

THE COMMON CAUSE, SEPTEMBER 8, 1910.

The Waste of Child Life.

The Common Cause.

The Organ of the Women's Movement for Reform.

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SEPTEMBER 8, 1910.

ONE PENNY.



MOTHERHOOD.

The News of the Week.

The Strike at Cradley Heath.

The "Manchester Guardian" reported on September 3rd a successful conference between the employers in the Cradley Heath chain trade and the leaders of the women, which will, it is hoped, lead to a settlement. The Associated Employers have undertaken to use all their influence with those outside to get them to accept the minimum rates fixed by the Trade Board (2½d. an hour), on condition that all chainmakers, whether belonging to the union or not, shall receive "strike pay" of at least 4s. a week, while they are unable to get work except at less than 2½d. per hour.

Miss Macarthur and the other leaders have undertaken this payment to the women out of work. The response to their appeal for funds has been good. It amounts now to over £600, of which £100 was sent by Lady Beauchamp, £25 by Lady Warwick, and £25 by Mrs. Louisa Fagan. But it must be remembered that a large number of the women are not trade-unionists, have no union funds to fall back on, and must therefore rely entirely on the money sent to Miss Macarthur for their support. Nor can they possibly be blamed for their position. Those who know anything of industrial conditions know that to organize a trade-union of sweated workers is a practical impossibility. There is neither money nor leisure nor hope among those working at 4s. or 5s. a week, out of which to form such a union. That the Cradley Heath workers have a union at all is due to the devotion and to the money of outside helpers, such as Miss Macarthur and Miss Gore-Booth. That many of the workers are still outside is not so wonderful as that there should be an organization of sweated labour at all.

We therefore appeal again to all who can help to do so at once, that the women may know what they have to rely on. This battle cannot be lost, or there is not a woman among us who will not be shamed.

Industrial Dangers.

As soon as the Royal Commission on Accidents in Mines has ended its labours the Miners' Federation are to press the Government to proceed with their amended Mines Regulation Bill. In connection with this, it is noticeable that Mr. Masterman, when questioned on the subject of women inspectors of factories, admitted that there were only eighteen for the whole of Great Britain, and he saw no immediate likelihood of an increase on that number. Other things, he said, were more important; as, for instance, this question of the dangers in mines. Without question, it is a matter of enormous importance that the lives of colliers should be protected by all means that can be devised; but the health of the mothers of the nation cannot be secondary to that of any class, and we refuse to believe that if women had political power this time-wasting Government could not find time to protect them also. The consequences to women factory workers in life and health of the ludicrously inadequate number of women inspectors, are far more wide-reaching than a study of so-called "industrial diseases" would suggest, terrible as these are. They are such as cannot be discussed or described here, and our readers will therefore readily believe that they will neither be discussed nor described to any male inspector, however sympathetic and conscientious.

Here is work which the Anti-Suffrage League might take in hand. They and we are perfectly agreed as to the necessity of women's work in the administration of the law, and no one will deny that the work of women factory inspectors has justified their appointment a hundred times over.

Women and the Law.

The "Daily Sketch" publishes a long article on "Women Witnesses," heading it with these words:—"I can't believe this woman. . . . The evidence of women is unreliable."—Mr. de Grey, magistrate, at the London South-Western Court.

We have been told by Mr. Cecil Chapman (London Stipendiary Magistrate) that it is always a disadvantage to be a woman in any court of law. But that magistrates should deliberately refuse to receive the evidence of women for no better reason than that they are women is a proof of the truth of his words, which fills one with the profoundest indignation. Every woman who comes before Mr. de Grey has her case prejudiced before it is begun. The law has nothing to go upon but evidence, and her evidence is not received. Not only so, but the suggestion is made to other magistrates that the cases of all women should be prejudiced in the same way. Is this the "favouritism" shown by English law to women? It would rather seem to make it impossible for them to obtain justice or redress.

The "Un-democratic" Conciliation Bill.

At a public meeting, held under the auspices of the Radcliffe Independent Labour Party recently, a resolution, proposed by the chairman (Councillor Sam Brooks), and seconded by Councillor Walter Brooks, was passed unanimously in support of the "Conciliation" Bill; and it was further resolved that the Government be urged to grant the necessary facilities for the passage of the Bill into law. At the monthly meeting of the Radcliffe Trades Council, held last Tuesday (Councillor William Allen in the chair), a similar resolution was passed.

It seems hardly possible that the Liberal Government will continue to persist, in the face of such pressure as these resolutions and others like them can bring to bear, that the Suffrage Bill of 1910 is "undemocratic," and—though good enough for the Labour party—not good enough for them. We may add that all the three Councillors mentioned are Labour men.

University Reform.

There will be profound disappointment among women at the publication of the Report on University Reform at Oxford, with no mention in it of the admission of women to the degree. The Chancellor, Lord Curzon, has pronounced in favour of this reform, but he has evidently failed to convince his colleagues of its urgency and justice. It is deplorable that universities of the standing of Oxford and Cambridge should lag so far behind in a matter of this kind. Women have more than justified their existence at the universities. They gain as high a percentage of "Firsts" as men—we believe slightly higher; but it must be remembered, of course, that the women are more carefully "selected" than the men; and it is a gross injustice to deny them the recognition so valuable to a professional woman. The head-mistress of a large girls' school informed us recently that she was necessarily reluctant to appoint mistresses who had no degree, because, though the educational world understood the position, the general public, from whom her pupils came, did not.

It is useless to attempt to force the women into choosing one of the newer universities. There is a certain type of mind which can only get the best results in Oxford or Cambridge, whose atmosphere, if neither superior nor inferior, is at least entirely different from Manchester or Leeds. To compel such minds to choose between an education less suited to their needs and an education without the degree which may be necessary in their profession, is a grave injustice.

The Testimonial to Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy.

Mrs. Martindale informs us that the Testimonial Fund has now reached £66. We hope it will go much higher than that. Mrs. Elmy is one of those Suffragists to whom all women, whether Suffragist or not, constitutional or militant, must feel grateful for services of the highest value. The Married Women's Property Act alone has been a Magna Charta to many a wife, and would not, we imagine, now be revoked by any, whatever their opinion on Suffrage or tactics. And the Guardianship of Children Act is another benefit. For both of these we owe a debt to Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy. We shall be glad to hear from Mrs. Martindale (Horsted Keynes, Sussex) how the fund progresses.

ALL BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS should be addressed to The Manager, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester. ADVERTISEMENTS should reach the office by first post on Tuesday. LONDON AGENT—Communications referring to advertisements may now be addressed to our London agent, Mrs. H. A. Evans, 10, Adelphi Terrace, London, W.C. Friends in London desirous of helping to get advertisements will kindly communicate with her.

THE PAPER WILL BE POSTED to any address in England or abroad for the following prepaid payments:—

3 MONTHS	1 9
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LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS should be addressed to the Editor, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester, accompanied by a 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.

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

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"Motherhood."

We have not hesitated to place upon our front page this week the most sacred and touching symbol of the Christian faith. Whether our readers hold this faith or not, they will agree that we cannot, at this time, emphasize too strongly how sacred and noble a thing Motherhood was meant to be, or how truly Childhood should be conceived as not only blessed, but blessing. Children should not only be cherished and loved, but themselves were surely intended to bring us aid, keeping us close to the deep realities of this life, and trailing clouds of glory from another.

Look here upon this picture, and on this!

Our paper this week is full of the tragic lament of mothers and babes destroyed. "A Report on Infant Mortality"—how bald and unmoving the words, how ghastly the thing! A dry record of the most tragic things in life—outraged, desecrated, unwilling motherhood: maimed, diseased, unwanted babes. Every generation that comes and goes sees this tragedy re-enacted. Shall we never weary of it, and sweep away these abominations in a storm of indignant pity? Women are bearing children to-day in conditions so hideous that the old saying becomes a dreary platitude. "These children are not born into the world, but damned into it." The vast mass of sweated work is done by women (and those women, often, mothers), work sometimes so laborious that it disfigures and distorts the body; sometimes so revolting that it nauseates or makes callous every sense; always incessant, hopeless, deplorable, or, we should not call it "sweated."

Women are living in houses unfit for beasts; and there their children are born. But it is not "criminal" to let houses unfit for habitation, though it is "criminal" to sell food unfit to eat.

Women are placed in such sex-slavery when they marry that the mistress is safer than the wife. They may be forced to bear children at the will of another. Could there be a more inconceivable desecration of all that is

divine in us, than reluctant motherhood? Could there be a more grievous wrong done to the unwanted child? If there could, it is here. The mother may be infected, and deprived for ever after of motherhood; or made to bear a child who is dead, or who—so far as our imperfect vision reaches—had better have been born dead. Is that tragedy enough?

We women have been accused of being too emotional. We have not been half emotional enough, or those horrors would not be. Nothing could have withstood the storm of our indignation. But at least we can feel more than those who are trying to legislate for us now. The birth-rate is falling; the death-rate, among children, not falling quickly enough. This is serious matter for consideration, and at last the cry of tortured women and suffering children is to be heard.

A Bill is brought forward to prevent the attendance on women in childbirth of wholly unskilled assistants. It is clumsily framed, and brutally careless of the immediate need; still, it is something. It is an attempt to bring help to the poorest in their supreme hour of need.

And in what spirit is it discussed? Mrs. Webb tells us that one gentleman desired the help to be given under conditions as galling as possible, in order that women might be deterred from sending for it.

One contemplates the words in a kind of stony horror. The woman concerned is face to face with death. Her child's life is at stake also. And at that supreme hour of pain, she is to be deterred from asking all that human aid can bring!

This gentleman is a husband and a father. One asks oneself with incredulous amazement—what help, what skill, what alleviating circumstance, was spared when his children were brought into the world? "Those may have their lives saved, and their babes, who can pay for it!" Have we, indeed, sunk to that? Are we ready to haggle about the price of a life at stake? We can stand aside and see lives crushed out by long toil and want, but we still rescue the survivor from the burning house, or the sinking ship, without waiting to be sure of the desert of those we save. And here are two lives, and one so guiltless as to be the very type and symbol of innocence—"the unborn babe." And we must stop short of all the help there is! At what a cost!

But most men, they tell us, are not brutally callous. English law and law-makers may encourage the wife-beater and regard with indulgence the faithless husband, the slum landlord, the sweating employer; but after all, most men are not what the law invites them to be; the majority of men are decent and kindly.

Ah, the pitiful excuse! So you are in the majority, you kindly, decent, well-intentioned men! And why, then, do these laws still stand, which make it lawful to inflict on women outrages which among the brute creation are not known? Why are these governments elected which pay women a wage on which they cannot live, but must starve or steal or sell themselves in the street? Why? Since you are in a majority? We women have done ill enough, God knows. We have not realized or cared as we should. But at least we did not make these laws, we did not elect these governments. And you? What have you done to make these tragedies impossible? What have you done to make Motherhood—we do not say sacred and beautiful, but—less of a blind agony of pain and terror that to thousands and tens of thousands of women it now is?

A woman comes to a doctor in the slums of Liverpool to ask that she may not have to bear her child. The doctor protests—"What you ask me is impossible. It is a crime." And the woman pleads—"Doctor, I have had fourteen; . . . it isn't that I grudge the pain, but . . . there's nothing to give it when it comes, and hardly a rag to wrap it in. . . ." Or, again, a man was sentenced in Bolton the other day. "The story told in court was one of revolting cruelty. . . . Even the baby at its birth bore marks of cruelty. . . . On July 17th the child placed its hands on its father's face in bed. This so annoyed the man that he got some string and tied the baby's arms to its body, so that he could not move them. The mother released the child, and for this the husband thrashed her. . . . The child weighed

6lbs. at five months old." This man was sentenced to one month, with hard labour.

Again; venereal disease is now said to be responsible for half the sterility of married women, and something like 45 per cent. of infant mortality. And English law encourages unchastity in men, on the ground that it is only the unchastity of women that endangers the race!

And again—the wail of overburdened womanhood, in "At the Works"! "It is not right that women should be killed having children at this rate."

And Motherhood was meant to be, might be, often is, like that of Mary who bore the Christ, and watched Him grow in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man.

Look here upon this picture, and on this!

The Report on Infant Mortality (1908).

The Local Government Board has published the report presented to them by their Medical Officer on Infant Mortality. The rate has declined—a little, owing to "the quickening of the public conscience upon the subject of late years." We cannot refrain from pointing out that this "quickening" is due to "the instinct of national self-preservation"—not to the instinct of pity for the sufferings of thousands of mothers and children. This is no cynicism. The inability of human beings (male or female) to realize sufferings they do not share is one of the chief arguments for democratic government and Women's Suffrage. We can only deal here with the conclusions presented in the report on Infant Mortality. First, then, for its incidence.

We find that the rate is highest in poor and closely packed quarters of great cities; lowest in agricultural districts. Of counties, Glamorganshire, Durham, Northumberland, and Monmouth have the worst record; Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, the best. And it is noticeable that these counties are generally found at the top and bottom of the scale respectively, whether the statistician is dealing with mortality from premature birth, congenital defects, atrophy, debility, and marasmus, diarrhoeal diseases, or measles and whooping cough. Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire have a high rate, but not the highest.

What are the causes?

First and foremost, insanitary conditions. Children are poisoned by the air they breathe and the food they eat. The filthy state of the so-called "sanitary" arrangements in whole quarters of our great cities—Durham is perhaps the worst example—makes it a marvel that children should live at all. One privy shared by many houses, emptied at long intervals, and in such a way as to be an offence in itself; unpaved yards, into which such privies frequently drain; houses into which indescribable filth is unavoidably brought by the feet of those who enter them: all these things surround the babe and "dishearten the mother, who wearies in her house- pride, constantly thwarted by the terrible condition of things outside the back door." On page after page we read—"domestic cleanliness has not a fair chance" while such conditions prevail; and at last (on p. 109), "It is sheer hypocrisies for our city fathers and others to make much ado about the terrible infantile mortality of the nation, and at the same time blink at the main cause, which adds 20,000 infantile deaths to the slaughter." (The italics are ours.)

Secondly, the industrial employment of women. To judge by this report—the work of many investigators—every man starts on the inquiry with the determination to find that the industrial employment of women is the largest factor in infant mortality. The employment of women as charwomen or washerwomen (the latter one of the most exhausting and ill-paid of all forms of labour) is not objected to; only their employment in factories and mills. Again and again, in this report, the suggestion is made that such employment should be forbidden by law. On the strength of what facts? We are warned first of all that no reliable figures on the subject exist. Then we find that in Liverpool there is practically no

married women's labour, and a frightfully high death-rate for infants. In Birmingham, Dr. Robertson's inquiry showed that the mortality among children, whose mothers were very poor and not "industrially employed," was slightly higher than that among those whose mothers were very poor, but who were so employed (207 per 1,000, as compared to 190 per 1,000). On the same page we are told that "at the time of the last census, the proportion of occupied married women and widows was more than 5 per cent. in four of the ten counties having the highest mortality; more than 5 per cent. in nine out of the ten counties having medium mortality; and more than 5 per cent. in all of the ten counties having the lowest mortality!" Glamorgan, Northumberland, Durham, and Monmouth have the lowest proportion of married women workers, and the highest death-rate of children; Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Staffordshire, a high proportion and a high rate; Gloucester, Berkshire, Hereford, and Oxford, a high proportion and a low rate.

Will it be believed that on the basis of figures so conflicting, one of the recommendations repeatedly made is that married women shall be forbidden to work? If the statistics obtained show anything, it is that children on the whole thrive better when their mother works than when she (and they) starve. That women should be forced to hard labour while they are bearing and rearing children is a scandal. But to order them to starve instead is more likely to reduce the birth-rate than the death-rate, and we commend this fact to the attention of the Local Government Board and Mr. John Burns. God forbid that we should impugn the morality of these working women: they are the finest England can show; but there are temptations which should be placed on no human beings, and one of these is that a woman should be expected to bear children only that she may see them starve.

Thirdly, many deaths of mothers and infants are due to insufficient help at birth. Mrs. Sidney Webb deals elsewhere with the way in which it is proposed to deal with this difficulty.

Fourthly, the ignorance and carelessness of mothers—ignorance far more than carelessness, for all are agreed that maternal love is very rarely wanting. The child who was not wanted, whose existence can only be a burden, is nevertheless cherished when it comes, and cases of genuine neglect or cruelty are very rare. If a mother takes her child to the public-house, it is because she will not leave it neglected at home; if she feeds it on gin, it is because gin is the best thing life has given her. But mothers and children alike suffer from the old idea that "mothering" is an instinctive art, and knowledge of hygiene, physiology, and the chemical composition of food-stuffs, born in the mother when her child is born into the world. The new "Schools for Mothers" should play a large part here, for since the love is not wanting, skill can be acquired.

Fifthly, a large proportion, sometimes put as high as 45 per cent., of the deaths of infants are due to "premature birth, congenital defects—atrophy, debility, and marasmus." Of these things, their cause and remedy, nothing is said at all, except an occasional suggestion that the health of the mother should be investigated.

We will supplement the report of the Medical Officer on this point. These deaths are due, to an enormous extent, to various forms of venereal disease. For this the father is generally responsible. The class of women who suffer from these diseases (except when communicated to them by their husbands) is a class which mercifully produces few mothers; but there are many such fathers. We would recommend therefore:—

(1) That unchastity in men be regarded, at least by the law, as equally an offence with unchastity in women.

(2) That the law of libel should be altered so as to enable doctors, without fear of penalty, to let women know of what disease they and their children are suffering.

There are many other points at which the law may be said actually to encourage vice in men; but upon these two, at least, there can be no doubt as to the urgent necessity for reform. It might be supposed from this report that children had only one parent, and that the

mother. We demand that instead of all the rights over their offspring being given to the father, and all the responsibility exacted from the mother; both rights and responsibilities should be shared; and we call the attention of the public to figures which are at least more conclusive than those dealing with the work of married women:—

Infant death-rate in England and Wales	147	per 1,000.
" " " Scotland	125	"
" " " N. Zealand	77	"
" " " Victoria	70	"

(These figures were taken from the years 1896 to 1905.)

The birth-rate in New Zealand in 1909 was 27.30, and is rising. The birth-rate in England and Wales in 1906 was 27.1, and is falling. We commend to the Government these results of the participation of women in the passing of laws which affect their husbands, their children, and themselves.

A. MAUDE ROYDEN.

The Debate on the Second Reading.

VI.—Mr. F. E. Smith.

Mr. Smith's speech is a valuable summary of all the arguments that have been used against Woman Suffrage. It differs from the speeches of Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Lloyd George in that it represents the opinions of a man who objects to the enfranchisement of women, and not those of a man who renders lip service to the cause, who professes to approve of its principle, and is driven by good or bad motives to oppose the only measure by which the desired object can be attained. Mr. Smith may be studied as a controversialist and a controversialist only. The others call for reflections upon the morality of politics and the extent to which men in high station are justified in trifling with the ordinary rules of honour and good faith.

The present writer, who has been compelled to read much of the literature of feminism during the last few months, finds this speech rather dreary reading. He encounters all the stock phrases, the cant of sentiment, the exaggeration of force, the subordination of domestic affairs to foreign, the dread of revolt in India, the wretched spirit which would delay reform in England until Germany has led the way, and all the other clouds which sex jealousy has always drawn across the eyes of logic. First we have the argument that "a vote is not a right. It never was a right." The present writer agrees with Mr. Smith that there is no such thing as an abstract right. But Burke, from a superficial study of whose writings Mr. Smith has derived this opinion, knew perfectly well that a vote was a right and not a duty, a franchise and not an office. A vote is primarily and in essence, a means of controlling government in the interests of the voter. It depends on no particular qualifications, except those of ordinary good sense and good character, and no advocate of the enfranchisement of men has ever claimed a vote save as a protection against the neglect and the injury which a man would otherwise encounter at the hands of the governing body, whatever it may be. We are not dealing with India, or with any country but the United Kingdom, and neither Mr. Smith nor any other Anti-Suffragist can point to a single argument that has ever been advanced by an English democrat which based enfranchisement upon any ground other than that which has been stated above. If our Constitution means anything at all, it means that every adult man who is not an idiot, nor a criminal, has a right, subject to attaining a slight proprietary qualification, to control the government which not only taxes him, but affects his whole life, from the cradle to the grave, in a multitude of ways.

Mr. Smith plunges headlong into fallacy when he contends that the basis of the franchise is not the interest of the enfranchised, but the interest "of the State as a whole; that is, of the whole body of male citizens and female citizens." What is this "State," and how is the interest "of the whole body of male citizens and female citizens" to be ascertained? We ascertain the interest

of the male citizens by letting them vote. How are we to ascertain the interest of the female citizens except by placing them upon the same footing? While professing to treat men and women as equally "citizens," and forming equal parts of the "State," Mr. Smith, in the very same sentence, shows that he regards the State as something external to both, and allies himself, in so doing, with the crudest of despots and Socialists. What, after all, is the "State" but one of the many expressions of the spirit and the ideas of all the adult members of an organised community? And how can its expression of that spirit and those ideas be anything but imperfect, so long as the "State" expresses in fact nothing but the spirit and ideas of one half of the community? A franchise measure is totally unlike a Licensing Bill or a Budget. The ordinary Bill expresses the opinions of the community. A franchise Bill simply provides a means whereby those opinions may be expressed. It lays the foundation of the "State" itself. If we are to assume that the "State" is essentially male, then women must always be disfranchised. But to make that assumption is to beg the whole question. If the "State" is really what Mr. Smith says that it is, "the whole body of male and female citizens," then all the male and female citizens must be enfranchised, or at any rate, such portion of them as adequately represents the whole. It is logically impossible, as well as practically inexpedient, to describe the State as the whole, and to exclude from the formation of it one half of the community.

Space prevents us from analysing the whole of this speech. The statement that the population of India "detest government by women" has not a jot of evidence to support it. The argument from physical force pushes legal pedantry to a fantastic extremity. It assumes such a state of opinion as makes the dissolution of society inevitable, whether women are enfranchised or not. The writer cannot conceive any question upon which the sexes could be opposed to one another. But if any such exists, the opposition will occur sooner or later under any circumstances. Society will fall to pieces the moment women come to the conclusion that certain conditions are intolerable, and men determine that whether those conditions are tolerable to women or not, they shall be maintained by brute force. If this argument is worth anything at all, it goes much further back than the Parliamentary franchise. It is as conclusive against allowing women to think for themselves as against allowing them to vote for themselves.

Mr. Smith again plunges into fallacy when he argues that enfranchisement involves admission to Parliament. It involves nothing of the sort, though it will certainly be followed, sooner or later, by admission to Parliament and to all public offices. But this admission to office depends upon principles totally different from those of enfranchisement, upon principles which were laid down for ever, as soon as women were admitted to the medical profession. The franchise is a right, a seat in Parliament is an office. The first depends primarily upon the interest of the governed in the control of government. The second depends primarily upon the fitness of an official for an office. If a constituency has a right to choose a representative, it has a right to choose a woman representative, if it is satisfied that the woman is the best person available. If that woman, by long service in the House of Commons, shows herself fit for office, upon what grounds of logic or justice are we to exclude her from office? No woman will be appointed because she is a woman, but because of her fitness for the particular purpose; precisely the reason for which men, in theory at any rate, are appointed at present. Unless we are to assume a universal madness of the electorate, and the election of six hundred and seventy pretty fools at a blow, there can be no injury either to women or to society. Admission to office means nothing more than that, where a woman has shown herself capable of rendering good service to the public, she shall be permitted to render it.

Perhaps the worst of all the arguments in this speech is the suggestion that if women are enfranchised, they will lose something of priceless value which they already enjoy. This argument has been used many times in the

last hundred years. It springs from the complacent assumption of the male ego that women who think for themselves will be content for ever with its benevolence and patronage. Women who know the history of their emancipation are aware that this bastard offspring of chivalry has never interfered to prevent the most atrocious outrages upon their sex, the most deadly infringements of their liberties, the most abominable violations of their profoundest feelings. The history of prostitution has one constant and unalterable feature. Prostitution has never been treated from the woman's point of view, and the general tolerance of vice in men has lent it unvarying encouragement. The decrease of that tolerance in the last generation is exactly commensurate with the progress of the feminist movement. It is not necessary here to refer in detail to the Contagious Diseases Acts. But if the writer were asked what single event of recent years had done most to stimulate the Suffrage movement in England, he would reply, "The promotion of Sir John Bigham." The late President of the Divorce Division, in his evidence before a Royal Commission, publicly approved of the double standard of morality. Within a few hours he was made a peer of the realm. Women who know that an act of infidelity in a husband involves not only an injury to the wife, but the seduction of an innocent woman or the completion of the ruin of a prostitute, viewed the elevation of this learned judge with a resentment of which Mr. Smith knows nothing. What is this chivalry worth, which permits the toleration of vice in men of high office, and not only subjects them to no public censure, but invests them with additional public dignity? We believe that Woman Suffrage will invest women with a new dignity and worth, that it will raise women in the eyes of men, and cause them to regard the honour and happiness of women as of equal value with their own. Women have everything to gain by enfranchisement. The enrolment of Lord Mersey of Toxteth among the peerage of England shows them that they have little enough to lose.

W. LYON BLEASIE.

The Midwives' Bill.

How Women Suffer because they have no Votes.

By Mrs. Sidney Webb, D.Litt.

Women are sometimes told that they need no votes, because their interests are quite well looked after in a Parliament elected by men. It so happens that we have just now a good object lesson.

Twenty years ago women began to agitate for a Midwives' Act, and it took twelve years to get this essentially woman's question attended to by mere men. In 1902 the Act was passed, but no provision was made for the fee of the doctor whom the Act required to be sent for in certain grave emergencies! After eight more years of suffering and complaint the Cabinet of men consented to bring in an amending Bill (such a Bill!), which the House of Lords hurriedly read three times last July, in spite of almost unanimous protest by all concerned. Now that Bill is coming down to the man-elected House of Commons in November next, and we shall see what our kind and thoughtful legislators do with it.

The point at issue is simple. By Clause 17, the Government expressly persists in bringing the new service of midwifery supervision into the sphere of the Poor-law Authority. If the Board of Guardians (instead of the "local supervisory authority," i.e., Town or County Council) is, for the first time, required to pay the doctor's fee, and to decide whether or not it will recover the amount from the patient, it will inevitably use the Poor-law machinery for this purpose—the visits of inquiry of the relieving officer, the summons to attend before the board, and so on, just as if the matter were one of parochial relief. Indeed, the official argument used for the clause is that this is the most convenient machinery for making the necessary inquiries into means.

The Government has been warned by all those concerned—by the representatives of the Central Midwives Board, the Society of Medical Officers of Health, the

British Medical Association, the Municipal Corporations Association, such typical County Councils as those of Lancashire and Nottinghamshire, and such important Town Councils as that of Manchester—that to import the Board of Guardians into the delicate and difficult business of providing medical aid in these cases of emergency, will, as a matter of fact, deter midwife and patient from calling in the doctor. The women have done their utmost to protest—the Midwives Institute, the Co-operative Women's Guild, the Women's Labour League, the Railway Women's Guild, and many Women's Liberal associations have sent up innumerable resolutions and letters. But these are not backed by votes.

It has hitherto been supposed by doctors and midwives alike that by the statutory rules under the Midwives Act, the midwife was definitely required to get a doctor sent for in those emergencies which endanger the life of mother or child. All reformers have hitherto done their utmost to get this obligation known and acted on. It might be urged that where there is actual compulsion to send for the doctor, it cannot matter, from a public health standpoint, which authority subsequently pays the fee, however "obnoxious" the Poor-law authority may be to those concerned. But now we have Lord Beauchamp, speaking with all the authority of the Minister responsible for the administration of the Act (and as a reason why there was no personal hardship in importing a "deterrent" machinery), explicitly stating—in words which will come to the ears of the midwives up and down the country—"that there was no obligation to send for the doctor. The midwife advised that the doctor should be sent for, but neither the midwife, the patient, nor a parent was obliged to accept that advice." (!)

But this is not all. Lord Sheffield, speaking in support of the clause from the Government benches, endorsed the view that the use of the Poor-law machinery would deter people from summoning the doctor. He argued that "the substitution of a less obnoxious authority" (i.e., the Local Supervisory Authority) for the Board of Guardians, as the authority having subsequently to pay the doctor's fee, would lead "to an increased charge of public money," by the doctor being, in these emergencies, summoned more frequently. "The fact that people were ashamed to take Poor-law relief undoubtedly stimulated self-reliance and thrift, and if public sentiment in these matters became too soft and flabby to recognise as paupers people who were really such, a great deal would be done to demoralise the people."

I cannot imagine a more serious weakening of the existing law than this combination, in support of the new Bill, of Lord Beauchamp's statement that the doctor need not be summoned, and Lord Sheffield's self-complacent prophecy that worthy and self-reliant people will not send for him, if only Clause 17 passes into law.

We must, of course, not hold the Government responsible for Lord Sheffield's words, because, as a matter of fact, the Government, whilst insisting on importing the Poor-law machinery and the Poor Rate, is expressly enacting that the payment is not to be "considered" as making the patients into paupers! But the fact that Lord Sheffield, with all his knowledge and experience, could take the view that Clause 17 of the Government Bill was expressly intended to deter, and would in fact deter, because the patients would resent the relieving officer, the Board of Guardians, and payment out of the Poor Rate, is surely proof that this is how it will be understood?

Now what are the members of the House of Commons going to do? What are the doctors going to do? What are the women of England going to do? Will the House of Commons permit Clause 17 to stand, and thereby (as Lord Lytton said) defeat the whole object of the original provision as to calling in the doctor? I do not think that politicians are in the least aware what a bitter resentment this "very small Bill" (as Lord Beauchamp innocently thinks it) is going to arouse among (a) the working-class electorate; (b) the organised women; and (c) those who are concerned for public health and the reduction of infantile mortality. But can women really be expected to believe that women's interests are safe in the hands of male politicians?

Women in Church Matters.

(CONTINUED.)

The Present Position: Woman in Holy Orders.

The present writer, though a strong Suffragist, must say frankly that he would not welcome such a change at the present time in the Church of England as the bestowal of holy orders on women. In Nonconformist churches, where the position of a minister is that of a mere ministerial delegate, the question of a woman or man minister is a simple one. When the system of holy orders, however, is based on a transmission of power from above, the abolition of the disciplinary rule that has always excluded a sex is not a light step to take. I will, however, endeavour to explain the practical difficulties. In the first place a Bishop has an absolute discretion as to whether or not he will confer holy orders. No Act of Parliament compels him to ordain any person, and if such an Act were to be passed the opinion of all good Churchmen and Churchwomen would treat it as null and void. It is difficult to conceive a Bishop ordaining a woman without taking the advice of his fellow-bishops, and it is pretty certain that that advice would be in the negative. Assume, however, that a bishop did ordain a woman, and that she were presented to a living. Proceedings would certainly be taken to test the validity of the ordination and presentation in the ecclesiastical courts. The decision would go on the Pre-Reformation canon law and the general custom of the Church, and no lawyer can doubt but that it would go against the woman. Whether the ordination would be pronounced null and void I doubt, but only a trained theologian can speak safely on such a point. It is certain that the hypothetical woman would not be allowed to hold a living or to perform any ecclesiastical duties. I may add that I recently discussed this subject with a learned divine, who is a strong and active Suffragist. He told me that in his view the ecclesiastical custom that debar women from the priesthood could only be altered by a general council of the Bishops of the Roman, Greek, and Anglican Churches, and that even in such a council the decision, to be valid, must be unanimous, as it would be a "new point." I may add that my friend stated at the same time that, assuming women were all permitted to be called to the Bar, he could see no objection to a woman being appointed to the chancellorship of a diocese, and so exercising a portion of episcopal jurisdiction. Some of my readers may say that these difficulties only apply to High Churchmen. There may be truth in the criticism; but it must be remembered that the Evangelicals in the Anglican Church are intensely Old Testament and Pauline in their theology. Probably they would be even more prejudiced against such a change as that involved in a female clergy than High Churchmen. I must apologise to my readers for discussing at such length what is still an academic question. The fact, however, that some ladies in letters to the papers suggest the Anglican ministry as a profession for women makes it necessary to treat the subject seriously. In conclusion, I may add that no one recognises more strongly than I do the innate fitness of some women for the sacred ministry, or would more welcome the work of women in the religious sphere. I only say that the time has not yet come to consider the question of the ordination of women. It may be worth while to add that neither the Church of Rome nor the Church of England has

denied the right of women in case of necessity to administer the sacrament of Baptism. On this point the history of Calvinistic Churches is less satisfactory.

Women as Parishioners.

Women householders have always been members of the Church vestry, and women have the same right of access as men to the ecclesiastical courts. There is, however, one exception. Under the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874 the only parishioner who can take proceedings against an incumbent for illegal ritual is a parishioner of the male sex. As the Act is a dead letter, it cannot be said that the grievance is a serious one, but it is none the less unjustifiable. When ritual prosecutions now take place they are initiated under the Church Discipline Act of 1840, and under this Act a woman may be a plaintiff. I have said that women are eligible for the office of churchwarden. Whether they can be sidesmen or not I do not know. It is, however, to be noted that Lord Hugh Cecil has introduced a Bill into Parliament with the object of giving the powers now exercised by the vestry, and certain additional powers, to a churchwardens' council, to consist of the churchwardens, who may still be women, and certain "sidesmen," to be elected by church-going parishioners (including women householders), who shall be of the male sex. Churchwomen should watch this measure.

Women and Representative Church Council.

The Representative Church Council has lived only a few years, and has no legal sanction. It is made up of Convocation and two Houses of Laymen. The Houses of Laymen are elected by the Diocesan Conferences, and the Diocesan Conferences in their turn are elected by the Rural Deanery Conferences. It is only in connection with election to the Rural Deanery or Rural Decanal Conferences that the ordinary layman or laywoman comes on the scene. According to the paper constitution of these bodies, the electors are Churchmen who have been confirmed and are not members of any other denomination, and women who have these qualifications and are also householders. The Suffrage is not very logical; but it was the result of a compromise, since a large body of clergymen desired to refuse any votes to women. In practice the rule is not strictly maintained, and I know that in one parish the vicar takes the votes of married women parishioners. So little interest is taken by Churchpeople generally in these elections that this Suffrage is not at present a question of vital importance. In time it may become one. So far as I know women are not eligible as members to any of these bodies, though a strong feeling exists that they should be allowed to sit on Rural Decanal Conferences. Why they should be excluded from the higher assemblies I do not know.

Conclusion.

So long as women are allowed to partake of the sacraments they will be members of the Church. It is not probable that in the near future the rule that has excluded them from the priesthood will be altered. Under the old ecclesiastical law of the country sex has not been a disqualification for such ecclesiastical offices as are open to the laity. In modern times there has appeared a tendency to give privileges to laymen which are not extended to laywomen. In justice there seems no ground why laywomen should not in all respects have the same rights as laymen; but laywomen will have to watch carefully and to work hard to secure even in this sphere their rights.

(We hope to publish shortly an account of the position of women in the Free Churches.)

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

OBJECT: To obtain the Parliamentary franchise for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men.
METHODS: (a) The promotion of the claim of women to the Parliamentary vote by united action in Parliament and by all constitutional methods of agitation in this country. (b) The organisation of Women's Suffrage Societies on a non-party basis.

Hon. Secretaries: MISS EDITH DIMOCK. *President:* MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D. *Hon. Treasurer:* MISS BERTHA MASON (Pro Tem.).
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Telegrams: "Voiceless, London." *Secretary:* MISS T. G. WHITEHEAD, M.A. *Telephone:* 1900 Victoria.
Offices: Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Trafalgar Square Demonstration.

July 9, 1910.

DONATIONS.

	£	s.	d.
Miss B. Amore	0	5	0
An Old Somervillian	0	5	0
Mrs. Armistead	0	10	0
Miss E. M. L. Atkinson	0	5	0
Mrs. Frank Ayers	0	5	0
Mrs. Earengay Aylett	0	10	0
Mrs. Ernest Barrett	0	2	0
Mrs. Bateson	20	0	0
Mrs. M. H. Beeton	1	1	0
Mrs. Bellows	1	0	0
Mrs. Bertram	1	0	0
Miss L. Bidlake	0	5	0
Mrs. E. A. Bishop	0	2	0
Mrs. Bower	0	5	0
Miss Jessie Boyle	0	1	0
Mrs. Brailey	0	2	6
Miss Aline Bridge	1	0	0

Miss Lucy S. Brown	0	2	0
Mrs. H. M. Brown	0	2	6
Miss Morgan Browne	0	5	0
Mrs. Morgan Browne	1	0	0
Mrs. Brownlow	0	2	6
Dr. Sophie Bryant	1	0	0
Mrs. Buzzard	0	2	0
Miss W. J. Cameron	0	10	0
Miss M. M. Chadburn, M.D., B.S.	1	1	0
Mrs. Hay Chapman	0	5	0
Mrs. Chilcott	0	5	0
Miss Cholmeley	0	5	0
Miss Frances Collinsplatt	1	1	0
Miss E. K. Cornish	0	5	0
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Miss Druce	0 10 6
Miss Dunn	1 1 0
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Mrs. Elsworthy	3 0 0
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Miss Emily A. Fawcett	0 5 0
Miss Janet C. Fisher	0 5 0
Mrs. Forsyth	0 10 0
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Miss F. S. Gibbs	5 0 0
Mrs. Gordon	1 0 0
Miss Emily Green	0 5 0
Miss Sarah E. Gregson	1 1 0
Mrs. John Grubb	1 1 0
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Miss Alice Maud Hepburn	0 2 0
Miss C. F. Hicks	0 5 0
Mrs. Hicks	0 5 0
The Misses E. and G. Hill	1 1 0
Miss E. E. Hope	0 5 0
J. A. S.	0 5 0
Mrs. Iliffe	0 5 0
Miss Jackson	0 2 6
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Mrs. Beverley Leeds	0 2 6
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Miss M. Austen Leigh	0 5 0
Miss E. S. Leith	0 2 6
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Miss Noble Taylor	0 5 0
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Miss M. M. Pratt	0 1 0
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Mrs. Rogers	1 1 0
Miss M. Dawson Rogers	0 2 6
Mrs. C. B. Rootham	0 12 6
Miss Roper (per Miss Montgomery)	0 5 0
Mrs. Sanger	1 4 6
Mrs. Shannon	0 5 0
The Hon. M. E. L. Shaw	0 2 6
Miss P. E. Shaw	0 3 0
Mrs. Sheffield	0 10 0
Mrs. Henry Sidgwick	5 0 0
Miss May Sinclair	1 1 0
Mrs. Binns Smith	0 10 0
Mrs. Stephens	0 2 0
Mrs. Steen	0 10 0
Miss Street (per Miss Montgomery)	0 2 6
Miss Lillian Talbot	0 3 0
Mrs. Tatham	0 2 6
Mrs. Tennant	0 10 0
Miss Skeffington Thompson	0 3 6
Miss Janet Hamilton Thomson	0 3 6
Mrs. Todd	0 2 6
Mrs. Todhunter	0 10 0
Miss G. F. Torry	1 0 0
Mrs. Tubbs	5 0 0
Miss Tucke	0 2 6
Miss M. Tuke	1 0 0
Mrs. Alec Tweedie	0 6 4
Miss M. A. Vivian	0 5 0
Miss A. L. Warren	0 10 0
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Mrs. Ware	0 10 6
Mrs. G. F. Watts	2 2 0
Mrs. White	0 1 0
Mrs. Theodore Williams	2 2 0
Miss A. L. S. Wise	0 10 0
Miss Alice Woods	0 10 0
Miss Wood	0 5 0

£118 5 10

Treasurer's Notes.

CONTRIBUTIONS

AUGUST 27 TO SEPTEMBER 3, 1910.

Already acknowledged	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions:—	2049	8	1½
Miss L. H. Ensor		0	10 6
Miss A. R. Vincent		0	3 0
Donations:—			
Miss F. E. L. Walrond, towards cost of memorial wreath (Miss Florence Nightingale)		0	4 0
Miss Rosa Carryer		0	10 6
Miss D. M. Blundun		0	2 0
Per Miss Ray Costelloe—			
Saved from "Vanity"		0	4 6
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Affiliation Fees:—			
Derby W.S.S.		1	9 3
Hockwold-cum-Wilton W.S.S. (additional)		0	1 6
	£2052	19	5¼

MILLION SHILLING FUND.

Already acknowledged	1565	6
Extra on 27 dollars	0	3
	1565	9

QUEEN'S HALL DEMONSTRATION.
June 28, 1910.

Already acknowledged	£	s.	d.
Miss Frances Sterling	1370	19	6
	100	0	0
	£1470	19	6

BERTHA MASON, Treasurer.

Miss I. O. Ford will be away from home until September 28. All important communications should be addressed to her at Poste Restante, Lucerne.

Federation Notes.

North of Scotland.

Meetings were held, two or three weeks ago, at Fortrose and Inverness; they closed with the meeting for the formation of the North of Scotland Federation. The evening meeting at Fortrose was crowded and enthusiastic, and Mrs. Fraser-MacKenzie (Allangrange) made a bright and interesting chairman's speech, dealing well in it with the "Women in the House of Commons" bogey. The resolution was carried with two dissentients after my speech, and these two, on being asked their reasons for being opposed, had none to give. Several new members were gained then and next day, and the Fortrose Society will affiliate shortly. Mrs. Haldane, St. Katherine's, is meantime receiving names for it.

At the Federation meeting representatives from Inverness, Elgin, Lossiemouth, Nairn, Forres, Beaulieu, and Fortrose were present, and rules were drawn up and future work discussed. The title chosen is North of Scotland Federation; the area the four counties of Ross and Cromarty, Inverness-shire, Nairnshire, and Morayshire. Mrs. Hunter will be chairman of committee; Miss Black, Victoria Terrace, Inverness, hon. secretary; and Miss Stuart, Fleurs, Elgin, hon. treasurer. The Lady Frances Balfour will be asked to be the Executive representative. Miss Bertha Mason's lectures in October were arranged for, and the getting up of a play, a banner exhibition, and sale of work were agreed to. Propaganda work in the area in places yet untouched was decided upon, and a fund of £5 10s. was promised at the meeting for this purpose. Rules will be submitted to the Executive at once, and I am convinced the Federation will prove a very enthusiastic and successful one.

I would appeal to all our readers who are Suffragists and live within the area to send their names and addresses to the secretary of the Federation to enable the committee to get in touch with every part of their area.

There are four Anti-Suffragist M.P.s in this area now, and only two Suffragist, so there is need of all the work possible; but there is quite enough enthusiasm in these Federation Societies to do wonders politically and educationally.

HELEN FRASER.

[The North of Scotland Federation has not yet received formal recognition, as there has been no meeting of the Executive Committee during August.]

We much regret having to announce that owing to illness Miss Fraser has been obliged to cancel all her engagements, so that she may have complete rest for a few months.

She has just finished a very successful campaign in the North of Scotland, which has resulted in the formation of four new societies within the area of the newly organized North of Scotland Federation.

North-Western.

My last week was spent in the Egremont division, and many very good meetings were held. I had most excellent help from



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Hand-knitted Sports Coat (as sketch),
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suitable for both slender and stout figures; **29/6**
32 inches long, in black, white, and colours.

SENT ON APPROVAL.

Miss Lawrence and Miss Cochrane, who entertained me the whole time.

Meetings were held at Frizington, where the Rev. Oliver very kindly took the chair, and at Egremont and Cleator Moor. I found a great deal of interest for the question of Women's Suffrage, although the sitting member declares he "has found none." But then he has never looked. The bad weather prevented some meetings from being held.

HELGA GILL.

Surrey, Sussex, and Hants.

This week we have been starting a society in Cranleigh, where the ground has been well prepared by Mrs. Jocelyn Bray. Miss Brockman has, with great energy and enthusiasm, undertaken the duties of secretary. On Friday, by the kindness of Mrs. Pennington, a few Suffragists assembled at Knowle Park to discuss the next step that must be taken. As a result a small committee has been formed to start the society. They are planning a public meeting, and as Mrs. Pennington has kindly undertaken the expense of it, the prospects for Cranleigh seem good.

On Thursday I went over to Elstead to speak at two meetings organized by Lady Scott-Moncrieff to rouse interest in the village preparatory to the complete canvass of the women that is being carried out by the Godalming Society. The meetings were very satisfactory. At the meeting in the afternoon in Lady Scott-Moncrieff's garden there were about forty women present. At the evening meeting on the green a resolution in favour of Women's Suffrage was carried unanimously.

BARBARA DUNCAN.

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Telegraphic Address:—"THACKERAY, LONDON."

Miss O'Shea writes to say that Mr. and Mrs. Frances, who gave such valuable help during the campaign in Sussex, are helping the Federation this week in Worthing, where they will speak at Mrs. Chapman's Garden Fête.

The National Union speakers in the Surrey, Sussex, and Hants, Federation during September will include Mrs. Stanbury and Mrs. Brownlow, Poor Law Guardian.

Yorkshire.

Mrs. Cooper, of Nelson, has been working on the coast of Yorkshire for five days, and during that time did not allow the grass to grow under her feet. At Bridlington she at once interviewed Sir Luke White, M.P., and three local Press editors, and made arrangements with the Town Clerk for meetings. She held three meetings, at one of which a resolution in support of Mr. Shackleton's Bill was passed unanimously. A splendid meeting followed at Hamboro'; the chair was taken by a visitor, and the resolution was passed without a dissentient. There was a good sale of "Common Causes." The weather at Hornsea proved wet, so that only propaganda was done, and 500 leaflets were distributed explaining the Bill. Banners in the colours helped greatly to attract the attention of the people. Owing to the weather getting unfavourable for meetings, Mrs. Cooper thought it advisable to return home, but we hope she will be working again for us as soon as a more propitious time arrives.

E. BATESON.

Proposed Kentish Federation.

Madame Sarah Grand, president of the Tunbridge Wells and District W.S.S., invited the societies affiliated to the N.U. within the area of the county of Kent to her house on the 2nd inst. to consider the advisability of federating. Representatives from Dover, Folkestone, Ramsgate, and Sevenoaks attended, as well as Miss Helga Gill, and it was a matter of keen regret that the recently formed and promising Society of Tonbridge by some misunderstanding was not represented.

The meeting took the form of a pleasant social gathering, the visitors being entertained previously at luncheon by Mrs. Le Lacheur, treasurer, and afterwards at tea by Madame Grand. Possible rules, based on those of the Surrey, Sussex, and Hants, Federation, were discussed, and it was resolved that the delegates should urge their adoption at the earliest opportunity on their respective societies.

Miss M. Crosbie-Hill, hon. secretary Sevenoaks, kindly undertook to act as provisional hon. secretary of the prospective Kentish Federation, pending the election of a Federation Committee.

The Opening of Ashton House

Ashton House, the first municipal women's lodging-house in England, which has been erected by the Manchester Corporation, was formally opened by the Lord Mayor of Manchester on September 1. The Lord Mayor said that he prized the little key with which he performed the opening more than if it had been one of diamonds, as this lodging-house was going to do so much for the very poorest women of the town. He hoped it would help them to lead a more hopeful existence. He paid a great tribute to Councillor Ashton, after whom the house is named, and to the other ladies who had formed the deputation and urged the necessity for this lodging-house upon the Manchester Corporation.

Councillor Margaret Ashton made a touching allusion in her speech to the needs of those poor friendless creatures with no place to lay their heads.

The Chairman (Alderman Fildes) said that when in 1896 he went over model lodging-houses for men in London, he was told it would be utterly impossible to start a similar house for women, in spite of the fact that Glasgow has been running one with complete success for more than thirty years.

It is hoped that other towns will soon follow Manchester's example.

Work in the Ashford Division of Kent.

I begin work in the above division this week. It is absolutely virgin soil, and I have almost nothing to work upon.

May I ask any Suffragist who knows anybody in or anybody in the constituency to communicate with me, c/o headquarters, London.

HELGA GILL.

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A New Society.

EAST MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT BRANCH.
In connection with the formation of a branch for this district, a great open-air meeting will be held next Friday, September 9, at 8 p.m., at the corner of Devonshire Street and Stockport Road. Councillor Margaret Ashton will be the speaker. The members of this branch will be glad if friends living in and around this district will attend. The Stockport and Levenshulme cars run up from town in five minutes and stop opposite the ground. Mr. Richard Bates, 22, Devonshire Street, Ardwick, Manchester, who is organizing the branch for us, will be glad to receive the names and addresses of all Suffragists in the district who would identify themselves with this new branch.

The Irish Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

A preliminary meeting to start an Irish Men's League for the promotion of Women's Suffrage was held at 35, Molesworth Street, Dublin, on Thursday, September 1. After the transaction of some routine business it was decided to hold a further meeting early in October, of which due notice would be given.

The Church League for Women's Suffrage.

Preparations are being made for a campaign in Cambridge and district during the Church Congress week, September 26-30. Meetings will be held at Royston (26th), Ely (27th), Newmarket (28th), Cambridge (29th), and Huntingdon (30th). Open-air meetings will be held daily in the neighbouring villages. Among the speakers will be the Hon. Mrs. Henley, Miss Maude Royden, Miss Frances Sterling, Rev. C. Baumgarten, Rev. A. C. Hoggins, Rev. C. Hinscliff, and Rev. Lewellyn Smith. Miss Maude Royden will also speak at a public meeting and a drawing-room meeting in Bath on September 19 and 20, also at Wells on September 21-22, and at Southport on September 23. The third week in October is set apart for Special Effort work. Collecting boxes can be had from the offices, 11, St. Mark's Crescent, N.W. Collections, large and small, from farthings to sovereigns, are asked in aid of the work of our League. During Special Effort week a large meeting in London will be addressed by Mrs. Archibald Mackirdy (Olive Christine Malvery), whose magnificent efforts on behalf of the work for the "submerged tenth" are well known to the world. On the day preceding the opening of Parliament the League will go in procession to attend service at some well-known place of worship.

"Love-in-a-Mist."

Mere curiosity took me
Out of my way, one day, to see
A Woman's Demonstration pass.
Beyond, tall windows of plate glass
Reflected clear the serried mass
Of colour, bannerets, and flowers.
I, standing idly, mused and said:
"These were far better wooed—or dead,
"Under the grass, beneath the showers.
"Dear souls! I wonder if they think
"A horse dragged to mid-stream will drink;
"Or hope that Man, in sheer surprise,
"May view their 'Cause' through Woman's eyes!"
Then one in that Protesting Band
Passed, with field daisies in her hand.
Close to the pavement where I stood,
The long train halted. In a mood
Half bitter and half banter I
Asked her a question: "Daisies? Why?"
Then, softly she, slow smiling: "They
"Are childhood's flowers, and thus should sway
"The memories of all our lives—
"Of men, of women, husbands, wives."
"Yet see": she drew aside the white,
Massed petals. Hidden out of sight,
Close pressed together, drooped a few
Blossoms of tender, sun-drenched blue.
"Love-in-a-mist," said I; and she
"Why, yes, since Love is Mystery
"And also"—here she let her eyes
Dwell upon mine in clear surprise,—
"You make the puzzle more obscure
"Because—forgive!—you are so sure,
"So sure, you know what women be
"Far better than a girl like me.
"Is it not so?" She smiled, and then
The ranks began to move again.
I caught her thought. Half glad it came,
Half sad. And then, quite suddenly,
"Love in a mist? Why yes, till we
Each other know and comprehend,
"Till Man and Woman clearly see,
"One as the other's closest friend,
"And each on an equality,
"Love's blurred by Love's frivolity."

MABEL KITCAT.

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Correspondents are requested to write on one side of the paper only.

THE CANVASS OF WOMEN MUNICIPAL ELECTORS.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—I should like to associate myself with Miss Eleanor Rathbone in deprecating the proposal for a general canvass of women municipal voters on the subject of the Suffrage. The labour and difficulty of the undertaking are out of all proportion to its value. Such a canvass as is suggested was made many years ago in Birmingham, and we obtained a majority of the women voters' names for our petition, which was presented in Parliament. Why should we be required to repeat all this hard work, knowing the contempt with which petitions are received? Like other statistics, they "may be made to prove almost anything," according to the persuasiveness and scrupulousness, or the reverse, of the canvasser. If the investigation be undertaken by both sides, with varying results (such as have been recently published by Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists working in the same areas), politicians will adopt and quote those figures which suit their own views. Those who are against us desire not further proofs of the justice of our claim, but further excuses for refusing it.

Moreover, of any imaginable section of the population—e.g., those whose name begins with Y, those who have blue eyes, or those who take sugar in their tea—it is safe to predict that a large number will be found wholly indifferent to any political proposition which can be put before them. Our present basis of the franchise (though perhaps as good a rough test as can be devised) cannot exclude a vast amount of ignorance and lack of public spirit both in men and women; but electors who care for public questions will vote, and those who do not will presumably abstain, and therefore the ballot should give us roughly the aggregate desire of the people. But why should the dead weight of the ignorant and indifferent, speciously induced to sign a paper which may mean nothing whatever to them, be given a factitious importance equal to the desire of the active and intelligent reformer? It is a habit of mind peculiar to the Anti-Suffragists to estimate the people who don't care as equal in value and power to those who do; to clamour that a reform shall not be conceded unless more than half the population demand it (a condition never yet fulfilled in human affairs). Not thus has history been made: the decisive battles of the world have been fought



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BRANCHES AND AGENCIES THROUGHOUT THE KINGDOM.

by the few who cared, on behalf of the many who did not. Had these merely numerical tests been applied in the case of men, it is not improbable that the agricultural labourers would still be outside the pale; but when Mr. Gladstone was told that they had little desire for the vote, he replied that their vote was needed by their country.

To pursue Miss Rathbone's comparison, the labours imposed on Hercules served a reasonable and useful purpose; let us insist on some parallel between these and the labours women are desperately imposing on themselves!—Yours,

CATHERINE C. OSLER.

Birmingham, September 3.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—I have been much interested in Miss Rathbone's letter and your reply as to the advantages and disadvantages of a mass petition, or one on municipal lines.

I quite agree with you that mass petitions are played out. No one now places any reliance on a mass petition. It was a very different case with a voters' petition, where every name could be easily verified, as I suppose the names of those on the municipal register could be. Can you tell us what is the number of municipal women voters in England?

Would it not be possible, as Miss Rathbone suggests, to obtain the opinion of the Conciliation Board as to which form of petition they think would have most effect? As it is so very uncertain whether Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George will be in power after the general election it seems scarcely worth while troubling them on the matter.—Yours,

S. M. FOLEY.

Newcastle-on-Tyne, September 3.

[There are about 1½ million of women municipal voters. The Executive Committee is in constant communication with Mr. Brailsford and other members of the Conciliation Board, and will no doubt frame their policy with full knowledge of their views.—Ed. "C.C."]

SUFFRAGE OR PARTY.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—May I be permitted to make my position a little clearer, in view of the criticism in "The Common Cause" of August 18?

I so far agree with your correspondent who in effect cries "Bogey" to my remarks, that I also think practical election work is illuminating. My views are largely the result of such work in five elections, mainly in connection with the voters' petition. But it should be hardly necessary to point out that knowledge of the political situation, of party tactics, of the *species* member and the *species* candidate, is not the exclusive possession of the worker in these campaigns.

Both my critics of August 18 consider the election policy of the N.U. to be justified by the second reading. I own to the majority on the Conciliation Bill's complacent attitude. I think we can claim very little of the credit of this, the latest, legislative effort. It is well known that Lord Lytton and Mr. Brailsford, to whom the coming into being of the Conciliation Committee is due, are entirely moved by sympathy with the militant section. Besides, we must not imagine, because some Members of Parliament possess the requisite knowledge, that the greater number distinguish clearly between the societies or shape their course in the division lobbies after a solemn consideration and mature judgment of our election policies. The larger number consider the question more generally, untroubled by a narrow and detailed accuracy. Again, how can the majority of 110 be due to our policy, as assumed by Miss Fraser, when she mentions in the same letter that we have supported very few candidates owing to the stringency, as she considers it, of our election questions? That being so, the number of members whom we on Suffrage grounds have helped to return to swell that 110 majority is small indeed.

I asked—not stated—had not the N.U. always refrained from opposing a Liberal candidate at elections; and I think I am given to understand that an Anti-Suffragist Liberal has been opposed in connection with this election questions policy.

I have not been touching upon the running of Suffrage candidates in opposition, and what has been done, certainly twice, by that method is a thing apart. But granting that under the policy to which I was referring an open and professed Anti-Suffragist has been opposed, how very many intentions could be gauged, whom we have not opposed. As I said, the questions—i.e., their form—do not hinder us from supporting a Lloyd George or a Winston Churchill; both could have framed satisfactory replies to them in the past. And on all responses framed by men of similar make we should have, doubtless, refrained from opposing, and done propaganda work only. It is this attitude we need to discard; we should appear in elections to oppose those who will not bind themselves to effective help, on lines I indicated in my former letter. Our activity heretofore has been unduly limited; and this limitation has been of advantage to the Liberal party, which is particularly anxious not to be embarrassed by Suffragist activity.

The National Union has drawn some of its most prominent members from among the Liberal women; the old societies, which are its nucleus, relied with an inevitable dependence upon the principles of that then great party. Experience has not justified their belief; and old use and wont should not hinder us from recognising this fact, and acting accordingly. And so we need also to remember the lesson of Cromwell's New Model, and to consider the virtue of a self-denying ordinance, by which membership of party organizations shall be laid aside by members of our Executive. We need leaders who cannot be brought to think the best thing possible for Suffrage is to reconcile its interests with those of any party, for the situation before us is serious in the extreme. Politicians, let us remember, can dispense well enough with our support, but they dread our opposition.

I am aware that a Council meeting will be called after the Government's final decision on the Conciliation Bill—my allusion thereto seemed rather obvious than "cryptic,"—for that reason I urged that these questions should be closely considered in preparation for its sitting. Could "The Common Cause" publish a return of the election activity of the N.U. up to the present time it would be valuable assistance to that end.—Yours,

EDITH S. HOOPER.

Chenies Street Chambers, W.C.

[Not "a" Liberal candidate, but several Liberal candidates have been opposed by the N.U.W.S.S., of whose election work returns shall be published if possible. If more Conservatives have been opposed than Liberals it is because more Conservatives are Anti-Suffragists. The N.U. is pledged to put Suffrage first. About this there can be no question. If Mrs. Hooper is dissatisfied with this policy, she must not only criticise it, but suggest a better. We once more challenge her to show in what respect a policy which would substitute for government by Lloyd George and Winston Churchill government by F. E. Smith and Austen Chamberlain will be "better"? We must add that Mr. Brailsford sent a message to the N.U. Council meeting at Bristol, in July, that he had been amazed at the strength of the N.U. in the constituencies, and was convinced that without our work the Conciliation Bill would never have been in the favourable position it then was. On the other hand, if Mrs. Hooper is only dissatisfied with the way in which the non-party policy has been carried out, she has only to persuade our democratic society to agree with her, turn out the leaders they distrust, and put in new ones. We protest most strongly against these insinuations that the N.U. Executive "can be brought to think the best thing possible for Suffrage is to reconcile its interests with those of any party." If the Executive cannot be trusted to be loyal to its principles, Mrs. Hooper may trust in the N.U. to turn it out of office.—Ed. "C.C."]

LIBERAL PRINCIPLES.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—A good Liberal cannot agree to confound "the essential quality of Liberalism" with the *reductio ad*

absurdum. You say in comment at the foot of my letter of last week: "Till we have Women's Suffrage the will of the people cannot be known." Have, then, all the remissions of taxation from Mr. Huskisson to Mr. Ritchie, the extensions of the franchise from 1832 to 1894, the Irish land legislation of both parties, the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, the grant of pensions to the aged, all been carried contrary to the will of the people?

The remission of the taxes on knowledge, the duty on paper, and the stamp duty on newspapers preceded the Education Bill of 1870, and must have been referred to a populace in very large proportion unable to read and write.

We look for the "essential principle" of these measures elsewhere than "the will of the people."

Liberalism means principles of right, justice, and freedom freely expounded to those who will listen of "the many" by competent minds; then freedom broadens slowly down by the common consent of most.

Lord Rosebery, who denied justice to Ireland till "the predominant partner" had been converted, has left the Liberal party, and those who deny justice to any woman till every woman asks for it should follow him.

To refuse to abolish slavery till every slave is free is a *reductio ad absurdum* of which the Liberal party has never been guilty.

One did not look for the Anti-Suffragist argument signed "Editor 'Common Cause.'"—Yours,

E. LINDSAY.

[We hasten to reassure Miss Lindsay as to the soundness of our Suffrage views, and beg her not to attribute to us all the political theories we may describe. We are not Liberal because we attempt to describe Liberalism, nor Conservative because (in the same paragraph) we attempt to describe Conservatism. We still believe that Liberalism means "government of the people, for the people, by the people"; and not "government of the people who cannot read or write by the people who can." The loosest possible construction of the words "by the people" must still mean "by the majority of the people." At present the will of the majority cannot be known, since only the minority votes. Miss Lindsay has described the position of a great political party, but by curious error she has described not Liberalism but Conservatism, to whom the "sublime paradox" of democratic government is a "reductio ad absurdum"; which "looks elsewhere than to the will of the people" for its essential principle, and is prepared to undertake a benevolent despotism on the part of the educated—"the competent"—towards the uneducated. This is a perfectly reasonable position—but it is not Liberalism. We do not quite follow the argument from slavery. Since Liberalism implies "government by consent," its first business must be the abolition of all kinds of slavery. Only the enfranchised can make known their "consent." As to the "principles of right, justice, and freedom" claimed by Liberalism, we have yet to hear of a political party which does not claim them. Even the Anti-Suffragists do.—Ed. "C.C."]

INDIA AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—The Anti-Suffragist deals with fears, the Suffragists with facts. It is feared that if women have votes the British Government would no longer be able to rule India. Here is the answer from two representative organs of the native press refuting this bogus assumption:—

"The opponents fell back upon India for their objections. There were three-hundred millions of Orientals who looked to Parliament as their Court of Appeal, and who (speaking generally) kept woman in the background. Did Parliament imagine that they would submit to be governed by women? And so on. Well, well, India is hardly so bad as that. Not to speak of the many distinguished Ranis, whose subjects have shown a most romantic and chivalrous devotion, we have the fact that half of the three-hundred millions are women who might just as reasonably rise in revolt against being governed by male Mechas."—*The Parsi*.

This is turning the tables with a vengeance upon Lords Cromer and Curzon and all the clique of Little Englanders afraid of their own women!

The Indian Spectator comes out still more strongly in the following passage:—

"Lady Minto has been first aid to the Viceroy throughout, his right hand as well as his left, without, however, meddling with affairs of the administration. And yet we are told her ladyship is not in favour of women's Suffrage. Well, consistency is not always a strong point with ladies. But that they are to be ever debarred from the exercise of their natural right to shape the course of public affairs, as they have always controlled the affairs of the nursery—which is the germ of communal and national life—is a proposition which no thinking man will wholly endorse. It is now a question of sooner or later, of give and take, of what is called readjustment. With the powers of self-control and organisation displayed by Miss Florence Nightingale, for example, Miss Octavia Hill, Mrs. Fawcett, and so many others, it would be absurd to say that women should be condemned to the kitchen range or the crib."

What is more, there are among the women voters in the Bombay Corporation 527 Hindus, 260 Mohammedans, 458

Parsis, and only 73 Europeans, and the people of India are quite complacent. While in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as an example nearer home, at the first elections for the Bosnian Parliament, for which women have been voters, most of those who exercised their political rights were Mohammedan women, and yet the sky did not fall!

I often wonder if the Anti-Suffragists ever read anything but their own speeches and their leaders' despondent diatribes.—Yours truly,

B. FRANCES SWINNEY.

Sandford Lawn, Cheltenham.

"WHERE A MEN'S LEAGUE BRANCH CANNOT BE FOUNDED IMMEDIATELY."

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—It is becoming more and more evident that at last men are taking a personal interest in the question of Women's Suffrage, and that they regard the Conciliation Bill as a measure which deserves the name of "practical politics."

The suggestion to form branches of the Men's League is a good one, but the difficulty is always present of finding men who have the time to devote to secretarial work; and such being the case I venture to propose the following plan:—An ordinary exercise book should be taken to all meetings, and men asked to sign the following declaration:—

"We, the undersigned electors of.....are wholeheartedly in favour of granting votes to duly qualified women, and hereby express our determination to oppose any candidate who shall declare his opposition to the demand made by the Suffrage Societies."

The objection that such a course would alienate some men is no doubt well founded; but in view of the fact that our chances of securing the passage of a Suffrage Bill depend on decisive action, it is surely better to have a band of determined supporters rather than an army of lukewarm and impotent sympathisers.

The points which I would urge in favour of this proposal are:—

(i.) It entails no special work, results depending entirely on the speaker.

(ii.) The enormous influence which a declaration of this kind would have on local party organizations, especially where the majority is a narrow one.

(iii.) The absence of expense.

(iv.) Once having obtained the signatures, there is a better chance of forming a Men's League than there is where there is nothing to work on.

I might also add that in Norwood, where this idea has been tried, over 40 signatures were obtained at three meetings; and this in a place unworked beforehand and distinctly "Anti." in its sentiments.—Yours,

JOHN SIMPSON, M.L.W.S.

Priestwood Mansions, Archway Road, Highgate, N., September 1.

HELP WANTED IN STOCKPORT.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—Will you please ask your readers if they are interested in the formation of a society at Stockport, or know of anyone else who is if they will please communicate with me? Arrangements are being made for a public meeting on October 17 (Monday), preceded on the Saturday by an open-air meeting, and we shall want much help in canvassing and distributing bills during the week beginning October 10. We are fortunate in being promised the help of Miss Abadam and Miss Robertson for these meetings, and trust a flourishing society will be the outcome.—Yours,

M. WILD.

23, Warwick Road, Romiley.

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Reports of Societies within the 'National Union.

Secretaries would simplify the work by sending in notices of FORTHCOMING MEETINGS, endorsed with those words, with time, place, and speakers legibly written, on one side of the paper only, and on a sheet of paper separate from other matter.

BATH.

One of our Bath local papers has initiated a rather smart enterprise, and has asked us for a series of articles upon the Suffrage from all points of view. Needless to say, the articles were speedily contributed, and are to be followed, at our request, by an Anti-Suffrage article. We are now hoping that correspondence may ensue; and perhaps the example of this enterprising editor may be followed by others. The meetings arranged for the Church League have been unavoidably altered to the 19th and 20th of September.

EDINBURGH.

The Edinburgh office has re-opened, and Miss Low and Miss Gordon are back at work. In accordance with the wishes of the National Union, it has been decided to begin a canvass of some of the municipal voters in the district, and Leith has been decided upon as a fitting place for the attempt. Mr. Munro Ferguson is an Anti-Suffragist, and we prefer the constituencies of Antis. The canvass will be undertaken ward by ward, so that each piece of work will be complete in itself. Who will help us, either by keeping the office from 10 to 1 or 2 to 5, or by giving a few hours a week to visiting the women municipal electors of Leith? All information can be obtained from Miss Gordon at 40, Shandwick Place.

Much excitement prevails at present over the dispute in the Edinburgh printing trade. Suffragists have done all they can to help those girls who are unselfish and high-principled enough to object to the trade being closed to girls in the future, although the position of the present female compositors may be benefited thereby. Miss Symonds and Miss Maclean, the president and secretary of the recently formed Women Compositors' Trade Union, have behaved with great courage and astuteness. The "Sootsman" and the public are inclined to uphold the principle of the right to work at any trade that suits you, whatever your sex, and we have reason to hope that a peaceful settlement will be arrived at, without the threatened strike.

GODALMING.

An open-air meeting was held in the town at seven o'clock on September 3rd. An audience of several hundred people listened attentively to Mr. John Simpson, of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage. At the end of his speech questions were asked by men who were evidently just beginning to take an interest in the subject, and the questions were capably answered. The chairman, Mr. G. T.

Pilcher, moved a resolution in favour of the Conciliation Bill, Sir William Chance seconding. This was carried, only two hands being held up against it. As only a few voted it is plain that the audience had formed no decided opinion on the subject. An effort will therefore be made to hold meetings on Saturday evenings as long as the weather permits. The great advantage of the open-air meeting over the indoor is that the audience in the former includes a large proportion of people who would not come to a meeting in a hall, and it is these indifferent people whom it is important to convert.

HUDDERSFIELD.

A very successful meeting was held in the Market Place, Meltham, under the auspices of the Huddersfield Branch of the National Union. Miss Kate Kilburn took the chair, and Miss Fielden gave an inspiring address, which was most attentively listened to, and moved a resolution calling upon the Government to give further facilities for the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. Miss O. May, secretary of the Meltham Women's Liberal Association, seconded it, and it was carried unanimously. Mrs. Josiah Lockwood moved a vote of thanks to the speaker and chairman. Mrs. Studdard and Mrs. Murray sold "Common Causes."

KNUTSFORD.

An open-air meeting was held in Knutsford on Monday evening, August 29th, at which, though the evening was very wet, a fair-sized crowd gathered. Miss Margaret Robertson was the speaker. She explained the points of the Conciliation Bill, and showed how unreasonable it was of the House of Commons to complain of the Veto of the Lords if it were willing to be subject to the veto of the Cabinet. A majority of 110 in the House had voted in favour of the Conciliation Bill being passed into law, yet in spite of that Mr. Asquith and his Cabinet had so far refused to grant time for the Bill to pass all its stages. The will of the people, as expressed by a large majority of their representatives, was being overruled by the will of one person.

The Rev. Sidney Laundry took the chair, and in seconding the resolution he showed the absurdity of the idea that the possession of physical force should constitute a right to the possession of the franchise. The resolution was carried without any opposition.

LLANDUDNO.

Miss Nautet is staying with us another week, and is entitled to the gratitude of all keen Suffragists for the work she is doing. Quietly, unostentatiously, and unobtrusively she has been daily educating a number of people to a better understanding of our aim and methods. Among others, she has called on the clergy of all denominations, with the most excellent results. She does not work only among the residents, but also has put many visitors in touch with the Women's Suffrage Societies of their own districts. Wearing the badge of the N.U.W.S.S. and the "Jus Suffragii," she has been hawking "The Common Cause," selling over ninety copies of the Florence Nightingale number. Dozens of Cholmeley's pamphlets and of the "Open Letter" have been sold, and hundreds of leaflets have been put into the hands of residents and visitors. The regular subscribers to "The Common Cause" are about four times as many as when she came, and the number of badge-wearers is rising by leaps and bounds. A growing list of members, of subscribers to the Llandudno Women's Suffrage Library (of which Miss Wright is the Hon. Librarian) and of generous sympathizers undeniably shows the value of the educative work being done in Llandudno by Miss Nautet.

LONDON—N. MIDDLESEX.

We had a most successful meeting at a united muster of the Co-operative Women's Guild on September 1st. Mrs. Nankivell took the chair and introduced our speaker, Miss Rinder. We had a most enthusiastic audience. At the end of the meeting we gained twenty-three new associates, many of whom said that Miss Rinder's arguments had convinced them that Women's Suffrage was absolutely necessary. At the end of the meeting a hearty vote of thanks to Miss Rinder was passed.

LONDON—WINDSOR AND ETON.

The last monthly At Home for the summer took place on August 29th at the Grove Road Schoolroom at eight o'clock. As the night was very stormy the attendance was small, only fourteen being present. They were, however, deeply interested in the discussion of "The Women's Charter," which was read by the Hon. Secretary, to fill the gap caused by the unavoidable absence of Miss Margaret Hodge, who was to have been the speaker of the evening. Most of the clauses of the Charter met with enthusiastic approval, but to a few exception was taken, and the Hon. Secretary was asked to forward some suggestions to Lady McLaren.

Tea was served by Mrs. Wright and Mrs. Clements, and Miss Wright sent a quantity of flowers in the scarlet, white and green to decorate the tables.

Our next At Home takes place on October 31st, at the same time and place. Will all Windsor, Eton, and Slough friends please note this?

NORTH OF ENGLAND.

Several open-air meetings have been held this week, in spite of incessant rain. On Monday Miss Robertson went out to Knutsford, where she and Mr. Laundry addressed a crowd which was quite remarkable, considering the weather. On Tuesday, Miss Ashton and Miss Robertson went to Leigh where, thanks to the energy of Mr. Bark, and the comparative fineness of the weather, a magnificent meeting was held. The crowd must have numbered close on a thousand, and they bought "Common Causes" almost as eagerly as they took free leaflets. On Wednesday Miss Robertson went out to one of Manchester's most desolate outlying districts, and addressed a very keen little crowd (about 200, mostly Socialists), or rather, addressed the tops of their umbrellas. On Friday Droylsden received its first lesson on the Suffrage, but the weather was bad again, and the swarms of children yelling around the speakers (Miss Robertson and Rev. H. Bulcock) made them quite inaudible to themselves, and probably inaudible to most of the audience. The same day a dinner-hour meeting was held outside the Ocean Ironworks, in South Salford. The "works" meetings held lately have been most encouraging—the men vote so readily, and give us their names and addresses in earnest of future work, as they never used to. From each of these meetings resolutions in support of the Bill have been sent up to the Prime Minister and to the Member for the division.

WEST HERTS.

On Wednesday afternoon, August 31st, we had a very successful meeting for working women in Oxhey, a district hitherto quite untouched by our propaganda. Forty women came, and we gave them tea and some music, which they thoroughly enjoyed. Dr. Mary Spence presided, and Miss Campbell spoke on "Why Women Want the Vote." She dwelt upon the disastrous position of women in the industrial world, and showed how the possession of the vote would help them. Many of the women present corroborated from their own experience the facts adduced as to the low wages of women workers, and all showed keen interest. Many said they were glad to hear the matter explained, as they had been told that women wanted the vote "just to be equal to the men." It is proposed to hold a series of these meetings, and we confidently expect larger and larger audiences as the interest spreads.

Forthcoming Meetings.

- SEPTEMBER 8.
 - London—Camberwell—Grove Lane—Mr. Malcolm Mitchell, Mr. John Manson.
 - North of England—Salford Suffrage Club—Miss Courtney. 8.0
 - Bristol—King's Square Avenue—Open-air Meeting. 1.0
 - Romsey—Open-air Meeting—Mr. Newport.
 - North of England—Salford Suffrage Club (Women)—Miss M. Ashton. 3.0
- SEPTEMBER 9.
 - North of England—Devonshire Hotel, E. Manchester—Open-air Meeting—Miss M. Ashton. 8.0
 - Bristol—Picton Street, Stokes Croft—Open-air Meeting. 7.0
 - Romsey—Open-air Meeting—Mr. Howard.
- SEPTEMBER 10.
 - London—Highgate—Tally-Ho Corner, Finchley—Mrs. Bowden-Smith. 8.0
 - Great Missenden—Open-air Meeting. 7.0
- SEPTEMBER 12.
 - North of England—Trafford Road Schools, Salford—Public Meeting—Miss M. Ashton. 7.30
 - Saltash—Guildhall—Public Meeting—Miss Alison Garland, Dr. Mabel Ramsay, The Mayor of Saltash (Chairman). 8.0
 - Bristol—The Horsefair—Open-air Meeting. 1.0
 - Brookenhurst—Public Meeting—Miss Bateson, Miss Duncan.
- SEPTEMBER 13.
 - Bath—Holy Trinity School—Rev. C. Hinsciff. 8.0
 - Bristol—Zetland Road—Open-air Meeting. 7.0
 - Brookenhurst—Public Meeting—Mrs. Stanbury.
- SEPTEMBER 14.
 - Bath—Saw Close—Miss Royden. 8.0
 - Bristol—Robertson Road—Open-air Meeting. 1.0
 - Ringwood—Public Meeting—Mrs. Stanbury.
- SEPTEMBER 15.
 - Wells—Town Hall—Miss Royden, Miss Wheelwright.
 - London—Camberwell—Grove Lane—Open-air Meeting—Mr. J. Stephen. 7.30
 - Ringwood—Open-air Meeting—Miss Bateson, Miss Duncan.
 - North of England—Oldham Park Gates—Open-air Meeting—Miss Robertson.
 - North of England—Salford Club—Women's Meeting—Mrs. Young. 3.0
 - North of England—Salford Club—Debate.
- SEPTEMBER 17.
 - Bristol—Durdham Downs—Open-air Demonstration—Miss Abadam, Mrs. Cooper. 4.0
 - Romley—Garden Party at "The Haven." Admission 1s. 3.0
- SEPTEMBER 19.
 - Fording—Bridge—Open-air Meeting—Miss Duncan, Miss Cumberland. 2.0
- SEPTEMBER 20.
 - Fording—Bridge—Open-air Meeting—Miss Duncan, Miss Cumberland. 2.0
 - London—Sydenham—I.L.P. Women's Suffrage Meeting—Miss Ruth Young. 8.0
- SEPTEMBER 21.
 - Cosham—Garden Fête—Mrs. Brownlow, P.L.G.
 - Bitterne—Open-air Meeting—Miss Duncan, Miss Boswell.
- SEPTEMBER 22.
 - London—Camberwell—Collyer Place—Miss Thomson. 8.0
 - Bishop Waltham—Open-air Meeting—Miss Norah O'Shea, Miss Duncan.
- SEPTEMBER 23.
 - Bishop Waltham—Open-air Meeting—Miss Norah O'Shea, Miss Duncan.

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 - London—Highgate—Open-air Meeting. 8.0
- SEPTEMBER 26.
 - London—Highgate—Annual Meeting—Lantern Lecture—Miss Bertha Mason. 8.0
- OCTOBER 15.
 - Stockport—Meeting—(Offers of help to Mrs. Wild, 23, Warwick Road, Romiley.)
- OCTOBER 17.
 - Stockport—Meeting.
- OCTOBER 19.
 - York—Exhibition—Miss Margaret Ashton.

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