

Where Working Women Live.

The Common Cause.

The Organ of the Women's Movement for Reform.

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ONE PENNY.

The News of the Week.

Industrial War and its Victims.

The week has been marked by industrial disquiet and threats of disorganisation in many quarters. The Northern shipbuilding industry, and through it, the whole trade of the country, is in danger of severe loss through the action of the Boilermakers' Society. There are threats of a strike on the Great Northern Railway and of a big lockout in the cotton trade. From all sides come rumours of war. It is not always easy to see where justice lies in these struggles, but one thing is certain, in this as in other wars, the actual combatants will not be the only ones to suffer, nor those who suffer most. All readers of "The Common Cause" must feel deep sympathy with the women who are fighting so valiantly at Cradley Heath. But at least they are fighting, and they are less to be pitied than the women who have to sit hungry and helpless because the men have decided on war. Those who have seen or read Mr. Galsworthy's *Strife* will not easily forget his picture of women's sufferings during a strike of men; suffering which derives its peculiar horror from the fact that the sufferers have no choice and no voice in the struggle that has caused it.

Women in the Printing Trade.

The dispute in the Edinburgh printing trade is a peculiarly glaring instance of the hostility too often shown by men in the industrial world towards women who have to earn their living in the same trades. Miss M'Lean, organiser of the Women's Trade Union, has

written an account of the position of affairs, which we reprint from "The Vote" by kind permission of the editor.

The Chainmakers' Strike.

At Cradley Heath last Saturday, over 400 Unionist and non-unionist women received their third week's

strike pay. The Unionists were each paid 6s. from the funds of the Federation, and the non-unionists 4s. each from the special fund, which now amounts to over £1,600. Much sympathy has been shown for the strikers. Mr. Arthur Chamberlain, amongst others, in sending £50, expressed deep regret that his bad health prevented him from offering his personal services to the women. At the Conference between members of the Employers' Association and representatives of the workers, the employers undertook to recommend the members of their Association to give notice to the Board of Trade that they were prepared to pay the new rates. But they did this only on condition that the strike should continue, and that the women who refused to work for less than the minimum should be supported. Their promise to pay the higher rates holds good only so long as this is done. It is therefore essential that the public support should continue, and that the Women's Trade Union League should be provided with funds to make good its guarantee of a minimum sum of 4s. a week to all the women who are locked out. Miss Macarthur says that provided sufficient money comes in, the women are bound to win.

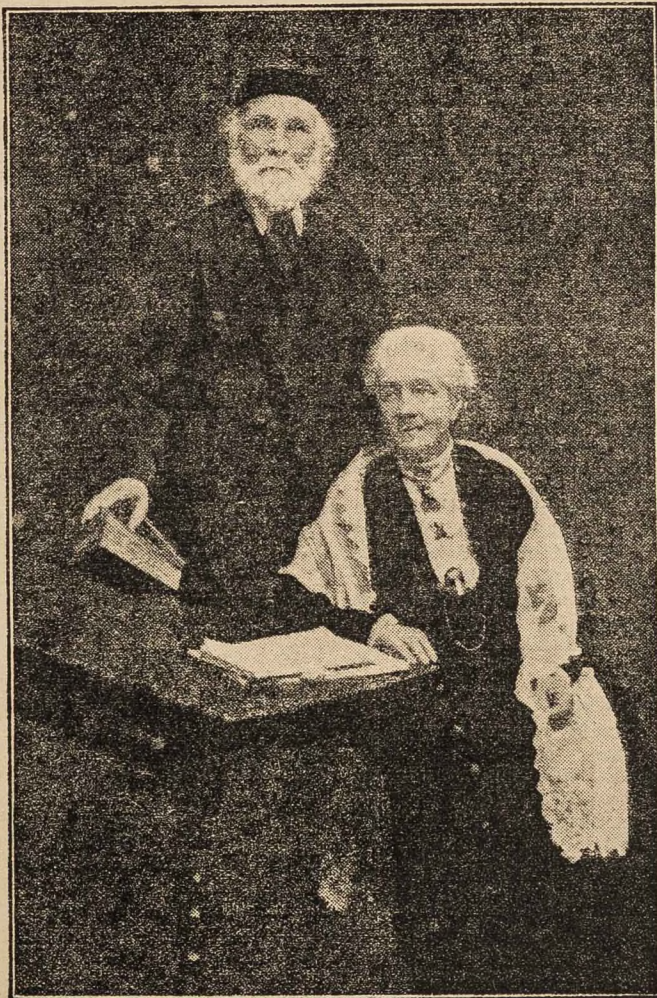


Photo., Elliott and Fry.

MR. AND MRS. JAMES HASLAM.

Women's Work for Public Health.

Great interest attaches to the Conference on "Women in Public Health Work" recently held in London. It was organised by the London members of the Women's Sanitary Inspectors' Association, and a number of London and provincial Inspectors and Health Visitors were invited to give their views. Miss Carey and Miss Charlesworth called attention to the growing tendency to appoint Women Health Visitors only, and to keep the posts of Sanitary Inspectors for men. This is much to be deprecated, as though the Health Visitors have influence they have no statutory authority. Many of the visitors are duly qualified as inspectors, but have not been appointed in that capacity, and while their work gives them unique opportunities of discovering sanitary defects in ordinary dwelling-houses, they have no direct power to see that they are remedied. Time and energy are thus wasted, and the slum landlord cannot be dealt with in a satisfactory manner.

County Council Scholarships.

A letter has been published by the "Manchester Guardian," calling attention to the fact that of the more valuable of the Lancashire County Council Scholarships for proficiency in secondary school subjects, fourteen have been awarded to boys and one to girls, or thirteen to boys and two to girls each year since 1904. The writer asserts that girls and boys enter for these scholarships in about the same numbers, and as in other examinations of about equal difficulty there is no such extraordinary difference in success attained, these results seem rather extraordinary. The facts as stated do suggest—"a preference for boys," which, if it exists, must seem to women unfair. In view of the fact that some people still argue that women may, and must be underpaid "because they have no family to support," we suppose that this giving of larger opportunities to boys will be defended. It is certainly in line, logically, with the other theory, and not one whit more dishonest.

Necessity Makes Strange Bedfellows.

Lord Halifax, President of the English Church Union, three-quarters of whose members are women, finds it logical to join the Anti-Suffrage League, so that those on whose support, labour, and money the Anglican Church so largely depends, may be excluded from sharing in the government of the State by which the Church is "established" (and may be disestablished). Canon Hensley Henson agrees with him in this, though in nothing else. He has recently published in pamphlet form the evidence given by him before the Royal Commission on Divorce. It contains a strong attack on the inequality of the law as between men and women. How does Canon Henson propose to get that inequality removed? By joining the Anti-Suffrage League?

Mary Wollstonecraft.

Representatives of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies took part with the other principal Suffrage Societies in the Mary Wollstonecraft commemoration meeting which was held at Bournemouth on Saturday, September 10th, the 113th anniversary of her death. A procession was formed in the Central Square and led by Mrs. Despard went to lay wreaths on Mary Wollstonecraft's tomb. The wreaths were in the colours of the Societies that presented them. In the evening a meeting was held in St. Peter's Hall under the auspices of the Women's Freedom League and the Bournemouth branch of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

Mary Wollstonecraft was one of those pioneers who seem condemned to suffer from the strength and clear-sightedness which places them so far ahead of their contemporaries. From her childhood she saw examples of the evils wrought by the false position of the sexes to each other, and the denial of education and other means of strength to the one which was often called on to bear the heaviest burdens. She herself bore many burdens. In her own family she was called on again and again to support the weak and to oppose the tyrannous. The only person who gave instead of demanding help was the

woman friend to whom she felt that she owed everything, and whose early death left her desolate. Her "Vindication of the Rights of Women" was published in 1792.

Interesting Conferences.

The Trades Union Congress, which has been in progress at Sheffield this week, is of interest to Suffragists, especially as showing the relation of labour to representation. Readers of "The Common Cause" are also advised to look out for the proceedings of the Congress on Unemployment to be held in Paris from the 18th to 21st instant, and in October for the International Prison Congress in Washington, and the Conference on Women's Lodging Houses in London.

Woman and the Law.

A correspondent sends us the following from the "Manchester Guardian" as an illustration of Mr. Winston Churchill's argument that women are the favoured sex of English law:—

Separation not Desertion. A Magistrate on Wife Maintenance.

The Manchester Stipendiary Magistrate made some interesting comments recently in connection with a wife desertion case, in which a woman named Catherine Euston, of Pearl Street, claimed £2 arrears from her husband, John Euston, Blossom Street, Ancoats, under a maintenance order of 5s. a week granted twenty-one years ago.

The defendant said he could no longer pay the money, as he was getting too old to work at his trade as a fustian cutter, and he only earned 12s. a week. He had several times asked his wife to take him back, and he wanted now to go back.

The Stipendiary Magistrate said that if defendant's statement were true the complainant could not enforce the order. The order was a "desertion" not a "separation" order. Such orders were not granted now, but he hoped to see them granted again in the future. The complainant had no right to prevent her husband going back. As long as he stopped away he had to pay, but the wife could not both make him stay away and make him pay. The order ought to have been discharged a long time ago. It was not a separation order.

The complainant said they had not lived together for twenty-one years, and that it was very hard to have to go back to a man who would sell up the home, but the Stipendiary Magistrate said the husband had not committed any acts that disentitled him to the discharge of the order. The case was adjourned for a fortnight to allow the husband to apply that the order be discharged.

Our Portrait.

Our portrait this week is of Mr. and Mrs. Haslam, who have been associated with the women's movement for over forty years.

Mrs. Haslam's name first appeared in connection with Women's Suffrage on the petition of 1866; in 1872 she became honorary secretary to the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association, of which she is honorary secretary to this day. Few indeed are the Suffragists who can show such a record of consistent work as this. Mrs. Haslam is one of the many workers whom the Society of Friends has furnished to the movement. She has always taken a deep interest in the question of the higher education and employment of women, and has been instrumental in obtaining for Irish women the position they occupy in local government.

Throughout all the years of her work, Mr. Haslam has been her most helpful and sympathetic coadjutor, and is the author of an excellent pamphlet on "Women's Suffrage from a Masculine Standpoint," an address delivered in several large towns in Ireland.

Motherhood.

In response to inquiries we are pleased to state that the statue reproduced in our issue of September 8th with this title is the work of Mr. Alec Millar, of Chipping Camden, Gloucestershire.

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
6 MONTHS	...	3 3
12 MONTHS	...	6 6

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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The Underlying Principle.

*"To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite;
To endure wrongs darker than death or night;
To defy power which seems omnipotent;
To love and bear; to hope till hope creates,
From its own wreck, the thing it contemplates;
Neither to change, to falter, nor repent;
This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be
Good, great, and joyous, beautiful, and free;
This is alone Life, Power, Empire, and Victory!"*

The correspondence which has filled our columns for some weeks criticizing or defending the policy of the N.U.W.S.S. has been interesting and enlightening: interesting because we may quite possibly be called upon very shortly to decide on a policy suited to the needs of a changed situation; enlightening because it reveals certain differences among constitutional Suffragists as to what that policy should be. These differences are, of course, natural, and until the Council of the Union has decided the policy we shall all be bound loyally to support, criticism is helpful and suggestive.

But while our policy must be shaped to the course of events, our principles remain the same. And it is well, at this moment, when the Suffrage movement is on the eve of a crisis, when the autumn campaign is opening, and we shall soon be called upon as a body either to celebrate our victory, or to plan new measures for the future, to realise once more what are the great principles of conduct to which constitutional Suffragists are bound.

Our policy has been, and must always be, based on the conviction that justice, truth, reason, are great, and must prevail. If we are not convinced of this, if we are not certain that in spite of much obvious cruelty, many injustices, and well-nigh unbearable indifference, men and women are at bottom desirous to be just and reasonable, then our constitutional suffragism is meaningless.

We rely, therefore, on the weapons of reason, and we refuse those of violence and compulsion, even so far (and we believe it is very far) as women are able to use them. Our movement is a further evolution of the spiritual force in man, and to use other than spiritual weapons is to stultify our whole position. We claim that government is not, and ought not to be, based upon physical force, and we will not seek to prove this by using physical force.

We recognize, indeed, that physical force is more important and impressive the more savage and lawless the condition of the race. We realise that it would be a useless mockery to give political freedom to the physically weak before the more brutal elements in human nature had been subdued. And if (for example) Mr. Belloc really believes that men would prevent women with violence from registering their votes, we should agree with him that, for the present, it would be useless to ask for nominal rights from savages incapable of understanding them. But at the same time we realise, with confident hope, that as long as our race has been human, spiritual force has ruled every step of its upward progress, and we look with passionate desire to a yet nobler race of the future.

Each upward step has been along the path of spiritual evolution, each a seeming miracle, and each the ground for further advance. But none has been won without suffering and sacrifice. Those who fought for progress have suffered, and those who fought to withstand it (let this be remembered always) suffered, too, and suffered blindly, full of terror and bitter resentment.

We also suffer, and to us there comes the fierce desire to bring an end to suffering by some final act, no matter what. It is an almost irresistible impulse. Let us do something, break something, attack something, and put an end to an intolerable situation. All honour to those who feel it thus intolerable, to those who feel—"if we must fail, let us go down fighting."

But we are not going to fail. And all the care of conquerors should be that they never give way, in an hour of unbearable bitterness, to the desire, so comprehensible and pardonable, to break, to hurt, or to destroy.

Is it not possible that some—we do not, of course, say all—of those who wish the N.U. to adopt an anti-government policy are moved by this feeling? They behold, with just indignation, a Government which bars the progress of a Women's Suffrage Bill, and their natural instinct is to say, "Let us attack the Government." To adopt this course without looking to our next step is the act of the politician rather than the statesman. It means either that we intend to put the Conservatives in, in which case we shall be (to say the least) no better off when we have succeeded; or that we intend to frighten the Liberals, without going further, which is an unworthy policy of bluff. *The way to move this or any Government is through the electorate.*

In the same spirit of uncontrollable impatience some Suffragists have turned to tactics of violence. These, more than the other, are repudiated by constitutionalists. On what grounds?

Do we condemn violence always as unjustifiable? No; but to those who feel it to be the last resort, the admission that it may sometimes be justifiable does not prove it justifiable now. It can never be justifiable till every other means has been tried and tried in vain.

In our cause it is even well to ask if it could ever be justified. Why do women seek to enter political life? To raise the standard? To emphasize the dominance of spiritual over physical force? How will they do this if they effect an entrance by violence themselves?

We will win our freedom by the conviction of the mass of the people that it is just, and reasonable, and necessary that we should be free. We do not aim (except incidentally) at converting individual politicians. We aim at the conversion of the public conscience; we seek to show men that—once they have admitted an injustice, perceived the necessity of a reform—delay becomes a crime and apathy a sin. Those, therefore, who dare to believe this possible have a right to call themselves constitutional Suffragists.

We do not deny that Women's Suffrage might be won by violence. We hold that men have most gravely underestimated the power of women, helped by modern invention, to inflict bodily injury. But we do deny that it would be well to win Women's Suffrage so. There is bitterness between the sexes now; how would it be then? Let the wrong, if wrong must be, be their doing rather than ours. We are not patient, for patience has become a sin. There is not a Suffragist alive but she is straining against the limits of endurance when she beholds the sufferings of her sisters and the wrongs of all who are weak; but we want the Suffrage to put an end to sex bitterness, not to create it. In all the relations of life in which women suffer as women to-day, we perceive there can be no fundamental improvement unless men, giving us freedom, do so with a full and sincere recognition of the fact that it is our right, and they cannot, without injury to their own moral sense, withhold it.

Patience has become a crime; but resentment and bitterness are not therefore virtues. The world is full of such, and we, who have suffered much and long, are we to fail in teaching the world the lesson we have learnt in pain, that bitterness always evokes bitterness, and anger creates anger? To what purpose, then, has been our suffering?

A burning sense of the wrongs of other women, sacrificed in the name of society, must indeed keep us from rest, must urge us on to unremitting toil, and inspire us to never-satisfied devotion; but the sense of it must nerve the spirit to an austere virtue to which the luxury of anger and violence is denied. No wrongs must passion-blind our eyes to the fact that the only way to remedy wrongs is to burn into the hearts of those that wrought them the conviction they were very grievous, and must be set right. And unless this be done with conviction, the soreness on one side will only be replaced by soreness on the other. Let not us, who come into the political world for peace, with the desire to be just and wise, begin with anger and with cruelty. Let us be proud to think that, so far as in us lay, these sins were all upon the other side.

*Wherefore should ill ever flow from ill,
And pain still keener pain for ever breed?
We all are brethren
To avenge misdeed
On the misdoer, doth but misery feed
With her own broken heart."*

"Where Shall She Live."

One of the most illuminating books that has appeared during this century is "Where Shall She Live?" by Mrs. Higgs, of Oldham, and Mr. E. E. Hayward, joint secretaries of the National Association for Women's Lodging Homes.

This book throws a positively lurid light on certain phases of social life affecting large numbers of women workers, who, being without homes, and with no friends, are kicked about like footballs, the sport of a cruel social system. The book appals by its truth, told in sober language, with revolting details left to be filled in by the imagination of the reader. It is still more appalling to think that these horrors occur in England, supposed to be a highly civilised, sensitive, Christian country. "Is it?" one asks after putting the book down. Where does the "mind which was in Christ" manifest itself when the atrocious things which happen to women and girls (and children) are absolutely unknown to the comfortable classes, and are treated and taken as a matter of course by many men who do know about them—men with votes!

The problem is this: Almost every girl on leaving the elementary school becomes a wage-earner as a matter of course. With women's wages averaging 7s. 6d. a week it is clear women cannot exist on this sum without professional prostitution or without help from relations or from charity.

What does the unemployed woman do? What does she do in the slack season, when even the infinitesimal weekly wage ceases? Where does she live?

The housing question has long been a burning one in towns where working families live on the top of each other, like a rabbit warren. But the problem of "Where shall the woman worker live?" gets more and more acute and painful every day in a very special sense. "Throughout England there is hardly any proper provision for women."

Perhaps those who are so fond of saying "Women's place is the home" will forthwith turn their attention to this question, and will endeavour to help provide homes for homeless women.

Mrs. Higgs and Mr. Hayward truly say: "With the common bedroom shared by growing lads with their sisters, and often the same bed shared by a parent with elder children, what chances are there that the decencies of life will be observed? . . . It says much for the innate goodness and respectability of the great mass of the people that such conditions do not breed more moral evil than they do."

With the cases of women who are compelled to take advantage of the hated Poor Law, and go into the casual wards with their special horrors and demoralisation, I cannot deal in the space of this article; nor with the many admirable charity organisations which are enumerated in the appendices of "Where Shall She Live?"

This article deals solely with common lodging-houses, or "doss-houses," as they are colloquially termed. "A common lodging-house is a low-class lodging-house licensed by the local sanitary authorities, and is open to all-comers, even though dirty and likely to be diseased."

By the by-laws of the Local Government Board, the sexes are supposed to be lodged in separate rooms except in the case of married (?) couples, who are often herded together in one room, with partitions faulty to a degree and often non-existent.

But it is well known that the separation of single men and women is by no means absolute in many low lodging-houses. Many other by-laws deal with sanitation, ventilation, washing accommodation, lavatories, water supply, occupation of beds, etc., all of which rules are admirably framed but constantly evaded or broken, or never even attempted to be carried out.

The common lodging-house is the sole refuge of unknown migratory workers—navvies, fruit and hop pickers, work seekers, servants out of place, casual workers, etc. A lady calls these lodging-houses "The Alley of Anguish," where often young girls from the country are trapped into an evil life. "They exert suction for evil on the young girl and the young boy" (often forgotten). "Here is focussed all that the sanitarian, the humanitarian, and the social reformer have to fight." We do not think of herding together the sexes in the tramp ward; yet throughout the country conditions are allowed in common lodging-houses which denote a state of barbarism.

And who cares?

The National Association for Women's Lodging Homes cares.

The Corporation of Manchester (the only one in England so far) cares. The Corporation of Glasgow (the only one in Scotland) cares. These two cities have Municipal Lodging Homes for Women, of good construction, with rules making for respectable life, with the amenities of civilization, cleanliness, and comfort. These are places of heavenly rest compared with the hells on earth—the common "doss-house."

Mrs. Higgs, disguised as a poor woman, slept in many of these places, where vermin of every kind swarmed, where frequently the kitchen was shared by men, and where every drop of water had to be fetched from the men's part. The presence of vermin to an awful degree is testified to also by ladies in Liverpool (see the "Liverpool Daily Post" of June 25, 1910), Mr. G. R. Sims, Mr. Macereth (of the National Association), and others. In Cardiff, to which many outcasts drift, seeking work, "it was discovered that many of the keepers of common lodging-houses were living with women not their wives."

Young girls are not the only sufferers, by a long way, in these awful houses. Deserted wives with young chil-

dren, unmarried mothers, widows, spinsters, prostitutes, thieves, the drunken, all mixed up together, are to be found in the same horrible environment. It is the young we wish to save from perdition; but women of all ages require rescuing from such misery.

Also it must be remembered it is not only for the downtrodden that there is insufficient accommodation; the authors of "Where Shall She Live?" point out very emphatically that there is not sufficient accommodation for any grade of working women—teachers, typists, clerks, shop girls, servants, and many others find it hard to get a respectable place to live in.

In wealthy London—a huge province of houses—there is not a single Municipal Women's Lodging Home. The police actually lock girls up in prison sometimes as the only safe place.

"Can't you take me in? I don't mind where I sleep, as long as it's clean; but I am dead beat," says a poor woman; "and if I walk about to-night I can't go to work" (just obtained) "in the morning."

Remember, these poor suppliants are not asking for charity. They are prepared to pay 6d. a night—3s. 6d. a week—for a bed in these places.

Mr. G. R. Sims, in his "Nether Neath," called a certain filthy canal in Wales "The Banks of the Water of Death." In a doss-house there he found bedrooms—mere cupboards—where tramps—strangers to each other—sleep nightly in one horrible bed. Several married couples and children slept in the same room. Bugs dropped from the ceilings on the beds. Such mixed lodging-houses must and shall be swept out of existence.

Throughout England there is hardly any proper provision for women. Rescue homes there are plenty. Many of them could be dispensed with if there were proper accommodation for women in the first instance.

As a rule, women are not desired as private lodgers. They are more trouble in the nature of things, more in need of cleanliness and washing of clothes, and are more in the way. Children, too, are not wanted.

So it may well be asked, "Where does she live, the poor, lonely, half-starved, solitary worker, managing on her slender pittance? Where shall she live?"

Men live in the Rowton Houses. Lord Rowton declared to Mr. Alderman Fildes, of Manchester, that it was impossible to run a lodging-house for women, in spite of the fact of one being run successfully in Glasgow (for more than thirty years now). Mr. Alderman Fildes took the chair at the opening of Manchester's Municipal Lodging Home by the Lord Mayor of that city on September 1st. Manchester was inspired by its women, of whom Miss Ashton was the moving spirit. More and more women are rising up everywhere to help women. They insist that no longer shall questions affecting women be shunted.

Action, effective action, as regards Women's Lodging-houses, can solely come from the municipal authorities, and they can only be stirred up to perform their duty by women. Suitable lodging-houses cannot be built without capital. It requires the strict municipal rule of a Municipal Lodging-house, which is closed at a proper hour, and which is clean, pure, decent, comely, and which is not run for private gain, to make such places a suitable home for women workers.

In the meanwhile, each night of delay sees fresh girls and women dragged down into a hell of prostitution, filth, coarseness, drink. Every day is precious, for every day claims new victims.

All who feel will want to join this crusade, and will ask, "How can I help?" In the first place, buy the book, "Where Shall She Live?" It is published by King and Son, of Orchard House, Westminster. Price 2s. 6d. or 1s. 6d. Study the book well. Pass it on.

Secondly, join the National Association for Women's Lodging Homes. The subscription of membership is from 2s. 6d.

On 17th and 18th of October there is to be a Conference in London, at which the Duchess of Marlborough will preside at the opening session. Send representatives of influence and power to this Conference. All must work in a Common Cause, holding collectively the right thought

and determination that the old, wicked system shall give place to a fairer, happier, holier state of being for England's women workers.

MARIANNE DALE (Mrs. Hylton Dale),
Hon. Treasurer of the National Association for Women's Lodging Homes.

The Debate on the Second Reading.

VII.—PROF. S. H. BUTCHER.

Under whatever conditions, and within whatever limits, men are admitted to the suffrage, there is not a shadow of justification for not admitting women under the same.—Mill's "Subjection of Women," iii., 2.

What, in unenlightened societies, colour, race, religion, or, in the case of a conquered country, nationality, are to some men, sex is to all women; a peremptory exclusion from almost all honourable occupations, but either such as cannot be fulfilled by others, or such as those others do not think worthy of their acceptance.—Ibid., iv., 21.

Mr. Butcher's speech in the recent debate for the most part travelled over familiar ground—Adult Suffrage and Women in Parliament; the "collective emotion" of women and its dangers (perhaps a new phrase, but not a new idea); the implication of the male voter scorning delights and living laborious days, in his attempts to keep abreast of the great problems of State and Empire with which on polling day he will have to grapple; the splendid work done by women in local affairs, and the extreme importance of keeping them at this, "the work they are best fitted to do"; the "glaring inequality" we are establishing between the wife and the spinster; and so forth.

All this we expected, and need not dwell upon. But the most interesting part of Mr. Butcher's speech was that in which he boldly asserted that, in the case of "private and civil rights," which he said was all that "the individual" could claim, women had already got equality with men, and that "the individual" had no claim to political equality, an "obsolete survival."

As for this boasted equality, we need only cite the divorce laws, the laws of succession to property, and of the guardianship of infants, to show that it simply does not exist; while anyone who knows anything about the working of our Courts, particularly the minor Courts, need not be reminded that the comparative slackness shown in the case of "offences against the person," operates terribly against the woman. Mr. Butcher might say that this is a matter of bad administration, and so it is. But what is the use to women of these so-called "private and civil rights" if they are not properly enforced? Political power can often do more in the field of administration than in that of legislation.

Mr. Butcher's statement that the notion of political equality ought "at this time of day" to be given up, just when many of us are expecting the biggest step of our time, or perhaps of any time, towards its realization, is naive, leading us to wonder what political backwater he lives in. One asks oneself what, in his opinion, would give anybody a right to claim "political equality." Would he say that only those can claim it who have already got it? Would he, one asks, welcome a Bill "for the disfranchisement of Mr. S. H. Butcher, senior Member for Cambridge University," on the ground that the said S. H. Butcher is only an "individual," and that, since he has his "private and civil rights," he has got "all he can claim." Of course we know that he would point us to the next passage in the speech, and would suggest that it is "advisable in the interests of the State," and "of the Empire" that the franchise should be retained by him. That, he would say, is the "sole question," and, we may add, it is one which might be answered in different ways. But this raises the further question, and it is the crux of the whole matter—namely, who is able enough and (still more important) disinterested enough to judge whether or not the interests of State and Empire require the proposed exclusion or inclusion? Those already inside are apt to be biassed. Mr. Butcher is, or was, I believe, a classical Professor.

we will, therefore, take a classical illustration. In the early days of Rome the Plebeians had to struggle very hard, first, for their "private and civil rights," and then, for their "political rights." In the language of to-day, they used militant tactics, and threatened more than once a serious boycott. The result was that they gradually acquired the right to hold and leave property, the right to trade, the right to marry into the Patrician families, the right to vote, and finally the right to hold the great offices of State. Every inch of the ground was fought by the existing holders of power, the struggle lasting over two centuries. All through this time we know perfectly well that the Butchers of those days, in their familiar rôle of Mrs. Partington, used the phrases we hear now from their political descendants. As the "private and civil rights" were being acquired bit by bit, the plebeians were no doubt assured that all they could possibly claim was what they had already got. After the "private and civil rights" were obtained they were told, as Mr. Butcher tells the women now, "You have already got private and civil equality. Political equality we regard as simply an obsolete survival. The notion of abstract equality may have had great force in ancient Egypt or Assyria, but in our more enlightened times it is quite an exploded idea. The sole question is, 'Is it on the whole advisable in the interests of the State and of the Empire that you outsiders should come in.'" And they answered their own question, as those inside generally do, in the negative.

It is an old story, and no less untrue than old, that the grievances of those outside can be best redressed by those inside. It has been heard on every occasion of the extension of the franchise. It was heard on the proposal for the abolition of slavery. One would like Mr. Butcher to reconsider in the light of history whether it is not better to leave people to do their own redressing. It has two grand results. The first is that the grievances really get redressed then, because for the first time knowledge, self-interest, and power are united. The second result, even more important, is that those engaged in the work of redressing are developed by the process into free and responsible human beings, with all that that means. Of the second of these results, Mr. Butcher does not seem to have even the shadow of a notion. Let us take another bit of history, this time from our own country. Before 1832 the landed class said, and many thought, that it could look after the interests of the classes outside the political pale better than they could themselves. Here are one or two instances of the way in which it did it. It plundered the Poor Rate. After the Peace of 1815 it made corn artificially dear, by means of taxation, so as to keep up war prices. When the landed proprietor died, his land, unless he happened to be a trader, could not be touched by his creditors. After 1832 the Middle class began to do a little redressing on its own account, and it speedily made its mark on the Statute Book. The landlord's estates were at once made liable for his debts, and the plunder of the Poor Rate was stopped. The taxes on food were removed, and colossal manufactures sprang up in consequence. The manufacturing class became so rich that it had to develop and extend the limited liability principle, in order to find a safe place for its surplus savings. So we went on till 1867, when the working class began its innings. It saw that it must educate itself, if it was not to remain the tool and the sport of the classes above it, so it passed Elementary Education Acts. It legalised its Trade Unions, promptly restoring them in 1907, when judicial decision threatened to cripple them. It has got Workmen's Compensation on a large scale, and Old-Age Pensions. It has developed so strong a sense of the fact that the land after all is our "Mother," not only in poetry, but in prose, that now the two great political parties are tumbling over each other in their efforts to induce the electorate to try their competing recipes for land reform. And in the light of all this experience we are asked to believe that a class consisting of over half the nation can safely leave its interests to be safeguarded by others, can be, as Mr. Butcher says it is, a "well-represented class."

We must, before concluding, notice Mr. Butcher's extraordinary suggestion, that, if Mill had lived until now,

he would probably have recognised that the redress of the more glaring grievances from which women suffered 40 years ago (a redress, by the way, for which the country is mainly indebted to Suffragists) has robbed his argument in the "Subjection of Women" of the greater part of its force. There is not a sentence in Mill's book that gives colour to this suggestion. The whole argument refutes it, and it is inconsistent with Mill's other writings. Mill contended for absolute equality between the sexes in all things, as the sentences quoted above indicate. He did not lay great stress on the more glaring grievances. His main object in enumerating them was to prove his primary contention that the condition of women was, as he puts it, "primitive slavery lasting on," mitigated and modified, of course. He regarded them no doubt as the most obvious of the many vile fruits growing out of what he considered the vicious and odious principle of inequality between the sexes. But it is a complete travesty of Mill's argument to say, with Mr. Butcher, that merely lopping off the most rank of these fruits would have been likely to satisfy the man who was, at any rate in modern times, the first to lay his axe to the root of the tree.

FRANK LEIGH.

The Printing-Trade Dispute.

The Women's Position Explained.

By Amelia L. McLean, Secretary of the Edinburgh Women Compositors' Union.

The Edinburgh women compositors are at present third parties in a dispute, the chief point of which is an attempt to deprive them of their right to earn a living in the occupation which they have hitherto followed.

It is now thirty-eight years since the women compositors entered the trade in Edinburgh. At that time the men were on strike for shorter hours, and the masters took women into the composing rooms. The men, no doubt, were greatly annoyed, but, as they were not then in a strong position financially, they were compelled to return to work after thirteen weeks, being thoroughly "beaten," as they have told us. Gradually girls were brought in, until now there are between eight and nine hundred in Edinburgh. Seeing printing is the chief industry here, it is not to be wondered at that girls went into this particular branch of the trade, now that the men had, through their own behaviour, made a way for the women to enter.

All these years, however, the men have made it quite clear to most of us women that they wanted us out of the trade, telling us it wasn't healthy work, that we ought to be servants, or follow some other means of livelihood for which they decided we were more suited.

Until two months ago there was no Union for the women compositors in Edinburgh, but, owing to the dispute hastening to such an acute crisis, it was found necessary that, if women were to keep their position in the trade, they must organise themselves. After holding a few meetings, the women resolved to form a Union, and to name it the "Edinburgh Women Compositors, Readers, and Monotype Operators' Union." Its aims are to keep the trade open to women, and also to better the conditions of the women presently employed.

For the last four months Mr. A. Evans, secretary of the National Printing and Kindred Trades Federation (London District), has been organising all the girls in the printing trade (including warehouse, machine-room, and stationery workers), and has also impressed upon a small section of the women compositors the benefits they will derive from joining the Union he represents, and coming out on strike with the men; in other words, to help them in enforcing their demand for the ultimate total elimination of female labour.

Fortunately, the majority of the women compositors cannot see their way to join that Union, as they claim to be skilled workers, just as the men compositors are; and, having been refused admittance to the Edinburgh Branch of the Scottish Typographical Association, they had no alternative but to form a union of their own. The men demanded from the masters:—

(1) The ultimate total elimination of women compositors from the trade.

(2) The manipulation by men of all new keyboards of type-setting machines.

The masters, not seeing their way to accede to these demands, offered the following counter proposals:—

(1) No new girl learners to be introduced into the trade for five years.

(2) Old keyboards to be left as at present; one-half of the new keyboards to be given to men operators; the first keyboard in a new installation in offices which has none at present to be optional to man or woman, but in offices which have already an installation the next keyboard to be given to a man, and alternately afterwards.

(3) All corrections and upmaking to be given to men.

(4) No alterations in the present working conditions to be made within five years.

Failing the acceptance of the proposals, the employers are prepared to lay the whole matter before the Board of Trade, or before a Court of Arbitration, by which one arbiter will be appointed by each side, and, if necessary, these arbiters will appoint an oversman.

This offer of arbitration has been rejected on the ground that it did not provide for the ultimate total elimination of women's labour, which was emphatically

insisted upon as a vital necessity to any settlement which could be accepted by the men's representatives.

The men state they have no objections to women's labour, provided it is paid at the same rate as men's. That, we know, would be impossible—at least, in the meantime, as up till now all girl apprentices have only served an apprenticeship of three years, whereas a boy serves seven. Therefore the woman, not having had the same training as a man, cannot possibly demand the same wage; also, not being physically as strong, she cannot compete with him where heavy lifting is required. The restrictions of Factory Acts on the employment of women render their labour less valuable to their employers than that of men, seeing that, in the printing trade, Court and Government work sometimes compels day and night working.

In Saturday's paper there appears a proposed settlement which we as a Union should be glad to hear had been accepted amicably by both parties. The first proposal is that no new girl learners be introduced into the trade for five years after January 1st, 1911; the second, that after a 50 per cent. basis of men and women operators at the keyboards has been established, further new keyboards shall be given first to a man and then to a woman, and so on alternately.—(Reprinted by kind permission of "The Vote.")

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.

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Treasurer's Notes.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

SEPTEMBER 3 TO SEPTEMBER 10, 1910.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	2052	19	5½
E.M.C.	2	2	0
Wallasey and Wirral S.S.—Minutes of Executive Committee	0	6	0
Affiliation fee—Cranleigh W.S.S.	0	5	0
	£2055	12	5½

MILLION SHILLING FUND.

	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	1565	6
Miss Millicent Edwards—From Sale of Jam	4	0
Collected by "Smut," the Suffrage dog	4	3
	1573	9

BERTHA MASON, Treasurer.

Federation Notes.

Midland.

Numerous meetings have been arranged for October within the Federation, including important ones at Birmingham, Burton-on-Trent, Warwick and Leamington, and West Bromwich. The Birmingham Society are holding a bazaar in December, and will be very grateful to Suffragists who will send them saleable articles, drawn-thread work, home-made jams, etc. All contributions to be sent to 10, Easy Row, Birmingham. There are many hitherto untouched districts within the Federation area, and a tour of these is to be undertaken as soon as possible.

Surrey, Sussex, and Hants.

We started work at Lyndhurst on Monday, and as it was entirely new ground a good deal of spade work was necessary, and the soil seemed most unpromising. The first day, however, closed with a kind offer from Mrs. Blatch of an opportunity of speaking to a number of women who had been invited to a jumble sale in her garden on Wednesday. This opportunity we eagerly seized, and Miss Cumberland, Miss Woodhams, and I had a very interesting talk with the women and quite a number signed their names as being in sympathy with the movement. Tuesday's work proved more productive still, Mrs. Penton kindly offering her beautiful garden for a meeting on Monday next. An open-air meeting attracted a large audience, among whom were a

number of professed "antis" and many wholehearted inquirers. The chair was taken by Mr. Newport; Dr. Stancombe and I spoke; Mrs. Welch, Miss Cumberland, and Miss Woodhams distributed literature. That the meeting was appreciated and had done useful work was evident from remarks heard the next day.

We started at Brockenhurst on Thursday, and found a more congenial atmosphere than at Lyndhurst. Mrs. Cosens has offered her garden and tea for Wednesday next, and the vicar will take the chair. To-night we have an open-air meeting near the blacksmith's shop, and the village is full of interest about it. Miss Woodhams has been working with me all the week, giving up part of her holiday to do so, and in the wilderness of Lyndhurst her work and energy have made all the difference between success and failure.

B. C. DUNCAN.

West of England.

Owing to the regretted illness of Miss Fraser, Mrs. Mayer took some meetings for us in Somersetshire, the first two being in Castle Cary on August 31st. Considering that this was unbroken ground, these meetings were very successful, a resolution in support of the Conciliation Bill being passed unanimously at both of them. As a result, an invitation had been given to the Bristol Society to furnish a speaker for a debate in Castle Cary later on. The resolutions have been forwarded to the member for East Somerset, Mr. Jardine, who "desires an expression of opinion from his constituents upon this question." The two meetings in Glastonbury were less successful; but in spite of some organised interruption, Mrs. Mayer's fine address made an obvious impression upon the thoughtful section of the crowd on September 2nd. A resolution was also carried at a factory meeting in the street earlier in the day. There is much need of organised work in Glastonbury. On the 5th of September Mrs. Mayer gave a most charming, simple address to a "mothers' meeting" in Bath, which was immensely appreciated; and on the 6th and 7th she addressed the meetings in Winchcombe, which had been organised by the Cheltenham Society. They were a great success, the resolution being carried unanimously at the outdoor meeting, and with only two dissentients in the Assembly Rooms. Winchcombe wants more working up, as there is some good support in the neighbourhood. A series of meetings has been arranged in the Federation for Miss Abadam in November.

Yorkshire.

Energetic work has been done in the Cleveland Division (Mr. H. Samuel's Division) during the week. Meetings have been held at Redcar, Saltburn, New Marske, Marske-by-the-Sea, on the sands at Redcar and in the Square.

Correspondence.

Correspondents are requested to send their names and addresses, not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of good faith. The Editor is not responsible for any statement made in the correspondence column.

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

ADULT SUFFRAGE AND THE EXCESS OF WOMEN OVER MEN.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—There is one objection to Women's Suffrage that I have never yet seen adequately dealt with—viz., the preponderance of women voters, and the vast increase of the uneducated vote when—as Liberals and Conservatives both seem to think we shall—we arrive at Adult Suffrage. Mankind is at present much given to talking about the good of the State when he means the electorate; but even when he doesn't mean that, this is what in effect he says to women: "We possess all political power and most physical power, yet your interests are safe with us; yet we are afraid that though we shall always retain physical supremacy, if we give you a little more than half our political power, our interests will not be safe with you." Now to whom does he thus speak? To some cruel barbarian race? No; but to the very woman whom day after day he woos with words of devotion, and marries with promises of everlasting love, reverence, and worldly goods! If these same women were fiends, does not man's very act in so honouring them prove him too foolish to rule? But, on the contrary, who is a by-word of unselfish devotion all over the world? The mother! Of what sex is she? Is it not the aunt more often than the uncle who is devoted to her nephews and nieces, the daughter rather than the son who is the support of the parents in their declining years, and the sister who saves from her scanty earnings to give her brother a career, rather than vice versa?

Yet suddenly at the sound of the magic word "Vote" these women are to become monsters of selfishness, who, undeterred by their physical force, and deaf to their beseechings, are to legislate against mankind and ruin the Empire! Can it be, Mr. Anti-Suffragist, that you are judging us by your own self? But surely we are not too sceptical if we ask one little proof—one place where Women's Suffrage has done harm. We are more modest than he, and would take a little country. Yes, even one like New Zealand, even though in some mysterious meteorological way the excess of square miles per woman vitiates the evidence still further. But nowhere has Women's Suffrage made decent men miserable, or harmed Imperial interests.

Then as to the bogey of emotionalism. If by women's greater emotion is meant women's greater self-sacrificing love, it might be true, though they base their claim to the vote on no such superiority; but if they mean destructive emotion, what is the evidence? Men commit five times the crimes women do (violent and otherwise), drink more (the cause of so many unconvicted offences), and swear more. Every day or two lately in the papers has been the report of some man murdering his sweetheart. The emotion of jealousy certainly seems stronger in men; and as regards exuberant spirits, look at the Universities. £100 damage done in one night because a boat-race has been won. Yet not a stick of furniture was broken at Girton or Newnham when Philippa Fawcett vindicated that much-traded and long-repressed "female mind" by becoming Senior Wrangler!

Men's strikes show far more violence than women's. At election times broken windows are a frequent feature, and while in a ninety-five years' struggle, Suffragists have not done £100 damage between them, men in one night at Bristol did £11,000 worth.

Then as to religious emotion. Superficially men seem often less religious than women, but should there be a chance of a religious riot they embrace it far more eagerly. In fact, their deep zeal seems almost to prefer manifesting itself in these violent ways! In fact, men's passions seem altogether more dangerous than women's emotions, and if we are to proceed smoothly along the path of social reform it would seem wiser to call the women to our aid. Coming daily into contact with poor parents in the L.C.C. schools, I feel this strongly. There are some bad lots among the women, of course, but as a rule one is lost in admiration of the skill, courage, devotion, and decency of these working-class mothers. As a Birmingham doctor has said, here one finds the greatest heroism. They continually overwork, they continually go short that husband and children may have enough. Now in Adult Suffrage the preponderance of working-class women voters will be these women. There are comparatively few frivolous factory girls.

In over 50 per cent. in some districts the mother supports the family; yet she takes the child to see the doctor and to the hospital afterwards. The father, out of work and so idle, does not, she says, consider it his duty.

Quite recently one of the senior County Council doctors, speaking on quite a different matter, declared how much more interest the mothers took in their children than the

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fathers, and that the latter even if they brought the children as far as the school would turn off to the nearest house of refreshment rather than wait. Nor did any school doctor present dissent, and the experience of the L.C.C. head masters and mistresses—most reliable people usually—also agrees as far as I know it. Now, expert government is not carried on by individual voters. The only danger of an uneducated voter is that he may be exploited by some rascal, and thus made to bring undesirable pressure to bear on M.P.s for foolish measures. His vote gives him a driving power, and surely it does not require much courage to maintain that the drinking man is more liable to sell his vote for a pot of beer than the responsible, shrewd, capable mother.

After all, what, among other things, do Conservatives desire? A certain order and decorum. Well, women are more peaceful and law-abiding than men. What do Liberals and Labourites say they want? More compassion—a better chance for the oppressed. Well, as Keir Hardie says, women are more unselfish and philanthropically disposed than men. By some miracle of righteousness, both sides stand to gain by the enfranchisement of women, and manhood Suffrage will be robbed of half the terrors it may possess when there is womanhood as well.—Yours, etc.,
H. B. HANSON, M.D., B.S. (London).

16, Mowbray Road, Brondesbury.

ELECTORAL POLICY.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—There was in your correspondence last week a reference to my views on the electoral policy of the Suffrage Societies. I wish neither to obtrude them nor conceal them, but I do not like them to be a subject of conjecture. It is true (as your correspondent guesses) that admiration for the courage and devotion of the militants is my chief personal motive in working for Woman Suffrage to the exclusion of other questions which interest me. It is also true (as you stated) that I have been impressed by the success of the National Union in dealing with private Members of Parliament. Your policy is well adapted to secure their adherence as individuals. You can get them to vote pretty steadily year after year for the second reading of a Suffrage Bill, or even to sign memorials in its favour. But there I am afraid the zeal of most of them ends. With some notable exceptions, they do not work resolutely for your Bills, or force the Government to give them a real opportunity of becoming law. And why should they? Your policy leaves them perfectly

comfortable, so long as they have once performed their duty of going into the right lobby during an academic debate. Nor is that always the worst. A number of Liberal members who signed our memorial in June went privily to the Whips and declared that they had only yielded to pressure, and did not really wish to see "facilities" given to a Suffrage Bill. In that incident the limits of what can be achieved by your policy are evident. It is a policy which had to be pursued up to a point, but I think its fruits have been gathered by now.

The real problem, as the history of our Bill once more illustrates, is how to put pressure not on the private member, but on the Government which controls the time of the House. In some way it must be made to suffer in its party interests for obstructing your cause. It will obey no other spur, and respond to no more exalted motive. There are only two ways by which a Liberal Government can be brought to terms. Liberal women could end the whole battle in a few weeks or months by simply deciding to confine themselves to Suffrage propaganda and declining to support any official party nominee. Failing that, it seems to me, the only course is for Suffragists to make war on the Government as the enemy, and on the party which supports it. If the party will allow Mr. Asquith to veto a Suffrage Bill which has a majority of 110, of what practical value to you are their votes and their pledges?

May I add a word on the policy of running Suffrage candidates? I fail to see what it can achieve if it is done impartially. Assume that you successfully evict a Liberal Anti-Suffragist in Salford and a Conservative (say) in Croydon. What has happened? From the party standpoint nothing. The old balance has been preserved. True, you have put the fear of being opposed into the private member. Again, what happens? Once more nothing. The fellow gives you pledges, votes for you in a second reading, and then runs round to tell the Whips that he hopes the Government will perform the usual function of Governments—smother the Bill in its cradle. If the policy of Suffrage candidatures is to effect anything, it must be pursued against one party at a time, the party in power.

The root of the matter may be put in a sentence. At present you make candidates suffer for failing to pledge themselves; you have got to make members suffer for failing to pass your Bill. In other words, they must be made to suffer for the sins of the Government they support. When they realise that you will hold them responsible not merely for their votes, but for Mr. Asquith's acts, you will begin to observe a change in his acts.

I should like to say in conclusion that I value the work which the Conciliation Committee has brought me, for the opportunity it has given me of learning more in detail than I knew before of the unflinching and self-forgetful work of the Societies within your Union. I am in tactics an opportunist, and I believe that there has been ample room in the past both for your policy and for that of the militants. I have the firm conviction that victory is at hand, and to that victory both policies will have contributed. But if this forecast is wrong, if the Government can resist this autumn the united pressure on their several lines of all the Societies, I shall so far revise my opinion as to conclude that for the future the only work that will count at all will be concentrated opposition to the Government.—Yours,
H. N. BRAILSFORD.

[We publish Mr. Brailsford's letter that our readers may have both the arguments for an "anti-Government" policy, and the disadvantages of our own attitude, put in the most masterly way. We admit these disadvantages, but we are still unconvinced of the advantages of putting in a Conservative Government.—Ed. "C.C."]

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—Thanking you for publishing my letter and for your comments thereon, I ask you to allow me to add that you have described as Liberalism Tory democracy, the thing which in the present Government stops the women's way as

it stops every advance the Tory democrat does not favour. The will of the majority has never been known on any question in this country, yet through the principles of Liberalism, defined by Mr. Balfour in the Suffrage debate as "government by consent," we have advanced, and shall advance. The well-known principle of Liberalism is "Government derives its sanction from the consent of the governed." You say you cannot follow my argument from slavery, yet you have expressed it in these words: "At present the will of the people cannot be known," nor can it be till every adult gives a vote, so that the Suffrage cannot be extended till it has been completely extended. In my words, slavery cannot be abolished till every slave is free—an exact parallel.—Yours,
E. LINDSAY.

WOMEN AND OXFORD UNIVERSITY REFORM.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—On page 5 of the Report on University Reform at Oxford you will find that although the consideration of the admission of women to degrees has been postponed, the Hebdomadal Council is formally pledged to bring the matter before Congregation at an early date.

There is good reason for this delay. The Council has during the past year given much time and attention to a scheme for a Delegacy for the supervision of women students, and has, with the assistance of men and women who are actively engaged in the education of the Oxford women students, drafted a statute which will bring the students, their tutors and other teachers, and the societies to which they belong, into a definite relation to the University, thus securing their recognition and a status in some respects satisfactory. This statute has been three times before the Congregation of the University, and great efforts, which have so far been successful, have been made to secure that it shall pass and shall not be amended in such a way as to make it difficult to work. The Convocation stage has still to come. It would be unreasonable to expect the University, which has already given so much time to one important question affecting women, to deal immediately with another of a far more controversial nature, especially as it will shortly have a great mass of business before it. It would, I am sure, have been most undesirable to drop the Delegacy scheme until the Degrees question was settled. The former was under consideration for some months before the Chancellor's memorandum was issued, and it would have been impossible to proceed with it unless it was kept entirely distinct from other matters. We shall have time to adjust ourselves to the new conditions, and shall be able to estimate the chances of reform while we are waiting for the Council to redeem its pledge. We may find that a University Commission is inevitable, and that a new method of presenting our claims must be adopted. The admission of women to the degree is not so simple a matter as it appears to the world outside Oxford. An unwise compromise, a want of foresight, a failure to realise what is essential, may seriously hamper our successors. We must remember that Lord Curzon is a pronounced Anti-Suffragist, and we must therefore scrutinize very carefully the lines he suggests for the guidance of the University. Fortunately we have an organization—the Association for the Education of Women in Oxford,—which has already passed a vote in favour of the admission of women to degrees, and the Council of which has reaffirmed the principle and begun the consideration of details. There is therefore reason for hope rather than disappointment.—Yours,
ANNIE M. A. H. ROGERS.

Hon. Secretary Association for the Education of Women in Oxford.

Clarendon Building, Oxford, September 10, 1910.

[We rejoice to hear that the question of the admission of women to the degree is still "before the University," and have much pleasure in printing Miss Rogers' letter. Those who are of "the world inside Oxford" know well how great is the debt of women students to her unremitting labour in their interests.—Ed. "C.C."]

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