in charity is not to be perpetuated as State service, and the result of paying the benefit direct will be that doctors under this "National" charity will be forced to do what they are now forced to do the benefit direct will be that doctors under this "National" charity will be forced to do what they are now forced to donamely, to refuse sometimes to attend cases where they know they will not be paid—a sorry result of "National" financing of maternity! It is true that benefit could often be well spent on food, but the alternative between food and medical attendance. on food, but the alternative between food and medical attendance is not, as you imply, a matter of choice. Where a midwife calls in a doctor it is because the need is imperative, and the price of food should not be deflected out of the pocket of the doctor who has performed an arduous service. Let the State give more if it likes, for the meagre benefit proposed will certainly not run to doctor, midwife, and extras. But the actuaries (those convenient scapegoats who, if all representations are to be credited, would really seem to have framed this Bill, though it goes under a certain name) would doubtless say that that is impossible. But let us delete the indirect payment of Maternity Benefit from our list of grievances: there are plenty without it.

MEDICAL WOMAN.

[Our objection is to treating women as if they knew their own business less well than men know it. The "Hearts of Oak" hand over the Maternity Benefit and we do not agree that because a few miserable women might waste the money, all the brave, clever, managing mothers are to be treated as wastrels.—Ed. "C.C."]

wastrels.—Ed. "C.C."]

Miss Anna Martin in her interesting article on the maternity benefit says that if working women had votes, it would be impossible for the benefit to be assigned in any other form than cash. But there is a very strong feeling among the members of the Women's Co-operative Guild that the provision of doctor and midwife is the first use the benefit should be put to. You reported last week the resolution which a deputation laid before Mr. Lloyd George on their behalf. (It asked that the balance should be paid to the woman in cash.)

Co-operative women may be more conscious of the advantages of thrift and self-help than others, but they belongto all classes, and the feeling of unwillingness to receive State money is evidently very widespread even among women who consider themselves socialists. Many, such as leading members of the Women's Labour League, are in favour of the extension of benefits in kind, and think that wages should be raised by other means than contributory State grants in cash. The sanatorium for consumptives, the local milk depôt for infants and mothers, and the provision of skilled service in child-birth are all examples ef what may be done by public authorities without any implication that men or women are unable to spend money well for themselves. It is a misfortune that the Insurance Bill has been so hurried on that no one, with or without votes, has had time to consider it properly. But it is an important question whether the State can go much further in the direction of making grants of money to individuals without more guarantees that the money is spent properly; and for the State to support institutions will involve a less offensive kind of officialism than if it attempts to support and inspect people.

It is, as Miss Martin says, heart-breaking that women are unable to protect their own interests by the vote, but there are certain to be different views among them as to what their interests are.

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ON THE SHORES OF THE BEAUTIFUL CARDIGAN BAY.

In full view of Snowden. Unrivalled Beach. Miles of Golden Sands. Bathing Ground in front of, only 30 yards from, Hotel. Fishing (River and Sea), Boating, Yachting, Golf, Tennis, Cricket, etc. HOTEL POINTS:-

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(3). Occupies commanding position.
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WOMEN AND THE INSURANCE BILL.

May I appeal to all women to protest against the following provisions in the Insurance Bill.

(a) The present terms of maternity benefit where the woman is the insured person. Maternity not being considered as sickness does not carry with it any provision for food and maintenance during the four weeks' compulsory abstention from work.

(b) The gross injustice of the scale of sick benefit payments for women as compared to that for men. The may's contributions of the scale of sick benefit payments for women as compared to that for men.

(b) The gross injustice of the scale of sick benefit payments for women as compared to that for men. The man's contributions of the extra 1d. a week entitle him to an additional 2s. 6d. per week as sick benefit for thirteen weeks.

(c) If the finances of the men and women are to be kept separate it follows that the very large proportion of payments which will be made to unmarried mothers must come from the contributions of young servants and other hard-working women wage-earners. The State is thus placing a very considerable tax upon respectable young women (healthy girls from sixteen to the marriageable age have few doctors' bills) who will thus be compelled to provide funds which can only serve to relieve unprincipled men from obligations which they have incurred as regards the mothers of their illegitimate children.

children.

(d) The extraordinary provision that compels a woman on marriage to lose her contributions which, had it not been for compulsory insurance, might have been safely accumulating for her in the Post Office Savings Bank.

A WORKING WOMAN.

June 21st. June 21st.
[We have already repeatedly drawn attention to the points marked a, b and d. The point c certainly also calls for attention. It seems to us equitable that maternity benefit should always be paid out of the men's fund. It is their share.—ED. "C. C."]

WHEN WOMEN SHOULD VOTE.

(With profuse apologies to Colonel Mark Sykes. See last week's "Common Cause" p. 211.)

week's "Common Cause" p. 211.)

I feel obliged to inform you that as far as I can see it would be neither fit nor proper to inflict the franchise on women under the same qualifications as it is at present given to men. To me it is impossible to consider the question of the equality of the sexes, since there can be no question of equality or inequality between two entities which have no common basis, for though they have hands, feet, eyes, nose, mouth in common, and other things too innumerable to mention, and though they have the same necessities, requiring food to eat, water to drink, and air to breathe, yet they are really as unlike as H.M.S. Dreadnought and York Minster; both are structures, it is true, but they are evolved from ideas which have no common relation. The dust of earth from which man is said to have been made is an idea which has nothing in common with man's rib, the other idea from which woman was evolved. It is true that men and women are now evolved similarly, but the idea of the Creator when He makes a man must be very different from His idea when He makes a woman. Now to my mind, there is as great a difference between the

similarly, but the idea of the Creator when He makes a man must be very different from His idea when He makes a woman. Now to my mind, there is as great a difference between the male and the female of the genus Homo sapiens as between H.M.S. Dreadnought and York Minster. The Dreadnought kills, while York Minster preaches that one ought not to kill. The functions are entirely dissimilar, not to say antagonistic. In the same way man is, or ought to be, the protector, the wage-earner, and the begetter of children, while women ought never to be the protector or the wage-earner; the woman is the mother, the nourisher, the comforter, the economist of the home, whereas the man ought not to nourish, comfort or economise at home, and when man does so economise, nourish or comfort, and when woman protects her children or wage-earns, diverging from their parallel lines, they become abnormal and degenerate, and because, owing to unsound education and hypercivilisation, we have an increasing number of abnormals and degenerates, men who are comforts, and spinsters, widows and even wives who earn wages and protect children, that is no reason for endeavouring to deny what is still the great factor of life, viz., that a man's business is to fight, even if only out of "divilment," and a woman's to bear children; and that consequently to grant women the franchise on the same grounds as men is unreasonable.

My own suggestion is that the qualifications of a woman's

men is unreasonable.

My own suggestion is that the qualifications of a woman's vote should be different from those at present obtaining for men. I suggest that the vote should be inflicted on the following classes of women: (a) Every woman who has borne in wedlock and reared beyond the first year four children; (b) any unmarried woman who has so degenerated as to qualify as a doctor, a surgeon, barrister, engine driver, or other masculine trade or profession, and earns a competence by working therein. It is true that we do not require a man to prove that he has killed 4 men before we inflict the vote upon him, but this discrepancy involves questions too fundamental to be discussed.

to be discussed.

It may be objected that bearing children is a more useful occupation than killing men. This objection is open to question, but be that as it may, man does not vote because he is the more useful or the less useful member of society, but because he does vote, the most clinching of all reasons.

If degenerate women are to be allowed to vote in the way

I suggest, it would be well for the hyper-civilised ultra-

Real Standard Bread 18 good. Doctors and every-one qualified to express an opinion will support the state-ment. The trouble is to secure ment. The trouble is to secure
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the merits of Standard Bread
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STANDARD FLOUR, which contains fully 80% of the wheat berry, and more than fulfils the requirements of the Doctors' Manifesto. contains all the rich body-building and health-making constituents. No adultera-tion whatever.

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degenerates amongst them to have a seat in Parliament inflicted on them.

L. F. Waring.

Water and and a description

COLONEL SYKES ON THE SUFFRAGE.

COLONEL SYKES ON THE SUFFRAGE.

I think all the readers of "The Common Cause" should write to Colonel Mark Sykes and educate him on some of the facts of nature. You may as well give a child a sum to do, saying "multiply I sack of potatoes, 2 quill pens, and a 4lb. of curtain rings by 3 red herrings!"

The answer would be about as muddled as the question and as Colonel Mark Sykes's reasoning! And yet he would agree, I expect, that the same laws do not fit both Dreadnoughts and York Minsters.

If a York Minster were sent out to sea, it would sink. If a "Dreadnought" had a Saxon foundation a good few centuries old, I do not think the people of York would still be in love with it or strangers come from all parts of the world to admire. Yet Colonel Mark Sykes is content to believe it best that all Dreadnoughting Males should make laws, rules and regulations and impose taxes on all the females York Minstering in the land, even if they marry a Dreadnought; in which case the females cannot be wanting in courage, can they? What utter ignorance of things as they are!

D. Gibb.

AN APOLOGY.

May the English woman who made the mistake of putting "England's Women" on the cartoon of the 17th ult., ask forgiveness of her fellow-members, who have been hurt by it; her plea is that she never dreamed of anything like what Mrs. Hunter suggests, and did not realise the divisions of "you" and "us." No unkindness was meant; and should she ever have so great a privilege again she will try and be less stupid.

less stupid.

"O could great Wisdom a' be wi' us—

"To help our wits when work doth take us—

"It wad frae mony a blunder free us—

"That ne'er was meant."

Meanwhile, may she in the usual stupid English way go on including Scotland, Ireland and Wales in her thoughts, when she reads Browning's "Home thoughts from abroad" and Blake's prayer that our sword may not rest in our hand

"Till we have built Jerusalem

"In England's green and pleasant land."

It feels nicer, anyway; and also helps one to rub lightly other things besides spectacles.

Blatchfold, Chilworth, Surrey.

SUFFRAGISTS AT A MUNICIPAL SERVICE.

SUFFRAGISTS AT A MUNICIPAL SERVICE.

I thought it might be of interest to the readers of "The Common Cause" to know that the Guildford Suffrage Society has received official recognition in the shape of an invitation from the Mayor of Guildford to send two representatives to walk in the Mayor's procession, and to attend a municipal service on Coronation Day. We were amused at the added suggestion that delegates should assemble in the regalia of their order, and wondered what would be the correct regalia for a Suffrage society. Our representatives wore sashes of the National Union colours, and were pleased to find that the people in the streets knew at once that they were Suffragists.

June 25th, 1911.

Noeline Baker.

Work of Societies in the Union.

JULY 6, 1911.

SOUTH-WESTERN FEDERATION.

PRYMOUTH.—When we have deplored the state of our finances we have frequently been advised to have a jumble sale. Apparently it is what every Society in need does once—and vows never to do again. Accordingly we had our jumble sale, and spent a warm, sunny day sorting old clothes in an airless room off a back street. The sale was soon over; one crowded hour of glorious life realised £5, and we are now in a position to pass on the good advice to other branches.

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Twenty Plymothians joined the great procession; considering that we had no special railway facilities, this was good We also sold four dozen "Common Causes" on the way.

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SCOTTISH FEDERATION.

The Coronation Procession, the event of June, has been worthy the cost. Only those who ungrudgingly spent time, labour, and money to make it the grand success it proved know fully what that sentence means, and to those members of the Scottish contingent, whose work beforehand and appearance in the procession drew forth a special congratulation and compliment from headquarters, the thanks of the Federation are due. For the invaluable assistance so kindly given by Mrs. Purves we cannot be too grateful, her cheering energy surmounted countless difficulties which, shorthanded as we at present are, would have made the successful representation of our large area impossible. Shetland, Orkney, and John O'Groats are a far cry to London; yet from there, and from all Scotland between, to Berwick-on-Tweed, societies were represented; and from furthest North by members who travelled specially for that purpose, bringing with them their own beautifully worked banners. The gathering in Whitehall Place was quite imposing, and the march forth, which began at a quarter to five, met with hearty greetings from the assembled crowds, a noticeably comical feature of which was that, whereas the greeting most commonly given us at the Trafalgar Square Procession was "Here come the wee Macgregors," at this time we were met with "Here come the wee Macgregors," at this time we were met with "Here come the wee Macgregors," at this time we were met with "Here come the wee Macgregors," at this time we were met with "Here come the wee Macgregors," at this time we were met with "Here come the wee Macgregors," at this time we got the wind with the secondary was a subject to the summary of the procession was a ways unmistakeable, but there was often a thrill in the voices that told of hearts warmed to home though the old home accent had long disappeared. The

where so much went so well so little must not be mourned, and on the success of the whole all the societies must congratulate themselves.

Of work outside the procession there is little to report, preparations for the Council meeting are engrossing time and attention. The Edixnurgh Society had a most successful meeting on the 2nd at Blackhall, arranged locally, at which the speakers, Dr. Inglis and Miss Low, were so well received that other meetings will soon attended, a very stirring lecture on "Vigilane Work and Its Relation to the Vote." from Mrs. J. Hunter, Glasgow, being much appreciated, at the "At Home" on the 9th Mrs. Lamont (chairman, National Federation of Women Workers) was the speaker. In "Women's Industries in Edinburgh and Glasgow Societies were well represented in the procession, Edinburgh sending up 30 members.

SURREY, SUSSEX AND HANTS. FEDERATION.

The first part of June was devoted by all the societies in the Federation to making special efforts towards the success of that at the waste of the societies of the societies of the second was prepared at the part of June was devoted by all the societies in the Federation to making special efforts towards the success of that attended, a very stirring lecture on "Vigilane Work and Its Relation to the Vote." from Mrs. J. Hunter, Glasgow, being much appreciated, and Mrs. Cobern Sanderson gave an address of the waste of the societies of the society of the many thanks. The succession was the speaker. In "Women's Industries in Edinburgh and Glasgow Societies were well represented in the procession on June 17th. At a well-attended members' meeting Miss Rees, Mrs. Marshall, and Miss Simms explained the arrangements, and appealed to people to join the procession and to subscribe towards the fare of those who could not afford them. As there were no nough travellers to enable the Federation to charter a special train, nearly £11 was raised to pay half fare to all who applied. As a balance of £5 was left afterwards, it was sent to the Central Office towards gen



LAST WORD IN SOAP.

THE

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Women's Suffrage libraries are being started in Guildford and Godalming, the books being provided by the local members. Godalming is arranging for a series of fortnightly open-air meetings on Saturday nights from the middle of July. Mrs. Baker had an "At Home" for the Guildford Society on June 28th, in the evening, at which Mrs. Kineton Parkes and Mrs. Renton made excellent speeches, the former advocating tax resistance, and the latter opposing its adoption as part of the National Union policy in case of the Conciliation Bill not being passed next year. Mrs. Renton's argument was that such a policy could not be urged without alienating a large number of members, as the principle is by no means universally approved among constitutional Suffragists. There was only one vote for the resolution proposing that the National Union recommend tax resistance in case the Bill does not become law. A second resolution, that members who approved of it should take up tax resistance, was carried by an overwhelming majority.

WEST MIDLAND FEDERATION.

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JULY 6, 1911.

JULY 6, 1911.

Other Societies.

THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

Another East End meeting has been arranged to take place in the Workman's Hall, Stratford, E., on Friday, 14th July, at 8 p.m. Besides speeches by Miss May Whitty (Mrs. Ben Webster), Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., and Mrs. Drummond, an entertainment, consisting of Suffrage songs, recitations, and the play, "An Englishwoman's Home," will be given. Admission free. Those wishing to help, by stewarding, etc., in the Hall, should communicate with the organising secretary.

Friday, July 7th. "At Home." The Grand Hall, Criterion Restaurant. Speakers: Lady Betty Balfour, Mrs. Zangwill, Walter Roch, Esq., M.P., and S. Parnell Kerr, Esq. Chair: Miss Compton. Hostess: Miss Alice Crawford. Admission free.

THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

Office: 11, St. Mark's Grescent, Regent's Park, N.W.

An afternoon drawing-room meeting will be held at The Corner,
Bushey, by kind permission of Mrs. Erskine Murray, on July 17th.
Speakers: Mrs. Wynne Nevinson and the Rev. C. Hinscliff. On
July 19th there will be a public meeting at Worcester, to form a
Worcester branch. Subscriptions for the work at the Church
Congress are much needed. Collecting cards should be sent in as
soon as possible. The Church League is ready to send speakers to
mothers' meetings, etc. Mrs. Mumford, founder of the League of
Prayer, has arranged six Suffrage addresses to be given in the
autumn at the mothers' meetings held by the fadies of St. Mary's
Settlement, Plaistow.

Settlement, Plaistow.

NOTTINGHAM LIBERAL WOMEN'S UNION.

This Union sent its banner to the Suffrage Procession on June 17th. Two members of the Nottingham League of Young Liberals went with the contingent and helped to carry the banner, which is a very effective one, with scales appliquéd on to black velvet.

WELSH SUFFRAGE UNION.

The inaugural meeting of the Welsh Suffrage Union will be held at 69, Wimpole Street, W., by invitation of Mrs. Mansell-Moullin, on Monday next, July 10th, at 5-30 o'clock. All Welsh women, of every shade of opinion, are cordially invited to attend. For particulars apply to Mrs. Davies, 57, Racton Road, Fulham, S.W.

List of Societies in the National Union.
ENGLAND.
ENGLAND. Society. Altrincham
Ashford. MISS MORGAN, Fairlawn, Ashford. Ashton-under-Lyne. MISS DYSON, Waterloo, Ashton-under-Lyne. Barnard Castle. MISS JANE A. BARKER, 20, Horsemarket, Barnard
Castle. Barnsley. MIES CELIA WRAY, Fairfield House, Barnsley. Basingstoke MRS. GREGORY, 16, Essex Road, Basingstoke. Bath. MISS WHEELWRIEGHT, 52, Sydney Build'gs, Bath. Bedford. MISS E. M. STACEY, 34, Kimbolton Rd., Bedford. Berks, East. MISS E. M. FOX, Woodleigh, Crowthorne. Berks, North. MRS. CROSS, Aston Tirrold Manor, Wallingford. (Pro tem.) MISS ELWELL, YORk Rd., Beverley. Bexhill-on-Sea MISS Norton, Dalhousie, Buckhurst Road, Bexhill-on-Sea
Birkenhead Miss A. Wyse, 4, Mather Road, Oxton, Birken-
head. Midland
Bolton
Bradford MRS. BAUER, 8, Springwood Terrace, Bradford. Bridlington MRS. Oversury, North Street, Bridlington MRS. F. DE G. MERRIFIED 14 Clifton Terrace
Brighton. Bristol Bristol Bristol Brighton. THE HON. SECRETARIES (Office), 111a, White ladies' Road, Clifton, Bristol.
Bucks (South). Bucks (Mid.). Miss Courtauld, Bocken, Gt. Missenden. Burnley. Miss N. Veevers, 20, Nelson Square, Burnley. Burnham. Miss M. A. Greswell, The Colony, Burnham, Somerset.
Burton-on-Trent
Camberley & District. MISS EVELYN ATKINSON, Portesbery Hill,
Cambridge Mrs. Ward, 6, Selwyn Gardens, Cambridge. Cambridge University Miss M. Soman (Girton), 124, Earlham Road, Norwich. Miss Represey Edge Hay Stanwick Cooling.
Carlisle Miss Bardsley, Eden Hay, Stanwick, Carlisle; and Miss M. L. Fell, Knells, Carlisle. Chelmsford Miss Richenda Christy, Orchards, Broomfield, Chelmsford.
Cheltenham Miss Mills, Lowmandale, Leckhampton, Cheltenham.
Chester
Chester-le-Street. Chester-le-Street. Clevedon. MISS CLAYTON, 2, Hallam Road, Clevedon, Somerset.
Clitheroe
Coventry (Pro tem.) Miss Wilks, 76, Holyhead Road, Coventry.
Cranleigh & District. MISS PHYLLIS BROCKMAN, Oaklands, Cranleigh, Surre, Ward, The Hostel, Crewe. Crondall & Crookham MISS Sylvia' M. Clark, The Hurst, Church Crowborough. MRS. RENDEL, Glyllmead, Crowborough.
Crowdon Miss S White "Gilmarton" Chataworth Pd
Croydon. Cuckfield

Society. Darlington & District	Secretary,Miss Swanson, 17, Waverley Ter., DarlingtonMiss ARRY Hilston, 94, Earnsdale Road,
Darwen	Miss Mary Hilston, 94, Earnsdale Road, Darwen.
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Dover	Miss J. R. Ball, Cordorer, Bridgort, and
Driffield	Dover. Miss Montain Fact Lada D. C. 13
Durham	MISS MORTIMER, East Lodge, Driffield. MISS ROBINSON, Abbey House, The University, Durham.
Eastbourne	Mice Suciar Cimirum Formbolms of France DJ
Eccles	Mrs. R. A. Norbury, West Leigh, Broad Oak
Essex (N. & E.)	Eastbourne. MRS. R. A. NORBURY, West Leigh, Broad Oak Park, Worsley. MISS COURTAULD, Coine Engaine, Earl's Coine,
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Falmouth	mouth; and Miss Cicely Broad, "Penal-
Farnham & District	verne," Falmouth Miss Milton, Fernlea, Lower Bourne, Farnham.
Filey	MISS MILTON, Fernica, Lower Bourne, Farnham. MISS HANKES, 14, Southdene, Filey. (Pro tem.) MRS KAYSER, The Garth, Fleet,
	MISS DOROTHY GORDON, 46. Castle Hill Avenue.
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Godalming	. MISS F. ELLA L. WALROND, Cathedral House, Gloucester. . MISS T. W. POWELL, Munstead Rough, Godal- ming; and MISS BURNETT, Munstead Rough, Godalming. . MRS. PARRER, 63, Jefferson Street, Goole.
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Gundiora	ford; and Miss K. Rowton, Hurst Lodge,
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Hereford	lock, Salop.
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Huddersfield	
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Instow	Hyde. Miss Preston-White.
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JULY 6, 1911		
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Macciositeta	36 1 6 11	
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Rotherfield &	MISS E. K. BEALE, Allan Down, Rotherfield, Sussex.	
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St. Hilda's Hall	MISS E. K. BEALE, Allan Down, Rotherfield, Sussex. 2MISS D. H. PARKES, Royal Holloway College, Englefield Green, Surrey. MRS. GREEN, 39, Park Road, Rugby. MISS J. E. HORSBURGH, Langdale, Kiln Lane, St. Helens, Lanos. MISS MARGARET KEELING, St. Hilda's Hall, Oxford.	
St. Hugh's Hall	Oxford.	
Salisbury	OXIOTA. MISS HARDY, Kincardine, 15, Southampton Rd., Salisbury. MRS. CATT, 4, Pavilion Terrace, Scarborough. MRS. MACHIN, 31, Cambridge Road, Seaforth, Lancs.	
Scarborough	MRS. MACHIN, 31, Cambridge Road, Seaforth, Lancs.	
Sevenoaks	Lancs. Mrs. Thomas Oker, Brasted Chart, Sevenoaks. Mrs. Gill, 19, Southgrove Road, Sheffield. Mrs. Alice Rosson, Sunnydale, Shildon, R.S.O., Durham.	
Shildon	Miss Alice Robson, Sunnydale, Shildon, R.S.O., Durham. Mrs. Timpany, St. Winifrede's Gardens, Shrewsbury	
Shropshire	MRS. TIMPANY, St. Winifrede's Gardens, Shrewsbury.	
Sidmouth & District. Solihull & District	Shrewsbury. Lady Lockyer, 16, Pen-y-wern Road, S.W. Mrs. Dowson, Yew Tree Cottage, Lapworth, Warwick.	
	Mana Minny Writage in Companille College	
Southampton	Oxford. Miss D. M. Cooper, 179, Hill Lane, Southampton.	
Southport	ampton. Miss Margaret Bickett, 98, Forest Road, Southport.	
South Shields & Jarrow	MISS ANNIE DICKINSON, Langholm, Jarrow.	
Southwold	MISS M. E. MARSHALL, Somerville House, St. Felix School, Southwold. MISS MARY DEAKIN, M.A., 128, Grenville St.,	
Decomposition	Stocknort	
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JULY 6.
Leamington-Birch's Music Rooms-Franchise Club. 3.0
Manchester-Miss Woolley's Garden Meeting-Miss Robert-
son, B.A. 3.30
Eastbourne—Mrs. Charmer's Meeting—Mrs. Strickland. Afternoon
Nottingham—Mrs. W. B. Thorpe's Garden Meeting—Miss C.
Corbett, B.A., Hon. Mrs. Handford (chair). 3.30
Nottingham—Mrs. W. E. Dowson's Garden Meeting—Miss C.
Corbett, B.A. 6.30

Norwich—Southwell Lodge, Ipswich Road—Miss E. L. Willis's "At Home" for Members. 4.0
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JULY 8.
New Forest-Brockenhurst School-Annual Meeting-Miss C.
Corbett, Miss Clough (chair). 4-6
JULY 11.
Birmingham—Queen's College—"Women and the Insurance
Bill "-Miss M. Bondfield, Miss Ashley (chair). 3.15
Birmingham-Women's School, Conway Road-Mrs. Ring. 7.30
Whitehaven-Masonic Hall-Miss C. M. Gordon, M.A. 3.0
Shrewsbury-Women's Co-operative Guild-Mrs. Timpany. 7.30
JULY 12.
Birmingham-Westholme, Selly Oak-Mrs. Ed. Cadbury's "At
Home"-Lady Isabel Margesson (chair), Mrs.
F. T. Swanwick. 3.30
Birmingham—24, Chad Road, Edgbaston—Speakers' Class—
Hostess, Mrs. Reid—Miss Fry. 4.0
JULY 13.
Stocksfield-Mrs. Howson's Meeting-Mrs. Walder Cairn. 3.30
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JULY 14.
Solihull—Lapworth Court—Garden Meeting—The Lady Betty
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JULY 15.

Solihull—Southend—Garden Meeting—Miss Cécile Matheson,
3.0 Mrs. Ring. 3.0

Manchester—The Firs, Fallowfield (kindly lent by C. P. Scott,
Esq.)—Garden Party—Tickets, 3s. 6d. 3.30-6.30

JULY 19.

Reigate—"Hethersett?"—Garden Fête—Speeches by Mrs.
3-30-10

Newcastle Society—Demonstration, Procession, and Open-air
Meetings at North Shields and Tynemouth.

Afternoon

JULY 24.

Newcastle—Miss Newbigin's Garden Party—Suffrage Play,
Afternoon

JULY 26.

Brighton—Manor House, Southwick—Garden Fête—Lady
Maud Parry, Miss C. Corbett.

3—7 JULY 29.

Newcastle Society—Demonstration, Procession, and Open-air
Meetings at South Shields.

Huddersfield—Honley House—Annual Meeting—Miss I. O.
Ford, Miss Siddon (chair).

3.30

LONDON

July 11: Sutton, Mrs. Young's Garden Meeting, The Lady
Frances Balfour.
Wimbledon, Outside Grove Hotel, Open-air Meeting,
Miss I. O. Ford, J. Y. Kennedy, Esq. Chair,
H. M. Ellis, Esq.
July 12: Camberwell, Tintagel Crescent, Open-air Meeting,
Miss Dyke Spicer.
July 17: N. Paddington, Miss Jacob's Garden Meeting, Miss
Nina Boyle, Prof. Bickerton. Chair, Miss
Sterling.

4.30

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"WOMEN AND THE INSURANCE BILL,"

TRAFALGAR SQUARE, TRAFALGAR SQUARE,
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Amongst the Speakers will be GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P., GEORGE BARNES, M.P., and
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SPEAKERS:

The Earl of Lytton (Chairman Conciliation Committee);
Mrs. How Martyn, B.Sc. (Women's Freedom League);
Mrs. Cope (New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage);
Mrs. Pember Reeves

Mrs. Grace Neal (Domestic Worker's Union);
Miss Esther Roper, B.A. (National Industrial and Professional
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