The Common Cause,

The Organ of the National Union of

Women's Suffrage

Societies.

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ONE PENNY.



. Reversed Arms.

Lord Cromer: Why do you carry your placard upside down, my man?

Unemployable: Cos I takes such a hinterest in the question, guv'nor.

["If there was less jeering from the people in the streets as the procession passed, the reason probably is that this kind of thing is no longer new, and partly that the movement has failed to keep alive any popular interest."—"The Anti-Suffrage Review."]

Notes and Comments.

Full Steam Ahead.

The Council meeting of the National Union was very stimulating and harmonious. There were no two opinions about what was our business. To support and further in every possible way the work of the Conciliation Committee is what we have to do. The many reports of growing activity and increasing membership were exhilarating and everyone must have gone home re-solved to back with all her strength the self-sacrificing and devoted officers who are expending themselves for

We want to double and treble the staff of organizers. Already one anonymous donor has given two cheques for £100 each in response to the appeal. There is no doubt the genius and the work of the National Union is for organization in the constituencies, for the slow and steady building up of settled public opinion, and this is work which is permanent and educative and for which we confidently appeal to all lovers of truly democratic methods. An incredulous exclamation went round the hall when Mrs. Auerbach stated the wonderfully small sum which had been expended on the procession. People who give to the National Union may feel sure their gifts are most economically expended; those who have hesitated to give to their full capacity should realize how much easement more funds would give to our overstrained workers. Miss Courtney has an elaborate scheme prepared—money has only to come in to be at once allotted for organization. We want several thousand pounds before autumn.

The By-elections.

The election results have not been bad. It is true that that eccentric person who thinks men and women are separate species has got in for Central Hull; but N.W. Ham has returned, in Baron de Forest, a man deeply pledged to the Conciliation Bill and in Tradeston the better man of the two is in. Everywhere the reports are the same of the friendliness and sympathy of the electors. They are not going to put women first (if they were, we should not need the vote so much as we do!) but they are quite willing they should receive fair play at last.

Wives of Strikers.

The strike of seamen in Hull was scarcely over before it broke out among the carters and dockers in Man-chester and Salford and for five days created a situation of great discomfort to all and some danger to many, while the sufferings of the strikers and their families were piteous. It is good to think that the strike is over and better conditions secured, but it seems likely that the end of the disputes is not yet. On the 7th the poorest of the women in Salford marched out, over a thousand of them, bareheaded or in shawls, carrying their babies and with toddlers walking by them, and passed through the centre of Manchester, thus bringing the needs of the slums under the notice of the shopping ladies. The women, though starving, were determined to back their men in the demand for better conditions.

A Help or a Burden-Which?

Committee stage on the Insurance Bill is hard work and we commend the verbatim reports to our readers for curious insight into ways of thinking. What cannot fail to strike everyone is the intense sensitiveness of Members to the incidence on the women of the various provisions. We do not remember ever to have read anything in the least like it. Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Hills and Mr. Pringle compete with each other to voice the women's needs. Mr. Chamberlain said the scheme "deals very harshly in my opinion with women" but he proceeded to lament, as did Mr. George, that nothing could be done for the married women, because it would cost money! Nevertheless they had all his sympathy.

As long as the man was strong and hearty it was hisduty to provide for the needs of his wife." But we thought the Insurance Bill was designed to help the working man to provide for his needs. Why should it not also help him to provide for the needs of his wife?

Calculating Without Data.

It will be remembered that when Mr. Lloyd George spoke at Birmingham he expressed himself as desirous of explaining the Bill and meeting everyone upon it. He was addressing a picked audience consisting largely of men belonging to Friendly Societies, who are just those who would profit most from the Bill. The Women's Trade Union Council thereupon asked Mr. George to come to Manchester, where they arrange a meeting in the Free Trade Hall for him to explain the Bill to women and answer their questions. This was on June 23rd and the Chancellor had never

It seems clear that Mr. George is by no means anxious to meet the women since his one and only encounter with them, when he alluded airily to figures which do not exist. In the report of actuaries we find on p. 24 "the calculated contributions for women assume that, while insurance will be in abeyance during marriage, except in the case of 'employed' married women, it will be resumed upon widowhood. There will undoubtedly be a large number of cases in which this resumption of insurance will not take place, although in what propor-tion of cases it is impossible to say." In an interesting letter to the "Manchester Guardian" of July 7th, Miss. Clementina Black points out that from certain returns which include nearly all the insurable employments of women, it would seem that between 4 and 5 per cent. only of widows return to employments which would render them insurable. Mrs. Ramsay Macdonald in the "Times" July 5th, points out the absence of data and the certainty that too much is taken from domestic servants and too little given to the widows in the scheme as it stands. It would appear from the debate on Thursday that Mr. George has grasped the hardship to the servants and nurses and intends to remedy that, but it is strange that he should leave it to suffragists to educate the women in the meaning and provisions of the Bill.

A Case of Neglected Education.

Mr. Mark Sykes the new Member for Hull received a deputation of women in Hull last week. Mrs. Richardson spoke as a married woman on the moral question, Dr. Mary Murdoch as a medical woman, Sister Hilda as a maternity nurse, Mrs. Deyes as a Co-operative woman, Mrs. Anderson as a teacher. To these women Mr. Sykes explained that women were at times "physically and mentally unfit to come to a proper decision on any point." Here the deputation laughed outright. Dr. Mary Murdoch told him that, "speaking as a doctor that statement is physiologically and psychologically false." When asked whether he considered himself, as a man, competent to deal with the questions the deputation had raised, Mr. Sykes said he would consult his wife. The deputation opined that this wouldn't do at all. All Members of Parliament had not wives, there was no guarantee that they would consult them or that these ladies would have the necessary knowledge. Mr. Sykes thought "the ladies" had enough to do in administering laws and they pointed out that unjust and ineffective laws could not be well administered. Then he said that if all ladies were like these ladies know the rest!

If we are to believe the Antis, it is a bad sign when jeers give place to respectful silence or enthusiastic applause. The only people who jeered during the great Procession of Women on June 17th were the Anti-Suffrage sandwichmen who turned their boards upside

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

were about 1,000 women-wives of the dockers—who had come out to make a public appeal for sympathy in their men's strike -not for men only. The men's wages for a living wage. They themselves showed signs of the struggle to keep homes going on too small a weekly sum. They carried on them :-

JULY 13, 1911.

"NOT MERELY ALMS, BUT A LIVING WAGE." "LIVE AND LET LIVE."

BY US."

"OUR RIGHT TO LIVE."

A demand, a prayer, a warning, and the assertion of a right.

The words point to the difference women's is THE MEN'S danger—for they undercut mothers know this. them: and THE STATE'S danger—for they break down and their children are not strong. There is nothing antagonistic to men in these mottoes—the "our" includes them; and there would be nothing antagonistic in their

THIS WEEK'S STORY.

At a meeting of women-householders in Bermondsey (that is, of women who would voting if they had votes.

surance means less to eat. And less to eat if women had votes this would be so?

On Friday of last week (July 7) there was means more sickness, and a heavier drain on a significant procession in Manchester, which the Insurance Fund. There is only one way was really another Suffrage Procession, al- out of this circle—a LIVING WAGE. And that though the demonstrators, probably owing is why the women bear bravely the bitter to the hardness of their lives, had not had privation of a strike. And that is why their time to realise their need for the vote. They influence would in politics tend to the fixing of

A LIVING WAGE FOR ALL.

cannot be raised to subsistence level while the women get less payment for the same work; the cheaper wage-earner undercuts banners-not artistic but for that only the dearer wage-earner, and the latter is more powerfully appealing—with these words either thrown out of work, or has to work for a lower wage, with the result that wages tend not to rise, as they otherwise would. But no Government can fix a fair minimum of earnings either for men or women without "OUR POVERTY IS YOUR DANGER—STAND the women's support to counterbalance the other interests it will for a time antagonise. That is, without women voting, no general living wage, for men or women.

Another message these wives gave was:-

"OUR POVERTY IS YOUR DANGER."

votes would make in politics. Politicians Great Britain wishes to remain one of the would realise that these mottoes apply to foremost nations of the world, but while it women just as much as to men, as they do neglects its women it will not remain so. not realise now; they forget now that if "The health of the wives and mothers of the women have not a living wage, they at least nation is a national scandal and a national feel their RIGHT TO LIVE. And their poverty danger," says Miss Anna Martin. The

THIS WEEK'S STORY.

get the vote by the Conciliation Bill), they Nothing is finer than the way the women were asked one by one this question: "Are in this strike are standing by their husbands: the children you see to-day healthier or less "He'll get more when he goes in again, so healthy than the children you knew when we must stick out," they say. Yet there is you were young?" The answers were nothing strange about this when you realise practically all the same: "Children, when that it is the women who have the spending we were young, were nothing like so well fed of that low wage, who have to scrape and and well cared for as they are to-day; but manage, and often go without themselves, they were A DEAL STRONGER. THE MOTHERS so that they may keep themselves and the ARE WEAKER NOWADAYS, AND SO THE BABIES family on it. They know how political ARE BORN WEAKER." These women who changes affect their family's food supply far SHOULD be voters have just hit the crux of better than the electors. They know that the nation's sickness problem. Yet the they will have to find this 4d. a week that the Bill for National Insurance against sickness, workman contributes under the Insurance except for inadequate maternity benefit, Bill; it will not come out of the husband's LEAVES THEM OUT. They do not even get "bit," but from the same source as the the twopence from the State which almost extra price of sugar, when, a short time ago, every other worker gets, because Mr. Lloyd it went up a penny a pound. As one woman George calculates that this would add id. in said then: "Since I have had to pay 4d. a the f to the income tax. So the health of the week more for sugar, the children and I have women is to remain a "national danger' only had bread and butter for Saturday's because Mr. Lloyd George dare not add one dinner." Fourpence a week more for In- penny to the income tax. Do you think that

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stamped envelope addressed if it is desired that they should
be returned. The Editor accepts no responsibility, however,
for matter which is offered unsolicited.

Correspondents are Requested to Note that this paper goes
to press on Tuesday. The latest news, notices, and reports
should, therefore, reach the Editor by first post on Monday.
The Editor reminds correspondents, however, that the
work is made much easier if news is sent in as long beforehand as possible. Monday is only mentioned as the last
possible day, not as the one upon which all news should
arrive.

arrive.

NOTICE.—This paper should be obtainable at newsagents and bookstalls by mid-day on Thursday. If people have any difficulty in getting it locally they should write to the Manager, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester, giving the name and address of the newsagent or bookstall from which they wish to

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Tax Resistance as a Policy.

The Special Council of the National Union has decided against the resistance of Imperial Taxation as a present policy. There are two ways of looking at tax-resistance, as a matter of conscience and as a matter of policy

There are some women who hold that for the Government to persist in governing women against their will is an act of oppression to which it is wrong to submit. By paying taxes unjustly levied, women, they say, are making themselves parties to an act of oppression. The present condition of women is such that laws are made and administered unjustly and injuriously, because they are made and administered by men only. Some women suffer far more than others from this bad state of things and those who suffer most are those who are most powerless to resist. Therefore it is incumbent upon those who can resist effectively to do so and passive resistance to taxation becomes, to women who think in this way, a duty which they dare not evade. This is what we have called a matter of conscience; it is an individual matter and one upon which the Union has not dictated to its members. It has always been possible for members of societies within the Union to resist taxes and nothing done or said at the Council meeting affected this possibility, nor did the Council express any opinion about such individual action.

But there is the second point of view—the consideration of Tax Resistance as a practical policy,— of passive resistance as a new weapon for the National Union to take up in the fight for the enfranchisement of women. It was this second point which the Council had to consider in Edinburgh, and on which, now that the matter has been for the present determined, we wish to offer a

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Advertisements should reach the office by first post on Tuesday. neither legal nor constitutional. We are aware that it is arguable whether tax-resistance is constitutional, but we have never heard anyone argue that it was legal and therefore there is no doubt that the rules would have to be modified. We are very far indeed from saying the rules should not be modified whenever necessary, but we do say that a modification of this sort, involving a real and deep change of principle, is a matter of the greatest gravity and to be undertaken with a full and deep sense of responsibility.

We do not propose here and now to go into the vexed controversies of the distinction between passive and active resistance or the question of whether tax resistance is to be regarded as rebellion or as protest. Not because we do not think these points of considerable interest and germane to the question if it were still at issue, but because, now that the policy has been rejected as a policy, we could not state our own views without allowing correspondence on them, and we wish to encourage correspondence on lines more directly bearing on the

accepted policy of the Union.

The Union refused for the present to approve of that policy. It was generally felt that, if such a policy were approved, this must be in no half-hearted fashion. It is not so much that large numbers must actually refuse to pay taxes, as that the Union as a whole could not in honour say it "approved" without, as a Union, throwing the force of its machinery, the eloquence of its speakers and writers, the weight of its influence and numbers as well as the succour of its funds in support of a policy it "approved." It would be mean and cowardly to "approve" of a policy involving suffering, sacrifice and resistance to law without giving every kind of support available. This was, we believe, appreciated by the Council. At first the question was asked whether it was possible for individuals to approve tax-resistance until they themselves were prepared to resist. This, of course, is and must be possible. It would be an odd world in which we were only allowed to approve of what we ourselves did! But it is incumbent upon an individual to be frank and courageous in support of principles she approves and still more is it ircumbent upon a great Union like ours to be perfectly clear and explicit about any policy which it adopts.

The National Union will have nothing to do with a policy of half-hearted or half-acknowledged sympathy with illegal practises. If the time should ever come when the Union would think it necessary to resist the law, it must do so openly, gravely, and with all its might. There are individuals now who feel that they cannot obey what they hold to be an iniquitous law. They must do what they think right. The Union and the Officers of the Union are not individuals and they are bound by the decisions of the Council.

Concentrate on the Bill.

The day after the great Suffragist procession last month, met a man who had watched it from the pavement in St. James's Street. He is an anti-Suffragist; but he told me that he had been deeply interested and that it had greatly impressed the crowd; and he expressed the opinion that the enfranchisement of women, which he had previously believed to be a remote contingency, is now a near certainty. On the following day, one of the first men I spoke to in the City-another Anti-told me that he had been reading about the procession and he remarked, "There is no doubt women are going to get the vote, more's the pity"; and when, later in the day, I went to lunch, a number of men congratulated me on the coming victory of the women and an old Radical, who, while professing to be in favour of Women's Suffrage, had, time after time, denounced the importunity of the women and told me that it was ridiculous to think that a Suffrage bill would be carried so long as there were important Liberal There was first the question whether, in the event of the policy being approved, the Union would have to your women friends have won," and added, as an afterthought, "They had better take care not to throw their who, while not daring to oppose Women's Suffrage openly, victory away.'

JULY 13, 1911.

The tenour and tone of these remarks were symptoms of a change, not only in public opinion, but in the attitude of the public towards Women's Suffrage, which has been very marked since the publication of Mr. Asquith's letter to Lord Lytton and the procession on the same day. Even after Sir Edward Grey's speech at the banquet given at the National Liberal Club to Mr. Carnegie, there was a widely spread feeling that the women were being trifled with—a feeling that grew in intensity as day after day passed without any official endorsement of Sir Edward's statement regarding the Conciliation Bill, or any reply from Mr. Asquith to the letter addressed to him by Lord Lytton. It was known that there were strong differences in the Cabinet and it was surmised that a struggle was going on between the supporters and opponents of the Bill; and each day that passed made Suffragists less hopeful of the result and anti-Suffragists more confident that the Government would refuse further facilities than those outlined by Mr. Lloyd George. There were, I know, many who felt certain that Sir Edward Grey would never have made so definite a statement unless he had known that he was expressing the intentions and sentiments of the Government, but there were others, and I believe, a majority, who thought that the statement was only the expression of his own opinions and feelings and that it would be accepted or repudiated, by Mr. Asquith, according to the exigencies of the moment. The publication, on the morning of the great Suffrage procession, of Mr. Asquith's letter to Lord Lytton, removed all doubt. It was at once recognized that the situation had changed and the procession—so vast in numbers, so splendidly organized, so varied, so comprehensive and so beautiful—revealed to the public, as nothing else had done, the strength and significance of the Suffrage movement and emphasized the effect produced by the publication of the letter. The publication of the letter marked a change in the political situation; the sympathetic reception accorded to the pro-cession marked the changed attitude of the public.

Almost every day since then I have heard more or less friendly remarks from people of all shades of opinion, significant of this change. Half-hearted Suffragists have become almost enthusiastic and apathetic and indifferent people interested and sympathetic; while the betternatured "Antis," if not reconciled, accept the inevitable with becoming resignation. Only here and there the more violent and prejudiced express their dislike of Women's

Suffrage in language as bitter as ever.

So overwhelming is the consensus of opinion that the Conciliation Bill will become law next year, that some people are talking of the battle as already won. Even so good a friend and so clear-thinking a newspaper as "Nation." referred, in an otherwise admirable article, to women being now "in all but the legal formality voters and citizens." I wish this were the case; but, unfortunately, it is not. Victory appears in sight; it is almost within reach; but there are still dangers ahead that will require courage, skill, and unremitting determination and watchfulness to overcome. The Bill has many enemies. There are open foes-men who hate Women's Suffrage in every form and who will fight it doggedly and honourably to the end. There are more subtle enemies-men who, while professing to be in favour of Women's Suffrage, have a strong dislike to every practical measure. These professed friends of the cause, but opponents of the Bill are the most dangerous enemies the women have. I met one the other day, a smooth-tongued man, who told me blandly that, of course, the Bill would pass, but that it must be put on a much wider basis, and include all married women. I asked him if he really thought that it would have any chance of passing if its scope were so widened and, after some fencing, he admitted that he did not think it would; and when I told him that he was an enemy and not a friend of Women's Suffrage and that what he suggested was calculated to kill the Bill, he said that he did not care if it did and avowed that he was not an ardent Suffragist. He is one of those mere partisans, who fear the effect of the women's vote on certain legislation and

do what they can to retard or prevent it and will, by plausible but dangerous amendments, try to wreck the Conciliation Bill.

It is curious to note, in this connection, how the avowed Anti" and the professed believer in a more extended suffrage than the women demand come together. The "Daily Chronicle," in a short leader on the position, said, While the battle for Women's Suffrage is practically won, there are still awkward difficulties to be negotiated before the Conciliation Bill is passed into law. Chief of these is the position of married women under the Bill. A measure that gives the vote to the unmarried woman and the widow, and withholds it from the wife, is open to a withering fire of criticism. We do not believe that any House of Commons, in conferring votes on women, will consent to treat marriage as a disqualification for citizenship." The "Church Times," a few days later, referring Conservative Suffragists, asked, "Do they realize that the only possible way of admitting women to the franchise is the adoption of universal adult suffrage? For the Conciliation Bill, which seems to represent their limit, denies the franchise to married women, the one section of women that is best qualified to receive it; and the measure is open to the objection that it is essentially undemocratic." I wonder which is the more dangerous the "Daily Chronicle," which professes to be in favour of Women's Suffrage, or the "Church Times," which hates it as cordially as it does Nonconformity or Low Churchism. The suggestion of the professed friend and the avowed enemy is much the same. Their interest in married women is touching, but it would be a reflection on the intelligence of their respective editors to doubt their cognizance of the fact that the adoption of an amendment to include married women would be fatal to

The more I see and the more I hear, the more am I convinced of the necessity of Suffragists concentrating all their attention on the Conciliation Bill as it is. It is not a perfect measure; it is not what the Suffrage societies have asked for; but it unites, as no other Suffrage bill could, Members of Parliament of all parties and all shades of opinion. Mr. Asquith has promised full facilities for it next Session. Victory is in sight, but it will only become victory if the advantages gained are pressed straight home. To be lured by such a will-o'-the-wisp as the inclusion of all married women would be playing into the hands of the enemy.

J. Y. KENNEDY.

Complimentary Banquet to Mrs. Chapman Catt.

The banquet given in honour of Mrs. Chapman Catt on July 4th at the Garden Club Coronation Exhibition was a great success. Besides the chief guest of the evening and Mrs. Fawcett, who presided, there were present the Rev. Dr. Anna Shaw, Miss Hay and Miss Cameron from the United States and Miss Vida Goldstein from Australia. Also among nany others there were Miss Emily Davies and Mrs. Despard, Lady Selborne, Lady Strachey, Lady Rayleigh, Lady Betty Balfour, Lady De La Warr, Lady McLaren, Mr. and Mrs. Brailsford, the Ranee of Sarawak, Mrs. Illingworth, Mrs. Ayrton, Mr. and Mrs. Cecil Chapman, the Lady Knightley of Fawsley, Mr. Walter McLaren, M.P., Mrs. Philip Snowden, Miss I. O. Ford, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Pankhurst, Lady Stout, Mrs. Fabian Ware, Miss Sterling, Mrs. Auerbach, Mrs. Stanton Coit, Miss Garrett and Mrs. Gilbert Samuel

After the usual loyal toasts Mrs. Fawcett proposed the toast of the evening. The name of Mrs. Chapman Catt would, she said, be associated with the cause as long as we had memories and this company had been assembled to express our deep affection and esteem for her. Mrs. Fawcett said what a disappointment it had been to many of the English delegates not to have been able to go to Stockholm for the International Congress, but she held that "the man who provides not for his own,

was if each one of us had not done her utmost for it. It had been amply worth while to have the procession. Never before had we had such a reception. "We heard no words from that vast crowd but of encouragement and She had been present the night before friendliness." at a dinner of the London Chamber of Commerce where the subject to be discussed was women's work in the Empire and suffrage was a prohibited subject, then," said Mrs. Fawcett genially, "we talked suffrage all the evening!". A Canadian magnate had said that Canadian women did not want the vote and added, "The foot that rocks the cradle rules the world!" Then Mrs. Fawcett spoke of Canadian women and the suffrage and afterwards the wife of the aforesaid gentle-man thanked her and said of the procession, "it gripped

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me. I shall never forget it." They had sacrificed something in not going to Stockholm. It was an unmixed pleasure to see and hear Mrs. Chapman Catt in the chair. It was an artistic pleasure to see difficult work done with ease. When there were 22 or 24 countries represented by delegates with all the jealousies and causes of difference between nationalities, the post of chairman was one demanding great powers. I used to be nervous when I saw a difficult point approaching, but I'm not afraid now. I have perfect confidence in the chairman. She has the solid virtues of justice, good sense and fair play and the intellectual capacity to see other people's point of view. She is as wonderful as ever—the wisest, justest, most untiring

Mrs. Fawcett congratulated the Alliance that four out of the five countries which first joined it, either has or is on the point of having the vote. Lord Cromer com-plained of "apathy!" "We," said Mrs. Fawcett, with an ingenuous air, "do not find this apathy. Lord Cromer should join us! When we want a procession we raise a hand and 40,000 women come from all parts of the kingdom." The awakening of women to political consciousness was one of the greatest things the world had seen

Mrs. Catt, in responding to the toast, which was drunk with much enthusiasm (although to a considerable extent in water) said it gave her great pleasure to look into the faces of those who had borne the struggle and she congratulated them on the victory "which all the world knows is near at hand." It was a pleasure to sit by Mrs. Fawcett, who for so many years had sacrificed so much to their common cause. Mrs. Fawcett had said she didn't know whether the King was a suffragist. It had come to her knowledge in Norway that the King must at least have heard about their movement, for when the little Crown Prince of Norway came to England and heard of what was being done there to get women the vote, he said, "Why doesn't Uncle George give the vote to the women of England and save all trouble, as we have done?

It was, she said, her dearest hope and her chief prayer that the women of Great Britain might be made to understand the significance of the international movement. "Perhaps some of you don't realize the advantage you have in having a single definite point of attack. It has developed qualities such as have been developed in no other campaign." This singleness might never occur again. The campaign in England had been "the most wonderful, powerful, soul-stirring thing. had developed one quality which was most precious and rare, and this had been developed in England as in no other country,—the contagion of consecration. She held that the voice of destiny called upon English women to furnish leadership in the years to come. "If you fail to provide it I believe this movement will not succeed

The International was not a mere movement here and there to get women a vote. Women were awakening from a confused dream to the bewildered understanding that a new life was opening for them. "Because you have achieved most, you are called upon to extend your help all over the world." But it was not for English

even for his own household, is worse than an infidel." women to teach their own methods. Each nationality The Procession on June 17th, the first joint procession must have the movement that harmonized with it; the of all the societies, would not have been the success it . International had not to teach but to inspire. Its work was not for women of one race but that womanhood should come to its own. No nation and no people has prospered by keeping its women in subjection and Mrs. Catt suggested that it was possible some nations might leap the slow steps which others had had to take. beg of you to enlarge your ambitions, to look over the great world and forget you are British. Nations will go, but the race remains. We are bringing something new into the world, something not sundering but uniting. Men have always appealed to local patriotism; it remained for women to unite in something greater than rations, -in the motherhood of the world. spiration of your consecration go forth and let it help others to help themselves. There are women all over Europe as intelligent as you and you are called outside of Great Britain to help the women in this larger world. Your work does not end in London. So long as there is one woman living in the world who is taught that she was born an inferior being and so subject to a superior class there is work for you."

Mrs. Catt told a legend of Christ walking, heavy with burdens, out of the city; he came upon a mage of the East, who fell on his face and said "I honour thee, O God! But when I beheld thee, thousands of years ago, thou wast in the form of a woman." Said our Lord, "The paths of life were too thorny for the feet of a woman. Thousands of years hence I shall come on the earth again in the form of many women banded together to uplift." And she ended, "When your victory comes, you are not dismissed from service. It will be a victory not for our sex only but for the whole human race.'

Before calling on the next speaker Mrs. Fawcett alluded with regret to the unavoidable absence of Miss Margaret Ashton and said we also regretted not to have with us Mr. C. P. Scott, "one of the best friends we have," editor of the "Manchester Guardian," the "best

Mr. Walter McLaren in proposing the health of the other guests, alluded to Mrs. Catt's address as one of the most "touching and heart-searching" he had heard. He had many links with America, one of them being the fact that he was named after Mrs. Beecher Stowe who was with his mother when he was born; "she gave me her benediction and dedicated me to the cause of women's

Dr. Anna Shaw, in responding, referred ironically to the loud noise of fireworks which had disturbed the guests during the earlier speeches. "We have no better way of rejoicing," she said, "than in making a noise and we celebrate a victory with the same noise as that in which we won it." American men, celebrating the War of Independence, did not realize that the women of America stood in the same relation to their government as American men had stood to the government of Great Britain. The principle of "no taxation without representation" had separated men; it drew women together. "When we have won the freedom of women we will have no fireworks" (here a listener interjected "Oh do let us have freworks too!") "but a soul-stirring desire to benefit humanity in the work for the well-being of the home." Women had been called queens of the home! A queen without crown or sceptre or throne or subject was a sorry sight. All we wanted was to enter into our sovereignty with power to regulate home life. It was said "a little child shall lead them." She hoped that in the case of Britain this might be true and she might learn wisdom from her colonial children.

Dr. Shaw amused her hearers by relating how, even in advanced Norway, susceptibilities were shocked by her request to be allowed to preach in the state church. "For some time the newspapers were divided between me and Saint Paul and I had rather the advantage, because Saint Paul wasn't there." There was no class of men, she maintained, that had ever been so fit for the vote when it was given them as the women were now. The education you men have been giving us has taught us how to deal with you and how far you are to be

She ended by comparing two versions of a well-known text, the revised one running "The Lord giveth the word and the multitude of the women who published the tidings is a great host."

Text of the Bill.

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

A BILL TO CONFER THE PARLIAMENTARY

FRANCHISE ON WOMEN.

JULY 13, 1911.

FRANCHISE ON WOMEN.

Be it enacted, etc.:

1. Every woman possessed of a household qualification within the meaning of the Representation of the People Act (1884) shall be entitled to be registered as a voter, and when registered to vote for the County or Borough in which the qualifying premises are situate.

2. For the 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.

Is the 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.

Carnarvon County Council and the Conciliation Bill.

The honour of being the first County Council to pass a resolution in favour of the Conciliation Bill has fallen to the Carnarvon County Council and we congratulate it upon leading the way in this matter. We hope others The resolution was as follows:—That this Council, believing that the question of Women's Suffrage is ripe for solution, welcomes the promise of the Government to give facilities next session for proceeding with the Bill for the enfranchisement of women known as the Conciliation Bill and urges Parliament to use the opportunity thus given to pass the Bill into law. that copies of this resolution be sent to the Prime Minister, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. William Jones, M.P., and Mr. Ellis Davies, M.P.

It was proposed by Mr. Breese, of Portmadoc, who wrote as follows to Miss Waring:—

Morfa Lodge,

Portmadoc.

6th July, 1911.

I rejoice to inform you that the enclosed resolution was "unanimously" and "with applause" carried at the meeting of the Carnarvonshire County Council to-day.

The Council was extremely well and fully attended and my remarks in submitting the motion were received with a warmth of sympathetic approbation which testified to the whole-hearted support of every individual member present.

I sincerely congratulate the North Wales Federation of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies upon the remarkable unanimity with which the Carnaryonshire County Council has endorsed the claims of women.

Believe me, dear Madam

Yours very truly, CHARLES E. BREESE. The resolution was seconded by Mr. J. Marks, of

Llandudno.

It is an interesting fact that the Chancellor of the Exchequer (who was not, however, present) is a member of the Carnarvon County Council while his brother is

The West Lancashire, West Cheshire and North Wales Federation was responsible for the work done in promoting the passage of the Resolution. Miss Eskrigge and Miss Thompson did magnificent organizing work in the County, and Miss Eleanor Rathbone held a series of successful meetings at different centres. Amongst local workers, all of whom one would like to mention, one is Truck by the work of Mrs. Price White, Hon. Sec. of the Bangor Society and Mrs. Evans, a member of the Carnarvon Society. Mrs. Evans during the last few weeks has borne the brunt of the work.

One can hardly say too much of the kindness and courtesy of the proposer of the resolution, Mr. Breese and the seconder, Mr. Marks. We note with pleasure that Mrs. Marks is hon. co-secretary of the Llandudne

In Parliament.

DIVIDING THE INSURANCE BILL.

On Wednesday 5th July, the House of Commons went into Committee on the Insurance Bill. An instruction moved by Mr. Booth (Pontefract) to divide the Bill in two was defeated by a majority of 89. In the course of the debate Mr Lloyd George indicated that considerable latitude would be left to the House in the matter of amendments, but "I would regard a very considerable alteration as, of course, fatal to the Government scheme.' Mr. Wedgwood (Newcastle under Lyme) maintained that Part II (Unemployment) was far more popular and far more wanted than Part I (Sickness).

WOMEN IN THE BILL.

An amendment to exclude women from the scope of Clause I. (which specifies who are to be insured persons) was moved by Mr. Hills (Durham) but was withdrawn on Mr. George saying it would come later. Mr. George also promised further actuarial information on the position of women, soldiers and sailors.

Mr. Keir Hardie moved to include the wives of insured persons. Mr. Lloyd George opposed this on the ground that it would cost another 5 or 6 millions to the State and 9 additional millions to both the employer and the workman. "Some time later on," he suggested, married women might come in, but there is "not the same urgency, for the simple reason that we are making provision now for the workman when ill and for a time when no money at all is coming into the house.' Chamberlain and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald both thought married women were hardly treated but they voted against the amendment, which was lost, only 46 voting

PRINCIPLE OF COMPULSION.

An amendment by Mr. Wedgwood to make the scheme permissive, not compulsory, was defeated. Later, Mr. Leif Jones proposed to admit married women on a voluntary basis and Mr. George said this might be possible as an amendment to Clause 34. He pledged himself to re-commit any part of the Bill if necessary to make it possible to discuss such an amendment.

MONEY RESOLUTIONS.

Clause I. was agreed to.

On July 6th Clause II. dealing with exemptions was discussed and Mr. Lloyd George indicated that he might at a later stage consider the partial exemption of nurses, domestic servants and others, so as to provide for permanent disability only. Clause III. passed and the money resolution was then discussed, which provides that the State shall pay not more than two ninths for men and one quarter for women. Mr. Philip Snowden (Blackburn) Mr. Wedgwood and Mr. Lansbury (Bow and Bromley) protested against the contributions as excessive. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald (Leicester) also objected to the apportionment of the burden-more than two-ninths of the ills which the Bill was designed to meet were social in their origin. He regretted he could not vote against the resolution without voting against the Bill. The resolution passed.

SANATORIA.

On Friday 7th the Deputy Speaker noted that the Committee could increase the benefits, so long as it did not go beyond the terms of the financial resolution. This had been called in question apparently by Mr. George who said the resolution would "preclude the House from increasing any charge upon the Exchequer." Being pressed to extend sanatorium benefit to the wives of insured persons, Mr. George said the sanatoria were experimental and if they were successful they would be extended. The House sat till nearly 5 a.m. and Clause III

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. Treasurer:

Miss K. D. Courney.

Miss Edith Pallier (Parliamentary).

Telegrams: "Voiceless, London." Hon. Sec. to Literature Committee: Miss I. B. O'Maller. Telephone: 1960 Victoria.

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

The Council Meetings.

SPECIAL COUNCIL ON TAX RESISTANCE.

The Special Council meeting summoned to consider the policy of Tax Resistance was held on the morning of July 7th in the Queen's Hall, Edinburgh. A very full and careful discussion took place; the speeches were on a high level and it was remarkable and encouraging to note how deeply felt was the responsibility of each delegate and of the Union as a whole in this important matter. Again and again intense indignation was expressed with regard to the provisions of the Insurance Fill as applied to women; again and again the Council broke into cheers when the proposed payment of Members out of the pockets of voteless women was resented; but no detail of women's great case for enfranchisement was allowed to overshadow our one demand which, alone, is the rallying point of the Union. Everything was secondary to winning the vote; the Conciliation Bill was the practicable measure in the immediate future; we have been promised facilities next year for this practicable measure and nothing was going to side-track us. If tax resistance was going to help us to pass the Conciliation Bill next year, we would entertain the idea of adopting tax-resistance; if it was going to hinder us, we would none of it. The overwhelming majority of the Council rejected it as a policy for the present and turned to the consideration of other lines of

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

Mrs. Fawcett, who presided during the whole of the business sessions on both days, expressed her satisfac-tion with the result of the debate on Tax Resistance and said that, although she felt women had the moral right to resist taxation it was not always expedient to act upon their rights; they had only a certain amount of power and the best use to which they could put it in the ming year was to strengthen their position in the country. She alluded to Mr. Asquith's concession and to the changed attitude of the Press as showing the encouraging progress we were making and she suggested that since both the great Liberal and Conservative men's National associations had passed resolutions in favour of women's suffrage, the local associations should be encouraged to endorse their national bodies. recommended that a conciliatory attitude should be shown to those who were prepared to admit a change of mind in our favour. She thought that very many men would be brought to our point of view by consideration of the Insurance Bill and the proposal to pay Members. We must press these considerations. She warned her hearers that the vote was not won until a measure enfranchising women was on the statute-book and she spoke of the treacherous "widening amendments" being proposed by the Anti-Suffragists. "In this country," she said, amid laughter, "we never do a thing in one step if we can possibly do it in two" and all suffragists knew these widening amendments would only

REPORTS.

Interesting reports were made by the various departments. Mrs. Auerbach (Treasurer) in a touching little speech, said she was going to make an appeal to our imaginations. The figures she would read to us were to her not mere pounds, shillings and pence, they represented so much effort, self-denial and work,—hard work,—and "that's why" she said, "these figures mean so much to me. I know what they have cost our friends."

Miss Lowndes wrote thus of it:

It is in the colours, showing broad stripes of red and green and narrow stripes of silver. The National Arms

She then reported a total of £3,718 for the half-year's income to headquarters.

The Hon. Secretaries reported the formation of 56 new societies in the half year and stated that there were now over 26,000 members. A summary of parliamentary and office work was read, but as the events recorded have all appeared in "The Common Cause" as they occurred we will not recapitulate them. Miss Courtney pointed out that every new society and every fresh development called for more work in the office and she announced the

engaging of three new rooms and a larger office staff.

Miss Leaf read a most interesting report on the Press, showing the great change there had been in the tone. Few papers, she said, remained absolutely hostile and there was not the former boycott of suffrage news. Most of the Federations were organizing for Press work and reported good results and she hoped that soon the whole country would be covered.

Miss O'Malley also reported great activity in the literature department. A large mass of old and out-ofdate literature was being disposed of and the literature committee had issued a considerable number of new publications dealing with the present situation in various

ORGANIZATION.

The questions to be asked of candidates for Parliament were then revised. This did not take long, and the following resolution was then moved by Miss Ashton and seconded by Miss Palliser on behalf of the Executive and was passed unanimously:-

was passed unanimously:—

That this Council, while deeply regretting the postponement of facilities for the Conciliation Bill to another year, with the risks attendant on delay, nevertheless welcomes the Prime Minister's pledge that adequate time shall be given for the debate and passing of the Bill next year, and urges the Societies in the Union to lose no opportunity of pressing upon voters and Members of Parliament the need for loyally supporting the Bill to be promoted by the Conciliation Committee, and for declining to accept amendments of so wide a scope as to alienate large sections of the present supporters in the House of Commons.

The rest of the time of the Council was fruitfully employed in discussion of various ways of working all

employed in discussion of various ways of working, all with the one object in view, the supporting in the country of the Conciliation Committee in the House. The best ways of combining mass meetings and demonstrations, influencing political and other associations, and treating with Members and Candidates were canvassed and many useful hints were given and received.

The proceedings ended about one o'clock on Saturday, after a most cordial vote of thanks to Miss Mair and the Edinburgh society for their delightful hospitality.

Reception.

By kind invitation of Miss Mair a most enjoyable reception was held on Friday evening. Music and a humorous suffrage dialogue by Mrs. Stirling of Glenfarg were interspersed with lighter speeches and refreshments. Many old friends renewed acquaintance and the roar of conversation was ample testimony to the way people enjoyed the opportunity.

Presentation of the Banner.

On Saturday morning Mrs. Fawcett presented the new banner which has already been carried in the Procession. It was specially designed and executed by the Artists' Suffrage League and given to the Union by Miss Sterling.

figure on a Woman's Scutcheon (lozenge shape, not shield shape) and are supported by the Unicorn, which may, I think, fairly be taken for the Woman's insignia. The I should like to draw the attention of our readers to Unicorn with chain and collar is one of the ancient types of St. Mary and was supposed to signify that all the wilder and baser passions were under curb and control, owing to her influence. The arms of Mary Queen of arms of the United Kingdom.

JULY 13, 1911.



The scutcheon on the banner does not, as might be supposed at first glance, show the Royal Arms, which we might not be entitled to display. The Lions of England are quartered with the Lion Rampant of Scotland, with the Irish Harp and with the four Lions passant of Wales. The Welsh Lions do not appear, of course, in the Royal

The red and white roses, with their green points have been used before as a National Union badge. They are here embroidered upon the banner in red, green and

The design is carried out in very beautiful brocades, velvets, satins and cloth of silver.

Treasurer's Notes.

I was much gratified and encouraged by the keen interest evinced in the financial statement which it was my duty to present to the Council at our half-yearly meeting. It has been my endeavour to explain not only how the money has been spent which has been given during the last half-year, but also to foreshadow in how many new ways money will be wanted in future if our work is to go on. I confess that I have at times locked forward with anxiety to the months of strain and effort that lie before us, knowing the incessant calls that will be made upon our funds, but the spirit with which our Council received the lengthy estimate of ex-penditure which I laid before them has done much to relieve my anxiety and has given us the assurance that Suffragist inserts news and epitomes of letters and had we so badly needed for our encouragement. Once more the Council has inspired me with confidence and with hope, and I know that, just as in the past, so now and in the future our members will spare nothing in labour,

the generosity of the anonymous donor who has this week again sent a donation of £100 towards the expenses of an increased staff of organizers. As I have pointed out already, there is no more certain way of promoting Scots had for supporters two Unicorns; it was on the accession of James I. that the Unicorn first figured in the for this, the most effective, but also the most expensive branch of our work.

H. AUERBACH.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO GENERAL FUND. JUNE 30TH TO JULY 6TH, 1911.

| Already acknowledged since Nov. 1st | | 5 | 81 82 |
|--|--|--|-----------|
| Subscriptions— A. O. M. | . 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Donations— Miss A. M. Allen Mrs. F. C. Tubbs Mrs. Frank Dawes Mrs. Stanton Coit (2nd donation) Affiliation Fees— | 2 5 25 | 0200 | 0 0 0 0 |
| Affiliation Fees— Eccles W.S.S. Falkirk W.S.S. Rochdale W.S.S. Huddersfield W.S.S. Bideford W.S.S. Bridge of Allan and Stirlingshire W.S.S. | | 0 5 16 2 5 5 | 0 0 6 6 0 |
| A 6 1374 1 : (0.1 | £1,259 | 2 | 21/2 |
| Anonymous, for additional organisers (2nd donation) | 100 10 | 0 | 0 |
| PROCESSION FUND. | | - | |
| JUNE 1911. Already acknowledged Mrs. Maxwell St. John Miss A. M. Allen Miss J. H. Drew The Misses Smith Mrs. A. M. Overton Miss Mabel Saw Mrs. H. B. Taylor Miss Sylvia Drew Croydon W.S.S. Miss Anna Martin Mrs. Donohoe Mrs. Powell Leith Hill and Dorking W.S.S. | £ s. 306 5 0 2 0 10 1 0 4 1 0 1 15 1 5 0 5 1 1 0 5 1 1 5 1 5 1 5 | 60 00 00 00 00 00 00 00 00 00 00 00 00 0 | |
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| BY-ELECTIONS. | | 12. | |
| Already acknowledged (Hull) | £ s. 0 15 1 0 | 6 | |
| | £1 15 | 6 | |
| R WORK IN SUPPORT OF THE CONCIL | | | BILL. |
| Already acknowledged 1 Miss A. M. Allen Miss Eleanor Garrets | £ s. 1,111 10 0 10 5 0 | 0 | |

Press Department.

The Westminster Gazette, in a report of Mrs. Chapman Catt's speech at the banquet on July 4th at the White City, paid a worthy tribute to her remarkable powers as a speaker and leader. It gave in addition an admirably accurate account of the campaign of the London Society in West Ham.

The Morning Leader presented a picture of the National Union workers addressing an open-air meeting

The Daily Telegraph has also, on the whole, given excellent notices of the work done by the London Society on this occasion.

The Scotsman, the Glasgow Herald, and the Edinburgh Evening Dispatch have given reports of the half-yearly Council of the National Union which met at Edinburgh on July 7th.

The Hon. Secretary of the Worcester Society reports that the Berrow's Worcester Journal though not proa good notice of the Procession. Worcester Herald also inserts news. Worcestershire Advertiser is very fair, and inserts both sides of the question.

Common Cause Week at Newcastle.

250

THE NEWCASTLE SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

Secretary: Miss Bury, 27, Ridley Place.

In the minutes of the first meeting in October, 1900, when a definite Newcastle Society for Women's Suffrage was formed, it is strangely prophetic to see in the final resolution, which defined the object of the Society, the precise basis of the Conciliation Bill-the extension of the franchise to women-householders.

Of this first Newcastle and District Society, Earl Grey was President and it is pleasing to note that, through all the changes in its scope and personnel, his name has headed the long list of staunch supporters. Among the many points of interest in its history not the least is the way in which it has anticipated some of the most important parts of the N.U. policy. If it may be said in all humility it would almost seem that Lancashire's proud boast might be paraphrased into "what Newcastle thinks to-day the National Union will think to-morrow.'

As early as 1904 the Society, though it knew it was risking the loss of some of its members, supported Mr. Johnson, Labour candidate and a good Suffragist, against Lord Morpeth at the Gateshead by-election. It realized then that party must go and that soundness in Suffrage

is to suffragists the all important consideration.

In 1905 the name of the Society was changed to that of the North-Eastern Society for Women's Suffrage.

In the by-election at Hexham in 1907 the Society worked for the Conservative candidate and it is reported that a vote of thanks to Newcastle was put from the chair of the N.U. and carried with acclamation. In the same year, at Jarrow, Newcastle Suffragists supported Mr. Curran, the Labour candidate. It is worthy of note that at this election Mr. Curran was asked whether he would oppose a further extension of the franchise to men which did not include women; this was the first time this question was put to a candidate. This question was not put to the Liberal candidate, as he was asked whether he would propose or support an amendment to the Address and it was felt that this question was for him the more

In 1907 at the Quarterly Council Meeting, the North-Eastern Society submitted a resolution warmly approving of the proposed policy of Tax Resistance. At the Quarterly Council Meeting in Edinburgh in 1908 the North-Eastern Society proposed that the National Union should adopt the anti-Government election policy of the Women's Social and Political Union. This was lost by a large majority and, in consequence, Mrs. Taylor and thirteen members of the N.E. Society seceded to the W.S. P.U. This was a very serious blow to the Society, who lost thereby its Chairman of Committee and its Hon. Sec. To Mrs. Harrison Bell, who, stepping into the breach, became Hon. Sec., the Society owes a very deep debt of

In 1909, at the Newcastle by-election, the Society initiated the Voters' Petition and on this occasion more than 5,000 signatures were obtained.

The North-Eastern Society had, since its change of name, always felt itself responsible for the permeation of the area of Northumberland and Durham. With the introduction of Federations into the constitution of the N.U., however, this part of the work passed into the hands of the North-Eastern Federation which, besides Newcastle, included the Societies of Sunderland, Durham, Barnard Castle, and Darlington and the North-Eastern Society reverted to its old title of the Newcastle Society for Women's Suffrage.

There are many honoured names in the list of members and amongst them those of Dr. and Mrs. Spence Watson, Mrs. Marshall and Mrs. Scholefield raise an especially reverent enthusiasm. To the generosity and enthusiasm of Mrs. Taylor and the ceaseless activity and enthusiasm of Mrs. Taylor and the ceaseless activity and interest of Dr. Ethel Bentham and Mrs. Atkinson, all of whom were amongst the earliest members of the Society, the Suffrage cause in the North owes much of its early vigour and growing power. While to Dr. Ethel

Williams, who first served on the Committee in 1905 and became its Chairman in 1909 and whose cheerful influence and steady judgment are always at the service of the cause, all local suffragists feel a gratitude and affection which it is difficult to express.

By-elections.

| Result: Mr. J. Dundas White (L.) | 3,869 2.783 |
|----------------------------------|---------------|

Liberal majority in December, 1910, 1,674. Liberal majority in December, 1910, 1,674.

The work of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage came, on 5th July, the eve of the poll, to an impressive culmination in the shape of a big demonstration, with four platforms and twelve speakers, in a crowded central street in the division. Miss Stuart Paterson, LL.A., Mrs. Jackson, Mrs. Pearce, Miss Helen Fraser, and Mr. Ballantyne addressed immense audiences, and were supported by Miss Chrystal MacMillan, Dr. Elsie Inglis, Miss F. G. Matheson, and other Edinburgh friends. The ringing of a huge bell at 9.15 was the signal for all the platforms simultaneously to move a resolution, carried by overwhelming majorities, urging the new member for Tradeston to support the third reading of the Conciliation Bill. In addition, twenty-five open-air meetings, in the breakfast and dinner simultaneously to move a resolution, carried by overwhelming majorities, urging the new member for Tradeston to support the third reading of the Conciliation Bill. In addition, twenty-five open-air meetings, in the breakfast and dinner hours and in the evenings, have been held during the six day's campaign. The audiences at the Unionist and Liberal meetings have had the opinions of Mr. Balfour, Lord Salisbury, Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, Lord Haldane, and other leaders thrust upon them in leaflet form; the candidates have been heckled both by women and by electors, and have been interviewed formally and informally by us. It will surely soon seem impossible to Mr. Watts to maintain that "women do not want the vote"! Our committee rooms excited a great deal of interest and attention, the posters and handbills shown in the windows being studied by little crowds in the street from six in the morning till ten at night. "It's a great pity you're going away," said a woman of the neighbourhood who came in on the day of the poll, and she went on to tell us in her own simple way how ignorantly many of the Tradeston electors voted, and how indifferent others were to the possession of the vote. The percentage of electors who went to the poll was, as it turned out, much smaller than in December, and this fact argues considerable political apathy in the face of the present constitutional crisis. Badges and Conciliation Bill pamphlets and leaflets were asked for by many of the passers-by and one elector of the constituency came in to give a money donation and a warm expression of sympathy.

The Press, on the whole, gave us a fair amount of space. The "Glasgow Herald" had a good-sized paragraph about our campaign one day, and a shorter one later on. It also gave a long account of Mrs. Jackson's encounter with the Unionist candidate. The "Evening Times" and the "Daily Record" also noticed us at considerable length.

The "Glasgow Herald" had a good-sized paragraph about our campaign one day, the breakfast, dinner, and evening

ALICE CROMPTON.

NORTH WEST HAM. Result: Baron de Forest (L.) Mr. Ernest Wild (U.) Liberal majority Committee Rooms: 2, Workman's Hall Buildings, Romford Road. Organisers: Miss Deverell and Miss Rinder.

JULY 13, 1911.

Result: Mr. Mark Sykes (U.) Sir R. W. Aske (L.) Unionist majority

SOUTH BEDFORDSHIRE.

Candidates: C. Harmsworth (L.). J. O. Hickman (U.).

Committee Rooms: 54, Wellington Street, Luton. 55, High Street, Leighton Buzzard.

Organisers: Mrs. Renton, Franklin's Hotel, Luton. Miss Dorothy Edwards, Leighton Buzzard.

As Miss Dorothy Edwards, Leighton Buzzard.

As Miss Dorothy Edwards has been able to come to our assistance we have found it possible to open a second committee room, with her in charge, at Leighton Buzzard—a small market town situated at the extreme west of the constituency. Already not a few people have called there to discuss and to buy. It is at 55, High Street, looking out on the old market cross, from the steps of which we hope to hold some meetings. The committee room at Luton is still our headquarters and continues to attract both sympathisers and the merely inquisitive.

headquarters and continues to attract both sympathisers and the merely inquisitive.

Mrs. Rackham came over from Cambridge to help last Saturday. In spite of the great heat she held a meeting at midday and in the evening, for an hour, held the attention of a very large and sympathetic crowd.

Mrs. Cooper, who came last Wednesday, has made a great impression in Luton, Dunstable, and neighbouring villages. Up to the present time (Sunday 9th) we have had twelve meetings.

meetings.

Although we were told, by police and others, to expect a very hot time in the constituency, hitherto we have met with nothing but friendliness from all our hearers.

One little incident is perhaps worth telling. We were speaking to a big gathering on a beautiful village green when the vicar came among the groups and showed them a card. These were the words that were written on it: "Come to our meeting." No one stirred. He then had recourse to the school bell and we finished—but the groups still gathered round us asking questions and making pleasant comments.

WEST SOMERSET.

Candidates: Lieut.-Colonel Boles (C.). Dudley Ward, Esq. (L.).

Organiser: Miss M. Norma-Smith, 14, The Crescent, Taunton. Polling Day: July 21st.

The Conservative candidate, Lieut.-Colonel Boles, has declared himself in favour of the Conciliation Bill, and has pledged himself to do all that lies in his power, as a private member, to secure the placing of the Women's Enfranchise-

could be persuaded to alter his attitude towards the Conciliation Bill.

We have had open-air meetings in Minehead, Porlock, Dulverton, Milverton, Wiviliscombe, and Norton Fitzwarren. Miss Dutten and Miss Chambers have paid a number of calls and have done good work in advertising our meetings.

Two Conservative men very kindly arranged a splendid meeting in Porlock for us, and after the meeting five men gave in their names as willing to join our Union. We have fourteen members as a result of our meetings. We are hoping that this campaign will have a permanent result in the establishment of a strong society in the constituency. Polling day is not until July 21st, but there is much work to be done and many places to visit. Thirteen meetings are planned for this week, and more will probably be arranged We are making every effort that all the electors shall know about our movement.

The two local newspapers have kindly printed a letter I wrote explaining our policy and our reason for supporting Colonel Boles.

Marguerite Norma-Smith.

MARGUERITE NORMA-SMITH

Organisation.

We invite organizers to send us notices of work they are proposing in new neighbourhoods, so that those living there may hear of it and offer help. We suggest that the names of



STOCKTAKING

NOW PROCEEDING.

WONDERFUL BARCAINS IN ALL DEPARTMENTS

Quaker Blouse Robe (as sketch No. 3) excellent shape, in good quality cotton voile. In black, navy, white, grey, rose, saxe, heliotrope white and black. Also floral designs with handmade lawn collar. Excep tional value.

Sale Price - - - 18/9 Also in coloured Shantung and navy and white Foulards.

Sale Price - - - 35/9

Blouse only, in cotton voile, all colours - - 10/6

Catalogue Post Free.

Debenham & Freebody Wigmore Street, London, W.

Grand GHIBAS

the places, the name and address of the organizer and the dates on which she begins work should always be sent. As the holiday season approaches we should also like to publish any intentions our members may have of propaganda in

| meatin resorts. | | NAME | |
|----------------------|------------------|---|----|
| PLACE. | TIME. | Address of Organizer. | |
| Rossendale Division. | July and August. | Miss Margaret 85, Deansga Manchester. | |
| Northwich Division | " | " | " |
| Accrington Division | ,,, |)) | " |
| Blackburn Division | | | 11 |

Federation Notes.

South Wales and Monmouthshire.

FORMATION OF TWO NEW SOCIETIES.

An inaugural meeting was held in a room in the Public Library, Bridgend, over which the Rev. G. S. Davies, vicar of Coity, presided. The vicar and Mrs. Gaskell very kindly made arrangements locally. Quite a large company assembled and they seemed much interested in the address given by Miss Hurlbatt. On the motion of Miss Picton-Warlow, it was decided to form a society, the committee to be formed a little later on in the year. We quite hope Bridgend will have a very strong and enthusiastic society in the autumn.

Bridgend will have a very strong and entitistatic society in the autumn.

An inaugural meeting was held at Bentley's Hotel, MERTHYR, presided over by Mrs. Peter Williams (in the absence of the Mayor, who was unable to be present). Mrs. Charles Morgan, B.A., and Miss Janet Price spoke on the need of Welsh women coming to the fore in this great woman's movement, and showed how important it was that they should show their sympathy by joining the Suffrage Society. Several questions were asked at the close. A motion that a society should be formed was carried unanimously. A secretary and treasurer (pro tem.) were appointed and it was decided to have a subsequent meeting to arrange details, appoint a committee, etc. All the copies of "The Common Cause," some books and leaflets were sold, and twenty-five gave in their names as willing to join the society. It is hoped that in the autumn this new society will do much good work not only in its own town but in the Rhondda generally.

West Lancashire, West Cheshire and North Wales.

WALLASEY AND WIRRAL.

It may be interesting to readers of "The Common Cause" to hear that the Mayor of Wallasey, being anxious that the official procession on Coronation Day to the service at the Parish Church of Wallasey should be really representative of the life of the horough invited two representatives Parish Church of Wallasey should be really representative of the life of the borough, invited two representatives of our society and two of the W.S.P.U. to walk in it. Also two representatives were invited to the Garden Party on July 7th. Wallasey readers of "The Common Cause" will be glad to hear that the pictures of the Procession on June 17th are to be seen at the Lyceum, Egremont, Wallasey, during the week beginning July 10th.

ELEANOR F. McPHERSON.

Women Workers and the Insurance Bill.

Women Workers and the Insurance Bill.

The National Federation of Women Workers is carrying on a strenuous campaign on behalf of the sweated worker under the new Insurance Bill. The Federation, among its ten thousand members, has thousands who are not receiving even the barest of subsistence wages, and its members know from their own individual experience that any deduction from wages will mean simply a deduction from their food bill. For such workers to insure their health by a compulsory deduction from wages is to place doctors and drugs before food. At the present time, for numbers of them, doctoring is after all a secondary consideration, and food the primary one, which the income under their control can scarcely cover.

If the Bill passes in its present form it will mean for such workers a new burden which they will only be able to meet by cutting down their present scanty allowance of daily bread.

In view of all these necessary alterations to the Bill the Federation has decided to hold a demonstration in Trafalgar Square on July 15th at 4.30 p.m. The Demonstration will follow the Annual Conference of the Federation, which takes place at Caxton Hall in the morning. Delegates from all parts of the country will thus be gathered together, and at the meeting in Trafalgar Square the great majority of the speakers will be the women workers themselves who form the rank and File of the Federation. There will be shirt workers, chain-makers, hollow-ware workers who will themselves be able to describe their weekly budgets, and show how any deduction from wages will mean simply less food for the sake of the sickness benefit, which it will only bring the nearer. Certainly from their point of view the Insurance Bill is not a preventive measure. It cannot do otherwise than make more likely the ill-health of the poorer worker.

The other speakers will include many men and women of long eyperience in the industrial world. Miss Macarthur,

Costumiers Direct Man of the state of the Robe Specialists.

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July 13, 1911.

president of the Federation, will preside on one side of the plinth, and there will be two other platforms.

It is an opportunity for suffragists to rally to the cause of women, and they should certainly come in great force to welcome their very staunch friend in the House of Commons, Mr. George Lansbury, M.P.

Women and the Universal Races Congress.

We are happy to see that the organisers of the Universal Races Congress, to be held at the University of London, July 26th-29th, have taken into cognisance the fact that humanity comprises both men and women and that any discussions relating to the future development and that any dis-races or to positive suggestions for the promotion of race friendliness would be of little avail if the woman's outlook on

life were excluded.

In the second session of this Congress, which will be held on Wednesday afternoon, July 26th—of which a distinguished supporter of the Suffrage Movement, Mrs. Pember Reeves, is Acting Chairman—a brilliant paper has been contributed by Sister Nivedita on "The Present Position of Women." Sister Nivedita, the author of "The Web of Indian Life," has herself accomplished much for the wider education of girls in India and is deeply sympathetic with the international ideals which the Congress is attempting to set up. Her return to India before the Congress period was a matter of mutual regret, but in a letter just received from Calcutta, she has expressed the hope that "great help may be rendered by the sending out of a message on behalf of the sound and thorough intellectual and social development of Woman and the People."

and thorough intellectual and social development of Woman and the People."

Her paper is likely to stimulate an earnest discussion by well-known advocates of women's progress and it is hoped that all those who have the cause of women's progress at heart will make an effort to attend this meeting, so that a large gathering may add impressiveness to the occasion. Two other Congress papers are from the pens of women leaders, one on "Religion as a Consolidating and Separating Influence," by Mrs. Rhys Davids, hon. special lecturer on Indian Philosophy in the University of Manchester and the other on "The Negro Problem in Relation to White Women," by Frances Hoggan, M.D., of London. In connection with the latter paper it is interesting to note that the Women Citizen's Club of South Africa has collected in threepenny pieces the passage money for a delegate to represent them at the Congress and to express their views on the threefold aspects of this problem.

We understand that Mrs. Annie Besant is speaking at the Congress on three occasions: In the second session Wednesday, July 26th, on "Child Marriage in India"; in the third session, Friday, July 28th, on "Social Intercourse between White and Coloured People."

Mrs. Sophie Bryant, D.Sc., is also taking an active part in the Congress and is acting as opener of the discussion in the final session, July 29th.

Further particulars as to the Congress programme, conditions of membership, list of social arrangements, etc., can be obtained on application to—Mr. G. Spiller, hon. organiser, Universal Races Congress Office, 3, Adelaide Street, Charing Cross, W.C.

Two Stimulating Meetings.

Two meetings were held on June 29th which, though not primarily organised in connection with the Suffrage movement, yet afforded us excellent object lessons in that direction. Mr. Fisher deserves the highest thanks from all Suffragists for the unsparing pains he has taken to enlighten us on the favourable results of the franchise. He was present at the meeting of the International Labour Legislation Association in the Caxton Hall in the afternoon, and also at the delightful At Home given by the Women's Labour League in his honour and that of other colonial representatives, at the Memorial Hall in the evening. Though on this occasion his speeches touched chiefly on other problems, there was no stint on the part of his colleagues of words which supported at every point the enfranchisement of women. The key-note of all that we heard was the value of world-wide co-operation in the work of bettering the conditions of humanity. The colonial and English representatives alike were agreed upon this matter. Miss Constance Smith, member of the Committee of the International Association for Labour Legislation, reminded her hearers that one of the first achievements of this body had been the bringing about of International agreements regarding women's work. This had not been easy, for women themselves had had no voice in the matter, and many countries employing women in night work and other unsuitable ways had objected to interference. In spite of all difficulties, however, the work was carried through and in the long conflict in England with regard to wages boards the experience of New Zealand and Australia had been most helpful. Dr. Findlay, the Attorney General of New Zealand, said "that eighteen years ago New Zealand had had the courage to express its trust in women as the best helpmate of man, and that since their enfranchisement, speaking as a Minister of Justice who had had to deal with some of the most Two meetings were held on June 29th which, though not

pitiable aspects of life, he could say that a conjection with his work he had found them his best friends. At the Memorial Hall in the evening all was animated by a spirit of energy and hopefulness. Women evidently felt the encouragement of having amongst them voters of their own sex from over the seas, who had known the satisfaction of using the ballot. The characteristic of the speeches from a woman's Suffrage point of view, was the admiration expressed by the over-seas' visitors of the Women's Procession on June 17th. "When I viewed that mighty Procession," said Senator Pearce (Australia), "so splendidly organised, in which I saw women walking, who were fit to occupy any position, I say that there is no Prime Minister, I question whether there is any politician who will be able to withstand its evidence." He would take back to Queensland a sense of the undying earnestness of English women, expressed by their willingness even to stand in streets and to sell their papers for the vote. He would remember that they typifed the needs of the distressed, and above all, of the children of the Empire. Mr. Maloney (Labour Leader in Australia), regretting that he had been unable to walk in the Procession himself, reminded us of the struggle in Australia for Women's Suffrage. He had seen a Bill there rejected thirteen times by the Upper House. When he first went to Parliament as a representative he had believed that all that was necessary to redress wrongs was to state the fact and tell the truth. He had soon found that the important question was "What is the voting power behind you?" Other speakers followed—the Hon. Alex. Poynton (South Australia), Chairman of Ways and Means, Senator Long, and Senator Whiteside (South Africa). Mr. Poynton said that he had had a chance of studying legislation before and after the granting of the vote to women. He could distinctly say that improvement in all political meetings had been the result. Nor could he pay too high a tribute to those ladies in Australia who made it their business

An American Fair.

An American Fair is a novel and attractive way of raising money, and does not involve a great amount of preparation, which is a great consideration to overworked Suffragists. We held one in Letchworth some time ago, and although the Fair was only open from 7 p.m. to 11 p.m., and was worked on a threepenny basis, we cleared over £8.

All visiting the Fair had to comply with three conditions—viz., 1, to pay 3d. entrance; 2, to bring with them an article worth 3d. to sell; 3, to make one 3d. purchase at least. Of course, some people brought more than one thing, and some bought more than one. A great deal of interest and amusement were created by seeing what people had been able to bring for 3d. For the most part, the things were characteristic of Suffragists, being useful, and as far as possible decorative. Among the contributions we noticed pots of marmalade (everyone in Garden City has been marmalade-making just lately), tablets of soap, card of pearl buttons, book of luggage labels, pot of paste and brush, home-made cocoanut ice, and so on. There were practically no silly useless trifles that one usually sees at ordinary bazaars. No sooner did a batch of new comers put their articles on the stalls (which were covered with red, white, and green sateen) than there was a rush of waiting customers. There was no one to persuade anyone to buy. Competitions were in progress the whole evening in a small room, the "Local Celebrities" proving the most attractive. For this competition we had collected photographs of twenty-five well-known citizens (women as well as men) taken in their child-hood. Some of them were very quaint, and, as Judy said to Punch in one of the side-shows, "It was worth paying a shilling to see them, threepence was cheap." We made over £1 by the competitions. As usual the palmist, Gipsy Brown, one of our members well disguised, was besieged by a crowd of anxious inquirers. In the large hall we gave two performances of "Lady Geraldine's Speech," which was a great success; two performances of a "Suffr

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

Particulars can be had from the Principal.

Reference is allowed to the REV. CANON SCOTT HOLLAND, D.D., St. Paul's, E.C.,

MISS JANE WALKER, M.D., 122, Harley Street, W.

Reviews.

A PAMPHLET BY PHILIP SNOWDEN

In Defence of the Conciliation Bill, by Philip Snowden, M.P. (Wadsworth and Co., the Rydal Press, Keighley. 1d. each, 5/- per 100, £2 per 1,000, cash with order.)

each, 5/- per 100, £2 per 1,000, cash with order.)

This pamphlet by one of our best friends, a man intimately acquainted with our movement both within and without the House, should prove most valuable ammunition in the campaign before us. It is a twelve-page pamphlet written in response to Sir Edward Grey's invitation to suffragists to "combine their efforts" so that a measure may be passed within the next twelve months and it deals with the political situation as it now is with regard to women's suffrage. Mr. Snowden will have none of the foolish cry that women's suffrage was not before the country at the last election. "Previous to that election, the Primed Minister had declared that he would give full facilities for the passing into law of a Woman Suffrage Bill if he still retained office. Knowing that the question would come up in the new Parliament for a definite decision, a large majority of Memoers pledged themselves to vote for a Bill to give Votes to Women." He proceeds to give the origin and nature of the Conciliation Bill and proves conclusively by an analysis of figures that a bill of this nature is the only one which can pass the present House of Commons as a private Members' Bill. The pamphlet concludes with an ardent appeal 'o men to stand by women in their struggle for freedom. It should appeal to all classes of political thought, but perhaps most keenly to adult suffragists.

THE POSITION OF WOMAN: ACTUAL AND IDEAL, with preface by Sir Oliver Lodge. (James Nisbet and Co., pp. 170, 3/6

This little volume of eight essays read at the instance of a special committee in Edinburgh, is an interesting and valuable contribution to the consideration of what is certainly the most vexed question of the day. Naturally the essays vary a good deal in quality. Perhaps the most weighty is that on "The Position of Woman Biologically Considered," by Prof. J. Arthur Thomson, M.A. (Professor of Natural History in the University of Aberdeen) and Mrs. Thomson. It is a common thing to find men of science abandon all the methods of scientific investigation when their personal prejudices or the habits of a lifetime and the customs of the ages are concerned. Therefore we rejoice when a man of science refuses to lend the weight of his name to generalisations which he has been at no pains to investigate in a serious scientific spirit. "A few experiments," says this writer, "are of more value that many platitudes"; and a little later, "It must be said firmly that the great majority of even the current comparisons of man and woman are vitiated by ignoring this familiar biological distinction" (i.e., that between acquired modifications and inborn variations).

It is a pity that some of those who followed Prof. and Mrs.

It is a pity that some of those who followed Prof. and Mrs. Thomson did not remember these warnings; it is a pity also that one essayist at least should suggest that education and "evolution" might bring women's reasoning capacity up to the level of men's. The error is one too common to be excused in a would-be scientific essay. The same writer makes the wild assertion that women have less self-control than men, an assertion so flagrantly contradicted by the known facts of criminology and of incontinence of all sorts that one wonders how such a statement could be passed in proof by its own author. Again, the same writer speaks of women as being "prone to yield . . . to instinct" as if this were somehow injurious. Now anyone who has tried to fathom what people mean when they speak of a woman's "instinctive" knowledge, knows that it is mostly not genuine "instinct" but a combination of exceedingly nice observation and sympathy with exceedingly rapid ratiocination. To be "prone to yield" to such processes is surely a merit not a disability!

Miss Lumsden on the historical aspect, Miss Sheavyn and It is a pity that some of those who followed Prof. and Mrs.

Miss Lumsden on the historical aspect, Miss Sheavyn and Miss Melville on the professional and educational aspects are admirable and all made eloquent and reasoned pleas for liberty, in order that woman's true sexual variation may have these essays most heartily to those obstinate people who in-sist upon interpreting woman's plea for freedom as a plea for assimilation to man. It is, of course, the very reverse.

Fairy Stories by Mrs. Henry Yorke Stanger (The Century Press, 3/6). Mrs. Stanger is not afraid of a moral to her stories and she is quite right. It is quite a mistake to suppose that the average child does not like, and even look for, a "moral" to his tales. These are written in a homely style which shews knowledge of what children like and we hope suffragists will send copies for un-birthday or Christmas presents to their friends among the kiddies and tell them the lady who wrote the stories was a good suffragist and the wife of a good suffragist and that she told her own children these stories and they liked them.

Letters to the Editor.

JULY 13, 1911.

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

THE CASE OF MISS MALECKA.

THE CASE OF MISS MALECKA.

Will you allow me to call the attention of your readers to the case of Miss Malecka, the English lady whose imprisonment in Warsaw formed the subject of discussion in the House of Commons on Wednesday, July 5th? Miss Malecka's father was a Pole naturalised in England: her mother was an Englishwoman and she was born in England. She has been living for about two years in Warsaw, maintaining herself by teaching music. About three or four months ago she was arrested on the very vague charge of "conspiring against the Government." Her claim to be an English subject was negatived by the Russian authorities on the ground that Russia does not recognize naturalization and that her father in consequence remained a Russian subject. She has, however, been recently allowed to communicate with the English consul in the presence of the prison authorities and to write in German to her friend; but her trial still appears to be remote and there is danger that if it takes place, it may be under martial, not civil law, in which case she will be deprived of the advantage of counsel.

By English law Miss Malecka is certainly an English

By English law, Miss Malecka is certainly an English by English law, Miss Malecka is certainly an English subject; nor is Russian law absolutely against her claim, since it is doubtful (1) if the Russian refusal to recognize naturalization extends to persons like Poles, who are subject to Russia, but not of the Russian race; and (2) if the marriage of Miss Malecka's parents, legal in England, would be valid in Russia; in which case, as an illegitimate child, she would follow the nationality of her mother, an Englishwayman.

sne would follow the nationality of her mother, an Englishwoman.

It is clear therefore that Miss Malecka has a strong claim on the protection of England; she has already been subjected to a lengthy imprisonment without trial on an undefined accusation; if she is to be saved from an extension of this treatment with its accompanying horrors of dirt, starvation, unhealthy surroundings and possibly brutal treatment, the English Government must exert itself. The Foreign Office has already taken some steps in the matter; but Mr. MacKinnon Wood's answer on Wednesday did not suggest that these efforts were likely soon to be successful. A strong expression of public opinion is needed to stimulate and support further action. Letters to the Press, appeals to Members of Parliament, resolutions from political and other societies, would all be serviceable. Without infringing the rights of Russia, it may fairly be claimed (I) that the English Consul should be permitted free access to Miss Malecka; (2) that she should be permitted a fair and speedy trial under the civil law, with adequate means of self-defence; or else that she may be deported to England under the pledge of not returning.

It is not only the life of an individual which is here at the strict of the process of the surface in the process of the pledge of the process of the pledge of the process of the process of the pledge of the process of the process of the pledge of the process of the process of the process of the pledge of the process of the pledge of the process of the process of the pledge of the pledge of the pledge of the pledge of the process of the pledge of the pledge

It is not only the life of an individual which is here at stake; it is the right of England to claim for her subjects in a foreign country just treatment according to the laws of that country. This is not a principle nations are usually remiss in enforcing. It becomes Englishwomen to see that it is not for the first time violated in the case of an Englishways of the country.

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A. B. Wallis Chapman.

130, Inverness Terrace, Bayswater, July 9th, 1911.

THE MATERNITY BENEFIT.

May I crave space to reply to the points raised last week by your correspondents in reference to the maternity benefit? It is, perhaps, natural that doctors should be rather more sensitive than other people about bad debts. The same emergency that necessitates their services often means a decrease of ability to pay, and thus to the small number of patients who could pay but who will not, is added a much larger number of those who would pay but who cannot. As far as maternity cases are concerned this last class will, under the Insurance Bill, practically disappear, and so, in any case, the medical profession stands to gain. It is, moreover, practically certain that payment for professional attendance will be made the first charge on the benefit, and, probably no one would object to a provision whereby a doctor, called in by a midwife, to a difficult confinement, would receive special treatment.

The crux of the matter lies in the amount of the ordinary

The crux of the matter lies in the amount of the ordinary fee.

"Medical Woman" is quite wrong in assuming that the fees at present paid (from 10s. 6d. to 15s.) are in any sense "charity" ones. They may be insufficient from the doctor's point of view, but they are the outcome of the ordinary laws of supply and demand. Doubtless in every practice, cases of sudden peril, arising principally from miscarriage or premature birth, occur, in which the doctor must think first of the woman's life, and afterwards of his fee. As a rule, however, the arrangement between practitioner and patient is made long beforehand and is a simple matter of business. Should Mr. Lloyd George raise the doctor's remuneration to a guinea or twenty-five shillings as "Medical Woman" apparently desires, the advantage accruing to the mother would be reduced to a minimum. The small balance would be practically absorbed in paying for the necessary daily attendant. To recur to the cases instanced last week, the maternity benefit so "administered" would not have enabled Mrs. R—to dispose of the "old baby" for a few days, nor Mrs. C—to secure a room for herself, nor Mrs. D—and Mrs. G—to get their blankets out of pawn. No one would deny that these things were essential to give mother and infant a fair chance, and yet "Medical Woman" thinks the proposed sequestration of the maternity benefit an imaginary grievance! It is doubtless of national importance to have an efficient and contented medical service, but this must not be secured at the expense of the working-class wife and mother. She is more than sufficiently handicapped already.

As regards Mrs. Nash's letter, let us take a typical case.

A. B., usually earning 26s. a week and giving his wife 22s.

She is more than sufficiently handicapped already.

As regards Mrs. Nash's letter, let us take a typical case.

A. B., usually earning 26s. a week and giving his wife 22s, for housekeeping, falls ill in January of bronchitis and pneumonia and is laid up for seven weeks. Under the Insurance Bill he will receive free medical treatment and a weekly grant of 10s. This sum naturally passes into the hands of his wife, who will be confronted with the difficult task of defraying the extra expenses incidental on her husband's illness, as well as keeping the household going while her ordinary income falls to less than one-half. The problem would daunt most financiers. Mr. Lloyd George acknowledges that the ten shillings is insufficient to maintain the family, but he declares his conviction that the sum will suffice in the vast majority of cases, to tide the household over the crisis, and enable it to keep its economic footing. And he is quite right. One wonders, however, if he realises that he is depending solely on the extraordinary administrative capacity of the average housewife. The woman will manage as she now does in the case of sick benefit derived

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- (3). Occupies commanding position.
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from a club. She will stretch her credit with the shops, cut off every item of avoidable expenditure, fall back, for the children and herself, on the cheapest foodstuffs, get a job for a child out of school hours, pawn anything she can do without. The strain on the mother is often terrible and leaves its mark on her for months, but, backed by the tiny regular sum, in practically every case, she saves the home.

Suppose the same woman's baby is born in June. Mrs. Nash asks us to believe that this born administrator will now feel a reluctance to touch "State" money and will prefer that someone else should do the spending for herpay her midwife, send in such eggs and beef tea as is thought right, or even provide a pure milk depôt—of which, probably, she has no need.

She is to have no delicacy about accepting public money in the case of her husband's benefit. Why should she have! It is practically deferred pay. Her own benefit will come from exactly the same source, but it will have, somehow, a smack of pauperism about it. Working-women often display an amazing refinement of feeling, but such psychological subtlety as this has never come within the writer's experience.

After all this is a democratic country and the foundation

ANNA MARTIN.

ANNA MARTIN.

MIDWIVES AND NATIONAL INSURANCE.

Will you allow space in your valuable paper for us to call attention to the clauses in regard to maternity benefits in Mr. Lloyd George's Insurance Bill, which specially concern us

There are 30,000 women on the Midwives' Roll, and we, the Midwives' Institute, being the only incorporated body of midwives, feel bound to speak on behalf of this large number of useful members of the community, who are unable them-

midwives, feel bound to speak on behalf of this large number of useful members of the community, who are unable themselves to voice their views.

Your readers may not know that fifty per cent. of the total number of births in England and Wales are attended by midwives: the percentage would necessarily be much higher amongst the class insured under Mr. Lloyd George's Bill. We therefore feel that we have a right to speak.

It is very difficult to understand exactly what are the provisions of this Bill. In one part it says that the woman entitled to maternity benefit shall not be entitled to sickness and medical benefit for four weeks after her confinement. In answer to a question put by Mr. Lees Smith, and reported by the "Daily Telegraph," Mr. Lloyd George said that the maternity benefit under the Bill (which covered medical attendance) must be regarded as additional to sickness benefit and not as a substitute for it. If this means that a woman can be entitled to sickness benefit in addition to maternity benefit, it would be a great relief to many poor women to know it, and it would leave the 30s. (which, by the bye, is not apportioned by the woman who has paid for it, but by a local Health Committee, as may be prescribed) presumably for medical attendance and extras, including nursing.

We would ask that it should be laid down in the Act that the lyin-in woman shall have entirely free choice as to whether she employs a doctor or a midwife, and liberty to choose that doctor or midwife; also, if she employs a midwife and it is necessary for the midwife to send for a doctor, that his fee shall be assured.

The medical profession is able through its powerful organisations to influence Parliament. The midwife is, by reason of her sex, excluded from any participation in making the laws that concern her, and the only hope of obtaining a small modicum of justice is by appealing to the public through the Press.

Amy Hughes, President, Midwives' Institute.

AMY Hughes, President, Midwives' Institute.
JANE WILSON, Vice-President, Midwives' Institute.
ROSALIND PAGET, Hon. Treasurer, Midwives' Institute.
R. P. FYNES-CLINTON, Secretary, Midwives' Institute.

The Incorporated Midwives' Institute, 12, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

THE INSURANCE BILL AND WOMEN.

It is often said by Anti-Suffragists that women have no real grievances which could be remedied by the vote. We venture to think that the National Insurance Bill, if it is passed into law in its present shape, will be conclusive answer to this contention.

answer to this contention.

1. Under the Bill married women are excluded from benefit unless they are working for wages. The effect of this is that a wage earning woman may have contributed for many years, and when she marries her contributions are, in most cases, lost to her. Take, for instance, the case of a domestic servant who enters service at 15, and marries at 35 a small shopkeeper. After marriage she devotes herself to her household duties, and perhaps to the management of the shop. She thereupon ceases to be "employed" within the meaning of the Act, and is not allowed to continue even as a voluntary contributor (C. 34 (4). If she predeceases her husband, she never gets any advantage for the 20 years as a voluntary contributor (C. 34 (4). If she predeceases her husband, she never gets any advantage for the 20 years contribution she made before marriage. If she survives her husband and supports herself by the shop, or by some kind of jobbing labour, she can only benefit under the Bill by becoming a voluntary contributor, in which case she will have very much reduced benefits compared to the employed contributors. Compare with this the treatment of the male worker under C. 71. He at 60 is entitled to receive repayment of the amount by which his contributions have exceeded the unemployed benefit received by him. He is a voter.

voter.

2. No person who is receiving board and lodging from an employer is to get any sickness or disablement benefit.

C. 8. (7). This will hit the domestic servant class very hard. At the last census there were upwards of two million female servants in the United Kingdom.

3. There is no security in the Bill that women shall be admitted to approved societies. There is nothing to prevent any of the existing societies adopting a sex-disqualification, and under the Bill this may be the prudent thing for them to do. It is noticeable that approved societies are precluded from adopting an age disqualification. (C. 24. (2). Old men have votes.

Old men have voies.

4. The maternity benefit is curious. If a woman is insured as an employed contributor she gets no extra maternity benefit. She receives 30/- which she is not allowed to spend herself, and is deprived of 30/- sick benefit which she would be allowed to spend herself. The husband gets a maternity benefit while his wife is laid up, whether she is insured or not, in addition to his sickness benefit. Here too the treatment of the voter is in marked contrast to that of the voteless woman.

5. When an insured presen is in bosnital, the herefit is to

5. When an insured person is in hospital, the benefit is to be administered for the advantage of his or her dependents. Dependents do not include illegitimate children, who will, therefore, get no advantage if their parent is in hospital. This obviously is a matter which will be much more serious for women than for men.

for women than for men.

6. Finally, not to touch on other points, in the management of the insurance scheme there is nothing to require the appointment of women either as insurance commissioners or on the Advisory Board, or on the health committee, or on Boards of Management for the approved societies. The scheme is designed chiefly for the benefit of men, and will be administered in the same sense. Does anyone seriously think that such a proposal would have been made if women had had the vote? made if women had had the vote?

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[Our readers will note that since this letter, the Chancellor of the Exchequer has promised to reconsider the case of domestic servants.-ED. "C. C."].

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A PLEA FOR THE MARRIAGE LAW AMENDMENT.

A PLEA FOR THE MARRIAGE LAW AMENDMENT.

I often wonder when any real good will be done for the married woman. Much has already been done I admit, but how much more yet remains to be carried out.

I have come across so much actual and abominable cruelty that I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that it is high time public attention should be drawn to it once again, and steps taken to further amend our Marriage Law, at an early date. Women are suffering daily in our midst and yet how impossible is their escape from thraldom and this because "justice fails between the law, and letter of the law."

I once heard a clever lawyer say "A man can make his wife's life a martyrdom yet we cannot touch him." "How so?" I asked. "Well," said he, "he may use subtle cruelty, and there is every chance for him to do so as the law stands now." For instance he can snub her before servants; as soon as he is alone with her he can curse her, so long as no one hears. He can keep her penniless as long as he allows her to pledge his credit—i.e., get what is wanted at the shops (of course in accordance with his position and income). Thus with no ready money, how is the wife to be independent? She is only an upper servant among her maids and cases have been known where a mistress has had to borrow from her maids to buy stamps and the many stundries where ready cash is imperative. To a woman who has perhaps been independent before marriage this is indeed a cruel situation. It stings her to the quick to have to go and buy necessaries of life and always say "Put it down, please, to my husband's account."

I know a man who constantly leaves his wife as long as he

I know a man who constantly leaves his wife as long as he likes in a very remote country place, far from her friends; she is told it is his house and she must stay there. He meanwhile lives away in a city over his business, where she cannot join him, of course. He is absolutely free, like a bachelor when there, and always has the excuse "I must mind my business."

It is this class of business man who can practically lead a separate life and yet no law can touch him.

MARIE TOMBS.

PROPOSED IRISH UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES

Lately in working for the Women's Suffrage Cause, we have been greatly struck by the waste of effort and impotence of the present system, or rather want of system, of the existing Women's movement in Ireland. There is a Women's Suffrage Society in all the larger towns and in some of the smaller ones; but these are generally quite independent and each acts only on its own account with little or no reference to what the others are doing. There is consequently a great waste of effort and the influence of each small society on the Government is practically nil. A promise or two may be exeach acts only on its own account with little or no reference to what the others are doing. There is consequently a great waste of effort and the influence of each small society on the Government is practically nil. A promise or two may be extracted from the local Member, but that is all. Also but little pioneer work is done, for want of suitable persons to go on tour through the small towns and village and to visit the country districts. In order to remedy this state of affairs, it has been recently suggested that a Union or Federation of the various Women's Suffrage Societies in Ireland should be formed, having a Constitution and a few general Laws of its own and a paid Organising Secretary. The laws and constitution would be framed as widely as possible so as to embrace all shades of opinion. The various Branches would be left free as heretofore to conduct their own local business and to adopt militant or non-militant tactics as seemed best to themselves. But public business, such as, for instance, sending resolutions or deputations to Parliament or to individual Members, would be transacted by the Union. In order to transact this business, the Council of the Union would meet at least annually and at such other times as may be decided. The Council would consist of representatives of the Branches as may be decided later. The duties of the organising secretary would be (1) to conduct the correspondence of the Society; (2) to keep herself acquainted with the Women's movement, so as to be able to answer questions and to give advice and assistance when required to do so; (3) to go from place to place, organising meetings, arousing interest, giving information as to the need of women's suffrage and forming Branches where practicable. Such a Union, while leaving information as to the need of women's suffrage and forming Branches and enable them to act together as one woman on questions of public interest affecting all, or at least a majority of the women of Ireland. Such a Union would naturally have much more influ (MISS) L. A. WALKINGTON,

Hon. Sec. (pro tem.). Edenvale, Strandtown, Co. Down.

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Work of Societies in the Union.

N. AND E. RIDINGS YORKSHIRE FEDERATION

WHITEY AND DISTRICT.—A drawing-room meeting was held by the secretary of the above Society at her house on May 25rd. The audience evinced much interest in the history of the woman's movement in England, and several new members were gained for the Society as a result. On Friday, June 9th, Mile. Stes addressed a meeting at Carr Hall by kind invitation of the Misses Maunders. The resolution was carried by a majority of twenty-two, there being three dissentients.

WEST LANCASHIRE, WEST CHESHIRE, AND NORTH WALES FEDERATION

WEST LANCASHIRE, WEST CHESHIRE, AND NORTH WALES FEDERATION.

Our Federation made a very good show in the procession on June 17th, although owing to the scattered nature of our area only about 150 were able to travel together on the Liverpool special. Since then most of the societies have been resting on their laurels, and hardworked secretaries have been taking a holiday, but Llandudon reports a very successful garden meeting at Lansdowne House School on July 5th, when Mrs. Haslam gave an inspiring address, taking as a starting point "The Procession and Its Meaning." Mr. Haslam followed with an able summary of the Suffrage question, and his address was printed in full by the local Press. Members who had walked in the procession gave afterwards short accounts of their experiences, and a satisfactory addition to the funds of the Society was one of the results of a most enjoyable meeting.

The Preston Society, which is not yet a year old, has accomplished a good deal in its short life. Several public meetings have been held, the audience at one numbering 1,500, and a debate is being planned for the autumn in order to expose the weakness of the "Antis" arguments. Resolutions passed by the Town Council and Liberal Executive are also partly attributable to the Society's efforts, and it has every reason to feel that an excellent beginning has been made.

The LIVERPOOL Society has held no meetings since the Procession, but on July 5th Miss C. Leadley Brown addressed 250 Women Liberals at their annual outing. The male speakers who followed all devoted a large share of their speeches to Women's Suffrage, as did also the chairman, Mrs. E. Stewart Brown.

UXBRIDGE SOCIETY. — On Wednesday, July 5th, a pleasant all-day "At Home" was held in the Old Meeting Schools. The speakers were Lady Meyer and the Rev. H. Chellew Lady Meyer said that her experience on Care Committees, in the medical inspection of schools, instruction of mothers, as well as in the department for higher education, was making her a keener Suffragist every d

Forthcoming Meetings.

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|---|-------|
| JULY 13. Stocksfield—Mrs. Howson's Meeting—Mrs. Walder Cairn. Northwich—The Crescent—Open-air Meeting—Mrs. Annot | 3.30 |
| Northwich—Football Ground, Drill Field—Mrs. Annot Robinson. | 7.45 |
| JULY 14. Solihull—Lapworth Court—Garden Meeting—The Lady Betty Balfour, Rev. Alan Williams. Drawing aroun Meeting—Mrs. Drawing aroun Meeting—Mrs. | 3.0 |
| Woking - Mrs. Howlett's Drawing | 2.30 |
| Woking—Duke Street—Open-air Meeting—Mrs. Dempster, | 7.30 |
| Meeting—Mrs. Annot Robinson. | 7.45 |
| JULY 15. Solihull—Southend—Garden Meeting—Miss Cécile Matheson, Mrs. Ring. | 3.0 |
| Manchester—The Firs, Fallowneld (kindly lent by C. 1. Speeches, | |
| | -6.30 |
| Woking—Duke Street—Open-air Meeting—Mrs. Dempster, Mr. Mackinlay. JULY 17. | 7.30 |
| Woking—Hook Heath—Miss Campbell and Miss Davies-Colley "At Home"—The Lady Betty Balfour. Farnworth—Market Place—Open-air Meeting—Miss Robertson. | 3.0 |
| | |
| Birmingham—Edgbaston—Mrs. Walter Phillips' Drawing-room Meeting—Mrs. Ring, Rev. C. J. Emanuel (chair). | 3.15 |
| Accrington - Mrs. Belsey's Drawing-room Meeting - Miss | 3.30 |
| Accrington—Whalley Road Congregational Church—Mrs. Belsey's Meeting—Miss Robertson. | 7.30 |
| JULY 19. Brigarta "Hethersett" Garden Fâte-Speeches by Mrs. | 0—10 |
| JULY 20. Winsford — Miss Walsh's Drawing-room Meeting — Miss Robertson. | 3.30 |
| JULY 21. York—Butts Close—Mrs. Cudworth's Garden Party. | 4-6 |
| JULY 22. Garden Fâte and Sale of Work-Opened | 3.30 |
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| JULY 24. Newcastle—Miss Newbigin's Garden Party—Suffrage Play | |
| Sale of Work. | |
| JULY 26. Brighton—Manor House, Southwick—Garden Fête—Lady Maud Parry, Miss C. Corbett. | 3_7 |
| Newscattle Society Demonstration, Procession, and Open-air | |
| Meetings at South Shields. Huddersfield—Honley House—Annual Meeting—Miss I. O. | 3.30 |
| Ford, Miss Siddon (chair). LONDON. | - |
| July 15: Highgate, Queen's Avenue, Muswell Hill, Open-air Meeting, Mrs. Vinall, Mrs. Rogers. | 7.30 |
| July 17: N. Paddington, Miss Jacob's Garden Meeting, Miss Nina Boyle, Prof. Bickerton. Chair, Miss | 5 |
| Sterling. July 19: Richmond, Bridge House Tea Rooms, Garden Meeting Mrs. Rackham, Rev. Hugh Chapman. No. 10: Chapman Check Tower Openair Meeting, Mrs. Rack | 8.15 |
| | |
| ham, Mrs. Gugenheim. July 22: Highgate, Station Road, Finchley, Open-air Meeting Miss Ransom. | 8.0 |
| Miss Kansom. July 29: Highgate, Queen's Avenue, Muswell Hill, Open-ai Meeting, H. Rundle-Farness, Esq. | 7.30 |
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