

# The Common Cause

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

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### Notes and Comments.

#### The Women's Suffrage Pilgrimage.

The route to be followed by the Suffrage Pilgrims has not yet been decided upon, though probably some will follow each of the four great roads to London—Watling Street, the Great North Road, the Bath Road and Plymouth Road. We hope to publish a rough map showing the routes chosen as soon as the Pilgrimage Committee has arrived at a decision. Meanwhile, those who hope to join are asked to see that all the colour they wear on the march shall be the N.U. colours on badge and haversack. The scarlet, green and white of the Union should be known from Land's End to John o' Groats by the time the pilgrims gather in St. Paul's for the final act of dedication, and no better way could be found than this of our great Pilgrimage. It is suggested also that two, at the head of each contingent, shall carry pennants, with "Law-Abiding" and "Women's Suffrage" inscribed on them, so that the two parts of our great message may be borne from one end of the country to the other. News comes to us from all parts of the difficulties met with by organisers, speakers and workers of every kind, due to the disastrous conviction in the public mind that Women's Suffrage is chiefly a matter of breaking windows and throwing bombs. To set out once more to convince the world that, in truth, it stands for sweetness and light is a work of heroism, but it can be done; and every Pilgrim will be helping to do it. All along the route meetings will be held and speeches made, and audiences reached who have not been reached before. The appeal will be to the eye and to the imagination, as well as to reason and to justice. There will be difficulties no doubt. There may be dangers. These will only raise the spirit in which we go forth. In the bitter war now being waged by the Government on the militants, by the militants on society, anger and bitterness are manifest on both sides. Be it ours to go forth unarmed to prove once more our faith—that evil is not overcome with evil but with good.

#### The Government and the Opium Traffic.

The closing days of the session, before the Whitsuntide recess, brought at least one cause for rejoicing—the announcement by the Government that "not an ounce of poppy" would be exported from India to China this year. There seems to be no doubt at all, except in the minds of a very few, that China has made a gigantic effort to throw off the yoke of a degrading vice. In the words of the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, "there is no room for cynicism or scepticism, and no work for

the scoffer or sneerer. China has shown to the world an example of moral courage rare in the annals of the human race." We congratulate Mr. Montagu and the Liberal Government on their decision to make Great Britain a helper and not a hinderer in this great reformation. We may, perhaps, be forgiven if we think that the record of our country would have been cleaner if the power of women had been greater. Here is a question on which, as on temperance reform, women would be *solidaire*. And it is noticeable that the few speakers in the debate who were found bold enough to defend the opium traffic did so on the grounds that opium-smoking and opium-eating were not worse than the abuse of alcohol in this country. That men should be found willing to defend one kind of degradation in China because it is no worse than another kind in Great Britain shows an ignorance of—or indifference to—one of the most terrible of our national dangers, which unfits those who display it for the task of government.

#### The Policy of Suppression.

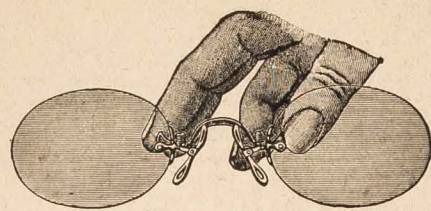
The Government pursues its policy of suppression, and the public is growing accustomed to the news of almost daily arrests, and looks for more than daily outrages in retaliation, by the militants. Both sides in this dreary and wasteful struggle show an equal ignorance of human nature: the Government in supposing that anything is gained by driving the agitation underground; the militants in the belief that public opinion can be exasperated into sympathy with their demand. Meanwhile, the movement goes on and will win at last through that which, in Mr. Dickinson's words, is "more powerful than the House of Commons: the all-pervading pressure of justice."

#### The "Daily Citizen" and "The Suffragette."

The action of the Government in attempting to suppress the *Suffragette* seems likely to lead them into another "impossible position." The *Daily News*, *Manchester Guardian*, *Nation*, *New Statesman*, and *Christian Commonwealth* are all Liberal in politics, except the Socialist *New Statesman*, and all alike are protesting with energy against the legality of the action taken. And now the *Daily Citizen* declares the intention of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald to make himself responsible for the printing and publication of the *Suffragette* this week. It is a strange irony which has ranged Mr. MacDonald on the side of the W.S.P.U., for no man has more publicly and indignantly denounced militant methods. Indeed, Mr. MacDonald has sometimes complained that the N.U.W.S.S. was not sufficiently loud and earnest in its denunciation. Nothing could emphasise the perils which the Liberal Government is running more than the attitude taken up by the *Daily Citizen* in its determination to fight for legal action and a free Press. As the *Christian Commonwealth* observes in a leading article this week, "even the authorities must proceed in a constitutional and orderly manner."

#### Enlightened Huddersfield.

News comes from Huddersfield of the co-option of a woman Chairman to the Board of Guardians. It is probably the first time that a Chairman has been co-opted to a Board, and the circumstances which led up to it are peculiarly interesting. Miss Siddon has served for many years on the Huddersfield Board of Guardians, and has refused the office of Chairman no



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President: THE COUNTESS OF SELBORNE.

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IN AID OF THE FUNDS OF THE ABOVE ASSOCIATION

will be held in the

### GRAND HALL OF THE HOTEL CECIL

on

**MONDAY, MAY 19th, at 9.30 p.m.**

Speakers:

**LORD WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE**  
**MISS S. MACNAUGHTAN**

The following have kindly promised to help at the Entertainment:

**MISS GERTRUDE KINGSTON**  
**MISS JEAN STERLING MACKINLAY** (engagements permitting)  
**MISS RUTH DRAPER** (original monologues)  
**MR. GASTON SARGEANT** (Royal Opera, Covent Garden)

TICKETS for the RECEPTION 5/- each or 10/6 for 3 (to include refreshments), may be obtained from the Hon. Ticket Secretary, C.U.W.F.A., 48, Dover Street, Piccadilly, W.

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To Meet

The Rev. **ANNA SHAW** and Mrs. **PERKINS GILMAN**,  
 On Sunday Evening, May 18th, 8.30 to 10.30,  
 at the ETHICAL CHURCH.

Reception with Buffet Supper. Tickets 1/- each to be obtained at the Reception.

The Rev. **ANNA SHAW**  
 will preach  
 Sunday Morning, May 18th, at 11 o'clock,  
 at the  
 ETHICAL CHURCH.

Mrs. **PERKINS GILMAN**

will speak on  
 "MEN, WOMEN, AND PEOPLE,"  
 7 o'clock, at the ETHICAL CHURCH.

ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

### MEETING FOR WOMEN ONLY.

GRAND HALL, CRITERION RESTAURANT, PICCADILLY CIRCUS, W.,  
 FRIDAY, JUNE 6th, 1913, at 3 p.m.

MISS **ABADAM** on "White Slaves—Supply and Demand."  
 Chair ... MISS **LENA ASHWELL**.

TICKETS 1/- and 6d. from the Offices of the A.F.L., 2, Robert St., Adelphi, W.C.

### WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE

WILL HOLD A

Public Meeting at **Portman Rooms, Baker Street, W.**  
 (Entrance in Dorset Street).

On **WEDNESDAY, MAY 21st, at 3.30 p.m.**  
 Speakers—Mr. G. E. O'DELL, on "The Character of Ann Whitefield  
 in 'Man and Superman'"; MISS **NINA BOYLE**, and others.  
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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.

### Open Letter to Mr. Asquith.

SIR,—In your speech in the debate on the Women's Suffrage Bill we notice that you asserted, or at least implied, that women had no grievances, and that "no Legislature in the world" had done so much in their interests.

Allow me to return this challenge with another. What do you think has caused the Woman's Movement?

You will not deny that there is a Woman's Movement. You will remember that women have sought to be included in every Franchise Bill since 1867. It will not have escaped your knowledge that the strength of the movement and the claim actually caused the withdrawal of your own Franchise Bill this year. You are not perhaps aware that one Suffrage Union alone (the National Union) raised and spent on its peaceful propaganda over £40,000 in one year; but you must at least be conscious that a great deal of money has been raised and great sacrifices made by women to get the vote.

Why, Sir, has this been done if women have no grievances? It is not wise to assume when a patient is feverish and restless, with a quick pulse, and all the symptoms of disease, that he is not ill but perverse. The women may, it is true, in our unrest be seeking a wrong cure—you, at least, think so—but we suggest that it is wise for the statesman, as for the physician, to give some more reasonable reply to our complaints than this: "There is nothing the matter. You are not really ill at ease."

We make you a challenge, Sir. Admit that people do not give themselves all the trouble we women are taking for absolutely nothing. Admit that where there is unrest—persistent, wide-spread, prolonged—there must be a cause for it. Admit that, at least where all women, Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists, are agreed that there is a grievance, that grievance should be removed. And remove it.

We are agreed that the sphere of women in Local Government should be enlarged. Yet in your recent Franchise Bill you did not enlarge—you narrowed it.

We are agreed that married women should not be disqualified for Local Government work. Yet you made the disqualification (outside Scotland and London) absolute.

We are agreed that women should have better protection in the factories. Yet you met a deputation asking for it with the assurance that nothing at present would be done.

We are agreed that more Women Inspectors should be appointed. Yet the number remains, and has for years remained, at 18.

We are agreed that our Divorce Laws need reform. Yet the Report of the Royal Commission on these laws has been issued and there is no promise of legislation.

These, Sir, are but a few of the grievances under which we labour. But since on these we are agreed, would it not be wise to set about removing them, and offer some remedy if you refuse us the one we ask?

We are not afraid that our movement will suffer; for we know well that nothing will so surely make a man a Suffragist as the honest attempt to do justice to women while they are still voteless. But you are an Anti-Suffragist. Then it is for you to prove to us that we are wrong in believing that we need the vote. It is for you to convince us that men both will and can do for us without the vote all that we hope to achieve with it. It is for you to show that the unrest among us can be allayed without enfranchisement.

This is, indeed, not what we ask, but that is our affair. What we would urge upon you is that it is useless to deny the existence of unrest; useless to explain it as mere perversity, unstatesmanlike to refuse to face the facts, and to meet all complaint and all demands with a blank, uncompromising "Non possumus."

less than nine times. "This year," writes a correspondent, "the Board feeling they must have her, co-opted her as Chairman—she was no longer a member of the Board—and she finally consented." Still more cheering is the news that all political parties were united in their desire that Miss Siddon should take the chair, and those who know how far party politics have invaded the sphere of local government will rejoice in this proof that party feeling can still be sometimes put aside in a sufficiently good cause.

### The Coming Education Bill.

We hear with some uneasiness the reports that Nonconformists are preparing to bring pressure to bear on the Government to ensure attention to their claims in the coming Education Bill. We are inclined to deprecate any further direct negotiations with Church or Free Church leaders on this subject. They have had a long time in which to agree on the subject, and there can be no doubt that any reasonable compromise on which they could have come together, as to "facilities" for religious teaching, would gladly have been accepted by the Government. The basis, at least, of such an agreement was found by the Committee, on which representatives of every school of thought consented to sit—the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Rev. Sylvester Horne and Professor Sadler among them. The scheme put forward by them was scrupulously fair, and had the signal merit of allowing for different types of school, and having great elasticity. It was rejected by extremists, to the infinite loss of the cause of religious education. We wish the Government were now strong enough to refuse to listen to the sectarians any more but lift the whole question out of the realm of party politics, into which it should never have been allowed to drift, and consider it wholly and solely from the point of view of the child. It is the deplorable habit into which men have fallen of considering everything—even education—from the standpoint of "party" that makes women so impatient for the vote. It is true that they are too often as violently partizan as men, but experience in countries where they have been enfranchised goes to prove that there are some questions which they deliberately refuse to decide on party lines, and Education is one of them.

### Professor Karl Pearson and the "Times."

An admirable and reasoned protest against the Prime Minister's speech declaring that women could trust themselves to Parliament for justice, has appeared in the *Times* of May 11th. Professor Pearson takes a single grievance and shows how disenfranchisement works out:—"Why have women had to wait more than 30 years for the degrees of the old Universities? Not because the reasonableness of their demand has not been demonstrated to a male Legislature, but because the male rulers of this country are so anxious to retain old or purchase new votes that they never have time to consider questions—like the chief questions in which women are interested—which have no votes behind them. 'Very interesting, very interesting indeed,' a distinguished member of the present Cabinet once said of a great social and racial problem; 'but what votes are there in it?'"

### Two Notable Speakers at the Ethical Church.

The Rev. Anna Shaw will preach at the Ethical Church, Queen's Road, Bayswater, Sunday morning, May 18th, at 11 o'clock. At 7 o'clock on the same day, Mrs. Perkins Gilman, author of "Women and Economics," will speak on "Men, Women and People." Seats will be reserved free of charge on application by post to the Secretary at the Church. As the church was filled to overflowing when Mrs. Chapman Catt spoke recently, we are advised that visitors will do well to ensure getting seats.

### A Call to Prayer.

We are asked to call attention to a leaflet embodying a "call to prayer" on behalf of the Woman's Movement, which has been issued by the Collegium, a number of persons united in a common effort to gain further light on the relation of Christianity to social life, through prayer and conference. Those issuing it are anxious that it should reach all whom it may concern, and wish it known that copies of the little leaflet can be had from Miss Gardner, St. Catherine's Hill, Tadworth, Surrey. The "call" is signed on behalf of the Collegium by the Rev. W. Temple, whose speech on the Woman's Movement at the Queen's Hall last year will never be forgotten by those who heard it. We have received so many letters on the subject of intercession during the last few days that we are glad to publish this appeal, which will, we believe, deeply interest a large number of our readers.

## The Dickinson Bill.

### Analysis of the Division List.

	FOR.			AGAINST.			Abstentions.
	Voted.	Paired.	Total.	Voted.	Paired.	Total.	
Liberals ..	146	8	154	74	4	78	33
Unionists ..	28	11	39	141	18	159	81
Nationalists ..	8	—	8	54	—	54	14
Ind. Nationalists	5	—	5	—	—	—	3
Labour ..	34	3	37	—	—	—	3
Total ..	221	22	243	269	22	291	134

Three chief points emerge from the above analysis:—

1. The good Labour vote for the Bill.
2. The heavy Nationalist vote against the Bill.
3. The heavy Unionist vote against the Bill.

#### The Labour Vote.

The Labour Party is the only party which comes out of this Division with credit. Of the 40 Labour Members, all except three voted or paired for the Bill—exceeding their highest previous vote for Women's Suffrage (in 1910) by three.

Of the three Labour Members who were absent unpaired, Mr. Abraham was ill, Mr. Richards was kept away by urgent Trade Union business (Mr. Richards' Trade Union business always seems to be specially urgent when a Women's Suffrage Bill is before the House), Mr. Wardle was abroad.

#### The Liberal Vote.

The Liberal vote comes half-way between the vote formerly given in 1910, when 173 Liberals voted and paired for the Conciliation Bill, and the vote given in 1912, when 135 voted and paired for the Conciliation Bill of that year.

Members of the Government voted as follows:—

The Cabinet.		Abstained.	
For.	Against.		
Sir E. Grey,	Mr. Asquith,	Mr. John Burns.	
Mr. Lloyd George,	Mr. McKenna,		
Mr. McKinnon Wood,	Mr. Harcourt,		
Mr. Runciman,	Mr. Pease,		
Mr. Birrell,	Colonel Seely,		
Sir Rufus Isaacs,	Mr. Winston Churchill,		
Mr. Sydney Buxton,	Mr. Hobhouse,		
	Mr. Herbert Samuel.		
	<b>Other Ministers.</b>		Mr. J. M. Robertson.
Sir John Simon,	Mr. H. Baker,		
Mr. Ure,	Mr. G. Lambert,		
Mr. Ellis Griffith,	Mr. T. W. Russell.		
Mr. Acland,			
Mr. Montagu,			
Mr. Tennant,			
Dr. Macnamara,			
Mr. Lewis,			
Mr. Trevelyan,			
Captain Norton,			
Mr. Masterman.			
	<b>Government Whips.</b>	Mr. Illingworth.	
Mr. Gulland,			
Mr. Wedgwood Benn,			
Mr. Wm. Jones,			
Hon. G. Howard,			
Mr. H. Webb.			

#### The Nationalist Vote.

The vote of the Irish Party shows this year, even more plainly than last year, that a free vote from Irishmen on the question of Women's Suffrage has become an impossibility since the fear of embarrassing the Government has been allowed to affect the situation.

In 1911 the Irish vote was 31 for the Conciliation Bill and only 9 against.

In 1912 the Irish vote was 3 for (all Independent Nationalists) and 36 against the Conciliation Bill of that year.

This year the Irish vote was 13 for (of whom 5 were Independent Nationalists) and 54 against the Dickinson Bill.

The highest vote formerly given by the Irish Party against Women's Suffrage was 14, in 1910. These figures tell their own tale, and show how well the sedulously-fostered rumours of Cabinet resignations and Government embarrassments have done their work.

#### The Unionist Vote.

The bad falling-off in Unionist support is a very disappointing, though not very surprising, feature of this Division. As we pointed out in our issue of May 2nd, this Bill was open to amendment in Committee, and should, therefore, have commanded the support of all Suffragists on Second Reading. But it is, perhaps, not unnatural, after the events of last January,

that Members should be a little mistrustful of a promised opportunity for amending a Franchise Bill in Committee; and the fact that this particular Bill was framed by a group of Liberal Members, on lines satisfactory to the Liberal Party but known to be unacceptable to all but a few Unionists, was not the way to secure for it the largest amount of support on its Second Reading. The National Union maintained from the first that one of the necessary conditions, if a private Member's Bill was to have any chance of success, was that it should be *an agreed Bill*, accepted as the "greatest common measure" by all the Suffragists in the House, who should pledge themselves to support it in all its stages and to resist wrecking amendments. The Liberals would not listen to this proposal, and insisted on bringing in the Bill in their own way, framed on lines to suit their own party, and on their heads rests the responsibility for the failure which all the Suffrage Societies foresaw.

Had the Bill passed its Second Reading its majority was bound to go to pieces in Committee stage, in the absence of any agreed compromise between the Suffragists of the different parties. We cannot pretend, therefore, to regret that the farce has ended now, instead of dragging on throughout the Session. It was at best an attempt on the part of Liberal Suffragists to persuade themselves and us that Mr. Asquith's offer of a shilling in the pound in payment of his debt to us was a fair offer. The sooner that illusion is dispelled the better. Our Liberal friends in the House must now face the situation as it really is, and decide what step they are going to take next. For us the work of the moment lies in the constituencies.

### Reception to Mrs. Chapman Catt.

The note of all the speeches at the crowded reception given to Mrs. Chapman Catt at the Prince's Restaurant, was one of hope, and, above all, of a common hope for women all over the world. Mrs. Fawcett, in introducing our International President and leader, spoke of her as coming to us "crowned with the laurels of victory," while we are crowned with the laurels of defeat. Every year since Mrs. Catt was last with us, has brought a victory in America—Washington, California, Kansas, Arizona and Oregon, and the Territory of Alaska. These victories, Mrs. Fawcett said, were ours to rejoice over as though we had won them here.

Mrs. Chapman Catt, who was enthusiastically received by a crowded audience of suffragists, began at once by claiming a share also in our defeats, "for victories and defeats belong to us all!" She then went on to tell us something of her journey round the world, and with an insight into the heart of the Suffrage movement here as wonderful as that which Mrs. Auerbach had already claimed for her in South Africa, Mrs. Catt dwelt especially on our imperial responsibilities. The British Government in India, she said, worked only with men, and could work only with men. Yet it was well known that the recent boycott of British goods was inspired and kept up by the women. "Men cannot reach those women," said Mrs. Catt in a very moving passage; "you could."

Passing on to China, Mrs. Catt told us that the extraordinary ignorance of the women's movement which prevailed among both consular and missionary circles in India was intensified in China. For long she sought in vain information about the reported victory of the Suffragists; it was only after very patient and careful enquiry that she learnt that the women in one province had actually voted and sat in the Assembly convened by the Revolutionary Government. She then told how those women had earned their freedom. They had toiled and spoken for the Revolutionary party, and of the seventy-two martyrs killed before freedom came, were many women. When the war began they drilled for service, and many actually served. "All that the men did, the women did too. They repudiated no single duty, and every one of those who thus bore the burden of the struggle had had her feet bound as a child. The decree for unbinding came in time to save them something, but not one of them could walk like a normal woman."

Afterwards the women found that—like other women—their services were accepted, and then reward denied. The Suffrage battle has still to be fought in China. But "the new woman is everywhere," said Mrs. Catt, "and it may yet be that Asia will lead the world again, as she has led it before. She will not take our way—that is certain; she will take her own way and work out her own destiny. She will take from us only our courage and our hope."

Mrs. Swanwick, moving a vote of thanks to Mrs. Chapman Catt, reminded her hearers that "if it were only for our responsibilities in India, we women must not rest till we have the vote."

## The By-Elections.

### Altrincham.

Candidates: Mr. L. Kay-Shuttleworth, Liberal.  
Mr. G. C. Hamilton, Conservative.  
Committee Rooms: 8, The Downs, Altrincham.  
Organiser-in-Charge of Committee Rooms: Mrs. Russell.  
Organiser-in-Charge of Election: Miss D. Darlington.

Polling Day, May 28th.

All the arrangements for the Altrincham by-election are now well in hand. Committee rooms were opened in Altrincham on May 10th, and a sub-committee room will be opened in Sale on the 19th. A large number of open-air meetings have been arranged, and an extensive postcard campaign is being organised. Both candidates have replied in the negative to the official questions sent to them by the National Union. A deputation representing the Altrincham Society for Women's Suffrage waited upon Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth at the Central Liberal Committee Rooms in Altrincham on May 6th. The deputation which, at Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's request, was a small one, consisted of: Councillor Margaret Ashton, Chairman of the Manchester and District Federation of W.S.S.; Mrs. Sydney O'Hanlon, Chairman of the Altrincham W.S. Society; and Miss Arnold, representing the Committee of the Altrincham Society.

Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth, in reply to the questions put to him by the deputation, asking if he were in favour of the enfranchisement of women, said that he did not consider that this Government had received sufficient proof of a constitutional demand to grant votes to women. He considered that such a demand should be made by the electorate of the country; though, in reply to another question, Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth said he was quite willing to accept the help of women in his election. He further said he was not prepared to vote for adult suffrage. The National Union is therefore doing propaganda work only during this election.

At most of the public meetings which have been held this week, the candidates have been questioned from the audience as to their views on Women's Suffrage. This shows the interest the question has aroused in the constituency. More helpers are urgently needed, as many members of the local Societies are away for the Whitsuntide holidays. All offers of assistance, either for speaking, helping at meetings, etc., should be sent to Mrs. Russell, at the Central Committee Rooms.

### II.—East Cambs.

Candidates: Mr. George Nicholls, Liberal.  
Mr. T. Denison-Pender, Conservative.  
Committee Rooms: Fore Hill, Ely.  
In Charge of Committee Room: Miss Elias.  
Organiser in Charge of Election: Miss Waring.

We have received the following communication from our organiser in East Cambs:—

The first Suffrage meetings held by the National Union in connection with the by-election at East Cambs. began on May 5th, when there was an open-air meeting at Whittlesford. Most of the inhabitants of the place turned out to hear the speakers—Mrs. Vulliamy and Mrs. Rootham. Later there were indoor meetings at Duxford, with the same speakers, and at Sawston, where Mrs. Stevenson and Miss Waring spoke. The latter meeting ended in an uproar.

On May 6th open-air meetings at Swaffham Prior and Bottisham had to be cancelled on account of the rain, but a hastily arranged meeting at Swaffham Prior school-room gathered a small crowd, which Mrs. Bowes and Mr. Vulliamy addressed. At the same time, Mr. Baines and Miss Waring spoke at Burwell, Mrs. Kennedy taking the chair. Liberal agents asked searching questions at the end of the meeting.

On May 7th a meeting at Isleham was attended by a howling mob and broken up. An election egg, lumps of earth, and sticks were thrown into the car as it drove away. The same night a meeting at Cherryinton, arranged by the Cambridge

Society, drew an attentive audience, addressed by Mrs. Heitland, Mrs. Ramsey, and Mr. Layton.

On May 8th there were meetings at Ickleton, addressed by Mrs. Ramsey and Mr. Vulliamy, and at Abingdon, where Miss Ewing, Miss Garlich, and Mr. Vulliamy spoke. The dampness of the evening thinned the ranks of the audience, but otherwise they were good. The same evening there was a meeting at Linton, addressed by Mrs. Ramsey and Miss Waring. The small hall was full to overflowing, and an overflow meeting was held outside. On May 9th there was a lifeless meeting at Fulbourn, where people were timid to a degree, and made things difficult for the speakers by listening from afar. Mrs. Heitland, Mrs. Vulliamy, Mrs. Rackham, and Miss Waring spoke.

After Fulbourn, the speakers drove to Newmarket, where the meeting was anything but lifeless. Disturbances were expected, and the police were in force. A mob had collected outside the Town Hall, which was full to overflowing. Mr. Vulliamy, with a contingent of Cambridge men, chiefly undergraduates, the party containing two boxers, had arrived before the speakers. They sat in the front seats to be ready in case of accidents. Mrs. Heitland was in the chair, and Mrs. Rackham spoke, accompanied by a concertina, songs, squibs that went off like pistol-shots, and witticisms of a wide range.

Difficulty arose in leaving the hall, for the crowd was in high spirits outside, and had to be restrained by the police and the Cambridge contingent of supporters. The car would not go—water had been poured into the petrol tank, and the speakers remained for some time at one hotel, and then at another, which they finally left by a back way in a different car. The mob remained in the streets, and later on, according to the papers, threw buckets of water on the men supporters of the meeting.

On May 10th a meeting at Soham, at which a disturbance was expected, passed off as quietly as a religious meeting. Later in the evening there was a meeting at Ely which was disappointing, owing to the fact that two rival party meetings were going on at the same time—one in the Square and the other in the Corn Exchange. Mrs. Ramsey was in the chair, and Mrs. Bethune-Baker also addressed the meeting. A certain number of "Friends" and members have been enrolled.

The interesting feature of the election is the fact that both candidates in their election addresses hold out prospects of better wages as a result of legislation. The following leaflet is being issued, emphasising the point:—

To the Electors of East Cambridgeshire:—  
Friends,—

Mr. Nicholls, your Liberal candidate, says in his election address:—"I would establish Rural Round Table Conferences to discuss periodically all agricultural matters affecting Landlords, Farmers, and Labourers, with a view to securing the worker a living wage."

Mr. Denison-Pender, your Conservative candidate, says:—"I believe in the taxation of a man according to his means, and not according to the form of his property. The latter course stifles employment, and checks higher wages."

Each is holding out to you prospects of better wages if he is returned to Parliament. In the face of these election addresses it is impossible for Anti-Suffragists to maintain that votes do not and cannot affect wages.

Now about 5,000,000 women in this country are engaged in wage-earning occupations, and about 90 per cent. of the sweated work is done by women. The vote protects men in the wage world. Are women not entitled to the same protection?

The sweating of women is a disgrace to our humanity, and the denial of a remedy to remove this evil is an intolerable injustice.

Show that you know the meaning of fair play by asking for women the same protection of the vote which you have yourselves.

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Chair: The Hon. Mrs. SPENCER GRAVES. Speakers: Miss K. D. COURTNEY, Miss A. M. ROYDEN (Editor of "The Common Cause"), Mrs. F. T. SWANWICK, M.A. Discussion Invited. Tea, 6d.  
Next Week (May 23rd): Miss ROSAMOND SMITH, Miss M. LOWNDES, Miss HELEN WARD.

### Women at the Royal Academy.

We must not look for evidences of the modern spirit or the new feminism in the Exhibition of what is perhaps the most conservative body in London—the Royal Academy of Arts. Artists, by training and tradition, stand outside the activities that are bringing women more into the open air of public or professional life. They prefer to paint idyllic creatures who exist in some world where there is nothing to do but pluck flowers (*vide* Mr. Waterhouse), or listen to shell music (the President), or fall into slumbrous stagnation over the breath of poppies (805). And who would forbid them these Elysian dreams? We shall find, however, that our women artists select, as a rule, robust and more practical and often far more humorous subjects. The merely sentimental picture is generally by a man.

Woman's work is always on the increase at Burlington House, and much of it is excellent. Mrs. Swynnerton's Peter Lawson on a rat-tailed grey pony (806) is one of the most spirited compositions in the whole Academy. We would give all the problem pictures and many uninspired landscapes for this one bit of gleaming and palpitating youth. Why was Mrs. Swynnerton not made an Associate years ago? Anne Airy's work is always virile and strong. Henrietta Rae's "Spring Awakening," with its dazzling figures on a snowdrop bank, over which hovers a bunch of blue tits, is as good as anything she has done. A child on a garden seat with two white cats, by Amy Browning, is as freshly and broadly treated as if it were hung at the Salon, and not on the line in the coveted Room at the Academy. Ursula Wood's study of children in Regent's Park on a hot day, 1911, is observed and painted with real humour. "The Optimist" (279), a persistent youngster of the mature age of something less than one, is making for a piece of white paper so inscribed. The sunlit pictures of Laura Knight, Alice Fanner, and Hilda Fearon are of quite remarkable achievement. The central figure in the Central Hall—a lovely fountain, "The Spirit of the Garden," designed for Wynyard Park—is the work of Miss Margaret Wrightson. In the Lecture Room stands the small bronze figure of Captain R. F. Scott, R.N., by Lady Scott, modelled with all the skill of a very accomplished craftsman.

We may confess to some disappointment in the portraits, save for the one Orpen, and this is no light matter, for a hasty calculation revealed about 25 to each room. Something more than a clever handling of paint is needed to suggest what lies beneath the mask that experience and decency bid us keep ready to hand. Not many painters are psychologists as well, and the pretty-featured or vividly-coloured face is far easier to render than the essence of a soul. Perhaps the busy woman of affairs, or of intellectual or creative gifts, has little time for sitting, and may be unwilling to seek pictured notoriety. Sitters of the famous men—Dicksee, Fyldes, J. J. Shannon, Solomon, and George Henry—are chiefly from the leisured and idle classes. There are a few exceptions. The business of being a Queen Consort as well as a mother is no light one, and in Mr. Lavery's large Royal Family group, Queen Mary bears herself with very distinguished mien. We are grateful to Mr. Hugh Spottiswoode who commissioned one of the first of living artists to paint it for the National Portrait Gallery. Lady Courtney of Penwith, Miss Cicely Hamilton, Lillah MacCarthy (as Jocasta in "Œdipus Rex") are of those who are sealed of the sisterhood. Miss Githa Sowerby (authoress of a clever play), Miss Margaret Morris (the dancer) are known in their several spheres. Shannon's portrait of the Duchess of Rutland, in the Gem Room, reminds us of the beautiful drawings and silver prints she executed as Lady Granby. Mrs. Janet Ross, the authoress, grand-daughter of Sarah Austin and friend of George Meredith, stands in her Italian garden, with the Duomo of Florence visible in the distance, and her name upon the tree behind her. We could wish the composition of the picture were as attractive as the subject.

The subject-pictures always exercise a spell, and crowds will hover around the usual enigma by John Collier, "The Fallen Idol," although they may not agree upon who was the idol and from what it has fallen. At sight of the stricken young woman kneeling beside a hard-looking man, who gazes with fixed eyes and sees nothing, a man's question was prompt: "What has

she been doing?" And he was not to be convinced by my assertion that she was certainly suffering, not doing, and that he had been found out. No doubt most will read it the other way, and the uncertainty is its best asset.

In the first room is a sweet everyday idyll, "The First-born." Pearly morning light streams through an open casement, and fills the chintz-hung room with radiance. A healthy-looking young farmer squire, in riding boots and soft hat still on his head (a true touch, this), has come upstairs after an early ride and thrown himself down on the foot of the bed, an unheeded bunch of dewy primroses in his hand. But the young mother (just an ordinary girl) has no eyes save for the little downy head nestled at her breast. The treatment of this scene is absolutely simple and unaffected. Much sadder is "The Darkened Room" (129). The girl on the bed has a deathly pallor; parents and doctor seem to hold their breath. We almost hope she is an only child, or, at least, that it is no fever case, for the Persian cat asleep on a chair will most certainly carry infection.

The very beautiful piece of decoration, called "The Wood Beyond the World," by Charles Sims, seems to be part of a country where women are never idle, for there only exist four to look after troops and troops of small children, beside any number of youths in early stages of adolescence. His exquisite "Love in the Wilderness," in the large room, suggests that temptation is not absent even in the wilderness. "The Honey-moon" (353) is a tragedy of such utter boredom that it would have been better, surely, if that marriage had been stopped in time. George Henry's three maidens, "Reading," is a triumph of colour, and painted with a certain feeling of Watteau on a magnificent scale.

Last year we had an outburst of mirrors; round, long, square and oval, they were ubiquitous. This year the cult of the bedstead prevails, but so long as it is painted with such feeling and insight as in "My Lady's Chamber" (329)—a delicious, cool, white, empty room—we will all be worshippers at the shrine.

C. F. S.

### The International Congress at Buda-Pesth.

Mrs. Chapman Catt has made the following announcement with regard to the forthcoming Congress at Buda-Pesth—

There has been a slight change in the dates of the meetings and receptions, which take place *en route* for Buda-Pesth, and which will begin at Berlin. The dates will be as follows:—Berlin, Thursday and Friday, June 5th and 6th. Dresden, Saturday and Sunday, June 7th and 8th. Prague, Monday and Tuesday, June 9th and 10th. Vienna, Wednesday and Thursday, June 11th and 12th.

If you are able to attend any or all of these meetings, kindly notify Frau Marie Stritt, 110, Dürerstrasse, Dresden, Germany, for the Berlin and Dresden meetings.

For the Prague meeting:—Vybor pro volebnipravo zen, Jungmannova 7 u, Prague 1, Bohemia, Austria.

For the Vienna meeting:—The Woman's Suffrage Committee 1, Reichratsstrasse 7, Vienna, Austria.

Will delegates and visitors kindly inform these Committees when they expect to arrive and what kind of accommodation they desire. The programme will be practically the same at all these cities—a reception on the first evening and a public meeting on the second evening. The days will be passed in sight-seeing, or, possibly, in social functions. From Vienna the delegates may go to Buda-Pesth by train, or by boat on the Danube. I think a through ticket can be purchased in Berlin covering the entire distance.

I understand that regular delegates will be admitted free to all these functions, and that possibly visitors may be obliged to buy tickets of admission, but admission by ticket will assuredly be open to all visitors.

I add this information in response to many questions on the point which I have received.

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## Mrs. Stubbs on Women's Sphere.

Mrs. Stubbs is the wife of a working farmer, some of whose fields lie in Cheshire, and some in North Staffordshire. I have known her all my life, and am never so happy as when listening to her discoursing on her views of things. She is a woman of views, and there are not many events or subjects on which she is not ready to express an opinion. At the Editor's request, I am to let the readers of this journal share my privilege.

Mr. Stubbs, too, is by way of having views; and is as fond of airing them as his wife. He would not confess it to her for the world, but he never quite likes to make up his mind finally until he has heard what she thinks. She has a disconcerting way of expressing a view which her listener has never thought of before, and it is not safe to dogmatise too much till one knows whether she approves. In the village in which the Stubbs' farm is situated, Mrs. Stubbs' decisions on matters of doubt are regarded as final. In the bar of the village inn her sayings are quoted with respect, and even the vicar has been known to consult her in a matter of parish difficulty; and when you consider that Mrs. Stubbs is a "good-living," strait-laced Wesleyan, you will realise that she is a power to be reckoned with.

We sat round the fire after tea in the comfortable farmhouse kitchen. One or two village folk had dropped in on some errand, and were lingering to have a chat. Mrs. Stubbs sat with a pair of boy's knickers on her lap, to which she was skillfully applying patches at each knee and at the seat. She is the mother of many sons, and is scarcely ever seen without some article of boy's clothing in her busy fingers. Mr. Stubbs was looking over the evening paper, after his day's work in the fields.

"Woman's sphere," he read out, contemplatively. "They'n bin 'avin' another do in Parliament abeaut these wimmin. A seigh one on 'em ses it isna' as wimmin arna as good as men—only as they're different. Thur's a sphere as is woman's and one as isna'; and wimmin should be content wi' that as is theirs, and not want to usurp men's, like votin' for Parliament." "Who ses as votin' for Parliament is men's sphere?" asked Mrs. Stubbs.

"Why, everybody," was the answer. "Nay," said Mrs. Stubbs. "That canna' be. If everybody said it was, thur'd be noo dispute abeaut it. Somebody must be sey'n as it is an' as it isna', or else we shouldna' be discussin' it at aw. Let's know wheer we are. Who says as men's sphere is votin' and wimmin's isna'?"

"Tha' knows as well as I do," answered Mr. Stubbs. "Some on 'em says it is an' some on 'em says as it isna'."

"A know aw abeaut that," said Mrs. Stubbs. "Bur what I want to know, and what tha' 'asna' tow'd me yet, is who it is as lays dean the law as to what wimmin's sphere is, bi' keepin' 'em eaut o' voting. Somebody's doin' it, or else they'd 'ave a vote, an' wouldn't 'ave to feight for one. Who is it, then, as says votin' isna' their sphere?"

Mr. Stubbs scratched his head. "Tha makes me yed warch, wench," he said, "wi' thi' who says this and who says that. Bur it's allis like that wi' wimmin. Yo' conna' argue wi' 'em. They wun goo ramblin' aw o'er tha show, astid to stickin' to point."

He looked at the visitors for approval as he said this, carefully avoiding his wife's eye. She looked at him through her spectacles (for she could not see to put patches on without them now) with a twinkle in her eye.

"Come on, come on, owd lad," she said. "Tha not as bleent as aw that. Spit it eaut! Tha knows as well as I do as it's men as keeps wimmin eaut o' their proper sphere. It's men as says what wimmin's sphere is, an' tries to mak' 'em content in it. What I conna' seigh (see) is what bissen it is o' men's. Why conna' they be content wi' their own sphere witehout wantin' to dictate to wimmin?"

"Nay, nay, Mrs. Stubbs," said a neighbour, "that fits th' wimmin better thin th' men. Why conna' they be content wi' their own sphere witehout wantin' to dictate to men?"

"Well," said Mrs. Stubbs, "A reckon it's becos they're wantin' to 'ave a sey abeaut what thur sphere is, and not leave it to men to sey. What dun men know abeaut what wimmin's sphere is? Wheer does men's sphere end and wimmin's sphere begin? What is thur as tha does (to her husband) as I couldna' do? Tha plews (ploughs), and sows and reaps, and teks the corn and cattle to market. Dost mean to sey as A couldna' do it if A tried?"

Mr. Stubbs thought a moment. He came to the conclusion that his wife would probably make as good a farmer as he, "if she tried."

"Well," he said, "wheigh dos na dow it then? Tha dos na even milk th' ceaw" (cows).

"Becos A've summat else to do," was the answer. "A've to be down' things as tha conna' do. Tha couldna' put these patches on ar Jack's britches. Tha couldna' mak' a peaud o' butter to save thi life. An' if tha looks after th' milk money, and th' egg money, an' th' butter money, like tha 'as to do when A'm fast i' bed at a confinement, tha'r sure to mak' a mess on it, an' it teks me months to get things reight agen. An' as to nossin' th' babby—tha't a reggilar foo' at it, John 'Ennery, and tha knows it. Thur's some things as tha con do, and some as tha conna', an' I 'ave to do them as tha conna' do, dost seigh?"

"That's just it," said one of the visitors. "That just illustrates 'wimmin's sphere,' Mrs. Stubbs. Yo'r aw reight i' yo'r sphere, an' Mestur Stubbs i' 'is, dunna yer seigh?"

Mr. Stubbs kept silence. He knew by experience that Mrs. Stubbs had not done yet.

"Well," she said, "it seems a bit queer, doesna' it, as Mestur Stubbs, wi' limitations should monopolise votin' 'as 'is special sphere, and mae (me) as con do my own work and his as well if A wanted, munner vote at aw? What is thur abeaut farmin' as A dunna understand as well as 'im? Hea goos to th' rent-dey dinner, and proposes th' landlord's health; while I stop awhom an' milk for 'im wheile 'ea's away; but it's mae as knows when th' rent-dey's comin' reaud; an' if A didna' 'elp 'im eaut wi' mi butter money 'ea'd bi i' a 'ole monny a time. If it comes to 'sphere,' Mestur Jenkins, thur's noow limit to my sphere, an' thur is to Mestur Stubbs's. Yet it's 'im as mun vote, an' I'm none fit. Wimmin's sphere, indeed! If any o' my lads begin their 'wimmin's spherin' at mae, they'n get a cleaut i' th' 'ear-ole."

"Well, you seigh," said Mr. Jenkins, "farmers arna' everybody. It's true as moost farmers' soives are welly as good men as th' farmers thersels. Bur we anna monny farmers i' eaur country compared wi' other classes, an' them as rules things 'as to think o' what's good for th' majority o' folks. Everybody knows as yo', Mrs. Stubbs (soothingly) are plenty clever enough to vote, bur other wimmin arna', you know. Men to their own sphere, an' wimmin to theirs, is my motter."

"That's why you'n left Mrs. Jenkins lookin' after th' shop while you com'n 'ere, A reckon," replied Mrs. Stubbs. "There's some things as wimmin dunna want to do, and wunna do, if they'n any sey in it, like feightin' an' bloodshed an' aw that neither as men are so fond on; bur there's one thing as the stoopidest on 'em could do, Mestur Jenkins, an' that's to put a cross on a ballot paper. If Mestur Stubbs 'as a nasty job before 'im as 'ea's frightened to tackle, loike axin' somebody to pey up i' toime for th' rent dey, 'ea comes to mae wi' a face as white as a sheit, an' 'ea ses: 'Cans't spare toime to goo and seigh owd Soo-an'-Soo, an' ax 'im to pey up? A mun 'ave what 'ea owes, or a conna' find enough—even if tha lends me a bit.' An' if it's me weshin' dey, or me churnin' dey, or A'm up to th' neck i' cleanin' deaun, Aw've to goo an' leave it—"

"Bur that's becos tha allis gets th' money," interposed Mr. Stubbs. "It's noo good o' mae gooin'. They wunna pey it to mae, an' they're frightened o' thee."

We all laughed, including Mrs. Stubbs.

"Ay," she said, "A generally get it. Bur that's becos A'm i' earnest abeaut it, an' they know there's noo pleyin' wi' mae. A know what depends on gettin' it, an' A mean to 'ave it."

"Dost mean to say as A'm not i' earnest abeaut it, too?" said Mr. Stubbs, with an offended glare. "A've noo interest i' th' rent dey, A suppose?"

"Of course, tha 'as," she answered. "Bur tha's mae to depend on ast'na? Tha knows A shall get it, so tha leans on mae. Tha'd be a poor show witehout me, owd lad, and tha's th' sense to know it. The ballot box is shut to wimmin, and that's wheigh it shows such poor results. The fact o' the matter is, lads and wench, that every mortal thing that's any bearin' on wimmin's speciality—human life—is wimmin's sphere, an' it's toime men stopped meddlin' wi' an' monopolisin' what wimmin con understand better thin them."

ADA NIELD CHEW.

Correspondence

SUFFRAGIST POLICY.

MADAM,—Now that Mr. Dickinson's Bill has been rejected the air is cleared and we know what we have to do.

1. Bring the most effective pressure to bear on the Government to ensure its assuming responsibility for a Woman's Suffrage measure.

2. Secure the support of public opinion and win the sympathy of the present electorate.

As a convinced suffragist who has worked constantly, in a quiet way for the cause, would you allow me a little space to state what I believe to be the position and outlook? The division lists show that our supporters in the Coalition are in a substantial majority. The 55 Nationalist Anti-Suffrage votes were given to a very considerable extent on tactical grounds, and under more favourable circumstances—say, when Home Rule is out of the way—we may count on at least half the Irish vote. Given a Suffragist Prime Minister then, Mr. Lloyd George or Sir Edward Grey, it is quite reasonable to believe in the achievement of a Government measure, particularly if in the meantime we can point to the steady growth of public opinion on our side. Liberals, with a few exceptions, where they are opposed to Woman's Suffrage, have arrived at that state of mind more from irritation at militant tactics, and what they wrongly conceive to be the Anti-Liberal tendency of the movement, than from any well-grounded principle, and the advocacy of the cause by one of their popular statesmen would soon bring them into our camp. It is clear, then, that if Mr. Asquith should retire from the leadership our prospects, as far as the Liberal Party are concerned, are bright indeed. And what of the Conservatives? Are we to despair of them because only 22 went into the division lobby in favour of the Bill, and Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. Balfour abstained? Not at all. Thoughtful politicians, whether Liberal or Conservative, will argue that the Conservatives will almost certainly come into power at the next General Election. This may be said without any desire to discredit the policy of the present Government, for the swing of the pendulum acts usually apart from the merits or demerits of any administration. Now the Conservatives, as a party, are certainly more opposed to us than the Liberals. Their Annual Conference rejected the Conciliation Bill; from their principles they are naturally cautious, and a sinister feature—of which I could say a good deal—is the support given by "the Trade" to many Conservative Anti-Suffragists. But on the other hand, by their introduction of the idea of a referendum, they have provided us with a weapon which, when it is used, may force them, as nothing else would, to bring in a Government measure of Woman's Suffrage. With the great majority of the Conservative Party opposed to Woman's Suffrage, I think it is quite clear that it is only through their use of the Referendum resulting in our favour that we can hope for success from that quarter. For we must remember that all the Conservative leaders, Suffrage and Anti-Suffrage, have declared that they consider it unconstitutional to make any great change without the people having had a clear opportunity of expressing their will on the subject. I have spent a little time counting the Conservative candidates, and it is as certain as anything human can be, that there will be a considerable Anti-Suffragist majority in the next Conservative Administration. That being so, our hope will lie in a Referendum favourable to Woman's Suffrage as the best means of making the Conservatives adopt it as a Government plank. I know the National Union is opposed to a Referendum, but I have always been favourable to it, and am sorry that Mr. Lloyd George closed the door for the Liberals so decisively against it. The conclusions to be drawn from the above résumé are fairly obvious. We must do everything in our power to win the confidence of the present electorate. To do that we must scrupulously avoid anything that could be construed as indicating Conservative or Liberal bias. I think we should on every occasion make it clear that we are Anti-Government, not Anti-Liberal, and that at the General Election our policy will be to support Suffragist candidates of any party when opposed to Anti-Suffragists, as we do not know which party will be returned to power (most probably the Conservatives), and our aim should be to get as many Suffragists into Parliament as possible.

I have made no reference to the heroic Fenians of the movement—they are best ignored.

DAVID A. PEAT.

Victoria Villa, Gourcock.

[We have pleasure in publishing Mr. Peat's thoughtful contribution to the question of election policy. According to the statement of the N.U. Press Secretary in the Standard, the Conservative "front bench" is not in a majority against us, but equally divided. This, however, would probably not affect Mr. Peat's point of view, since an equal division of opinion is, in any case, sufficiently serious.—Ed. C.C.]

THE SUFFRAGE PILGRIMAGE.

MADAM,—The scheme for a "Women's Suffrage Pilgrimage" which is now being organised by the National Union is a grand one, and I make an appeal to all our Federations and Societies to respond to the trumpet call of our leader, Mrs. Fawcett, and to take it up in the spirit of self-dedication and enthusiastic joyousness which she expects from us. What does it mean? It means that we constitutional Suffragists are dedicating the month of July to a special effort to rouse the country to our immediate need of the Vote. We are to go up and down the length and breadth of England preaching the faith that is in us, and not only preaching, but, as the pilgrims did of old, begging alms all along the various routes in order to bring to London on July 26th, and hand into our Treasury, such a sum of money as will be worthy of our great National Union and a testimony of the determination in the Provinces to see the enfranchisement of women accomplished.

I plead that it may be undertaken in a prayerful, solemn spirit. Let us remember Josephine Butler and her fellow-workers in their great campaign against vice—we hear of them spending hours in united prayer when a crisis was at hand, and we need to-day this religious spirit, as apart from creeds and dogmas, in our struggle for freedom. Finally, every member of the National Union must help—those who cannot leave their homes and "stump" the country can give assistance in all sorts of different ways, and each one of us must feel that we have an individual responsibility in witnessing to the nation by this Women's Suffrage Pilgrimage that we are in deadly earnest.

KATHERINE M. HARLEY.

CHINA AND CHRISTIANITY.

MADAM,—In "Notes and Comments" of the issue of May 2nd you give prominence to a stray statement that "Christianity has become associated in the public mind (in China) with . . . general progress."

Why turn THE COMMON CAUSE into an advertising medium for Christianity? Your paper is non-party in science and politics, and, seeing there are many Suffragists who hold that the Christian Church is the foe and not the friend of woman, might well refrain from partisanship in religion.

EVERARD L. BRINE.

[The "stray statement" occurred in an interesting and weighty "communicated" article in the Times. Its interest to Suffragists lies in the suggestion that the Chinese associate "greater freedom for women" with "general progress," and are interested in Christianity because they think it stands for these things. Had it been stated that they were interested in Mohammedanism for these reasons, the fact would duly have been noted in THE COMMON CAUSE.—Ed. C.C.]

THE GOVERNMENT AND MILITANCY.

MADAM,—I am afraid my previous letter did not make my meaning clear. My intention was not to admit errors in the militants, which were excusable on the score of the Government's previous wrong, but rather to show that the unreason, contempt of others and the deplorable elements complained of in your article, were to be found with the Government rather than with the militants.

My letter contained neither plea nor excuse for what the militants have done. They are quite willing to accept the responsibility of their own actions; it only seemed to me unjust to make them responsible for the errors of the Government as well.

Coaxden, Axminster. EDITH CLARENCE.

[The paragraph to which Miss Clarence originally took exception ran as follows:—"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 that stands for peace, justice and humanity, are tragic." We do not understand how this can be construed into making the militants "responsible for the errors of the Government." The Government could not introduce anything into the Suffrage movement. Only Suffragists could do that.—Ed. C.C.]

Women's Suffrage in the United States.

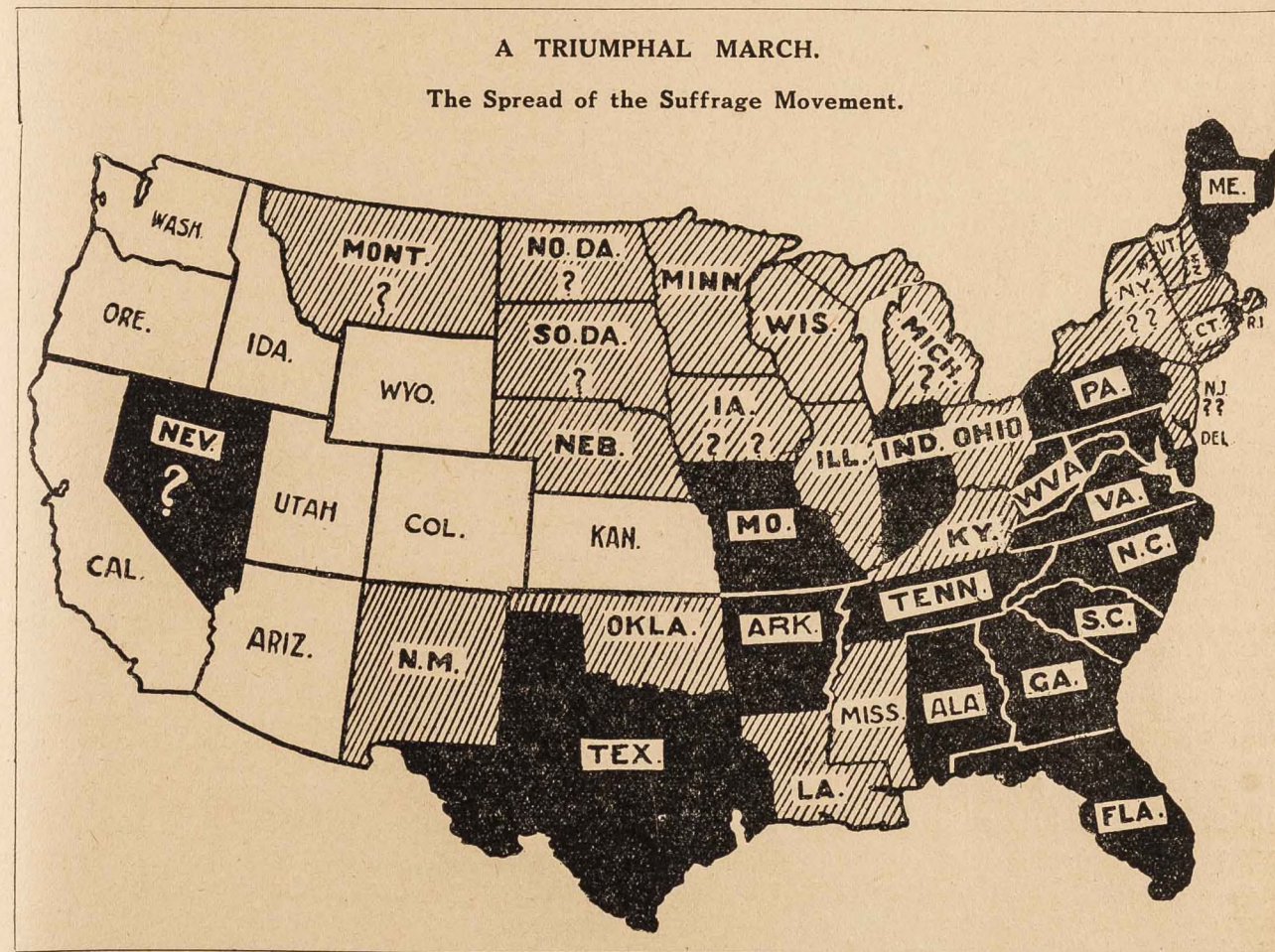
In answer to a question as to the analysis of the position of the Suffrage Movement in the United States (which was published in THE COMMON CAUSE of May 2nd) we have received the following communication from Mrs. Chapman Catt:—

"In many States two successive Legislatures must pass upon an amendment to the Constitution before it goes to the Referendum for ratification. Usually these Legislatures are elected for two years. Consequently when an amendment has passed the Legislature in the year 1913, as it has done in New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and some other States, it cannot be passed upon in the year 1914 as the same Legislature is sitting. In 1915 there is a new Legislature which has authority to pass upon the matter. There are two Houses in all our Legislatures, so that when it is stated that an amendment has

pamphlet by its President, Colonel Mansfeldt, setting forth the standpoint the League should adopt in the approaching election campaign. First the author explains why a league of men working for the enfranchisement of women has an important task to fulfil in the struggle for the vote. Then he reviews the attitude of the different political parties and their programmes towards women's suffrage, and points out the necessity of discovering the personal views of each candidate on the question. He closes with a fervent appeal to men to throw aside their long apathy to women's claims, and unite in demanding the co-operation of women for the best interests of the community.

These are the questions to be put by the Men's League to all candidates:—

1. Are you in favour of womanhood suffrage?
2. If so, should it include eligibility?



[In the White States, women have the full suffrage; in the Grey States they vote on certain local questions; in the black, no suffrage at all. States marked with a query will submit Women's Suffrage to a referendum next year. States marked with two queries must pass Women's Suffrage through the legislature again before submitting it to a referendum. Observe how the movement spreads.]

passed one Legislature, it means that it has gone through both Houses of that Legislature.

"In the list you publish, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin are classed as having passed an amendment through one House. Both of these States have now passed it through the Second House, so that they belong in the list where amendments have passed one Legislature and must pass another. The procedure of passing amendments differs greatly in the different States."

News from the Netherlands.

Though the outlook here is not particularly hopeful, there is no relaxation of effort among the Suffrage Societies. It will be remembered that the draft of the revised constitution completely ignores the claims of women, and as elections are now pending, it is necessary to decide on a course of action which may lead to a change in the position. The Men's League has issued a

3. If not, are you in favour of limited suffrage for women, and what limitations would you propose? e.g., tax-paying, married or unmarried status, or householders, the holding of certain offices or employments, a degree or other educational qualification, a limit of age? Or would you propose to begin by the municipal franchise?

4. Is it your opinion that the State Constitution should contain a clause securing the vote to women?

5. Are you opposed to granting any measure of suffrage to women? If so, why?

The answers received to these questions will be published by the Men's League for the guidance of electors.

The Women's Exhibition was opened on May 1st.

## Why Home-keeping Women Want the Vote.

When people hear of Women's Suffrage for the first time, they are often inclined to say at once that only men should have the Vote, because

### Woman's Sphere is the Home.

If by this they mean that in most cases, when a man marries, he has to go on working outside his home in order to support his family, while, when a woman marries, she generally has to stay at home in order to look after it and all that is in it, I think

### We All Agree about this.

But Suffragists think that it is just because women do think so much of their homes, and care so much about them, that they ought to have votes. For, if you come to think of it, there are lots of homes that *can't* be made clean and decent and orderly, however hard the women who live in them try to make them so. There are

### Houses so Badly Built,

and so inconvenient, that they *make work* faster than the women can keep up with it. There are houses with several storeys, and no water except on the ground floor; and there are houses with no water at all. There are many houses with none of the decencies of life, and there are some that are built "back to back," so that no fresh air ever gets through them. Then the surroundings are sometimes so foul that bad smells come through the windows and up the drains, and all sorts of dirt gets tracked in from outside. And, worst of all, there are houses with only two or three rooms, and ten or eleven people living in them. How can a woman keep her home nice and her children clean and good, when she lives in a house like these? Every one knows it is impossible. Do you know, a gentleman said the other day in Parliament that he knew of a whole village in Cornwall where there was

### Not One House Fit for Human Beings to Live in,

and no one could contradict him. Every one knew it was true. Every one said that the way our poor were housed was a national disgrace, and something ought to be done to improve it. But what did they decide to do?

### Nothing at all!

If the women who have to *live* in those houses and do the work of them, and break their hearts trying to keep them clean, had Votes, they would *make* the Government take the question up. They don't want to "neglect their homes." They want to protect them. And they know it doesn't take

half so long to cast a vote at the polling-station once in three or four years as to go on trying to keep homes clean and children healthy in houses that have no water and no drains.

To be sure, Mr. John Burns thinks he has done all that is necessary with his "Housing and Town-Planning Act." But what did that Act really do? It ordered bad houses to be pulled down, but didn't order good ones to be put up! and so some hundreds have been built, but thousands have been pulled down; and others that ought to be pulled down have been left because there was nowhere at all for the people who lived in them to go to. The other day a lady was offered anything up to

### 10s. a Week for a Loft

with no fireplace, and only a skylight, because a man and his family wanted to live in it.

And yet when any public-spirited man does care enough about such things as these to bring in a Bill to deal with them, the House of Commons takes no interest in it at all. When a member of Parliament was describing the way in which the great city of Liverpool had succeeded in pulling down its slums and re-building, and had got the very same people back into the new houses, but nothing like the same amount of crime and sickness, because the people improved in every way when they were given a chance to live decently—even then hardly any one cared to listen. Out of 675 members

### Not Forty were Present,

and some had to be fetched, in a hurry, to make it possible to go on with the debate at all.

Women want the Vote to help them to get better Housing Laws. And when you feel inclined to say, "Women should stop at home and let politics alone," please remember that according to politicians themselves, the homes they have to live in are

### A National Disgrace.

We women think that if we had Votes there would have been more than 40 members present to discuss that National Disgrace. We don't want to go on trying to clean up slums. We want the Government to abolish the slums altogether.

### To-Day's Story.

THE M.P. (*condescendingly*): "But, my good woman, what makes you so anxious to have a vote?"

THE GOOD WOMAN (*looking him up and down*): "You."

## In Parliament.

May 7th.—OPIUM TRAFFIC MOTION.—Mr. Towyn Jones introduced a motion condemning the Indo-Chinese traffic in opium as "morally indefensible." On the assurance of the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs that the traffic was now suspended, the motion was withdrawn.

BUDGET RESOLUTIONS.—Mr. Cassel moved that the separate income of a married woman should not be deemed to be the income of her husband. The motion was held not to be in order at this point, but Sir Frederick Banbury later on appealed once more against the "direct incentive to immorality" given by "lumping together" the incomes of married but not of unmarried persons.

May 8th.—The House adjourned till Tuesday, May 27th.

### Gems from the Debate: or, the Wisdom of our Rulers.

Mr. Munro (lamentably): "There is no part of the United Kingdom where the voice of the resident voter has been more frequently adulterated and obliterated by the fugitive visitor than in Scotland." (House shudders sympathetically at horrible thought of voices adulterated by visitors—fugitive ones, too!)

Mr. E. Jones (impressively): "If you go down to my constituency, you will find miners informed on topics to an extent that *I myself have not been able to attain.*" (Stupefaction of Hon. Members.)

Mr. Chancellor: "It does not necessarily follow that a man is intelligent because he is wealthy."

Sir Frederick Banbury: "*I am not so sure.*"

Mr. Chapple: "Alexander the Great was selected because those who followed him trusted him. Those who followed Napoleon did the same. Those who followed ME in Stirlingshire did the same."

Mr. Bonar Law (rudely): "Rather hard on Napoleon and Alexander."

### In Memoriam.

The London Society and the cause of Women's Suffrage have sustained a severe loss in the death of Mrs. Lawrence M. Waterhouse at Bindon, Hampton Wick, last week. Mrs. Waterhouse had been for some years Honorary Treasurer of the Kingston Branch of the London Society. None of those who have had official or personal dealings with her can forget either the devotion and business capacity which she brought to the service of the Society, or the great personal charm which made it a constant pleasure to work with her. The deepest sympathy is felt for her family and friends.

### Mrs. Fawcett's Arrangements.

Mrs. Fawcett has sent us the following statement:—  
Would you be so kind as to state in THE COMMON CAUSE that I have gone away to Northern Italy for a month's real holiday before the Buda-Pesth Congress, and that letters will *not* be forwarded? I have not had a "real" holiday from Suffrage for more than two years, and I hope to come back all the fresher for leaving it behind for a little time.

### Teachers and the Suffrage.

We are glad to see that the Executive Committee of the National Union of Teachers has decided that a full discussion of the question of Women's Suffrage shall be held at the Conference at Lowestoft next Easter. Last year the Conference refused to discuss the question. The Ladies' Committee, however, have recommended that the motion dealing with the Suffrage should be repeated at the 1914 Conference, and in reply to an amendment suggesting that no action should be taken, Miss Cleghorn pointed out that the women in the local associations were determined to put the motion forward until it received attention. The majority of women teachers were law-abiding Suffragists—not militants—and for the Executive to take no action would show a cowardly spirit and do harm to a number of loyal members of the union. After discussion, the recommendation of the Ladies' Committee was adopted by 21 votes to 10. In view of the fact that the decision not to discuss Women's Suffrage has been freely quoted as a decision against the Suffrage, the adoption of this recommendation is of the greatest importance.

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177-178, Tottenham Court Rd., W. 243, Brompton Rd., S.W.  
81-84, LEADENHALL ST., London, E.C.

### 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. LEAF (Press).  
Miss I. B. O'MALLEY (Literature).

Hon. Treasurer:  
Mrs. AUREBACH.

Secretary:  
Miss CROOKENDEN.

Offices: Parliament Chambers, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

#### Press Department.

Over thirty London papers, and amongst them some of the most important, have declared their editorial policy to be in favour of Women's Suffrage. Of the Conservative papers, the *Daily Telegraph* is becoming increasingly friendly; it published a full division list after the defeat of the Dickinson Bill, and is giving additional space to the reports of Suffrage meetings, and to the activities of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. Consistent support from such an influential paper would be specially welcome.

The Press Secretary of the London Society describes the local and suburban press as being on the whole friendly. Amongst the papers which give us good support are the *Islington Daily Gazette and Citizen*, *Kensington News*, *London Guardian*, *South London Press*, *East London Advertiser*, *Willesden Citizen*, *Hendon Times*, *Hampstead Express*, *Dulwich Post*, *Paddington Mercury*, and *Muswell Hill Record*, etc.

It is satisfactory to see the notable improvement in the Irish Press on the subject of Women's Suffrage, due largely to the energy of local secretaries in furnishing information. In Galway two Irish papers, one Unionist and one Liberal, are giving half a column weekly to Suffrage news, and an especially good article from Miss Malone, the Hon. Secretary of the Northern Committee of the Irish Women's Suffrage Federation, appeared recently in the *Northern Whig*. Amongst the Irish papers which we notice have lately shown increased friendliness to Women's Suffrage and readiness to insert news are the *Irish Independent*, *Irish Times*, *Belfast News Letter*, *Cork Examiner* and *Dublin Express*.

We have received from the Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union of South Africa (the W.E.A.U.), the special Buda-Pesth Congress number of *The Woman's Outlook* for April—twenty-one pages of excellent Suffrage matter, beautifully illustrated and attractively printed, calculated to impress readers with the imminence of Women's Suffrage in South Africa. This is only the seventh number issued, but already *The Woman's Outlook* threatens to surpass the old-established suffrage journals of Europe in interest and general excellence of make-up. Miss Agnes Burt, B.A., is the Editor, and in a brief editorial she says that the main purpose of the Congress number is to set forth briefly and clearly the development and progress of the Women's movement in South Africa. To this end Mrs. Mary E. Macintosh, the President of the W.E.A.U., traces the history of the Movement from its tentative inception in Pietermaritzburg in 1848 to its organised beginning in 1895, when the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Cape Colony decided at the Annual Conference at Kimberley to make enfranchisement one of their objects, and then up to the formation, in October, 1911, of the present Association, which links together 18 Suffrage Societies and consists of over 2,000 members. She points out that although General Louis Botha, the Premier, is a Suffragist himself, he shelve all settlement of the question until the women can convince him that the majority desire enfranchisement and that they would use their votes when they had them. To this task the Association is now vigorously addressing itself, and *The Woman's Outlook* is evidently destined to make it much easier of accomplishment than it might have been. Suffragists interested in the movement in the Dominion should certainly subscribe to this little paper, which costs only 2s. 6d. per annum, post free, and is obtained at the following address:—c.o. Grocott and Sherry, Printers, Grahamstown, S.A. E. M. LEAF.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies wishes to express its regret for the mistake by which Mr. H. Webb's name was given in the list of Anti-Suffragist instead of Suffragist Members of the Government in the leaflet which was distributed to the public outside the House of Commons on May 5th and 6th. Mr. Webb has had his attention drawn to the misstatement, and asks us to circulate the correction as widely as possible. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies has naturally heard with great satisfaction that Mr. Webb is

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to be counted among the supporters of Women's Suffrage in the Government, and has much pleasure in publishing the correction of the leaflet.

The National Union is glad to see from the division lists that Mr. Sydney Buxton and Mr. Masterman have also to be placed on the list of Suffragist Members of the Government. This brings the majority of Suffragists over Anti-Suffragists up to 19, and emphasises still further the unfair methods employed by the Anti-Suffragists to conceal the relative strength of the two parties in the Government.

#### "The Common Cause" Competition.

The following Societies, in addition to those noted in our last week's issue, have entered for THE COMMON CAUSE Competition:—Reading, Romiley, South Coldfield, Wakefield.

#### Treasurer's Notes.

We are already receiving special offerings for the Fund we are raising in connection with the great Pilgrimage in July, which augurs well for the response which we anticipate will be made to our appeal from every member who desires to further the success of this effort of self-denial. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of money as a necessary lever for such work as ours.

If you wish to know how you can help us, here are a few suggestions:—

1. Send a donation to Headquarters as soon as possible.
2. Collect money during the next few weeks to send as a special offering for the Demonstration in July.
3. Organise sales of work, or of garden produce, cake fairs, jumble sales, "white elephant" teas or other means of raising money.
4. Get up a lecture or concert, or other form of entertainment, for the benefit of our Funds.
5. Go without some luxury or amusement and send us the equivalent in money.
6. Work for us whenever and wherever you can.

HELENA AUERBACH.

#### Contributions to the General Fund.

Already acknowledged since November, 1912 ... £ s. d. 1,834 4 6  
Received May 5th to 12th, 1913:—

Subscriptions.		£	s.	d.
Miss A. J. Murrell	...	0	3	0
Miss R. Diplock	...	0	1	0
Mrs. White Birch	...	1	1	0
Lady Turner	...	0	10	0
Mrs. Henry Fawcett	...	10	0	0
Miss M. B. Thornton	...	25	0	0
Mrs. Makepeace	...	0	1	0
Mrs. Donohoe	...	0	5	0
Miss E. Guertler	...	0	2	6
Miss G. M. Taylor	...	0	2	6
Donations.				
Miss Ethel Sargant	...	15	0	0
Anonymous	...	0	10	0
Mrs. John Marshall	...	10	0	0
Mrs. F. S. Tabor	...	5	0	0
Mrs. Percy Thompson. In memory of Sidney Gilchrist Thomas (half-monthly instalment)	...	20	0	0
Affiliation Fees.				
Margate W.S.S.	...	1	7	0
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Cheadle W.S.S.	...	0	7	3
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Lady Dodds	...	0	10	0
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Miss Mary Mackenzie	...	1	0	0
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Election Fighting Fund.		£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	...	5,344	9	1
Miss Pennington	...	1	0	0
Collections at East Bristol (per Mrs. Townley)	...	2	3	0
Mrs. Rand	...	0	5	0
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		£5,367	17	1

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**SUFFRAGE ANNOUNCEMENTS.**

**LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.**  
—Jumble Sale, Thursday, May 29th, at Alford House, 10, Lambeth Walk, S.E. Miss E. Briant will be glad of goods of all kinds.

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To the Secretary 

Society for Women's Suffrage

Or the Secretary National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

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