

# The Common Cause

## The Organ of the National Union of WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

### Societies.

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points as did the crowd in Trafalgar Square. The *Daily News* is up in arms against the attempt to suppress the *Suffragette*. It is true that there is something both comic and pathetic in the irony of fate which makes the W.S.P.U. the champion of the right of free speech; but the comedy only emphasises the folly of the Government, whose master-stroke of strategy has ranged Press and public against it.

#### A House Divided against Itself.

What is the real issue behind this astonishing confusion? How has a Liberal Government come to stand for coercion, suppression, and all that is most odious to itself? We believe, with the greatest respect for all that is meant by real Liberalism, it is because the Liberal Government is a house divided against itself. Not in the obvious sense, that some are for and some against Women's Suffrage, but in the deeper sense, that Liberalism is now denying its own essence. It should govern by the will of the people, and it refuses to trust or to hear the people. It should have an ever-open ear to the cry of suffering, especially the suffering of the weak, and it says, with the voice of its chosen leader, that it will not admit there is any suffering. It stands for liberty, and says that no one has a right to be free. No party can so deny its own principles without being brought into conflict with all it holds dear. We entreat all who care for Liberalism to consider whether any danger it can meet outside its ranks could be so pregnant of disaster as this betrayal of itself.

#### The Government's Case and the W.S.P.U.

The W.S.P.U. arrests now number nine, including Mrs. Drummond, Miss Annie Kenney and Mr. Edwy Clayton. The printer of the *Suffragette* has been discharged on pledging himself to have nothing further to do with printing the paper. Bail has been refused to nearly all the other prisoners. We confess that the case stated by Mr. Bodkin for the Government, in which he "warned" subscribers to the W.S.P.U. funds that they might find themselves involved in criminal complicity, seems to us a very extraordinary ground to take up on a point of law, whatever the moral responsibility may be.

#### The Labour Vote and the Plural Voting Bill.

We have been asked briefly to explain the nature of the resolutions passed by the Labour Party with regard to the Plural Voting Bill. Miss Ford's letter, in our Correspondence columns, deals with one part of the question, but briefly the matter stands thus. The Labour Party Conference passed a resolution refusing to accept any further extension of the franchise to men, which did not include women. This resolution might be held to cover any alteration of the franchise, including the Plural Voting Bill. But, as a matter of fact, those who spoke and voted on it, including the mover, Mr. Philip Snowden, were not thinking of anything but an *extension* of the franchise. They hold, as we hold, that it is not honest, therefore, to press the terms of the resolution in such a way as to make them mean what, in fact, they did not mean, and were not thinking of.

So much for the Labour Party. Now for the Independent Labour Party, which forms only a small party of the whole Labour Party. The I.L.P. then met in conference a few weeks

## Notes and Comments.

#### Mr. Asquith's "Free Vote."

We call the attention of those who accepted the Prime Minister's assurance that we should have a free vote and free debate on the Women's Suffrage Bill, to the fact that the debate has been by no means free. It was arranged that only one Cabinet Minister should speak on each side. As our supporters in the Cabinet far out-weigh our opponents in weight and importance, this arrangement is grossly unfair to us, and conveys a false impression to the public. It has only to be remembered that the Anti-Suffragists have only one supporter of weight in the Cabinet—Mr. Asquith himself—while we have Lord Haldane, Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Birrell, and Sir Rufus Isaacs, and it will be seen how heavily the scales are weighted on the Anti-Suffrage side by such an arrangement. The fact that our friends have permitted themselves to be thus gagged proves the point made by the National Union at its Council, that however much they desire to help us, they are, in fact, powerless to do so while Mr. Asquith is Prime Minister.

#### The Folly of the Government.

Some years ago that admirable Liberal paper the *Nation* stated that the W.S.P.U. had had extraordinary luck in its dealing with the Government. Every time the militants did something foolish, it did something more foolish still. (I am not sure that the word was not something stronger than "foolish," but I have not that number of the *Nation* by me.) It could hardly have been supposed that such a statement should be so completely verified as it is to-day. The Government has, in fact, by its recent action, alienated both Press and public: the Press by its attempt to stop the publication of the *Suffragette*, and the public by its refusal to uphold the right of free speech. The scene in Trafalgar Square on Saturday is described variously according to the point of view of the describer; but there seems to be no doubt that perfectly peaceable Suffragists were not protected in Hyde Park the Sunday before; that the Nottingham police refused protection to Suffrage meetings; and that, in consequence of the attitude of the Government, people who "detest criminal militancy" (*vide* Mr. Kennedy's letter to the *Daily Citizen*, May 5th) are infuriated at what they hold to be the denial of the right of free speech and a free Press. The *Manchester Guardian*, which is a Liberal paper and strongly opposed to militancy, speaks as strongly on these

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The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies being a body which exists solely to obtain the enfranchisement of women, holds no official view upon any other topic. Opinions expressed upon other subjects must not be regarded as necessarily those of the Union.

**Dedication.**

**A Women's Pilgrimage.**

The National Union is planning the biggest thing it has yet done in the way of a demonstration. As usual, the Executive Committee feel that the success of this enterprise depends on the whole-hearted, loyal support and co-operation of the four hundred Societies and seventeen Federations of the Union.

They have never counted on these in vain, and the Committee go forward boldly, knowing how generous and enthusiastic the response will be.

The plan briefly is that each of the Federations shall organise a Women's Suffrage Pilgrimage and march to London, joining other Federations on the way, each procession to hold meetings, distribute literature and information, and collect subscriptions and promises on the way, and to have as their final goal a great Hyde Park meeting on Saturday, July 26th.

The Pilgrims will march along the great trunk roads converging on London. The main routes will be the Great North Road, Watling Street, the Bath Road, and the Portsmouth Road. The Societies on the various lines of march will be asked to help in every possible way, by swelling the number of the Pilgrims, by offers of hospitality, by loans of traps and cars, by help in the organisation of meetings and the collection of funds.

The key-note of the Pilgrimage will be the joyousness of self-dedication to a great cause. There will be nothing dismal about it. Every Pilgrim will have in her heart a deep sense of reverent happiness that it has fallen to her lot to have the chance of dedicating herself to one of the greatest movements which has ever taken place in the history of the world.

Some of the Pilgrims, when once the march is over and the great meeting brought to an end, will no doubt be compelled to return by train to their respective homes. But it is hoped that many will be able to remain in London over the Sunday, and that they will mark their deep sense of the national import of our cause and all that it means for humanity, and their own grasp of its spiritual significance, by attending the afternoon service in St. Paul's on July 27th. St. Paul's is a national temple; all minor differences of creed or sect may well be laid aside under its mighty dome. It will be a fitting climax to the long effort and self-sacrifice of the march to be able to gather together reverently in St. Paul's,

"Under the cross of gold,  
That shines by city and river,"

there to renew our purpose of self-dedication, and to learn from the mighty dead around us "what long-enduring hearts can do."  
MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

**The Root of the Matter.**

The speeches made in the debate on Mr. Dickinson's Bill struck a familiar note at once. The introducer laboured, doubtless, under a sense that the Bill was doomed beforehand, and though it might scrape through its Second Reading, could never become law. But, in spite of this depressing sense of unreality, Mr. Dickinson's speech left on the mind the insurgent sense of coming victory. Turning in spirit from the sparse audience of bored and sleepy men before him, he reminded us of the rising tide without. All over the world the movement among women is surging and troubling, and everywhere is triumphant. When, after this, Mr. Arnold Ward arose, and contented himself with an appeal to innate Conservatism not to enfranchise so much as one woman, because such a concession

ago, and passed a resolution that no alteration of the franchise would be acceptable to them, that did not include women. The Chairman of the conference being asked whether this resolution bound the I.L.P. Members of Parliament to vote against the Plural Voting Bill replied that it did not bind them. On this point, Miss Ford's letter is explicit.

Finally, asked how it was that three members of the I.L.P. found it possible to vote against the Bill, while the rest did not because they held themselves pledged to their constituents to support it, we reply that the question when these pledges were given, and how binding they were, is a matter of the record of each individual. Each had to consider what pledges he had given, and how far he was bound in the new circumstances that had arisen since the introduction of the last Plural Voting Bill. Mr. Philip Snowden, Mr. Keir Hardie, and Mr. O'Grady decided that the conditions were so far altered as to make it their duty to vote against the Bill. Others held that their pledges still bound them. Others again abstained from voting altogether.

We recommend our readers to read Mr. Snowden's speech on the first day of the debate (April 30th), or his article in this month's *Englishwoman*, in which his view of the position is clearly set down.

**The Sincerest Form of Flattery.**

The Anti-Suffragists, who are nothing if not flattering, continue to follow in the steps of the Suffragists with a most admirable docility. Whenever we ask Mr. Asquith to receive a deputation they ask him to receive them "also." Now we have petitioned to be heard at the bar of the House of Commons, the N.L.O.W.S. wants to be heard "also." And the Co-operative Women having petitioned, it is said that the Anti-Suffragists have got together a petition from some working-women to be admitted to plead "also." It is consoling to think what an education in public work we are supplying to our much respected opponents. Already they have come out of their homes in hundreds to tell us to go back to ours. In America, I hear, some ladies travelled 3,000 miles merely to advise other ladies to stop at home.

**A Rare Bird.**

The real Anti-Suffragist is, indeed, an exceedingly rare bird. In a wide and varied experience, I myself have hardly met any of him, and practically none at all of her. For, be it remembered, that the real Anti-Suffragist objects to any woman having a vote, and it will be found that of such weird beings there are hardly enough to furnish forth a Campaign Committee for the Anti-Suffrage League. Almost every man believes that women who pay rates and taxes should have votes; but some are afraid to do good lest evil should come, so they join the Anti-Suffrage League. While the number of women who really believe that they themselves are unfit to vote could be put into a railway carriage and no one have to stand. What the Anti-Suffragist I have met most frequently believes is, that she is fit to vote but the other women are not. So she joins the Anti-Suffrage League too—to stop them. Heroic lady! Who now will say that women have no public spirit?

**The Pilgrimage of Grace.**

The pathetic farce of the "Private Member's Bill" is now played out, and those who, with loyal determination to leave no chance unused, did their best for it in the House, with those whose concern it was to persuade themselves and us that Mr. Asquith's "offer" was worth something, have done their best and their worst. To the N.U.W.S.S., who never believed in the Bill, its coming and going naturally means very little. It is ours now to set our faces once more forward, and take up our great adventure in the spirit of dedication. Mrs. Fawcett calls us this summer to a new work—a great Pilgrimage, from all parts of Great Britain towards her two capitals, Edinburgh and London. If we take up this call as Pilgrims, it will be an expression of the spirit that moves us—a spirit very present with all Suffragists, whether Christian or non-Christian, and whether holding a dogmatic faith or not. It is a moving, living sense of the deep, spiritual meaning of the Suffrage movement, as well as its high romance. We realise that with the Founder of the Christian religion, with S. Francis of Assisi, with all great spiritual leaders, our movement has come "to turn the world upside down"; and with something of the gaiety of the early Franciscans, and something of their eternal spring of hope and love, of faith in the world and faith in their own message, we will set out to win the world into our fellowship.

would be "the thin end of the wedge," the effect was almost ludicrous. One imagined that there would still be gentlemen in the British House of Commons prattling about the thin end of the wedge, while the tide rises till at last it surges over their heads, and a blessed silence falls.

None of the speakers, however, seemed to realise how inevitable it has all been. Or did they realise and refuse to admit it? In the records of the Union at Oxford will be found an interesting entry about our able opponent, Mr. Mackinder. Years ago, when he was an undergraduate, he led a debate on a resolution deploring the education of women. He at least is consistent. For, in fact, the "thin edge of the wedge" was driven in when women were allowed to read, and given the key of power—knowledge. The House of Commons is getting the thick end now.

What is "education"? It is not the same as knowledge. It is not reading or even writing books. It is the means by which we learn to use knowledge for the service of our generation. It must also make us wish to use it so. If it does not succeed in this, it is not education, but merely instruction; even more likely to lead to a purely selfish "disenchantment," than to a selfish happiness. A truly "liberal education" is not a question of what you learn—it may be science or literature or history or theology—but of the attitude of mind which is the result of your learning. Asking an artisan once why working-men asked ten times for teaching in political economy to once for every other subject, the reply was that without a knowledge of political economy, they "could not hope to improve conditions." Such an answer was a rebuke to the questioner. It showed that working-men are not thinking of education as a selfish luxury, or as a means of "getting on," but as a means of service.

So far as education has produced this attitude of mind it has been a success. So far as it has failed, it is a failure. The Suffrage movement among women is the justification of their education. Had they received it merely as knowledge, or as a means of intellectual enjoyment, or as an added grace and charm, those who opposed their being educated would have been right. It is not worth while to educate such. But because it has created in women just that desire to use knowledge for service, and face the pain of knowledge rather than consent to the suffering of other women; because a knowledge of public affairs has created the desire for public service; because, in fact, education has done for women just what it was desired and intended to do for men; therefore, we know that women have been worthy of education.

To realise how inevitable the "woman's movement" has been, the word "education" must be used in its widest sense. It is almost immediately evident that it is fatuous to give women a medical education and then be staggered because some wish to be physicians; or to give them a legal education and express astonishment when some wish to become solicitors or barristers. You cannot perpetually give people instruments and never find one who will wish to use them. But in a wider sense this is true also. The training women have had in public service, on Local Government Boards, has made nearly all of them Suffragists. The same is true of those who serve as Inspectors, or in other forms of public work. No one who knows anything of the Women's Trade Unions or the great Co-operative Guilds can fail to be struck with the magnificent education these organisations have given and are giving to their members, in public spirit, and the desire (and capacity) to work together for the common good. These women, again, are Suffragists. Why? Because, having education, women desire to use it. They have found in themselves unsuspected capacities, and they wish to serve with these.

It is not long since it was held to be a matter of common knowledge that a woman could never be a public speaker, because she could not make her voice heard across a Hall. It was believed that women were useless on committees because they could not learn to work together. They could not be surgeons because their nerve would fail at the critical moment. They could not be statesmen for fear of an "all night" sitting. But they have learned to make their voices heard, to work together, and to control their nerves. And now they desire to use their powers. How inevitable it all is! And how right! If women had received education for any smaller end than service, they would be as "disenchanted" as the woman of the "Veil and Lattice," whose search for happiness—and failure—is described on this page. But because they have received it with the determination that it shall bring them, not more happiness, but more insight, more understanding, more power to help, more willingness to suffer, more belief in goodness, more faith in our common humanity, therefore the happiness and hope and strength has been added to them.

If the education of women had not produced the Women's Suffrage movement, it would have stood condemned.

## Veil and Lattice.

In a recent review in *The Times* (March 13th, 1913), the writer observes:—"With a few negligible exceptions, Eastern women have not shown the slightest wish for freedom. . . . It is incontestable that they are generally happy. . . . Occasional acts of cruelty . . . do not seriously interrupt the genial current. . . . Even if Zehneb Hanoum had not been thoroughly disillusioned about Western civilisation, we should still have regarded her as a negligible exception."

It is interesting to compare these observations with the following passage written by Melek, the sister of Zehneb Hanoum, in "A Turkish Woman's European Impressions" (p. 89):—"An awful agony had seized and benumbed my soul; the words which he had uttered resounded in my brain, and little by little, sank into my understanding. Neyr, you must be veiled; that is to say, to be for ever cloistered like those who live around you; to be a slave like your Mother, and your cousins, and your elder sister; . . . to have a veil over your eyes and over your soul; to be always silent, always forgotten, to be always and always a thing."

Which of these statements are we to believe? Which is nearer the truth for the average Turkish woman of education? The interest of the book lies in the answer to these questions.

Zehneb's history, as revealed in her letters, is curious and probably unique. In 1906, as a young married woman, she escaped, at the risk of her life, from the fetters of a Turkish harem, through a *cordón* of Abdul Hamid's spies, and fled to Europe. She gives no details of the story of her escape; it is as though her brain refused to dwell upon it. All her comment is: "It is like a nightmare to me still. Every detail of that horrible journey will remain closely fixed in my brain till death." "The private reasons, alas, so tragic!" which made such desperate action necessary, are not given; and perhaps it is beyond the power of a Western mind to conceive what the pressure of those reasons must have been to compel a Turkish lady to break every attachment; to cut across all tradition, all accepted codes, both of religion, and of her own social world; and to throw herself, a fugitive, into the utterly unknown. She asks, very simply: "Does it require very much courage to risk one's life when life is of so little value?" And yet, to our stupefaction, we are shown this same woman in 1912, returning disillusioned and with thankfulness to her former servitude! How is it possible to explain this failure to justify all her former effort?

Zehneb's own reasons, definitely formulated to herself, are: A torturing sense of loneliness and exile; the Oriental longing for quietude, and a fatalistic sense of the futility of effort in a world where "plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose." But, after making due allowance for the difficulty of tracing the motives which dominate an Eastern mind, we cannot but feel that Zehneb's own conscious reasons do not fully explain the situation. Other and stronger compelling forces were at work. Irresistibly, we are reminded of the history of another woman, also enslaved, who escaped, but was driven back into her old life; of Mary Denbigh, in the "Daughters of Ishmael." "Her soul was as weakened as her body, and by much the same forces. Into her escape . . . she had put every particle of strength she could harness, and the result had always been failure. The social system was too mighty. She could not prevail against it."

In the case of Zehneb, as in that of Mary Denbigh, her past history was up in arms against a new way of life, and the ultimate victory lay on the side of the ancient conditions. Zehneb expresses a part of this as follows: "You who know what our life is in Turkey, and how we are kept in glass cases, and wrapt in cotton wool, with no knowledge of the meaning of Life, will understand how awful is the change, and how impossible for a Turkish woman is Western life." Here is the clue to her failure. In spite of her courage and her revolt, Zehneb had "no knowledge of the meaning of life" in a far deeper sense than she had the capacity to realise, and six years in Europe were inadequate to feed her starved soul; in spite of her joy at Nice, when, "for the first time in our lives, we could look freely into space—no veil, no iron bars," her destiny was to carry to the grave the same restrictions as those of her old companions: "for ever to have a veil over her eyes and over her soul." This was the doom which drove her forth, and drew her back, like a spent wave.

Over and over again, in her letters, the reader is made conscious of this veil between Zehneb and the world of human realities. Her education had been, as she herself says, "No

preparation for the battle of life"; her vaunted "culture"—in the completeness of which she believed to the end—had been a mere luxury and mental indulgence; it had not quickened the human sympathies; it had left her heart barren, incapable of any response apart from her own personal affections. Her frantic flight had nothing in it not personal to herself, no suggestion of a hope or a plan by which her fellow slaves might be set free. It was a revolt from her own individual sufferings, but it did not teach her to recognise the reasons for revolt in others, or even to respect them. This is curiously shown by her attitude towards the English Suffragists: "The most pitiful part to me is the blind faith these women have in their cause"; "These ill-advised women have overstepped the boundaries of their sex privileges," are her comments. Had she not once had the same "blind faith" and been equally "ill-advised"? Was there no connection between her revolt and theirs?

She had been intolerably unhappy, but her unhappiness had failed to bring her sorrow's great reward—the key to human hearts. All it gave her—all it conceivably could give her, was a desperate craving for personal happiness, and on that rock her whole adventure suffered shipwreck. "Even as I write, young men and maidens pass and repass before me, and I wonder more than ever whether they are happy. Yet what do they know of life and all its sorrows. *Sorrow belongs to the Turks; they have bought its exclusive rights.*" This is no mere rhetoric. It proceeds from sheer inability to understand the solidarity of human suffering. Here, again, is the veil and the lattice!

To complete her seclusion—a seclusion as inwardly perfect in Europe as it had been in Turkey—she is hemmed in and blinded by class prejudice: "No physical pain could be more awful to me than not to be taken for a lady," she writes. Speaking of a big crowd of men and women assembled to hear a Suffrage speaker, she quite naturally describes them as "a vulgar mob," as "degraded-looking ruffians, most of them." Is not this point of view inevitable in a woman whose only intercourse with another class had been with slaves, whose servitude only fundamentally differed from her own in that they must labour, whilst she must not? She has the slave's, and the slave-owner's, invariable contempt for labour and effort of any sort. "If this is what the women of your country have to bear in their fight for freedom, all honour to them, but I would rather groan in bondage." "If the joys of freedom have been denied to Turkish women, how many worries have they been spared?" Truth, as such, was actually displeasing to her, who had never been in touch with reality. When the editor of a Paris newspaper remarked to her "Les journalistes ont à cœur d'être aussi véridique que possible," she remarks: "A clever phrase, perhaps, but worse than anything he could have written in the six pages of his paper."

Expatriated by her own act, lonely, blind to the inner realities of life, and to the true meaning of freedom; dreaming of a personal happiness to be achieved without effort and without sacrifice; with eyes perpetually veiling themselves against Truth; class-bound, race-bound, enslaved in soul; most completely the victim of a "divided moral standard"; what could this woman possibly find of contentment in modern Europe? The Oriental in her, stunned at first by the shock of her flight, gradually resumed its ascendancy, and she turned her eyes with more and more of longing to the "reposeful" East. She quotes at the end of the book this saying of a Turkish warrior of long ago: "The world is a big garden which belongs to us all; one must wander about and gather its most agreeable fruits as one likes. Ah, the holy philosophy!" With these words the reader hears the shutting of the doors of the harem upon the slave who has returned to her slavery.

The *Times* writer looks upon Zehneb as a type of the *révoltée* who "would be interesting and unhappy in any society." He says these "Impressions" are amusing if rather superficial. But to the reader who looks below the surface their superficiality is tragic and not amusing by any means. To those who are struggling for the removal of all disabilities from all women Zehneb stands, not as "a negligible exception," but as a type of the calamitous results of artificial restriction upon the human soul. Here were most of the materials for happiness: youth, beauty, brains, power. For want of freedom, for want of training, for want of human intercourse with free men and free woman, for want of a sane sense of the meaning of life and of labour, all these precious materials were wasted; a human life failed of its purpose and a woman was drawn back into a degrading captivity. The Turkish "social system had been too mighty. She could not prevail against it."

LILIAN HAY-COOPER.

## The By-Elections.

### I.—Whitechapel.

We have received from Miss Rinder the following communication with regard to the results of the Suffrage campaign during the recent by-election at Whitechapel:—

"We feel gratified with the result of our campaign in Whitechapel. Over 1,000 'Friends' cards were signed, although considerable discretion was observed in enrolling only those who were genuine 'Friends.' The Organising Secretary of the London and Provincial Hat and Cap Makers' Union signed one of the 'Friends' cards 'for the Union,' and by a curious coincidence we enrolled the owner of one of the largest cap factories in London the next day.

"We attended the meetings of both candidates on the eve of the poll in order to ask questions. Sir Stuart Samuel's invariable reply to any question either directly or even remotely connected with Women's Suffrage was that he was opposed to Women's Suffrage; while Captain Montague Browne only answered a few out of the many questions put to him, and left severely alone any that had any connection with the extension of the franchise to women.

"A marked feature of this by-election was the keen interest in our movement displayed by men, many of whom gave us practical demonstration of their sympathy by helping at the Committee Rooms or open-air meetings.

### II.—Altrincham.

Candidates: Mr. G. C. Hamilton, Conservative.  
Mr. L. Kay-Shuttleworth, Liberal.

We have received the following communication from our Organising Secretary at Altrincham:—

A vacancy was caused in the Altrincham constituency last week, Mr. J. R. Kebty-Fletcher (U.) having applied for the Chiltern Hundreds. Both Parties have already adopted their candidate. There is no possibility of a Labour man being run in this division at present. Mr. G. C. Hamilton, the Conservative candidate, has replied in the negative to the official questions which were sent to him by the National Union. This was, however, only what could be expected, as Mr. Hamilton is the President of the Manchester Women's Anti-Suffrage Society.

Mr. L. Kay-Shuttleworth, the Liberal candidate, has promised to receive a deputation from the Altrincham Women's Suffrage Society in the course of a day or two, when the same questions will be submitted to him. Preparations are well in hand, and an active campaign is anticipated. Arrangements are being made for a committee room, which will be opened towards the end of this week. Speakers and helpers are urgently needed, and all information can be obtained from: The Organising Secretary, Manchester and District Federation, W.S.S., 16, Deansgate, Manchester.

It is expected that polling day will not take place until after Whit Week, but the division is a large one, and we hope that those who can possibly help us will make an effort to do so.

### III.—East Cambs.

Candidates: George Nicholls, Liberal.  
T. Denison-Pender, Conservative.

Committee Rooms: Fore Hill, Ely.  
In Charge of Committee Room: Miss Elias.  
Organiser in Charge of Election: Miss Waring.

The two candidates in E. Cambs. are unsatisfactory from the Women's Suffrage point of view. Mr. Nicholls believes in adult suffrage, which he describes as one man, one vote. He would support a Women's Suffrage measure backed by Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey. The opinions of Mr. Denison-Pender are (at the time of writing) unknown.

About 20 Women's Suffrage meetings are being arranged all over the constituency. Besides organisers we can count the following speakers:—Mr. Baines, Mrs. Bethune-Baker, Mrs. Bowes, Miss Clough, Miss Ewing, Mrs. Heitland, Mrs. Kennedy, Mr. P. Mirrlees, Mrs. Rackham, Mrs. Ramsey, Mrs. Rootham, Mrs. Stevenson, Mr. and Mrs. Vulliamy.

The local secretary of Cambridge, Mrs. Ward, and of East Cambs., Miss Colson, have enabled us to secure an army of canvassers and helpers; Mrs. Hartree, Mr. Mirrlees, and Mr. Tyndall are lending cars and helping in other ways. Mrs. Heitland, Mrs. Kennedy, Mrs. Kellet, Miss Thomas, and Mrs. Rootham have offered hospitality. It seems impossible to thank adequately the local organisations.

## Some New Books.

A SURVEY OF THE WOMAN PROBLEM. By Rosa Mayreder. Translated by Hermann Scheffauer. (Heinemann, 5s. net.)

The title of this book is unfortunate. It promises more than will be found between the covers, or than is set forth in the author's preface, and we fear that this circumstance may prevent some readers from recognising the valuable matter that is really contained in this collection of separate essays. From these no one direct line of thought emerges, yet when the reader comes to the last page, his mind has received a certain inclination; he finds himself thinking of humanity, not as persisting but as evolving. He perceives the fading out from civilisation of the specifically masculine fighting element, a fact which the author seems to view with alarm, and the merging into a common human type of both men and women. Beholding the gradual course of change, he sees his fellows exhibiting every degree of development and manifesting their true rank inevitably at the touchstone of sex relation. Particularly illuminating are the chapters headed: "On the subject of the 'Strong Hand,'" and "Vistas of Individuality." Of the former it might almost be said that it would furnish a liberal education to the average self-exalting man. It also indicates, though evidently without design, how ugly is the origin of that spirit of masculine domination upon which some anti-suffragists actually pride themselves.

The translation is adequate, but not brilliant; it is impossible to forget that what one is reading was written originally in another tongue, and now and again a suspicion occurs that some precise shade of significance has evaporated in the process of transference.

HOME LIFE IN RUSSIA. By Angelo S. Rappoport (Methuen), 10s. 6d. net.

To those who have some knowledge of what life may mean in a land where liberty is but an empty name, Mr. Rappoport's volume on Russia will come as a welcome relief, for as the author has evidently escaped the experiences of a Kropotkin or a Mary Antin, he is enabled to produce a gentler picture of society as he paints in scene after scene of the homely happenings in a typical Russian village. Thus, we gather that despite the most terrible housing conditions endured in the smaller communities, the hunger-bitten, industrious Russian peasant is not entirely unhappy as the year winds off its reel the numerous holidays and festivals on which the moujiks "not only repose, but also enjoy themselves." Indeed, the especial interest of the volume centres round those chapters which deal with the folk-lore underlying the ceremonies and the traditional observances in the home-life of the people.

The section on Schools and Education is, however, less illuminating, and hardly does justice to the vast enterprise which is afoot in Russia in this field of human activity, an enterprise which, by the way, largely receives its impetus from the inspiration of Russia's intellectual women. But in his attitude towards the woman's movement, Mr. Rappoport is incomprehensible throughout this volume. No one seems to know better than himself the hard lot of a woman born into a land where sex disability prevails. Speaking of the peasant women in the Russian village his sympathy wells forth. He gives a clear-cut impression of the creature whose fate "from the moment of her birth . . . is harder than the man's," and concludes the harrowing account with: "it is no exaggeration when we say that one of the worst things in Russian peasant life is the low estimation in which women are held." Yet, when he touches upon the higher education of women in his country, he expresses scornful disapproval of the existing colleges for women, without taking the trouble to indicate that though this educational system in Russia is, in his opinion, a wrong one, there is crying need for the development of women's intellect by some better method. "The Russians are very proud of their colleges for women," he remarks, "but whether they are really advantageous is after all questionable. . . . The college keeps them [i.e. women] eight years from their home duties and leaves them with ambitions that unfit them for their position in life. There are therefore great numbers of *déclassées* in Russia, a state of affairs probably

due to the colleges for women." Such unqualified statements are, of course, unfair to the world-wide woman's movement in general, and to the cultured women of Russia in particular, for if we may believe Madame Kovalesky and other experts in education, it is from the hands of women that Social Reform and Education in Russia have received its noblest inspiration.

Notwithstanding such shortcomings, the volume will be of much interest to the sociologist, the student of folk-lore and to the general reader, in whose interests the work has presumably been issued, and the excellent illustrations throughout give an actuality to the theme which is at once suggestive and delightful.

THE BANNER WITH THE NEW DEVICE. By William W. Hicks. (Sanctuary Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.)

It is curious how little authors seem to realise the impression made by the behaviour of their heroines. These young women, in too many cases, inflict their admirable opinions incessantly and with great fluency upon a world of imaginary admirers with whom the world of readers finds it impossible to sympathise. With a malicious joy these readers found all such ladies incarnated for scorn and derision in the daughter of Valerie Upton; and we cannot help suspecting that Miss Truly Sutherland, who wanders didactically through Mr. Hicks's rather artless pages, must have been what his countrywomen would call a school-mate of Miss Upton's. At college Miss Truly had apparently taken a course in "Therapeutics of Thought," and she proceeded to resuscitate her invalid mother by "treatment." Much of her protracted conversation is almost unintelligible to English readers; the statement, for instance, that "women are not peccable to so-called dogmatics," conveys no meaning.

We do not say that there is no real meaning behind the cloud of verbiage that makes up this book. Confused expression does not quite invariably indicate confused thought, and it is possible that Mr. Hicks may have something to say; all that we can be quite sure is that he does not say it.

## "The Englishwoman."

The May issue of *The Englishwoman* contains, as usual, much that is of interest on "live" questions of the hour. Mr. Philip Snowden gives his opinion in good round terms on the position of the Labour Party with regard to that "piece of political trickery," the Plural Voting Bill, and emphasises the fact that a lapse of three months' time does not lessen the "political dishonesty" in the substitution of a Plural Voting Bill for the wrecked Franchise Bill.

An unsigned article treats with intimate knowledge of one of the smaller problems of the day, the question of Hospital Nursing and the status of the Hospital Nurse, striking therein a fundamental principle that the votary must none the less treat her profession with respect, or face the inevitable result that the stream of service to the cause at heart may eventually be checked at its source. In the case of the hospital nurse, the self-sacrifice willingly offered by women has been utilised by governing bodies, so that the arduous and exacting conditions now imposed in hospitals are acting as deterrents to the best types of candidates, with the result that there is "a slow weighing down of the balance against the most honourable of professions." The writer sets down in conclusion a series of suggested reforms for the improvement of the lot and status of the hospital nurse, which would assuredly operate simultaneously in the interests of the patient.

Mrs. Wills' contribution on "Rural Schools: Women as School Managers" touches a little-discussed subject of national import. The need for women's co-operation in such a field might at first sight appear too obvious to call for special pleading, yet if the opportunity of a new Education Act is to be utilised, much hard work is required to obtain legislation that shall ensure the sorely-needed participation of women in the management of country schools.

Among other articles of interest in this issue are: Miss Paller's "Chivalry—?", Mr. James Haslam's "A Plea for the Extension of the Trade Boards Act," and "Woman's Suffrage in the United States," by Ida Husted Harper.

## LONDON SOCIETY OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

58, Victoria Street, S.W.

Public Reception, FRIDAY, MAY 16th, 3.30 to 6.15.

WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

Chair: The Hon. Mrs. SPENCER GRAVES. Speakers: Miss K. D. COURTNEY, Miss A. MAUDE ROYDEN (Editor of "The Common Cause"), Mrs. F. T. SWANWICK, M.A.

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## Correspondence

## THE I.L.P. AND THE PLURAL VOTING BILL.

MADAM,—I should like as one who was at the I.L.P. Conference in Manchester at Easter, and heard the debate on whether the I.L.P. should, or should not, oppose the Plural Voting Bill in the interests of Woman's Suffrage, to make it quite plain to our members what that resolution which was passed exactly meant, and how far it was binding on the I.L.P. Members of Parliament.

After it was passed, a delegate asked whether this definitely meant that I.L.P. Members must oppose the Plural Voting Bill. Mr. Anderson, the chairman, explained that it was not a binding mandate—it was a *lead*, and intended to show what the feeling of the whole I.L.P. is on this point. If possible this lead should be obeyed, and, of course, some members would obey it.

Everyone knew Mr. Hardie would act as he has done, for his pronouncement that because women had sacrificed so much Labour must now make sacrifices for them, was what really influenced the meeting.

We knew, of course, Mr. Snowden would do the same. The two reasons which, by discussion, I found prevented some from following their lead were that a pledge given, I may almost say, ever since the I.L.P. was formed, to fight against plural voting of all things is not to be easily broken, and the other, that to break it would probably mean losing their seats, and then the women's party in the House would suffer. It would be somewhat of a suicidal policy. The hands of I.L.P. members are never quite strictly tied, as it is a democratic body, just as is our National Union. But to have had such a lead given will have a tremendous effect upon the whole party, and will produce further results next year.

I hope our members will realise that we have not been treated falsely or betrayed. To have such a resolution passed, even as a lead, was a tremendous gain to our cause, and only those who are in the I.L.P., and know its principles about plural votes, can quite realise how much it means. The three brave men who stood by us will need our determined help next election. Certainly Mr. O'Grady will; as also, I imagine, the fifteen who abstained from voting.

I. O. FORD.

## THE PLURAL VOTING BILL.

MADAM,—May I make a few remarks in your columns regarding your attitude to the Plural Voting Bill, as shown in your paper of April 25th? You say "It does not attempt to remedy any injustice except that injustice which weighs against Liberalism." Is an injustice against Liberalism less of an injustice than an injustice against Unionism, or any other "ism"? I am a keen Suffragist and a member of your Union, but I cannot make myself believe that the whole duty of the Liberal Party is to redress women's grievances. There are other things that the people of the country expect from the Government, and have a right to expect from them, and the abolition of plural voting is one of them. They were pledged to that before the Franchise Reform Bill was thought of, or the Women's Amendments either.

If it is right, as you say, that the Labour Party should keep their pledges to their constituents in regard to the Plural Voting Bill, surely it cannot be right for the members of the Cabinet to break their pledges in regard to it. But you will say, "They broke their pledge to the women." Every fair-minded person knows they were compelled to do that by the action of the Speaker. They offer now the only thing a divided Cabinet can offer, a private Member's Bill, and the women scorn it. . . . I think your paper could easily be more fair to the Liberal Party.

JANET COCHRANE.

[The whole duty of every honest man is to pay his debts before he gives himself presents. I will remind Mrs. Cochrane that when Mr. Gladstone was urged by a deputation of English working-men to set right their grievances, and not risk the party over Home Rule for Ireland, he replied that it was the duty of England first to put right what she had done wrong. Quite apart from the merits of Home Rule, I think any party might be proud to be led on principles like those, and I believe if Mrs. Cochrane will read the debate on the Plural Voting Bill, she will find that the Government has almost openly abandoned them. With regard to the value of a private Member's Bill, and the injustice of this paper to the Liberal Party, my critic will find in the *Manchester Guardian* of May 5th that Liberals of unimpeachable loyalty criticise them quite as sharply as THE COMMON CAUSE.—ED. C.C.]

## THE NATIONAL UNION AND MILITANCY.

MADAM,—While thoroughly appreciating the admirable article in your issue of May 2nd on "The National Union and Militancy," may I be allowed to criticise one statement in it?

It is said "Militancy has introduced into the Suffrage movement elements of revenge, of contempt for others, of unreason, of deafness to honest and considered criticism, which in a movement which stands for peace and justice and humanity are tragic." I would say that if such discordant elements exist in the Suffrage movement to-day, they were not introduced into it by the Militants, but by the Liberal Government, which met the demands of women who stood for "peace, justice, and humanity" with "contempt, deafness, and unreason," and introduced into the struggle the elements of bitterness which their continued lack of straightforwardness in dealing with the question has deepened into rebellion.

EDITH CLARENCE (W.S.P.U.).

[We do not feel that Miss Clarence's statement touches our argument at all. It is no answer to the charge of bitterness and unreason to say that our opponents have been bitter, unreasonable, and treacherous. We are not responsible for their errors, but for ours, and the attempt made so constantly by Militants to make others responsible for what they do seems to us most lamentable. The plea that "Men have done these things, Cabinet Ministers have taunted us, politicians have been treacherous first," is a confession of weakness, and the only confession ever wrung from the lips of Suffragists. Injustice and bitterness have won no real victory over us until they make us unjust and bitter too. Then indeed they have conquered. And if all the Suffragists argued as Miss Clarence and her Union do, we should indeed have to admit defeat, even if the vote were ours already.—ED. C.C.]

## SUFFRAGISTS AND MILITANCY.

MADAM,—I was recently given a copy of the 1912 Report of one of the Federations, and noted with amazement that some of the committee in one branch have resigned on account of militancy. I could have understood their doing so, if the methods objected to had been practised by erring members of the N.U.W.S.S., but it is hard to realise the line of thought which induced the illogical result of resignation on account of another Society's tactics.

Do Church people secede when Kentsites wax militant? Are we to expect a change of front from Unionists if Ulstermen protest at the point of the sword? I fail to see how a matter of strategy on the part of others could ever deter anyone from continuing to hold to and (therefore) work for their own ideal. Whatever the professed reason, I can only suspect the backsliders of moral cowardice, in shirking the risk of being popularly confounded with the delinquents in question.

Perhaps they aver that their belief in the fitness of women to vote is shaken owing to passing violence on the part of a few? But the majority of militants are at least earnest and self-sacrificing women, however unfortunate in thinking it wise to imitate the unworthy (but not always futile) type of policy often employed by men.

I feel that all Suffragists are animated fundamentally with one and the same spirit, and are but temporarily divided through "diversity of gifts and judgment." M. A. A.

## MR. HAROLD SPENDER'S SUFFRAGISM.

MADAM,—With reference to a paragraph in "Notes and Comments" in last week's COMMON CAUSE on the subject of the Liberal candidate for Cambridge, I write to inform you that Mr. Harold Spender was elected on two successive years to the Executive Committee of the London Society for Women's Suffrage, and served on that body from December, 1905, to November, 1907, so the shock to some of us on his announcement that he was a Suffragist was not quite so severe as it seems to have been to Mr. Spender's Liberal ex-supporters in Cambridge.

PHILIPPA STRACHEY.

[We learn also that Mr. Spender's annoyance was embittered by the refusal of some Newnham students to dine with him at the Eighty Club. Our sympathies are now all with Mr. Spender in his very natural disappointment. We have dined with those Newnham students ourselves, and found it a most exhilarating experience.—ED. C.C.]

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## Women Liberals in Council.

The Women's Liberal Federation has let slip another opportunity of bringing pressure to bear upon their party. At their Annual Council Meeting on May 6th, a resolution was moved by Mrs. Eva McLaren, in the name of Tunbridge Wells:—"That no Women's Liberal Association is eligible for affiliation which will not pledge itself to abstain from working for any Liberal candidate who is not able to satisfy the Executive Committee of the Association that he is determined to promote the enfranchisement of women by every means in his power."

Speaking in support of the resolution Miss Bertha Mason pointed out that in one constituency (Ashton-under-Lyne), where for the last twenty years the Women's Liberal Association had refused to work for candidates who were not satisfactory on the Suffrage question, Anti-Suffrage candidates had simply not dared to come forward, and the Women's Association had obtained great influence. What one constituency could accomplish, Liberal Associations in other places could achieve. Unfortunately the resolution was lost, by 629 votes to 298. So, too, was a resolution against allowing the paid organisers of the Federation to work for any unsatisfactory candidate. Had the vote been taken on the following morning—as it is believed that the majority of the Executive desired—after the news of the defeat of the Representation of the People (Women) Bill, the result might have been very different; for the meeting on Wednesday morning was filled with burning indignation, and much bitterness was expressed both with regard to the ingratitude of Irish members, whose cause owed so much to the support of the Women's Liberal Federation, and to the conduct of Liberal members who had voted against the Bill, in spite of pledges to support Women's Suffrage. Considering how high feeling ran, speakers showed wonderful restraint in supporting a resolution which was practically a vote of censure upon those Liberal members who had voted against the Bill:—"That the Women's Liberal Federation, in Council assembled, regards it as a severe menace to democratic progress . . . that there should be 76 Liberal Members of Parliament found to vote against the application of Liberal principles to the whole of a sex."

One member, however, confessed that no decent public platform ought to hear what she thought upon the subject of the treachery of so-called friends in the House. The debate was wound up by Mrs. McLaren, who appealed once more to Liberal women to show a united front and insist upon their rights, as the issue lay in their hands. "Make your own terms," she urged, "tell them you will not give your work unless you get something in return." The resolution was carried unanimously, but we fear its effect has been destroyed beforehand by the decisions that went before.

### Meeting of the Actresses' Franchise League.

Mrs. Fawcett has sent the following letter to the press:—  
SIR,—I accepted an invitation to occupy a seat on the platform at the Actresses' Franchise League meeting on Friday on the distinct promise from the organising secretary that militant speeches would not be made. The great majority of the long list of speakers honourably observed this undertaking; but a few did not, in consequence of which I and some others left the platform and the theatre before the end of the meeting. I make no charge against the organising secretary, in whose good faith I have absolute confidence.  
M. G. FAWCETT.  
(President, N.U.W.S.S.).

### "The Common Cause" Competition.

We have received the following entries from Societies for THE COMMON CAUSE competition:—

Ambleside.	Leeds.
Ayr and Troon.	Malvern.
Banbury.	Manchester.
Birmingham.	Newcastle.
Bradford.	Pangbourne.
Brighton and Hove.	Perth, Bridge of Earn and Seone.
Bristol.	Preston.
Camberley.	Purley.
Colwyn Bay.	Redhill, Reigate and District.
Edinburgh.	Rochester and District.
Exeter.	Rotherham.
Farnworth.	Scarborough.
Glasgow.	St. Andrews.
Hackney (North).	Southport.
Harrogate.	Warrington.
Herts (East).	Weston-super-Mare.
Hitchin, Stevenage and District.	Whaley Bridge.
High Wycombe.	Worcester.
Hull.	Whitehaven. Woking.

## National Union Party to Budapest.

To attend the VIIth International Congress, June 15th to 20th.

### ITINERARY OF JOURNEY.

(Under the Management of THOS. COOK & SON.)

**Saturday, June 7th.**—Leave London (Victoria Station, S.E. & C. Rly. Co.) 8.35 p.m., via Folkestone and Fushing.  
**Sunday, June 8th.**—Arrive Dresden about 10 p.m.  
**Monday, June 9th.**—At Dresden—drive.  
**Tuesday, June 10th.**—Leave Dresden 9.48 a.m., arrive Vienna 10.30 p.m.  
**Wednesday, June 11th.** } In Vienna—one drive.  
**Thursday, June 12th.** }  
**Friday, June 13th.**—Proceed to Budapest, leaving Vienna at 9.5 a.m., arrive Budapest 1.40 p.m.

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- 2.—Good hotel accommodation, consisting of plain breakfast, luncheon, dinner, and bed, from breakfast on June 8th until breakfast between Vienna and Budapest on June 13th.
- 3.—Omnibus transfer between station and hotel on arrival and departure at Dresden and Vienna, and on arrival at Budapest.
- 4.—One carriage drive at Dresden, and one carriage drive at Vienna.
- 5.—Fees for sightseeing in connection with the two drives named.
- 6.—Free conveyance of 56 lbs. of baggage from London to Budapest on the outward journey. Hand baggage can also be taken.
- 7.—Fees in connection with train reservations, hotel servants and railway porters, also to the drivers of the various conveyances utilised whilst travelling with our Representative on the outward journey from London to Budapest.
- 8.—The services of an experienced Courier to travel with the party to Budapest, generally supervising the arrangements, and acting as Interpreter whenever necessary en route.

Tickets can be made available for 60 days if ordered when paying the deposit.

All those wishing to join the N.U. Party to Budapest should send in their names to Mr. A. E. Spires, care of Messrs. Thos. Cook & Son, 125, Pall Mall, not later than May 15th, and as much earlier as possible.

Owing to the difficulty in getting hotel accommodation in June, it is essential for Messrs. Cook & Son to know the total number of travellers for whom they will have to cater.

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## In Parliament.

April 30th and May 1st.

**PLURAL VOTING BILL.**—The debate on the Plural Voting Bill was specially interesting to Suffragists for three reasons: (1) No attempt was made to conceal the fact that this particular part of the Franchise Bill was saved from the wreck because it was of advantage to the Liberal Party. (2) The pretence that only one clause could be saved, because there was "no time" for more, was imposed by Mr. Snowden, in a merciless analysis of the amount of time promised to this Bill and to Mr. Dickinson's Bill, and the amount originally proposed for the Franchise Bill now withdrawn. Two or three days added to the end of the session were all that, at most, have been saved by the substitution of the Plural Voting for the Franchise Bill. And for these days the Prime Minister has sacrificed his pledges to the women! (3) The basis of the franchise was examined in speech after speech, and not one man was found bold enough to base the vote on physical strength. Perhaps this was why an argument so singularly apt to the case against Plural Voting was unheard, also in the debate on the Women's Suffrage Bill.

May 5th and 6th.

**WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE BILL.**—The debate on Mr. Dickinson's Bill was almost devoid of the "humour" which used to be thought suitable for the subject. Only one speech was entirely idiotic—that of Mr. Hunt, whose opposition was based on his dislike of having (conceivably) to address the chair as "Mrs. Speaker," and to allow women to wear hats in the House. It was perhaps this speech that made Sir J. Compton-Rickett suggest that Women's Suffrage would lower the intellectual standard of Members of Parliament. But apart from this refreshing absence of imbecility, there was also a depressing flatness in the debate. More than one supporter of the Bill openly declared his conviction that the measure could not become law, and would not be voted on upon its merits. And in these circumstances it was not perhaps astonishing that the House was often very thin. Women Suffragists have got beyond the stage of being excited about a Bill which cannot possibly reach the Statute Book. The House was packed to hear the Prime Minister, and decently full for Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Philip Snowden. But at no other time was there a large attendance, and over and over again the House might have been "counted out." To Suffragists perhaps the most interesting moment in the debate was that when Mr. Asquith announced the acquiescence of the whole Cabinet in his proposal to offer facilities for a private Member's Bill, in exchange for the amendment to his own Government measure. No one, it seems, had objected, and we trust that those who resent the anti-Government attitude of the N.U.W.S.S. will ponder these things. As before, Lord Robert Cecil announced for the Conservatives that no one of them, however keen a Suffragist, would vote for the application of the Parliament Act to a private Member's Bill. Unless, therefore, the Lords accepted the Bill, it stood no chance of Conservative support. For our part, we are glad that the farce is played out, and no further time need be wasted on what was a hopeless business from the beginning.

**THE DEBATE.**—The outstanding speeches in the debate were those made by Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Philip Snowden, Mr. Asquith, Lord Robert Cecil, Sir Edward Grey, Sir Alfred Mond, and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. I think the women in the Gallery must have felt that Mr. Snowden spoke with the same intensity and fire and force as any woman had she been allowed to speak for herself.

Mr. DICKINSON spoke of the rapid growth of the movement all over the world, and claimed that they were legislating "not for the women of yesterday, but for the women of to-day and to-morrow." The finest passage in his speech—and perhaps in any speech—ran thus: "This House is very powerful; but there is a greater power—that of justice. You may reject this Bill to-day. You will be compelled soon, not by threats or by violence, but by the all-pervading pressure of justice, to yield." Mr. ARNOLD WARD warned Conservatives against the thin end of the wedge, and the world in general against Mrs. Pankhurst. He threatened in mysterious terms that if any woman got the vote, "He" (Mr. Ward and his friends) would insist on all having it. He was not good enough to explain why.

Sir JOHN REES pointed out that, owing to their physical weakness, women "cannot fulfil their engagements; cannot undertake work; cannot week in and week out, year in and year out, work like men." In support of these views he quoted Otto Weininger, a German, who went mad and shot himself at the age of 24.

Lord WOLMER gave instances of women suffering from being disfranchised—the attack on the pit-brow workers, the refusal to admit them to the Bar, and the long delay of the White Slave Traffic Bill.

Sir ALFRED MOND showed the enormous amount of support for Women's Suffrage to be found among women of all classes, and challenged the Anti-Suffragists to produce some evidence at least to prove their contention that women "do not want the vote."

Mr. LYNCH, speaking of "chivalry," said:—"When one thinks of the many women starving in London to-day, the many women driven into the streets, the many women sweated, the many women on whose labours and underpaid toil colossal fortunes have been built, and how men have climbed to fame and fortune and high places even in our own legislative Chamber on the bones of women whose very lives they have sacrificed, how can our moderns dare to speak of chivalry?"

Mr. LEIF JONES said:—"We do not conscientiously do injustice in this House, but we are not capable of doing justice to a class not represented here."

Mr. PHILIP SNOWDEN, whose speech was the finest in the debate, dealt with the demand for a "mandate," by showing how Mr. Asquith's pledge had put Woman's Suffrage before the electorate, and had been admitted by the *Times*, by Dr. Massie, and by the *Anti-Suffrage Review* to have done so. He referred to the good effect of the reform in Australia, and in a moving passage deplored the waste of energy going on in Great Britain: "Tens of thousands of women are being compelled to devote their lives, their means, their energies, and their great abilities to this fight for the political vote, and all the time they are pining to be free in order that they might devote themselves to the work of constructive social reform. Every good cause is immeasurably poorer in service because we condemn women to devote themselves to this fight. They are compelled to do that because they realise that the vote is the primary need to them. Their hearts are sick at the painful and depressing monotony of it all. I do not appeal to the sympathy or the generosity of this House. I appeal to its sense of justice."

Mr. ASQUITH totally rejected the idea that the House was not competent to deal with Women's Suffrage without a further mandate, but spoke of the Bill as a very dangerous measure. It would admit to the franchise "the largest addition of electors ever made by this or probably by any other Legislature." He said no one had a "right" to vote and he feared the ill-effect of Women's Suffrage on male chivalry, which he evidently thought less reliable here than in Australia, for he rejected with scorn the assurance that in Australia chivalry had survived votes. Mr. Asquith denied that Parliament had been "unduly negligent or oblivious to the interests of women, but thought that no legislation in the world had ever done so much for them."

LORD ROBERT CECIL appealed to Unionists to vote at least for the Second Reading, as the Bill could be altered in Committee if the House desired it. He challenged opponents to produce a single instance of "political or quasi-political power" having been entrusted to women and used worse than by men.

Sir EDWARD GREY asserted, in the face of Mr. Asquith's denial, that opposition to Women's Suffrage was "really anti-democratic." The most interesting passages in his speech were those which denied the possibility of separating social from political legislation, and asserted the ability of women to understand foreign policy as well as any elector was ever called upon to understand it. He said:—"Legislation at the present day vitally affects the conditions of women in their lives. Somebody said last night, arguing against the Bill, that there might be a case for giving women the vote if you separate the social from the political side of legislation. You cannot separate them." And later:—"It may be that you may have a Government which so misconducts foreign affairs in the opinion of a number of people, or embarks on a policy which they think reckless or morally wrong, that it might become an issue to be decided by the casting of votes which would be very important. I say, as far as I am concerned at any rate, whether you are talking about economics, or any other matter in politics, the woman who makes the home is in no way inferior in studying politics to the man who labours to support the home."

Mr. RAMSAY MACDONALD gave instances of Bills which had suffered from the ignorance of those who had to deal with them—such as the "Children's Bill," the Insurance Act and others. In a notable passage, he demanded the co-operation of women on an equal footing. "We want women to do things for themselves," and not use "the humiliating argument" that they could "get men to do them."

The House dividing, the Bill was lost by a majority of 47 (266—219).

[We propose to analyse the voting lists in our next issue.]

### Mr. Asquith's Notion of Fair Play.

When Mr. Asquith withdrew his Franchise Bill a few weeks ago, he had to find some way of keeping his promise that Women's Suffrage should have a chance of passing into law, if the House of Commons wished it. He therefore offered to give time and fair play to a private Members' Bill giving Votes to Women. We knew that such a Bill would not get fair play, and so we refused to accept this offer as an honest exchange for the pledge we had received. Many people blamed us for this, and said Mr. Asquith's word was to be trusted absolutely. We ask those people to read this page and see what the Prime Minister meant by a free vote and free speech on the Suffrage Bill. They will then see that only one Member of the Government was allowed to speak on either side. This looks at first like

#### Fair Play.

but, in reality, it is another instance of the way in which Mr. Asquith is

#### Weighting the Scales against Women's Suffrage.

The fact that one Minister spoke for the Bill and one against it conveyed the impression that the Government was equally divided on the question.

This list shows that **not only the majority of the Government, but nearly all the weightiest speakers are supporters of Women's Suffrage.** The loss of their advocacy is by no means balanced by the abstention of the Anti-Suffragist Ministers

#### Fife Franchise Fortnight.

Miss Alice Crompton, writing from the Post Office, St. Andrews, sends us the following account of the Franchise campaign in the Prime Minister's constituency:

Writing when nine days of our fortnight's campaign have gone by, I can without hesitation say that all our efforts have been well rewarded. The countryside is buzzing with constitutional Suffrage; our tricolor flag is greeted with cheers as it flies from our car along the coast or over the hills; the local press is devoting columns to the cause. Everywhere our resolution begging the Prime Minister to introduce a Government measure to enfranchise women is carried with no or few dissentients. Up-to-date perhaps the two biggest successes have been scored by Miss Muriel Matters and Mrs. Aldersley. Miss Matters, in the Market Place of Cupar, an important little town in the centre of the county, held spell-bound an audience of farmers, gathered from far and wide.

In Kilconquhar Schoolroom Mrs. Aldersley's racy address, from the working women's point of view, was punctuated with applause from start to finish. It is no small feat to rouse these canny and unemotional Fifers to a warm expression of their feelings. We have been very fortunate in securing as our Chairmen six Ministers, three Provosts, a Doctor, and a Vice-Chairman of the County Liberal Executive. In only one place was the atmosphere unfriendly, and even there the speakers' addresses were listened to in attentive silence. On her request for questions, the cry "We want nae hooses burnt doon here," showed that her explanation of the N.U. non-militant tactics had fallen on deaf ears.

Up-to-date about 30 new members and many "Friends" have been secured for the local Societies, and had it been possible to have larger numbers of stewards, many more might have been enrolled. It is greatly to be hoped that the seed sown during the Fife Franchise Fortnight will be well watered and the fruit ultimately garnered in by the local Societies. St. Andrews, which with great spirit is securing an Organiser of its own for the month of May, will certainly do its share of this after-work.

Doubtless one reason why the ploughmen and fishermen show us sympathy is that their own acquisition of the vote is a recent event. Before 1884 not one of them was a citizen. "Eh, my bonnie lassie, I'll support ye: I'll sway the multitude for ye," cried an enthusiastic old fisherman to one of our canvassers; and a ploughman, shaking hands with another, said fervently, "Our sympathies are entirely with ye." As I write, on May 5th, we are looking forward to the arrival to-night of Miss Margaret Robertson, to whom we shall entrust the handling in her speeches of the Dickinson Bill before Parliament to-day. Great enthusiasm is being expressed in Leven, the chief town of the division, at the prospect of hearing in the Town Hall Miss Lumsden, one of Scotland's educational pioneers, a student in the earliest days of Girton, and an Honorary LL.D., like our own President, of St. Andrew's University.

Should sympathisers with our effort to enlighten the Prime Minister's constituents wish to make any gifts towards the very considerable cost of the campaign, they will be most gratefully received.

The Real State of the Case is shown by the following list:—

<i>Suffragists.</i>	<i>Doubtful.</i>	<i>Anti-Suffragists.</i>
Viscount Haldane	Marquess of Crewe	Mr. Asquith
Viscount Morley	Mr. Sydney Buxton	Mr. McKenna
Sir Edward Grey		Mr. Harcourt
Mr. Lloyd George		Colonel Seely
Mr. McKinnon Wood		*Mr. Churchill
Mr. John Burns		Mr. Pease
Mr. Runciman		Mr. Hobhouse
Mr. Birrell		Mr. Herbert Samuel
Earl Beauchamp		
Sir Rufus Isaacs		
	<i>Other Ministers.</i>	
Sir John Simon	Mr. Masterman	Mr. Harold Baker
Mr. Ure	Lord Lucas	
Mr. Ellis Griffith		
Mr. Acland		
Lord Emmott		
Mr. Tennant		
Hon. E. S. Montagu		
Dr. Macnamara		
Mr. J. M. Robertson		
Mr. J. H. Lewis		
Mr. Trevelyan		
Captain Norton		
	<i>The Government Whips.</i>	
Mr. Illingworth		Mr. H. Webb
Mr. Gulland		
Mr. Wedgwood Benn		
Mr. W. Jones		
Hon. Geoffrey Howard		

\* (Mr. Churchill has always professed himself a suffragist, but the Anti-Suffragists will probably claim him as belonging to their list.)

#### "This Rascally House of Commons."

"In spite, however, of the great influence which Place had acquired and of the very real and important reforms which he had secured, he sometimes lost patience completely. The trickery and dishonesty of the Whig party, the weakness of the Radicals, and the frequency with which those whom he had helped allowed themselves to be cajoled or bought over by Governments opposed to all progress, disgusted him. Thus writing to Hume in 1830, he says: 'I am a tolerably patient fellow, but on this one subject—this rascally House of Commons—I cannot always command my feelings. This atrocious assembly, whenever I think of it, excites in me indignation, hatred, utter abhorrence. Whenever I think of them I involuntarily run over a long list of their diabolical acts, their abominable conduct, which perhaps has no parallel, and I get ease only by cursing them most heartily and sincerely. I need not more particularly point out to you the cause of my abhorrence. You know these people in their corporate capacity thoroughly and can scarcely think better of them than I do.'"

—"Life of Francis Place." By Graham Wallas. pp. 190-191.

#### The Franchise in Belgium.

Belgian women are not sitting down under a franchise agitation which, while it calls for effective "universal" suffrage, means women out of court. A memorial signed by the Executive of the Belgian Federation for Women's Suffrage, by the Secretaries of the Belgian League for Women's Rights, the Society for the Amelioration of the Position of Women, the Belgian W.S.A., and the Antwerp Women's League, and by the Presidents of the Roman Catholic League for Women's Suffrage, and the Ghent Women's League, has been sent to the Members of the Chamber of Deputies. This document, in the name of Roman Catholic, Liberal and Socialist Women Suffragists, begs the members of all parties to bring about a conciliation which would be considered favourable by Government and Opposition: "namely, by making a beginning by reforming the municipal and provincial franchise, leaving the amendment to the Constitution till 1914. The memorial closes with a plea for justice to the women.

### Notes from Headquarters.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.  
 President: MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.  
 Hon. Secretaries: MISS K. D. COURTNEY, MISS O. E. MARSHALL (Parliamentary), MISS EMILY M. LEAP (Press), MISS I. E. O'MALLEY (Literature).  
 Hon. Treasurer: MRS. AUERBACH.  
 Secretary: MISS CROOKENDEN.  
 Offices: Parliament Chambers, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

#### New Societies.

BUXTED.—Surrey, Sussex, and Hants Federation.  
 HENLEY AND DISTRICT.—Oxford, Berks and Bucks Federation.  
 EPPING.—Eastern Counties Federation.  
 ILKLEY.—West Riding Federation.  
 NORTH BERWICK.—Scottish Federation.  
 MARCH.—Eastern Counties Federation.  
 PONTYPOOL AND DISTRICT.—S. Wales and Monmouth Federation.  
 BEACONSFIELD AND DISTRICT.—Oxford, Berks and Bucks Federation.

#### Press Department.

The orthodox party Liberal papers have shown throughout the week the hopeless perplexity they feel and would like to hide in face of the doubtful fate of Mr. Dickinson's Bill, and the confusion surrounding the recent actions of the Home Secretary.

The Daily Chronicle on May 6th "hoped the Bill would pass." It would be easier for the Government to save its dignity now than later. If it did not pass, the Chronicle reserved a loophole of escape in the shape of blame for the policy of the National Union, which had withheld support when the party "so sorely needed it." This short petulant article shows that the Liberal Press realises that its dignity is compromised by the weakness of its party, and that if Liberal members had meant business, they should have bestirred themselves in earnest to get the measure through.

The Westminster Gazette, after the Speaker's ruling in January, affected admiration for the "quixotic" generosity of the Prime Minister in his treatment of Women's Suffrage. When once again this week a private Member's Bill was before the House, the hostile paragraph in the Westminster re-appeared with the regularity of clockwork. On another page of the same issue, under the appropriate title of "Here, There, and Everywhere," the Westminster hopes that the woman candidate for the Italian Parliament, Madame Grazia Deledda, will be successful, and that the Sardinians "will seize their opportunity" and send her to Montecitorio, "the Italian St. Stephens."

The Daily News, Manchester Guardian, Daily Citizen, and the New Statesman have none of the difficulties which surround the more obsequious party papers. The articles of P. W. W. in the Daily News long ago warned the Government of the dangers which it was inviting by evasion. The Daily News this week has shown its impatience of the pedantry which delays reform in order to ascertain whether the "history of the Franchise contains any instances of concession to violence."

The Daily Citizen ridicules the appeal which Mr. MacCallum Scott sent out to Liberal members, in the form of a Whip and a pamphlet. If opposition to Women's Suffrage is "thoroughly consistent with the principles of Liberalism, so much the worse for Liberalism." Liberals of this type have no right to speak for democracy. "Even Mr. Asquith is beginning to realise by this time that he is fighting a losing battle."

The Manchester Guardian has had little to say for the facilities offered for the Bill which has just been killed. Its leading article on May 7th contains a long and severe criticism of the Prime Minister's speech. No further rulings of the Speaker must be allowed to stand in the way of fulfilment of his pledges when the next opportunity arises. If difficulties are still raised then "some other way of fulfilling the Government's pledge will have to be found."

The New Statesman, in an article on "The Dickinson Bill and Militancy," points out the utter futility of enfranchising women for fear of condoning militancy. The article is strangely oblivious of the whole constitutional movement existing outside the narrow bounds of the Women's Social and Political Union, but its conclusion is excellent. "When any considerable body in the State seriously demands the right of citizenship, two things can be tried; Liberalism which means enfranchisement, or Coercion. It is a stark impossibility for a Government seeking to represent the Liberal elements in the community, to adopt the latter alternative and to come through unscathed. Every fresh step in that direction must, by the hard logic of necessity, lead

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it into an ever more obvious denial of the very principles to which its owes its existence."

The Times and Morning Post continue their policy of rigid suppression of facts which men ought to know in order to form that "considered judgment" in which they excel, and which these newspapers believe to be so necessary for good legislation.

Treasurer's Notes.

The plans for a great Women's Suffrage Pilgrimage, as foreshadowed in last week's COMMON CAUSE, have now been definitely adopted, and the idea is being hailed with acclamation all over the country.

In some way every Suffragist must give us assistance, and be ready to take some part in this united act of dedication to the cause of women's enfranchisement, so that our Pilgrimage shall stand out and impress the world as an object lesson in women's power of self-denial, earnestness, and enthusiasm.

The honour of being the first to send an offering to the Pilgrimage Fund belongs to Mrs. Harley, the able and popular chairman of the West Midland Federation, in whose fertile brain the idea of a Women's Suffrage Pilgrimage originated.

Every individual must feel that her own special effort is of infinite value, and that on her individually falls an important share of responsibility for the progress of a movement that is bound up with the preservation of ideals that are vital to civilization and essential to the upward progress of humanity.

Send your Preliminary Donation to the Pilgrimage Fund as soon as possible.

HELENA AUERBACH.

Contributions to the General Fund.

Already acknowledged since November 1st, 1912 ... £ 1,780 10 6 Received April 29th to May 5th :-

Table with columns for Name, Amount, and Total. Includes Subscriptions, Donations, and Affiliation Fees.

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"COMMON CAUSE" COMPETITION.

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The National Union enjoins upon all its Societies the duty of promoting the circulation of its organ, THE COMMON CAUSE, which is of unique value to our movement, both as a means of spreading accurate knowledge and information concerning the political situation and as a paper that aims at educating and influencing public opinion.

The prize will take the form of a grant to the winning Society for special Suffrage work. Seeing how often our active Societies are hampered for want of funds, it is believed that this form of prize will be more acceptable than any other, and in the hope that all Societies, from the largest to the smallest, will enter for this competition, the following scale of prizes has been fixed :-

- A grant of £5 to the winning Society having less than 100 members.
A grant of £10 to the winning Society having over 100 and under 500 members.
A grant of £20 to the winning Society having over 500 members.

Rules of the Competition.

1. Societies who wish to enter for the competition must send in a formal entry and state the number of their members. All entries must be received on or before Monday, May 12th, and must be addressed to THE COMMON CAUSE Competition Secretary, c/o N.U.W.S.S., 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

2. The time allowed for the competition will be two months. During that period competing Societies will make every effort to obtain promises, in writing, from as many of their members as possible to subscribe to THE COMMON CAUSE for not less than twelve months.

3. The written promises must be collected and sent up in one single envelope from each competing Society, addressed to the Competition Secretary, c/o N.U.W.S.S., 14, Great Smith Street, S.W., and must reach the office not later than Monday, July 7th, the date on which the competition will close.

Copies of THE COMMON CAUSE may be ordered from Headquarters, but a still better way is to employ local agents and thus to stimulate circulation.

In the case of one member taking several copies of THE COMMON CAUSE, each copy would count, for competition purposes, as a promise.

It is the PERCENTAGE of promises that counts. That is to say, if a Society with 120 members gets 120 promises to take in the paper, that is 100 per cent., or if a Society has 500 members and gets 750 promises, that is 150 per cent. The size of the Society, therefore—whether large or small—should not prevent anyone from entering.

All Societies are strongly urged to enter for THE COMMON CAUSE Competition.

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News from the Societies and Federations.

BOURNEMOUTH.—Mrs. Baker held a Drawing-room Meeting on April 11th at Southbourne. Miss Ward, of London, was the speaker and gave a very able address, after which several new members—men and women—joined the Branch. On April 18th our Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. Lane, spoke to the Winton Brotherhood on "Women and Labour." The Chairman, hearing she was a Suffragist, declined to act, but at her request remained in the Hall, and at the end of the meeting declared himself a convert to Women's Suffrage.

London.

BALHAM.—A pleasant and successful meeting was held on April 31st by kind permission of Mrs. Ritchie. The speakers were Miss Agnes Dawson and Mr. Reginald Pott, of the Met's League, whose admirable addresses gained us more sympathisers in the district.

BERMONDSEY.—An address was given by Mrs. Stanbury on "Women and Citizenship" at the afternoon service at Oakley Place Wesleyan Chapel, on May 4th. The large audience was deeply impressed and many became "Friends of Women's Suffrage." Mrs. Stanbury's address will be published in the organ of the South East London Wesleyan Mission.

CANNING TOWN.—On April 11th a meeting on the question of Women's Suffrage was held by kind permission of Alderman Hurry at the North West Ham Progressive Club, Romford Road. Mr. Crosby took the Chair and an excellent address was given by Miss Geraldine Cooke, which was well received by the men present. Fourteen new members were afterwards enrolled as "Friends." This is the first meeting they have had on Women's Suffrage.

CLAPTON.—A successful meeting was held in St. Matthew's Hall, Clapton, on April 29th. The Rev. O. R. Dawson presided and the speakers were Mrs. Fawcett and the Rev. F. A. Lacey. The following resolution was passed by an audience numbering over 400, with only three dissentients: "That in the opinion of this meeting nothing short of a Government measure can fulfil the Prime Minister's pledges given to the National Union in 1911." Three new members joined the Society and 24 "Friends" were enrolled, and a good collection was taken.

PENSBURY (E.).—On April 10th at Hope Mission, Berners' Street, E.C. Mrs. Watson addressed the Women's Liberal Association. Her speech was much enjoyed and she was asked to pay the Association another visit later. Sixteen "Friends of Suffrage" were enrolled.

HACKNEY (N.).—On April 24th a Drawing-room Meeting was held at 4, Darley Road, Stamford Hill, N., by invitation of Mrs. Summers, the speaker being Miss Agnes Dawson. It resulted in a gain of one new member and four "Friends" became members. The subject of Women's Suffrage was entirely new to some members of the audience.

HAMMERSMITH.—A small Suffrage tea was given on April 29th by kind invitation of Miss C. Snow at 16, Bridge Avenue Mansions.

HOLBORN.—On April 23rd a successful evening meeting was held at 25, Cartwright Gardens, Euston Road, by kind permission of Miss Rendell. A number of poor working women attended and were much interested in Miss Anna Martin's address, following very intelligently all the points she made and discussing them afterwards. About 18 were enrolled as "Friends," promising to talk to their husbands and neighbours. Tea was provided and they seemed thoroughly to enjoy the evening. On April 24th Mrs. Candy, 6, Gordon Square, lent her drawing-room for an afternoon meeting. Mrs. Gingham spoke and Mr. Candy took the Chair. The audience were much interested.

ISLINGTON (W.).—The first of a series of open-air meetings on Thursdays was held on May 1st at Albion Street, King's Cross. Miss Philippa Fawcett was the principal speaker, and the audience numbered from 250 to 300. Mrs. Richardson presided, delivering a fine speech. Some "Friends" were afterwards enrolled. Our meetings are always orderly and the police seem to enjoy the speeches as much as the audience.

GREENWICH.—A successful Public Meeting was held in the Borough Hall (Concert Room) on April 28th. The Ven. Archbishop Eccret was in the Chair and the speakers were Miss Frances Sterling and the Rev. Llewellyn Smith. The Resolution was carried nem. con., and 76 "Friends" were enrolled. A vote of thanks to Chairman and speaker was proposed in an interesting speech by Mr. G. Monk and seconded by Mrs. Copperthwaite. An Open-air Meeting was held on April 26th at the corner of Stockwell Street and London Street. Miss M. Godard addressing a large and sympathetic audience.

KENNINGTON.—On April 14th Miss Ruth Young gave an excellent address on "The Spiritual Side of Women's Suffrage." The Rev. Edwin Groat presided and supported Miss Young admirably. A dozen "Friends of Suffrage" were made. On April 28th a very successful Public Meeting was held in the Upper Kennington Lane L.C.C. Schools, when Miss Edith Falliser presided. Miss Fielden was greatly appreciated and speeches from Miss Hewett, Mr. Percy Ayles and the Rev. Edwin Groat also aroused much interest. The resolution calling upon the government to introduce a measure of Women's Suffrage this session was seconded by Mr. Ayles, President of the local Liberal Association, and was passed with only two dissentients, an unfavourable amendment having failed to find a second. A quantity of literature and copies of THE COMMON CAUSE were sold and several "Friends of Suffrage" were made.

KENSINGTON (S.).—A most successful entertainment was given by the S. Kensington Committee at Philbeach Hall on April 29th. Mrs. Blount kindly gave a lecture on "Travel in British East Africa and Uganda," illustrated by lantern slides. This was followed by a speech on Women's Suffrage by Miss Janet Thomson,

M.A. Her arguments were admirably driven home by the performance of "A Chat with Mrs. Chicky," given by Miss Inez Bensusan and Miss Addison of the Actresses' Franchise League. The acting was splendid and the play is excellent propaganda. There was a good audience and four new members joined the Society.

LAMBETH (N.).—On April 12th, over the Lambeth Savings Bank, Kennington Road, a Drawing-room Meeting was held by the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Wilkie Jones, when Mrs. Savory gave an address on the inequality of the law as it affects women. Mr. Meinertzhagen, L.C.C., kindly presided. Several members and "Friends of Women's Suffrage" resulted from this meeting.

MUSWELL HILL.—A lecture on "Joan of Arc" was given by Mr. T. Hurry Davies at the St. Andrew's Church Hall, on April 25th, under the auspices of this Branch of the L.S.W.S. Mrs. Walter Roch presided and in introducing the lecturer referred to the Welsh prophet, who foretold the fall of the wooden Orleans should come a virgin who would lead the French armies to victory. She said that Joan of Arc, who is the prototype of the Suffragists of to-day, showed an intense love of God and zeal for her country and the campaign which she led was wonderful in history. The lecturer gave a very graphic account of the trial and condemnation of Joan, and pointed out that her life shows what the love of country and people can effect in character. Today we depend too much on organisation and forget that most of the real victories are won by common people under spiritual inspiration.

The Rev. T. A. Lacey said that like all great visionaries Joan of Arc was distinguished for her common sense. He referred to the sensible way in which Jean Gerson, a typical theologian of the Middle Ages, wrote to her. Her opponents held that she was under the influence of the Evil One, but as Gerson observed it was not like the work of the devil to put a stop to bad language, drunkenness and ribaldry in the army as she did. Mr. T. Arthur Price and others took part in the discussion which followed. A vote of thanks to Mrs. Roch and Mr. Hurry Davies, proposed by Mr. Lingard, seconded by Mr. Downs, and supported by Miss Wilkie, Hon. Secretary, was carried with acclamation.

PADDINGTON (N.).—A very successful Drawing-room Meeting for Working Women was held at 101, Salutaris Crescent on April 29th, by permission of Mrs. Bull. The room was quite full and the audience—composed of non-members and "Friends of Women's Suffrage"—were very much interested in the admirable address given by Miss Ruth Young. A good deal of discussion followed, in the course of which the Chairman, Mrs. Jones, gave some of her own experiences at the Paddington Board of Guardians. One new member was gained and seven others enrolled themselves as "Friends."

WALTHAMSTOW.—This Branch held a meeting at the Pioneer Institute, Hoe Street, on April 21st, when the President, Mrs. Jones, occupied the Chair and the Vice-President, Miss Hibbert-Ware delivered a most interesting lecture on Hungary, illustrated by a lantern kindly lent and manipulated by Mr. Tavener. Tracing the history of the people from its origin through the long ages down to the present day, the speaker emphasised their independence referring specially to the position of women and the part they had played in the nation. At the close of the Miss Hibbert-Ware was given the opportunity to press home to the large audience the importance of all joining in the movement for the extension of the Franchise to Women, illustrating from personal experience the great need for this reform. Two songs were then admirably rendered by Mrs. Guyatt. Two new members were gained and 12 were enrolled as "Friends."

WALWORTH.—On April 8th at St. Stephen's New Parish Hall, Miss M. Fielden debated with Miss Mabel Smith, and appeared to carry her audience with her. Owing to local considerations a vote was not taken.

The Federations.

Scottish.

During the month many allusions have been made to the kindness of the Edinburgh Society in providing hospitality for the delegates to the Federation's Annual Meeting, and to the delightful reception given. The Federation recognises with pleasure the debt of gratitude it owes to the Edinburgh Society, and desires to add its thanks to those of the delegates. With the approach of summer, reports from the Societies decrease in number, work inevitably slackening in some districts. Where work is possible, the energy with which it is carried on and the success attending it, prove that there is no lack of enthusiasm for the Cause.

ARDROSSAN.—The Society was successful in securing two columns in the local paper giving a glowing account of the Federation's Annual Meeting and the reception on the previous evening. The article included an impressive review of the Suffrage question, and made most interesting reading.

CUPAR.—The energetic work of the members for the Jubilee Sale held by the Society in the Stratheden Hotel Hall on April 6th achieved a well-deserved success. The sum of £22 was realised, and the Society hopes to have the pleasure of handing over a substantial donation to the Federation.

DUNDEE AND DISTRICT.—The good work of Miss Craigie in building up Societies for the members in various parts of Forfarshire, has been interrupted by her call to the East Fife Campaign. At Carnoustie Miss A. E. Geekie has undertaken, *pro tem.*, the work of local Secretary, and there is good hope that the number of members, now 18, will soon increase. Miss Henderson, Secretary of the Dundee Society, is kindly carrying on the canvass of the district in Miss Craigie's absence.

EDINBURGH.—The roll of the Edinburgh Society has received many additions during the month, and now totals over a hundred. Much of the time of the

Office has been occupied in sending out the Annual Report in preparation for a Jubilee Sale which took place on May 3rd and the Friday "At Home," which have been very successful. On April 4th an address was given by Mrs. Melville on "Some Queens of Scotland," in which the speaker emphasised the fact that the interest attached to Mary Stuart was apt to draw attention from the many notable Scottish Queens of earlier times. Miss K. M. Loudon presided. On the 11th, under the title "The Nation's Greatest Asset," Miss Hilda Cotterill gave an excellent address on the children of the country; Mrs. Purves presided. On the 18th a very large audience listened to the address on "Penal Reform," given by Miss Matters, with a rousing criticism on the English prison system was summed up by pointing out the necessity for one which should include the reformation of the prisoner. On April 25th an audience, too large for the Hall, gathered to hear Miss Matters on "Ibsen's Social Dramas and their Bearing on Modern Problems." Quotations from the plays, exemplifying the real anomaly of accepted conventional standards with reference to questions on public and private life, were given in a masterly way, and in the comments on these Miss Matters showed the futility of trying to alter things by forcing, instead of educating an opinion, which she led was wonderful in history. The lecturer gave a very graphic account of the trial and condemnation of Joan, and pointed out that her life shows what the love of country and people can effect in character. Today we depend too much on organisation and forget that most of the real victories are won by common people under spiritual inspiration.

The Rev. T. A. Lacey said that like all great visionaries Joan of Arc was distinguished for her common sense. He referred to the sensible way in which Jean Gerson, a typical theologian of the Middle Ages, wrote to her. Her opponents held that she was under the influence of the Evil One, but as Gerson observed it was not like the work of the devil to put a stop to bad language, drunkenness and ribaldry in the army as she did. Mr. T. Arthur Price and others took part in the discussion which followed. A vote of thanks to Mrs. Roch and Mr. Hurry Davies, proposed by Mr. Lingard, seconded by Mr. Downs, and supported by Miss Wilkie, Hon. Secretary, was carried with acclamation.

Efforts to increase the circulation of THE COMMON CAUSE by selling in the streets are proving successful. Some funny experiences are met with when conventionalists forget their manners in expressing their disapprobation. Such remarks as "You are a disgusting sight" from a lady, and "You ought to have something better to do, idle woman!" from a gentleman, caused great amusement to those who knew her, when repeated by the organiser thus addressed, their inappropriateness being delightfully self-evident. It is pleasant to note, however, that such are striking exceptions to the rule. Most of those who notice the sellers do so with a smile, a pleasant word of greeting or request for information—not unkindly to arrange for some Suffrage address or meeting.

GLASGOW.—The advance of spring and the holiday season has terminated the Office Weekly Meetings—so successful during the winter—but the number of calls from strangers and outsiders at the office proves the growing interest in Suffrage. The membership, increasing daily, has now reached a total of one thousand and fifty, and the development of Branch Committees in different parts of the widely scattered city gives hope and energy. At the close of the Miss Hibbert-Ware Branch held a successful Jubilee Sale on April 5th, when £20 was realised. Briderton Committee F.W.S.S., on April 22nd, at a Drawing-room Meeting addressed by Dr. Jane Robertson and Miss Kirby. The hostess on that occasion was Miss Kerr, 151, Greenhead. This committee is now complete with Miss Courtney as Hon. Secretary, and is already forming energetic plans for the autumn.

Partick and Hillhead Branch Committee met this month and a Cake, Candy and Pincushion Sale in Hillhead is being arranged with hope of a Public Meeting to begin the winter season. The F.W.S.S. scheme is working under Mrs. Jones as the Hon. Secretary. St. Roch's Branch has a promised "At Home" and Cake and Candy Sale on May 10th, by the kindness of Mrs. Rankin, 8, Craig Park. Motherwell has been worked by Miss Kerr during the month and the membership increases. Promise of a Drawing-room Meeting has been secured, at which it is hoped a Committee will be successfully formed. Miss Robinson is kindly continuing her valuable help in the office.

HADDINGTON.—On the invitation of the Committee large number of members and friends met on the evening of the 8th in the small Parish Church Hall, Haddington, where a very pleasant "At Home" was held. Mrs. J. D. Hope presided, and, on her introduction, Miss Dunlop, of Dunbar, gave an interesting review of the gradual widening of women's sphere during the last hundred years, and of their growing need of the vote to help them in their struggles against social evils and in fulfilling their duties as citizens.

LARGS.—The successful Cake and Candy Sale, held on the 9th by the Largs Society, received favourable notice in three different papers—proving the recognition of the community's interest in Suffrage. The sale was opened by Miss McFarlane Park, in the Brisbane Hall, Ex-Provost Paton presiding, and Provost Boyd moving the vote of thanks to Miss Park for her address. A musical programme added to the pleasure of the occasion, and £8 was realised.

KIRKCALDY.—In spite of inclement weather the meeting held by the Society in the Pioneer Hall, Kirkcaldy, on the 16th, was well attended. A short speech from Miss Crompton on the coming campaign in aid of the League, and the address of the evening on the White Slave Traffic given by Mrs. Macnicol, President of the Leven Society. Mrs. Macnicol spoke with eloquence on the subject. Three new members joined at the close, and the result of the collection—after an intimacy that it was asked for merely to cover the expenses of the Hall—was a pleasant surprise, as, after paying expenses, the Treasurer was able to present 10s. 6d. to the Leven Society.

Forthcoming Meetings.

ARRANGED BY THE NATIONAL UNION.

- MAY 9. Newmarket—Town Hall—Speakers, Mrs. Heitland, Mrs. Rackham, Mrs. Vulliamy, Mrs. Gosforth—Drawing-room Meeting—Hostess, Mrs. Philip Spence—Speaker, Miss Muriel Matters—Chair, Miss I. S. A. Beaver. 3.0
Tiverton—Miss Helen Fraser and Mr. Mirrieless. 8.0
St. Ives—The Lady Betty Balfour, Mr. Baillie Weaver, Miss Walford. 8.0
Terquay—The Albert Hall—Mr. J. Cameron Grant—"The White Slave Traffic"—Chair, Colonel Burn, M.P. 8.0
Stockton-on-Tees—Temperance Hall—Miss Matters. 7.30
MAY 10. Ely—Public Hall—Speakers, Mrs. Rackham, Mrs. Seaham Colliery—California Street—Open-air—Miss Beaver. 10.30 a.m.
Seaham Harbour—Free Church Hall—Miss Beaver, Mr. Roddan Dixon. 7.0
Houghton-le-Spring—"White Lion (out-doors)—Miss St. John, Mr. Richardson. 6.0
Shiney Row—L.L.P.—Miss St. John, Mr. Richardson. 7.45
Knaphill—Concell Schools—Miss Philippa Fawcett. 3.0
Pangbourne—The Square—Miss Helen Ward, Mrs. Cowmeadow, Miss H. C. Jones. 8.0
Buddleigh Salterton—Public Rooms—Miss Helen Fraser, Mr. W. J. Mirrieless. 8.0
MAY 12. Dawdon—I.L.P. Demonstration—Mrs. Pratt, Miss Dring, The Rev. Mole, Mr. Hardsommo. 2.30
Mayford Green—Open-air—Miss Philippa Fawcett—Chair, Mrs. Beach. 6.45
MAY 13. Birkenhead—Mrs. Kent's Drawing-room Meeting. 19, Palm Hill, Oxtou—Miss Frieda Crosefield—Chair, Mrs. Mellor Leigh-Lyly. 3.0
Braithwaite—Co-operative Hall—Mrs. Rackham. 3.0
Shotley Bridge—"Derwent Dene" Drawing-room Meeting—Hostess, Miss Walton-Wilson. 3.30
Warplesdon—Perry Hill Schools—Miss Philippa Fawcett. 3.0
Midsomer Norton—Town Hall—Chair, Miss Blackstone—Speaker, Miss Helen Fraser.
MAY 14. Monkscaton—Drawing-room Meeting—Eru Anker—Miss I. S. A. Beaver. 3.30
Pirbright—Open-air—Miss Philippa Fawcett. 7.30
Chard—Town Hall—Chair, The Rev. F. E. W. Langdon—Speaker, Miss Helen Fraser.
MAY 15. Hyton—I.L.P.—Out-doors—Station. 7.0
Morpeth—Town Hall—Public Meeting—Chair, Mr. Brumell—Speakers, Fru Anker, Miss I. S. A. Beaver. 8.30
Ash—Victoria Hall—Miss Philippa Fawcett, Miss Milton—Chair, Sir Owen Roberts. 7.0
Wayford Manor—Crockern—Hostess, Mrs. Ingham Baker—Speaker, Miss Helen Fraser. 3-6
MAY 16. Redhill—Colman Institute—Annual Meeting—(Reigate, Redhill and District Branch)—Miss Geraldine Cooke, "The Ethical Basis of the Demand for Women's Suffrage."—Mrs. Auerbach, "Women's Suffrage in South Africa." 8.15
Ryhope—Open-air. 7.30
Guildford—Opening of Suffrage Office (1a Mount Street) by Miss Philippa Fawcett. 3.0
1a Mount Street—Miss Philippa Fawcett. 3.30
Wayford Manor, Crockern—Hostess, Mrs. Ingham Baker—Speaker—Miss Helen Fraser. 3-6
MAY 17. Ilminster—Assembly Rooms—Chair, Dr. Maidlow—Speaker, Miss Helen Fraser.

LONDON.

- MAY 13. N. Kensington—Corner of Latimer Road and Blechyned (Notting Dale)—Open-air Meeting—Speakers, Miss H. Ward, Miss D. E. Brown. 6.30
East St. Pancras—17, Camden Road—Meeting at Y.M.C.A.—Speaker, Miss Emily Hill, P.L.G.—(Tea). 3-5.30
MAY 15. Islington—Open-air Meeting at Richmond Road—Chair, Mrs. Richardson—Speaker, Miss D. E. Brown. 8.0
Hampton-on-Thames—Debate at the English Schools, Church Street—Speakers, Mrs. Abbott and Mrs. Greatbatch. 8.0

SCOTLAND.

- MAY 9. Edinburgh—40, Shandwick Place—"At Home"—Speaker, Mrs. Rose Line Masson. 4.30
Open-air Meetings will be held during the week in South Edinburgh, Leith Burghs, and Midlothian, three in number.
MAY 16. Edinburgh—40, Shandwick Place—"At Home"—Speaker, Fru Anker, "How Norwegian Women got the Vote, and How they use it." 4.30

Correction.

The amount raised by N. and E. Essex at the recent Jubilee Sale was £16 1s. and not £16 1s. as stated in the issue of COMMON CAUSE for April 25th.

South Western. EXETER.—A successful whist drive and dance took place at the Bamfield Hall, Exeter, on April 1st, in aid of the funds of the S.W. Federation of the N.U.W.S.S. The Committee of the Exeter Society of the Union were responsible for the arrangements made. The Hall was decorated by members of the Committee with the Union colours. The guests for the whist drive numbered about eighty, several more coming from the dance that followed, in which over a hundred took part. The decorations in the N.U. colours were so much admired that the Catholic Ladies asked that they might be kept up for their Concert, and the Mid Devon Hockey Club made the same request for their Ball. The funds of the Exeter branch were thereby helped.

FALMOUTH.—The Falmouth Society held its second Annual Meeting in the Garden Room on March 31st. Miss J. H. Genn presided, and Miss D. Walford gave an address on "The New By-election Policy of the N.U.W.S.S." On April 15th a White Elephant Sale was held in the same room. Sir Joseph Ward, late Premier of New Zealand, came here on April 22nd to open the Falmouth Flower Show. After the opening he received a deputation of our members, and in answer to the question, "Whether the granting of the vote to women in New Zealand had been a success?" he spoke for 20 minutes most convincingly on the benefits which had accrued from the enfranchisement of women, and said how utterly unfounded were the fears that many entertained as to the harm it would do to the home and the country.

Surrey, Sussex and Hants.

BRIGHTON.—On April 7th Miss Hyle spoke at Miss Gough's on "Woman and the Suffrage Race," and Miss Timpany addressed the Women's Co-operative Guild on the "Education of Mothers." On the 23rd Miss Haylar spoke on "Women in Art and Literature," at Miss Hardy's Mrs. Bessley in the Chair; next day Miss Coast spoke at the Academy. "The Suffrage for Women," Miss Basden presiding. Brighton paid for a meeting at Uckfield on April 10th on the White Slave Traffic, when Miss Verrall presided; Mrs. Vulliamy, of the Criminal Law Amendment Committee, gave an address. BUXTED.—Miss Maude presided on the 8th at the first meeting, when Mrs. Dempster and a gardener's wife spoke, enlisting new members and Friends. The Treasurer provided tea.

BYFLEET.—On April 7th the Rev. A. E. N. Simms gave a historical address at Mrs. Hoskyns-Abraham's. Mrs. Ogilvy in the Chair. The Resolution passed was sent to the M.P.

CAMBERLEY.—On March 15th Sister Cancellor gave an address in aid of Suffrage funds on "Methods of Treating Tuberculosis." On April 18th Miss Wright addressed working women and others at the Oddfellows' Hall, Miss Claypole playing and Mrs. Ingham presiding. Charles Mackay's "Invocation in Aid of a Great Cause"; 24 "Friends" joined. The President of the Women Teachers' Franchise Union spoke next day at Potesbury Hill on "Women Teachers," and also at a teachers' meeting, when Mr. Mellon presided.

CHEPSTEY.—On the 21st Miss Gardiner presided at a good inaugural Public Meeting, when Miss Agnes Gardiner read a paper. Invitation tickets were issued and tea provided.

EAST BOLDFRE.—Miss O'Shea, Mrs. Rothwell and Miss Barker spoke at a successful Cottage Meeting on the 29th.

FARNHAM.—Mrs. Ralph Durand, who has just returned from the United States, Australia and New Zealand, spoke on the effect of Women's Suffrage there. Miss Fawcett visits this district in May.

PURLEY.—On the 18th the Rev. A. Pringle presided at a crowded and spirited debate. Mrs. Greatbatch, opposed by Mr. Cholmeley, losing her Anti-Suffrage Resolution by an overwhelming majority.

REIGATE.—The Secretary being about to marry, Miss Hilda Powell has been appointed. On the 18th Miss Narah O'Shea addressed Mrs. Hooper's Drawing-room Meeting on "How Politics Affect Women."

SHANKLIN.—Mr. Baillie-Weaver proposed a Suffrage Resolution at a meeting on the 4th, which was carried unanimously. Mr. Marsh (C.L.W.S.) applauding from the Chair women's work in local government.

WORKING.—On April 14th Mr. Stables and Miss Fielden debated v. Messrs. Rimington and Williamson, of the Shop Assistants' Union, and won their Suffrage Resolution by an overwhelming majority. Discussion took place and the Hall was crowded. On the 24th Lord Lytton spoke for the O.U.W.F.A. and N.U.W.S.S., Lady Betty Balfour presiding, owing to the illness of the Marchioness of Downshire. Violin solos and a performance of "The 12 Look," by the Actresses' Franchise League, were then given. Mrs. Handley Spicer has spoken on "Social Purity" for the Discussion Circle. The Society has to lament the death of their sympathetic and helpful President, Mrs. Hickling, who will be much missed.

West Midland.

ORGANISER'S REPORT.—The work done in the Federation during the past month has been very varied, comprising a by-election campaign in Shrewsbury and the formation of two new Societies. Miss Watson, with the help of Mrs. Greenwood, has re-formed Upon-on-Severn and put the Society on a sounder basis. Work has been done in Leominster, Colwall and Pershore, and the ground prepared in the two latter places for the formation of Societies in the near future.

A Federation Committee was held on April 24th at Queen's College, Birmingham. It was then decided that the Federation should appoint an Organising Secretary of their own from next September, as it was felt that continuing the Organising Secretary would be liable to be attained if the work was essential. That could not be taken away from the Federation, which is now the case. The post was offered to and accepted by Miss Knight.

[Owing to great pressure on our space this week further news from the Societies is held over until next issue.—Ed. C.C.]

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## GENERAL.

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