

C. S. Marshall

"THE COMMON CAUSE," JUNE 24, 1909.

# The Common Cause.

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ALL BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS should be addressed to *The Manager, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester.*

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CORRESPONDENTS ARE REQUESTED TO NOTE that this Paper goes to press on Wednesday. The latest news, notices, and reports should, therefore, reach the Editor by first post on Tuesday. The Editor reminds correspondents, however, that the work is made much easier if news is sent in as long beforehand as possible. Tuesday is only mentioned as the last possible day, not as the one upon which all news should arrive.

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### The News of the Week.

#### Some Suggestions.

We have been frequently asked if we would have a special column entitled "Hints for Speakers," and we have lately had another suggestion, that we do not enough "work up enthusiasm." We think our kind critics have too poor an opinion of the readers of this paper. Every piece of news we print, every article, every report of a meeting contains "hints for speakers," if they will only take them. Speaking is not entirely an art in itself. If you are full of matter and empty of self, if you will study life at first hand and not by hearsay, if you will take the trouble to have convictions and exhibit the courage of them, you will be a better speaker than if you merely

mug up a few facts from a primer and acquire a few tricks of the trade.

As to enthusiasm. We believe in the fervour that is grounded upon knowledge and conviction rather than in that which depends upon infection. The one will endure, because it goes deep; the other is a heady draught which does no lasting good. We would not underrate the sense of comradeship that comes to us in working together for a big thing like liberty; it is one of the best things life has to give and one of the finest things this women's movement has brought to women. But exaggeration and superlatives and the spurring of emotion are repugnant to greatness of feeling. Let us save our breath for converting the unconverted; let us by all means make use of our enthusiasm to do hard, distasteful, necessary, unsensational work, and to deny ourselves the money which women, who are mostly poor, can only scrape together by sacrifices. Our work is crippled on all hands for want of money. In the history of the world it has always been difficult to get enough endowment for pure education. Can we not show the higher value we put upon this—in truth the only way of solid and lasting reform—and pay up handsomely for our convictions? It would be a fine thing to think that women showed the way.

#### Illiberal Liberalism.

X The letter which will be found in our correspondence columns, signed by "One of the Old Guard," is a perfect expression of the point of view of party as opposed to principle. It fully bears out our statement that the reason Liberal women do not press for enfranchisement is the thoroughly illiberal and bad reason that their party is in power and that they are willing to postpone doing justice to all women because their particular views are, for the moment, being expressed by the Government of the day. On this principle, the women supporters of any Government would "prefer to wait five or even ten years" and we should never be enfranchised, since it would be left for women in opposition, alone, to work for enfranchisement. Fortunately many Conservatives as well as Liberals are more liberal than that and believe that duly qualified people should be heard, even if they are women and even if no one can possibly know how they will vote.

When those who have worked hardest and sacrificed most of their lives to getting this piece of elementary justice done have accomplished their work, they will be able to smile at the ladies who will "receive it with dignity" because it was "bound to come." It is harder to smile now; yet in the great struggle for freedom one feels that the real exhilaration is with those who are in the struggle, not with those who are content to sit still and take the liberty which others will have got for them.

#### University Honours.

The list of first-class honours attained by women at Cambridge this year contains the following:—CLASSICAL TRIPOS, Part I., Div. 2, M. M. Hardie (Newnham), A. Woodward (Newnham); Div. 3, H. M. Barnard (Girton). Part II., E. Radford (Newnham), Archaeology. HISTORICAL TRIPOS, Part I., E. E. Power (Girton), C. M. Ryley (Newnham). MORAL SCIENCES TRIPOS, Part II., Emily M. Smith (Newnham), with special distinction in Psychology. NATURAL SCIENCES TRIPOS, Part I., V. E. Cooper (Girton).

MEDIEVAL and MODERN LANGUAGES TRIPOS (Old Regulations), M. E. Seaton (Girton).

At Oxford the Council of Somerville College offered this summer for the third time a Research Fellowship, tenable for three years. This year, for the first time, candidature was open to women students of Cambridge and Trinity College, Dublin, as well as of Oxford. Twenty-six applications were received (considerably more than in either of the two previous cases), and a far larger proportion of the candidates were already well equipped in research, and had published original work. The Fellowship is entirely supported by subscriptions from Somerville students, past and present, and it is felt to be an institution in a very living relation with the College. Far more Fellowships of this kind are needed at Oxford, but it is encouraging to find that an increasing number of women students are in a position to take full advantage of them. The two former Fellows, Miss E. Jamieson and Miss F. Isaac, have done valuable original work, the one in history, the other in physics. The third Fellow, just elected, is Miss B. Freire-Marreco, who won a Diploma in Anthropology, with Distinction, at the University of Oxford last year. She intends to research upon an anthropological subject of great interest, the authority of kings and chiefs in uncivilized society.

#### Irresponsible Rulers.

It is good news that the N.U.T. proposes to carry the matter of the dismissal of a Warrington married teacher to the law courts if necessary. It is high time that the whole question of the treatment of married women were thoroughly ventilated, and that women should themselves be aroused to the extraordinary precariousness of their position. By the Married Women's Property Act, a woman has her earnings secured to her, and we have been called upon to admire the amazing generosity of this Act, in which, "by one stroke of the pen," men "deprived themselves" of thousands of pounds. But this beautiful generosity will be somewhat marred, if our irresponsible male rulers decree that a married woman shall be prohibited from earning.

We say "male rulers" advisedly, because on every education authority the women are still in a negligible minority, and the greatest opposition is still made to co-opting a woman, even when, as in Manchester recently, the woman was incontestably the greater authority in matters of education. It is true there are women now voting for County Councillors, but they also are in a very small minority, and in England, with the exception of London, no married women are allowed this vote. On the Warrington Education Committee, where matters have come to a head, there is no woman, for the lady who was co-opted was known to be leaving the town, and is now gone.

#### The Abuse of Power.

We have received an interesting communication from a married teacher whose independence is threatened; in the course of it she says: "I have not thought much of women's claims to a fair share in the government of things until now, when I realize how very unequal things are and what abuse of power to women's disadvantage is quite possible. . . . Note how this 'fervour for the home' has lain in abeyance all the time there was a scarcity of teachers. The very bodies of men whose consciences are now so tender on this point are the very same who encouraged every woman with a teacher's Government certificate to come out of her home and use it. Now, to quote one of the Committee, 'having served the convenience of the Education Committee, they must go.' . . . I think I must take your paper and do what I can for the common cause." It seems as if our friends might find some "hints for speakers" here.

#### Warrington Test Case.

The exact situation is this: that in a non-provided school at Warrington (the Fairfield Church of England Girls' School) Mrs. Stansfield has been headmistress for twenty years, and was married before she obtained the

appointment. Her husband is head of another school in the same town. The Warrington Education Committee decided lately that no married women should be eligible for appointment in any of their schools, and that, of those at present serving, only such should be retained as could prove that their husbands were "by reason of bodily or mental infirmity" unable to maintain the family. Because Mr. Stansfield is not incapable of earning, Mrs. Stansfield is to be artificially rendered incapable, and accordingly (the School Managers having declined to part with Mrs. Stansfield, for whom they have a high opinion) the Education Committee have given her notice over the heads of the Managers. But the Committee is only empowered to dismiss "on educational grounds," and no one has been so bold as to say that marriage constitutes an "educational ground." The N.U.T. is taking the matter up as a test case for all married women teachers, and the Town Clerk has received notice of an injunction to be served in a few days, warning the Committee to stop proceedings till the case is decided.

#### The Anti-Suffrage Review.

Really our friends who want "hints" ought to read the Anti-Suffrage Review. It simply bristles with debating points, and challenges contradiction in every line. It is amusing reading, too, as showing what people are prepared to swallow as a reason, when their minds are irretrievably sealed. In the leader, for instance, where an obscure and nameless journalist from Australia is pitted against all the men and women of light and leading who have testified in favour of the vote from their own experience of it, we are told that if most women vote "as their husbands and brothers do, it's just doubling the male vote." It is an extraordinary thing, which must be peculiar to Australia, that the husbands and brothers should always be of one mind, and so the lady can comfortably "double" their vote. Further on, the author admits that the lady might differ from her husband, and "What then? Well, we either double the man's vote or disfranchise the household." The horns of this dilemma do not appear so painful to us as the writer would have them. Why should a household be "disfranchised" if the two people in it vote in opposite ways? No one would dream of saying that if two men live in a house, only one must have the vote, because otherwise we should be on the horns of this dilemma. The household is not disfranchised if each adult person in it has a voice in the representation. If, on the whole, husband and wife tend to have similar views, may this not be put down to the very natural selection in marriage of a mate with whose general character one is in sympathy?

The rest of the article is even more difficult to follow; the writer first makes the astounding statement that single women in England have "plenty of time on their hands" (surely she must live in Hampstead or Kensington); then that the woman worker would constitute a "rather unstable revolutionary element," that she most needs State help, and will make use of the vote, and thereby apparently irretrievably damage her best interests, which only men can have at heart.

#### Anti-Suffrage Propaganda.

We welcome the statement that the anti-Suffragists have found the debate "a recognised success," and hope that in future we may not have such extraordinary difficulty, as we have had in the past, in screwing their courage up to the point of meeting us in open debate. The Manchester Society spent many weeks in countering every evasion, but the opponent still fled, and we hear the same tale from Worcester. We are sadly afraid that Mr. Leo Maxse does not read the papers, for having first complained with unconscious humour that Suffragists had given "no word of guidance," no "contribution to thought" on the navy question, he proceeded to say that "neither on behalf of Tariff Reform nor against it had any of these ladies taken the trouble to exert themselves." It almost seems as if Mr. Maxse had never heard of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, or as if he did not know that the Women's Liberal Federation desired the vote.

## Our Point of View.

### The Bed of Procrustes.

Once upon a time there lived in Attica a robber whose name was Procrustes. He possessed a bed which was always too long or too short for his unfortunate captives and he proceeded to make them fit the bed either by stretching them by means of a rack or by lopping off their feet. In time Theseus conquered him and made him suffer the tortures which he had inflicted upon others.

So runs the old story and it has run in one's head ever since last Monday's debate on the Home Office vote. Again and again did our reformers in their zeal remind us that they are rapidly arriving at the point where they consider law as a thing beautiful and perfect in itself, not in its relation to human needs and idiosyncrasies; a bed on which individuals must all be stretched or lopped; they would make people to fit the law and not law to fit the people. Of course this is the easiest way about. An inferior dressmaker or tailor will pad you out a figure that shall be easier to fit than the one which nature gave you. It avoids the painful necessity for thought, for sympathy and adaptability. But does it bring about the best results? Is it really for the interests of the nation that every other consideration should be sacrificed to a mechanical uniformity, to a perfection of unimpeded inspection?

Sir Charles Dilke said that "the interests of all trades must be weakened by every exception that is made . . . because every time you make an exception you dishearten inspection and the inspectors." So this is made the excuse for bringing under the factory acts places that are not factories at all, where the workers suffer no hardship and make no complaint. It has to be admitted that the forists' assistants suffer from no great hardships by being outside the factory acts; no one has ever set out to prove that they are much injured; but they spoil the harmony and symmetry of the system and they must be brought into line. Naturally, where there is a law, exemptions and special classes are troublesome and expensive and so we have Mr. Ramsay MacDonald pleading for "some simpler form of law" relating to laundries and inquiring later whether typewriting offices might not be included under the factory acts "by Order," although he had just been reminded by the Home Secretary that it would be an extremely difficult thing to legislate as if these offices were factories.

What is there in common about all these cases where greater uniformity, simplicity, rigidity are called for? This: that it is in *women's industries*, in laundries, flower shops, typing offices, where nearly all the employees are women; and further this: that in all cases it is the desire to have *differential treatment as between men and women*, to make it more difficult for women to get well-paid work by introducing restrictions peculiar to the women, from which men are to be exempt. It is all done "in the interests of the women" and to prevent their being injured, but an enactment does not always succeed in doing what it sets out to do and it must be remembered that all restrictions which make it more troublesome to employ women than men, tend to throw women out of that employment altogether and therefore to crowd them further into those left open to them.

Mr. Gladstone said, in reference to the inspection of mines: "It does seem to me rather absurd that sensible men and trained men . . . cannot by organization arrange for the enforcement and carrying out of the law." This is a healthy principle and we would apply it to women as well—train them and organize them, give them liberty and opportunity, make women of them and there will be the less need to "protect" them in ways which keep them in eternal subjection and crush out all originality and initiative. For of course the law, in theory at least, is no respecter of persons and the exception is not and cannot be allowed for; and the matter is aggravated and made infinitely harder to bear when it is one sex which makes and administers the law and the other sex which has only to obey and to pay for the law.

Men are very apt to see the importance of originality in themselves; they quite appreciate the value of liberty

of action, when it is their own liberty; they would not like it at all if a uniform ideal were set up for Man, such as is set up for Woman, and legislative attempts were made to compel him to conform to this ideal. Yet this is what they are still trying to do with women. Take this egregious attempt to dictate to married women the sort of work which they must do. In one case we hear of, a lady who is described as one of the finest head teachers of infants in the country has been thrown out of employment and has had to resort to the very risky venture of starting a private school; in others, women who are admirably fitted to teach and direct children (surely "womanly" work!) are driven to cook and clean and sew, because, being deprived of their paid work, they cannot afford to employ one or more servants. How would a man who had been trained to teaching like to be told in middle life that he must take to blacking boots and cleaning windows?

We are told that there are two reasons: the first is that since women are the mothers of the nation, they must be compelled to give up all their time to motherhood. Those who argue so do not allow for the fact that even a woman who has children does not or should not exhaust the whole of her time and energy in performing this function; that cooking and cleaning are not in any sense part of the function of motherhood; and that some married women have few and some no children. We are told that since in marriage a man supports his wife, marriage is a remunerative career and no woman should be allowed to follow two trades and by so doing "take the bread out of the mouths" of those who have no man to support them. To this there are many objections: first that a man does not always support his wife adequately and that to make it impossible for her to earn is to put her absolutely into his power; then it is not true to say a married woman by earning "takes the bread" out of the mouth of unmarried women, for if she works out of the house she cannot work in the house and must employ some woman to do that; if the market is overstocked with teachers, the remedy is not to compel those with experience to fall out on marriage, but to cease artificially fostering the supply; moreover those who desire to prohibit the earning of all married women do not face the fact that they are taking the heart out of the maidens' work and adding greatly to the precariousness and uncertainty which already go for so much in keeping the wages of women low. We are always being told that it is the possibility of marriage which keeps women's wage low.

All this doctrinaire legislation, all this dictation and restriction comes from a want of sympathy and understanding. Of course it is simpler and easier for officials and inspectors and bureaucrats like Mr. Burns to have everything cut and dried and no tiresome exceptions at all. Of course it is easy for a body of men to say with a wave of the hand that women must come into line. Men are never tired of saying that women are more individualistic, more instinctive than they and yet this does not prevent them from attempting the foolhardy feat of cramming them into this Procrustes' bed of the "ideal woman"—stretching them out to the cracking point of endurance, lopping off or compressing any wild shoot of originality or independence. And they honestly don't see that the process hurts horribly until it has succeeded in stunting and dwarfing the creature. In an old speech made by a law-lord on the Married Women's Property Bill, he is reported to have said he could understand that a woman required maintenance, but why she should want "money in her pocket to spend as she liked was more than he could understand." Our legislators are really not much further on yet. They don't see, and we doubt if they ever will see until women have made them see at the polls.

Lord Lytton, speaking in London last week, made a curiously frank admission: he said the militant tactics had been "brought too near to him for him to be able to treat them as a joking matter." This is a perfect description of the almost universal condition of men's minds: they do not feel things till they are brought home to them; they do not miss the liberty which they are denying to us; they are prepared to go on reforming our

homes and our lives by Act of Parliament and to dismiss all objectors as "exceptions." Before long it will be an indictable offence to be exceptional—if you are a woman.

## Topic of the Day.

### IV.

#### Infant Mortality.

##### Alcoholism and Heredity.

Every year in England and Wales alone, more than 120,000 infants die before they are 12 months old. It is this terrible waste of human life, and the fact that, although there has been a decline in the death rate from preventable diseases, and in the death rate of the people as a whole, yet there has been no similar decline in the infant mortality rate, which on the contrary remains what it was 70 years ago,—it is this fact that has aroused the women of England to a desire to obtain more knowledge as to how to bring up healthy children, and also has resulted in our more modern ideas as to how such knowledge shall be disseminated. Although we deplore this loss, and although we recognise it as a failure of our modern civilisation that we are not yet able to supply the public with absolutely pure milk, or, what is of even more importance, the knowledge of the laws of cleanliness, and general hygiene, without which no reduction in the infant mortality rate is possible, yet I would venture to say, that this loss of human life is as nothing compared to the evil of bringing into the world children, with perhaps just stamina enough to exist, yet mentally, physically, and morally "deficient" or with that nervous instability and weakness, and inability to think, which makes them a burden to themselves and others.

No other poison is responsible for such mental havoc in the offspring, as alcohol, no other vice responsible for so much misery, poverty and immorality as drunkenness, and I suppose no other train of symptoms is so far reaching in its effect upon the future descendants as alcoholism in one or both parents. Therefore in dealing with this question, I propose to consider it under two headings.

1. The effect of alcohol on infant mortality.
2. The effect of alcohol on infant life.

1. *The effect of alcohol on infant mortality.* Alcohol is a poison, and therefore, as we should expect, a very large number of the children of alcoholic mothers die before or at birth, or in the first few years of infancy. For instance Sullivan discovered that, whereas 23 per cent. of the children of sober mothers died before they were two years old, 55 per cent. of the children of alcoholic mothers died. The reason of this is that alcoholism in the mother induces a lower vitality in the child, and it causes deficient lactation.

It has been shown that alcohol may pass as such from the mother to the fetus. This was proved by Nicloux, by animal experiment, and in every case alcohol was found in the fetal organism. The consequence of this is that alcohol, which acts in much the same way as lead and other well-recognised poisons, in its harmful effect on the fetus, causes the birth of offspring, more or less, mal-formed, or of extremely weak vitality, or they may be even still-born, or nonviable. In some cases the children appear normal for the first few months or even years of their life, and yet later their general stamina, and their power of resisting disease prove to be nothing like so good as that in children of abstaining mothers.

Then with reference to deficient lactation: the milk of an alcoholic mother may be found actually to contain alcohol, so that not only does the child take milk of a poor quality, but also milk containing alcohol, with the result that pathological changes in the child's liver, and other organs very soon take place. There is an old but popular superstition, that stout is good for nursing mothers. Now stout, porter, and other malt liquors do stimulate for a time a secretion of extra milk, but this secretion is of a watery nature, and is therefore of inferior nutritive value to the child. As a matter of fact, cows

are frequently fed upon malt grains in order to increase the amount of milk supply, regardless of its quality which is always inferior.

We have to remember too the indirect effects of alcohol in causing infant mortality. Much money is wasted by parents on alcohol, which money is required to buy good food and milk for the mother and child. And, again, alcohol induces an inertness of body and mind, which leads to laziness and neglect on the part of the mother—which in their turn mean dirt, semi-starvation, and later illness and death. Lastly alcoholism in the mother leads to the overlaying of infants, an accident, which as everybody knows, happens most often on Saturday nights.

Children as a whole, represent the life and vitality of their parents, and of their parents' parents before them, and if a child is to be really well born, at least two generations of healthy men and women must have played their part honestly and well. Not only is the maternal influence of alcoholism marked, but also the paternal influence. This is well shown in a case reported by Dr. Norman Ken:—The father and mother started life healthy and consequently had a son and daughter who were both excellent specimens of humanity. Then the father took to drinking, with the result that the next child was mentally defective; and then as the father continued to develop more alcoholic symptoms, the next two children born were complete idiots. In fact only a very small percentage of drinkers' children are physically fit and mentally normal. One authority, Professor Demme, says only 6.4 per cent., while Legraine and Dernon give the figures at 17.5 per cent., and 11.7 per cent. respectively. Tuberculosis is also more frequent in the children of heavy drinkers. One authority, Arrive, found that 10 per cent. of such children suffered from it, whereas only 1.8 per cent. of the children of temperate, healthy parents had tuberculosis. Infantile mortality is, as we know, often the result of artificial rather than breast feeding, and alcoholism in the parents, is sometimes a cause of a woman being unable to suckle her infant.

##### 2. *The Effect of Alcohol on Infant Life.*

Even babies may be drinkers of alcohol. Many mothers give a little gin or brandy to their babies for flatulence. This, by its frequent repetition acts injuriously on the different organs of the child; in every children's hospital we find post-mortem "gin drinkers' livers" in even small children, and the effect of alcohol on the nerve cells of the brain and cord is just as disastrous. Lately, amongst the medical profession, there has been a decided reaction in favour of using other stimulants (such as strychnine in preference to brandy) in pneumonia and other grave illnesses.

Impaired nerve vitality often shows itself in convulsions, meningitis, and other troubles. The child of a mother who takes even small amounts of alcohol is often fretful, cries a great deal, and is inclined to have various nervous disturbances. Later in life the child shows signs of stupidity, mental deficiency, moral instability, and lack of normal control, or in still worse cases of idiocy, epilepsy, and hysteria.

From the mass of medical and other evidence of the disastrous effects of alcoholism on the race, I will only allude to Professor Delman's famous study in hereditary alcoholism:—Ada Jucke, who died at the beginning of last century, at about 60 years of age, was a drunkard, a thief, and a vagabond. Seventy-five years later, her progeny was found to consist of 834 persons, of whom the history of 760 has been studied. Of this number, there have been 106 illegitimate children, 144 beggars, 64 sustained by charity, 181 prostitutes 76 criminals, among whom were 7 assassins. In 75 years this single family has cost, in maintenance, expenses of imprisonment, and interest, £250,000.

Our infant mortality rate is now looked upon as a national disgrace. Surely as great a disgrace is the bringing into the world of these mentally, morally, and physically deficient children. In a large percentage of cases we know this to be preventable. Has the time not come, when, in every elementary and preparatory school, the dangers of intemperance should be scientifically taught? Surely too we can now look forward to the

time when, because of the fuller knowledge which comes as the result of accurate, scientific investigation, we shall no longer have to cater for thousands of unfit and unemployable men and women, but spend our money on easing the lives of the workers of the world, and in the bettering of the environment of all its citizens.

L. MARTINDALE, M.D., B.S. (Lond.).

## In Parliament.

### Women and Children.

In Committee of Supply on the Home Office vote, which took place on Monday 14th, a large number of questions were raised, most of them of great complexity and very contentious. Sir Charles Dilke spoke feelingly on dangerous employments for young children. One could wish that he had not seemed to run together two matters requiring such totally different treatment as the further protection of wage-earning children and the further restriction of the employment of adult women. Most of our legislators cannot shake off the habit of classing together "women and children" and we can hardly wonder, while the franchise laws still keep them in tutelage together, with lunatics and criminals for company.

### Factory Acts.

Sir Charles challenged the accuracy of a circular issued by Miss Gore-Booth with reference to the classing of florists' shops as workshops under the meaning of the act, and said the women were "totally unaware of how they could work under the present law." Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Akers Douglas, as well as the Home Secretary, spoke well of the working of the act as applied to laundries, but seemed to think that greater rigidity and uniformity were required. Mr. MacDonald also suggested that in many ways typewriting offices did work analogous to that done by printing works and competed with them, yet they were exempt from the operation of the factory acts and were not inspected.

### Female Political Prisoners.

Mr. Swift MacNeill raised the question of the policy and even the legality of the imprisonment, as criminals, of women who had been guilty of a political offence. He pointed out that these women were not proceeded against under the common law, but under a statute of Edward III. and that this was a mere contrivance to avoid the ordinary trial. Mr. Arnold Lupton also protested and Mr. Claude Hay asked whether the Government would adopt measures "more in consonance with public feeling and prevent these persons who, rightly or wrongly, fight for ideals, being treated as ordinary criminals." Mr. Herbert Samuel's reply was extremely disingenuous. He maintained that because the women who disobey a police order (that they shall not go to the House of Commons in deputation) are thrust into the second division, not the third, therefore they are not treated as ordinary criminals; but ordinary criminals are classified into second and third class and only those who are considered depraved are put into the third class. Miss Patricia Woodlock has worn prison clothes and eaten prison food, slept on a plank bed and suffered solitary confinement; male political prisoners are put into the first class, wear their own clothes, see their friends, write letters and eat as they please; it is only women who are imprisoned as criminals and vilified in addition by those who are denying them justice. If Mr. Samuel was right in saying that the general sense of the House was with the Government in this matter, one can only feel that it is so much the worse for the House; in its love of domination it is losing the instinct for fair play which Englishmen plume themselves on possessing. Mr. Samuel indicated that, with regard to the white slave traffic, further legislation was needed and it is understood that the Government intend bringing in amendments of the Criminal Law.

## The Conditions of Debate.

On the question of allocating time, which was debated on Tuesday, Lord Robert Cecil made a dignified appeal for a better use of the time of Parliament, and suggested an extension of the use of Grand Committees. Outsiders are in perpetual wonderment at the gladness wherewith Parliament suffers its fools, and at the wanton waste of time which seems to be specially provided for. The setting down of "blocking motions," which the Speaker said (on Thursday) had been "before the House on and off for the last two or three years," is a crying scandal, and one from which women's interests have been peculiarly liable to suffer. Mr. Asquith, replying to Lord Robert Cecil, did not maintain his high level of public spirit, and made a cheap joke about private members being anxious to be re-elected, even though they should have to remain dumb voting machines; but Lord Robert's contention had been that the present system tended to keep men of fine mind and character from standing.

## Labour Exchanges.

This much-needed measure is bristling with difficulties, and those concerned will have to work hard and pull together to get it going. Several Labour members pointed out on Wednesday how the decasualisation of labour might result in throwing entirely out of work a certain number of men, and that this difficulty would have to be met. Mr. Clynes also raised knotty points in connection with strikes, and with a minimum rate of wages. Mr. Churchill shewed that Mr. Havelock Wilson's strictures on the Mercantile Marine Offices were not based on correct facts. He also stated that, at present, domestic servants would not be included in his scheme. We have always felt that the whole question of domestic service wanted treating in a large way to meet new conditions and requirements, but we cannot help being heartily glad that women employers and employees are not to be dragged "for their good" by the irresponsible gentlemen who rule us at present.

## National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

25, Victoria Street, Westminster.

All the Nottingham indoor meetings will be held in the same place, the Circus Street Hall, East Circus Street.

The Special Council Meeting will be held at 10.30 on Tuesday, July 6th (not 7th as in our last issue) and the usual quarterly Council will be held immediately afterwards. That evening at eight the Vice-Presidents and Committee of the Nottingham Society will hold a reception at which Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., and Mrs. Philip Snowden will speak.

On Monday 5th a Secretaries' meeting will be held at 4.30 p.m., when questions of organization can be discussed and an open-air meeting will be held at 7 p.m. in the Market Place, where Mrs. Fawcett, Councillor Margaret Ashton, Miss I. O. Ford, Miss Margaret Robertson and others will speak.

## Treasurer's Note.

We gratefully acknowledge the following new contributions, received during the week.

Miss Louisette Blyth, in forwarding a cheque for £15 from the Cambridge University W.S.S., writes: "Our Society has been somewhat reorganised, and we have decided the bulk of our money shall be used in doing active work by the National Union rather than be stored away doing no one any good."

Our special thanks are due to the Cambridge University W.S.S. for their decision and welcome gift.

Liverpool W.S.S. is making a splendid "special effort" in aid of the Union funds, and we heartily appreciate the generous help of that Society.

June 10th—June 17th, 1909.		New Contributions.	
Electoral Campaign.		£ s. d.	
£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Already acknowledged	766 15 8	142 2 11	
Miss T. H. Crosfield (don.)		3 3 0	
Mrs. Charles Harding (don.)		5 0 0	
Cambridge University W.S.S., per Miss Louise E. Blyth (don.)		15 0 0	
Mrs. C. W. Dixon (don.)		5 5 0	
Mrs. H. Bright Clark (don.) balance of International Guarantee		5 0 0	
Mrs. Gandy (don.)	1 1 0		
Altrincham W.S.S., Special Effort Week	7 10 0		
Westmorland W.S.S., Special Effort Week	2 5 0		
Mrs. E. K. Muspratt, per Liverpool W.S.S., Special Effort Week	5 0 0		
Mrs. George Rathbone, per Liverpool W.S.S., Special Effort Week	5 0		
Mrs. Egerton Stewart-Brown, per Liverpool W.S.S., Special Effort Week	1 0 0		
Mrs. J. P. Reynolds, per Liverpool W.S.S., Special Effort Week	10 0		
	£784 6 8	£175 10 11	

BERTHA MASON, Treasurer.

### The Yorkshire Caravan.

The caravan left Malton on Saturday, June 12, and many and various were the disasters that befell us before we reached Ripon. Two steeds were necessary on account of the hilly country, but they absolutely refused to collar up, so we had to dismiss them, and were stranded upon a triangle of grass in the centre of four cross roads, twelve miles from York, at a late hour in the afternoon. Fortunately a passing cyclist obtained other horses for us, and we arrived at York close on midnight. We travelled through the next day, and finally reached Ripon on Sunday evening. Miss Costelloe left us next morning, and we were very sorry to lose her. Mrs. Overbury joined the van, and the next day we canvassed six villages outside Ripon and held a good meeting in the Market Square at Bedale. The next morning we had a capital meeting in the Market Place of Ripon, and Mrs. Haverfield turned up in the afternoon. The van went straight on to Harrogate, arriving about 9.30. As we entered the town, members of the I.L.P. came up to us and rendered all assistance in their power, telling us where to camp, and arranging as to the getting up of meetings, etc. We held our first upon "The Stray" the following evening, when Miss Pringle spoke, and found the people sympathetic and interested. We had many inquiries about Mary Gawthorpe, who is remembered here by all who heard her last July, when she created a lasting impression. On Saturday our expected speaker failed to put in an appearance, so Miss Fielden took the meeting alone, and very skilfully and well she accomplished her task. There were many more people and intelligent questions. Good collections were taken up, many leaflets distributed, and literature sold. We have made more satisfactory arrangements as to horse hire, which will add greatly to our comfort for the next ten days. One had always heard of the hospitality of Yorkshire people, and no account would be complete without a tribute to the ladies and gentlemen who took us in as perfect strangers and showed us the most unflinching sympathy and kindness.

EVELINA HAVERFIELD.

### Speakers Wanted in Cumberland.

I wonder whether any of your readers are thinking of spending their summer holidays in Cumberland, and would be willing to help us in our work here, either by collecting information for the Divisional Secretaries, or by speaking at village meetings? Cumberland is rather a difficult county to organise, owing to geographical conditions. I am particularly anxious to obtain information and to organise meetings in the Egremont Division, and should be most grateful for help from any Suffragist who is going to Eskdale, or Seascale, or St. Bees. The Egremont Division contains some of the best mountain climbing and the most beautiful scenery in England, and includes the lakes of Wastwater and Ennerdale. Seascale, on the coast, has excellent golf links and

good bathing. Will not some keen Suffragists combine a pleasant holiday with a useful piece of work for the cause by spending a week or a fortnight in the neighbourhood and holding one or two open-air meetings in the surrounding villages. A party of friends with bicycles could cover the whole Division from Seascale, and could choose their audiences from the iron-workers and colliers in the north of the Division, from the farmers in the agricultural and mountainous district, or from the seaside visitors at the villages along the coast. I would advertise their meetings for them, and make good any reasonable expense incurred out of the Cumberland Organization Fund.

CATHERINE E. MARSHALL,  
Hon. Organizing Sec. Keswick W.S.A.  
Hawse End, Keswick.

## The Compleat Organizer.

### VI.

#### CHAIRMAN AND TREASURER.

We said in a previous article that it was well the chairman should be someone who can give a good deal of time and thought to the affairs of the society, and who can be a regular attendant at committee meetings. The reasons for this are sufficiently obvious. The chairman is the head and the representative of the society, and nothing is more embarrassing for the members than to find that the chairman is making some public pronouncement which does not show the knowledge of the society's work proper to its chief officer. Moreover, in committee the chairman cannot have due weight and authority with the committee if its members have to be constantly informing or instructing her. Business goes much better if the honorary officers habitually consult with each other and meet to plan out work, and the chairman can take her share in explaining to the committee the reasons for recommending any course of action.

The duties of a chairman differ considerably, according to the nature of the meeting over which she is to preside. A committee meeting, a public meeting for propaganda, an annual business meeting and a debate all require different procedure. To-day we only treat of the chairman in committee. It is the first duty of a chairman to be punctual.

It is not often that in committee there are any complicated questions of procedure; a much more frequent difficulty is the tendency to general conversation and to irrelevance. A great deal can be done by the secretary presenting business in a business-like way, and it is the chairman's duty to see to it that members address the chair and not each other, that they speak only one at a time, and that they speak to the question. By personal knowledge of individuals, the chairman can do excellent service in calling upon those with special knowledge and experience to give their opinion or advice and in preventing the monopolising of attention by a few. When the discussion has ceased to be fruitful, the chairman should put the question to the vote, and where it is a personal matter and there is a certain reluctance to vote publicly, it should be done by ballot. The chairman should make quite clear to the committee the nature of the resolution, with any alterations or amendments that have been adopted, and all important resolutions should be formally proposed and seconded. It is usual to decide all voting by a bare majority, the chairman not voting; if voting is equal, the chairman throws the casting vote—unless, as can be done by agreement, the committee decide that the matter is too important to be decided by a bare majority. As questions of procedure are more likely to arise at an annual meeting where rules can be altered, we will treat of them in a subsequent article.

It is the duty of the hon. treasurer to collect members' subscriptions, and to keep the accounts of the society; the business of raising money also often devolves upon her, but this ought to be shared by all the members of the committee, and indeed of the society.

The treasurer should make a point of attending every meeting of the committee, and should be prepared with a financial statement showing the amount of money in hand and the amount which may be relied upon from unpaid subscriptions, etc. In the event of the committee proposing a scheme of work, which will involve considerable expenditure, it will be the business of the treasurer to make estimates of the probable cost, and to take steps to raise the amount necessitated by the difference always found to exist between the amount in hand and the amount required. The ultimate financial responsibility is, of course, shared by the whole committee, and does not rest upon the treasurer alone. The latter should therefore not spend money, except upon routine work, without the consent of the committee. It is generally possible to make an estimate of the average expenses for the year; it will then be clear that anything in excess of this will have to be specially raised. As some difficulty is often found by inexperienced treasurers in keeping the accounts, it may be useful to mention that things are very much simplified by keeping an account at the bank. All money received should be entered in an account book, and paid into the bank from time to time. On the other side of the book the cheques drawn should be entered, including cheques for petty cash. The petty cash will, of course, be accounted for

in a special book. If money is raised for a variety of different funds, it is useful to keep the account books in columns; this will obviate the necessity of keeping a ledger or of sorting out the different funds at the end of the year. The treasurer will find it useful to check over members' subscriptions about two months before the close of the financial year, and send a reminder to all those who have not paid for the current year, otherwise a number are certain to be left out. Suggestions as to the best means of appealing for money must be left to the ingenuity of individual treasurers, but on general principles there is little doubt that money can be raised if the society is made to feel that it is needed and that it is being well spent.

## Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.

48, Dover Street, Piccadilly, London, W.

We are anxious to remind our supporters of the reception which we are giving at the Wharnciffe Rooms on Monday, June 28, 3-6 p.m. Among the speakers will be Mr. Cameron Grant, Miss Gore-Booth, Mr. W. B. Boyd Carpenter, Mr. George Elliott, Miss Rosaline Masson, Mr. Forbes Robertson, the Hon. Mrs. John Bailey, Miss Spurgeon, and Mrs. H. Percy Boulnois, chairman of the Executive Committee, on the aims and objects of the Association.

The first of a series of lectures took place on June 16, at 64, Victoria Street (by kind permission of Mrs. Fabian Ware). Mr. W. A. Bailward took as his subject, "Women's Influence in Poor Law Reform," and pointed out that this was a sphere in which women could do much useful work, as it involved questions which could be settled satisfactorily only by the co-operation and mutual aid of men and women. He urged that all candidates for positions under the poor law should endeavour to qualify themselves thoroughly, and quoted many authorities who were all in favour of increasing the scope of women's work in this direction. The lecturer traced the gradual development of State aid from its institution during the reign of Elizabeth to the present day, and drew special attention to the continued recurrence of the assertion that poor law relief tended to benefit the undeserving. He emphasised the distinction between pauperism and poverty, and laid great stress on the injury to the national character which results from any loosening of the family tie. The discipline involved in the struggle to maintain independence was indispensable to a great people, and were it removed we could not continue an Imperial nation. The gain to the country resulting from our vast poor law expenditure was entirely inadequate, the net result being not to relieve the necessitous but to create a demand for charity.

In the animated discussion which followed, attention was drawn to the German system of compulsory insurance, whereby employers, workmen, and the State all combined to raise a fund for the sick and aged, thus furnishing relief without destroying individual independence.

A crowded meeting of the Association was held at the Oratory Studios, Kensington, on the 17th inst. Lady Betty Balfour dealt with the question of adult suffrage and the arguments of the Anti-Suffragists. She pointed out also the many advantages which would accrue to the industrial classes from the possession of the Parliamentary vote. Lady Strachey showed that the enfranchisement of women was an ineluctable result of both Conservative and Liberal principles. The position of women in all classes had undergone great alterations in the latter half of the nineteenth century, but in every pursuit they were hampered in all directions by legislative restrictions, in the making of which they had no hand. Mr. G. A. Touche, Conservative candidate for North Islington, gave a most eloquent address on the general aspects of the suffrage question, and made an urgent appeal to all, both men and women, to give their support to the enfranchisement of women, as until this were obtained it was not possible for Britain to attain her highest development, either in home or Imperial politics.

The Kensington Committee held a meeting at the Oratory Studios, kindly lent for the occasion by Miss Cotton. Miss Chadwick presided in place of Lady Lockyer. The principal speaker was Mr. Touche, Conservative candidate for Islington, who said that in common with all men of his party he felt great gratitude to Conservative women for the services they had rendered in times past, and this was one of the reasons why their demand for the Suffrage should be carefully considered. He found that the best women in the party were in favour of it. The political enfranchisement of women was not a party question, and could not be one, as both parties were too far committed. It could be brought about without being made a test question, for no general election was fought on a single issue, and he pointed out that there was nothing in the demand which was against the traditions of the Conservative party. Great battalions in this country were marshalling themselves on the side of Women's Suffrage. Referring to the Anti-Suffragists, he observed that several of the masculine leaders were retired

Oriental potentates, and he advised them to make Abdul Hamid president of their League.

Lady Betty Balfour said that Women's Suffrage was a cause which did good, even in the fighting and before the end was achieved. It widened the views of the women who took part in it, for they began to study the subject both directly and in all its outlying issues. Lady Strachey said that the enfranchisement of women followed from both Liberal and Conservative principles. Women asked for the vote because they couldn't do what they wanted to do without it, and in all their pursuits they were hampered at every turn by legislative restrictions which they had no hand in making or controlling. The fact that "men are men and women are women" was at the very root of the demand.

Mrs. Boulnois explained the objects of the Association, and appealed for funds to carry on and extend the work. A resolution calling upon Mr. Balfour to grant facilities for the passing of a Women's Enfranchisement Bill at the earliest possible moment was carried unanimously.

On the following evening the Kensington Committee held a debate with the Anti-Suffragists at 57, Bedford Gardens. The room was crowded. Dr. Flora Murray, who was to have represented the Conservative Association, was prevented from coming, and her place was taken by Miss Palliser, of the National Union. Mrs. Somervell represented the Anti-Suffrage League. An animated discussion followed the speeches, and the resolution—that the granting of the Parliamentary vote to duly qualified women would be of advantage to the State—was carried by an overwhelming majority.

## The National Women's Social and Political Union.

4, Clement's Inn, Strand.

A very successful meeting was held by the Women's Social and Political Union on Tuesday, June 15, in the St. James' Theatre. The Earl of Lytton, whose sister, Lady Constance Lytton, was imprisoned earlier in the year, appeared for the first time on a woman's suffrage platform, and gave the reasons for his belief in votes for women. In his speech, Lord Lytton briefly reviewed the great political issues of the past few years, and pointed out that votes for women was more important than any issue before the country. Turning to the militant methods, Lord Lytton said that these militant tactics had been brought too near to the people of this country to be treated any longer as a joking matter. People were forced to acknowledge that it was serious. The question which had been ignored and ridiculed for more than a generation was in all particulars one of burning seriousness. He went on to say that it was no good trying to belittle or ridicule the militant tactics, and those who wished those tactics to cease must remember that women are denied all constitutional means of bringing their grievances forward and having them righted. The time had come when men and women of the country must take their stand, and show their colours, if they are in favour of votes for women; if they are against it they must fight for their opinion. They must fight for it at the polls, fight for it in Parliament, fight for it wherever they could, but they must do the suffragettes the honour to view it seriously and to face the issue. Striking and eloquent as was the speech delivered by Lord Lytton, by far the most momentous feature of the meeting was the announcement at the end by Mrs. Pankhurst, when she stated that she had come to a decision to take her part in the deputation of the 29th, and lead it herself to the House. Mrs. Pankhurst has already been twice imprisoned during the last fifteen months, and her declaration caused a very deep personal feeling in many of those who listened to her.

The following day (Wednesday) the members had the pleasure of welcoming Miss Patricia Woodlock on her release from Holloway. Some 300 people gathered at the prison gates early in the morning to give her a welcome, and when she emerged from the large doors a great cheer went up from men and women assembled outside. A breakfast was held in her honour at the Inns of Court Hotel, and in the evening of the same day a mass demonstration was held in Hyde Park. Previous to this demonstration a great procession marched through the streets of London. This procession was one of the largest held by the Union, and contained many interesting features. It was enthusiastically received by the men and women who lined the streets to watch it pass into the park. There were four platforms, and a crowd of many tens of thousands of men and women.

In connection with the great campaign which is being carried on all over the country during the next two weeks, it is calculated that over 1,000 meetings will be held in London alone.

### Traffic in Women.

To their honour be it recorded that the International Council of Women now sitting in Toronto has determined to work for the abolition of all traffic in women, whether white or coloured. This is not only consonant with abstract notions of morality; it is a practical and far-seeing resolution, since white women and their children's children suffer from the fact that white men can purchase slaves of any colour.





# Professional and Industrial Women's Suffrage Meeting,

JULY 7, at 8 p.m., QUEEN'S HALL, LONDON.

To demand the Franchise for Women and to protest against the Parliamentary attack on Florists' Assistants and Married Women.

Chairman - - Rev. R. J. CAMPBELL, M.A.

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Miss HORNIMAN (Founder of the First Repertory Theatre in the United Kingdom).  
Miss A. K. WILLIAMS (Public School Teachers).  
Miss JANET CASE, M.A. (University Women Teachers).  
Miss REDDISH (Member, Workpeople's Panel of the Arbitration Court).  
Miss ROPER (Women Textile and other Workers' Representation Committee).  
Miss GORE-BOOTH } (Women's Trade and Labour Council).  
Mrs. DICKENSON }

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