

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE THE COMMON CAUSE OF HUMANITY.

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CONTENTS

Notes and Comments

In Parliament

Political Notes

The Free Churches and Women's Suffrage

The National Union and Three-cornered
Contests

News from Abroad

Feminists and Anti-Feminists

Correspondence

The Shadows of Coercion

Women as Mothers and Home-makers

"Woman's Kingdom"

Notes from Headquarters

News from the Societies and Federations



*"Hearts of youth,
High-beating, ardent, quick in hope and truth,
And noble anger, O wherever now
You dedicate your uncorrupted vow
To be an energy of Light, a sword
Of the ever-living Will, amid abhorred*

*Din of reeking street and populous den
Where under great stars blind lusts of men
War on each other.
O scattered, silent, hidden and unknown,
Be lifted up, for you are not alone!*

—LAWRENCE BINYON.

ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES (NUMBER OF SOCIETIES IN THE UNION 479).

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies is a great association of men and women banded together for the single purpose of obtaining the Parliamentary vote for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men. It was founded in 1867, and now numbers over 52,000 annually-subscribing members, organized into 479 Societies, under the presidentship of Mrs. Henry Fawcett. The colours of the Union are SCARLET, WHITE, and GREEN. Among its members are people of all parties, and people of none. The cause that unites them is the cause of Women's Suffrage, and they work for victory by peaceful methods only. They utterly repudiate methods of violence and rely on political pressure and the education of public opinion. WILL YOU JOIN? (Membership form on p. 983.)

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Notes and Comments.

Women and the "Covenant."

As Anti-suffragists officially advocate the co-operation of women with men in domestic matters, but strongly deprecate their "interference" in matters Imperial, one would expect them to keep out of the distinctly Imperial question of Home Rule. Nevertheless, among many others, Lady Tullibardine, Lady Wantage, and Miss Marie Corelli have signified, by signing the Covenant, their willingness to take "any action that may be effective" to prevent the Home Rule Bill coming into operation. Will these ladies not admit now that there are no questions of public interest which do not concern women, and none in the solution of which they have not a right to share?

Imperial Responsibilities.

Recently published statistics suggest that British women have some unfulfilled responsibilities in India. The Census returns show that of the 43,000,000 inhabitants under five years of age, girls were in a majority by about 639,000; but between five and ten the boys outnumbered them by a million. Yet boys are notoriously more difficult to rear. The *Conservative and Unionist Franchise Review* points out that there are 17,700 little girls under five who are widows, and 2,500,000 under ten. Of the whole population (255,000,000) only 3 per cent. are classified under the education report as "receiving instruction." Of these only 864,363 are girls. The question of women's education in India is one of pressing importance. We hope shortly to publish an article by an expert on the subject.

Scottish Women Liberals.

The Scottish Women Liberals are pressing for a Government measure for Women's Suffrage, and we notice that the resolution calling on the Government to "indicate the earliest opportunity at which they would adopt Women's Suffrage as part of their programme in a future Parliament" was carried unamended. An attempt was made to "support Women's Suffrage" without demanding a Government measure, but it failed to pass. Suffrage feeling everywhere is increasingly solid on the necessity for Government action.

The Protest to Mrs. Pankhurst.

We deeply regret to learn that Mrs. Pankhurst had, before her arrest in Glasgow, refused to meet the representatives of the Scottish Federation who wished to lodge once more a protest against militancy, and produce proof of the widespread harm that it is doing to the whole movement. A correspondent urges that if militant Suffragists believe in the fitness of women to exercise the franchise they ought not to disregard the convictions of women on the subject of militant tactics. But Mr. Asquith and Mrs. Pankhurst appear to be at one on this subject at least—that the views of those who disagree with them are not worth hearing.

From the Particular to the General.

Argument "from the particular to the general" used to be regarded as a peculiarly feminine form of logic. The *Standard*, however, surpasses the most feminine in its leader of March 18th, in which an attempt is made to show that women are unsuited for political life, because Mme. Caillaux shot at and killed M. Calmette, the editor of the *Figaro*. It is really almost incredible that a newspaper not professedly humorous should devote an entire column to this form of idiosyncrasy. Is it possible that the editor of the *Standard* has never heard of political assassinations perpetrated by men? Is the story of Julius Cæsar unknown to him? Or does he suppose that Brutus and Cassius were women? Speak!

Mrs. Flora Annie Steel and "Those United States."

America has also perpetrated a joke this week. Her officials in New York endeavoured to prevent Mrs. Flora Annie Steel from landing on the ground that she is suffering from "senile debility." Our compliments to these gentlemen. Also to Mrs. Steel, whose only comment was that America was "still rather young and had something to learn."

Release of Mrs. Savage.

Mrs. Savage, who was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for cruelty to her children, has been released. It seems clear that the unfortunate woman was in a state of perpetual

terror lest the children should be taken from her by the Poor Law authorities, and it was for this reason that she practically imprisoned them. It is a pitiful commentary on our legal methods and on our treatment of the very poor that so powerful an instinct of motherhood should have become a source of suffering so terrible both to mother and children. We warmly congratulate Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Neal, "Special Commissioner" for *Votes for Women*, on the release of Mrs. Savage, and the care which is being devoted to her by them now that she is free.

Criminal Law Amendment.

It is with great regret that we read some of the provisions of the new Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which is down for a Second Reading. The raising of the age of consent (both for boys and girls) is a measure on which there is a very considerable consensus of opinion; but it is deplorable to find such a reform accompanied by an attempt to extend the scope of the flogging clause of the last Act. We understand that many of those who have been working for years for the improvement of our Criminal Law are strongly opposed to these clauses, and we believe that a very large number of women, in whose supposed interests such measures are passed, detest them also. The same feeling which impels us to deny that any "fallen" woman should be regarded as hopelessly degraded and de-humanised—the feeling which prompts much of the Opposition to State Regulation—cannot be put on one side when the degraded and de-humanised person is a man. And if there are those who do take this view, it is worth while to consider further how far the ends of justice are served by flogging a man when women for the same offence are not flogged; or the ends of humanity by compelling one human being to inflict torture upon another.

"A Hard and Lonely Road."

We are informed that at a recent meeting addressed by the prospective Liberal candidate for Harrow, several women who inquired whether they would be allowed to ask questions, were informed that they would not. The *Hendon Times* observes:—"If women may put no questions and may possess no votes, they are indeed on a hard and lonely road."

"The Most Careful Examination of Evidence."

A correspondent calls our attention to the following statement by Mrs. Colquhoun:—

"A common suffrage statement is that there are five million women workers and that the average rate of pay is 7s. 6d. per week. Not only is there no evidence at all to prove such a statement, but it is directly opposed to such evidence as is available. It has been contradicted innumerable times with the most careful examination of evidence, and yet you will find it repeated again and again, and notably by Miss Maude Royden, in a widely-circulated pamphlet which is a tissue of similar inaccuracies."

"The most careful examination" of Miss Royden's pamphlet fails to produce any such statement. But our correspondent must not blame Mrs. Colquhoun too severely. She has been far too busy denouncing the pamphlet to have had time to read it, and has thereby advertised it so well that Miss Royden would be the last to complain of any little oversight of this kind. After all, Anti-suffragist speakers would have to be silent if they really read pamphlets before denouncing them—and then, how sorry we should all be!

A New Basis for the Franchise.

The Anglican Church has established a Representative Council, for which all men who are communicants have the vote, and all women communicants who are also ratepayers. The combination of spiritual and material qualifications is most interesting. Under these conditions, Mrs. Paget points out, the widow who only had two mites and foolishly gave them away would not be eligible as a voter. More prudent Sapphira, who kept back a portion of her goods, would be put on the register at once. So does the Church adapt the teaching of Christianity to our modern needs.

Selling "The Common Cause."

We call attention to an appeal for more COMMON CAUSE sellers in another column. The work is specially adapted to those who can only give a limited amount of time to Suffrage work.

In Parliament.

Wednesday, March 11th.

SCHOOL CLINICS.

MR. JOHN WILLIAMS asked how many elementary education authorities in England and Wales have availed themselves of facilities afforded them by present enactments for building school clinics, and the effect, if any, to the scholars.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION gave the number of local authorities that have established school clinics as 115, the total number of clinics being 200. In a large percentage of cases the treatment has been effective.

TRADE BOARDS ACT (LAUNDRIES).

MR. POINTER asked the President of the Board of Trade whether the Government propose to fulfil the intention expressed last Session to issue a Provisional Order bringing the laundry trade under the operation of the Trade Boards Act.

MR. BURNS: I propose to introduce a Bill immediately to confirm a Provisional Order applying the Trade Boards Act to calendering and machine ironing in laundries.

SHORTAGE OF MILITARY FORCES.

MR. BAIRD (Rugby, U.), speaking of the shortage of our military forces, pointed out that 29 per cent. of the men in the Regular Army, and 34 per cent. of the Territorials, are little more than children; 19,000 out of our 28,000 latest recruits were a year younger, and some of them two years younger, than any man who would ever be taken into service by any foreign nation against which they were likely to have to fight.

MR. AMERY (S. Birmingham, U.), speaking of the shortage of officers and of what the Australians had done in the way of military service, said:—

"I was able to spend more time . . . at the remarkable college which the Australians have. There they go on the principle, not of raising men from the ranks and then trying to find a training for them by some make-shift or the other; they take the men from every walk of life and give them gratis a four years' training of the very finest character. They are turning out what I believe will be one of the finest regular officers in the British Empire."

CONDITION OF THE BLIND.

MR. WARDLE (Stockport, Labour), in moving that the State should make provision whereby capable blind people might be made industrially self-supporting, and the incapable and infirm maintained in a proper and humane manner, said:—

"What they cannot do for themselves the whole nation, acting together through their elected representatives, can and ought to do. . . . Could we not in this country create some reserve services for these people, some work of a character which they could perform, and leave it as far as possible for them to do? I am told that in Japan such a thing happens."

Speaking of the work that had been done in treating children for ophthalmia neonatorum, he said:—

"In Manchester last year, under the permissive Order (now made compulsory) which was issued by the Local Government Board, with an expenditure of £150 only, that city treated and saved the sight of eighty children. Under the 1893 Act for the Education of the Blind and Deaf, it would have cost from £300 to £350 for each child to have been trained compulsorily under that Act. Therefore, as a mere matter of £ s. d. alone, it pays to save these children from this disease. I do not put it on the ground of expense at all. I say that it is criminal folly on the part of any community which allows children to become blind when, for a small expenditure like that, they can be saved from it."

MR. HAYES FISHER (Fulham, U.), agreed with Mr. Wardle that the House of Commons did not set apart enough time for legislation on problems of this character, "in regard to which, in the main, there was a general consensus of opinion."

MR. PERCY ALDEN (Middlesex, Tottenham, Lib.) stated that there were in England and Wales not less than 5,000 people who would not be blind if they had been attended to when they were born.

March 12th.

JULIA DECIES.

MR. WILLIAM THORNE asked whether the Home Secretary was aware that the jury, in finding Julia Decies guilty, recommended her to mercy, and that Mr. Justice Darling awarded seven years' penal servitude, and whether, in view of the whole circumstances of her offence, he could see his way to order a remission of the sentence.

MR. MCKENNA: The convict has applied to the Court of Criminal Appeal for leave to appeal against her sentence.

HOUSE ACCOMMODATION, ROCHDALE.

SIR ARTHUR GRIFFITH-BOSCAWEN asked the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been called to the recent reports published by the medical officer of health for Rochdale, in which it is stated that there are 5,482 not-through houses in Rochdale, of which 3,470 are back-to-back; whether he is aware that Manchester has got rid of over 5,000 back-to-back houses in the last six years, and Salford has reduced the number of such houses from 2,525 to 73; if he can give any reason why similar action has not been taken at Rochdale; and if the Local Government Board propose to take any steps in the matter?

MR. HERBERT LEWIS: My right hon. friend is aware of the facts stated in the question. He is in communication with the Town Council of Rochdale on the subject, and is awaiting their reply.

POSITION OF MARRIED SOLDIERS.

MR. WORTHINGTON EVANS (Colchester, U.) moved the resolution of the vote on the Army Estimates as a protest against the hardships suffered by non-commissioned officers and men married "off the strength." He pointed out that according to the regulations only 50 per cent. of the sergeants and 5 per cent. of the rank and file are allowed to be put upon the strength, and called attention to the Report presented to the Government by Mrs. Tennant, as a result of inquiries made by a Committee appointed by the Government last March to inquire into this question. In this report Mrs. Tennant says:—

"I am satisfied that the present restrictions press hardly upon those men who desire marriage, and are of an age at which they might reasonably expect to attain it, but who, because of the limitation of the married establishment, must either abandon the Army in which they wish to remain, or must expose their wives to the poverty, discomfort, and distress almost universally inseparable from marriage off the strength."

"The soldier can afford but little from his pay towards the cost of food and lodging for his wife and family; the food, therefore, he provides in a great measure from his rations; the lodging he seeks in the cheapest quarter. His fighting efficiency is impaired by the prevailing practice of sharing with his family rations intended solely for himself, and he suffers both in health and morals, from the character of his lodgings, often in the lowest part of the town, and generally wretched in their squalor."

With regard to the children, Mrs. Tennant reports:—

"Medical witnesses and social workers spoke of the inferior physique of the off-the-strength child, whose father can be easily distinguished from his fellows, in spite of the quantity of cod liver oil received from the R.A.M.C. It was also stated that the fathers are similarly distinguishable by their 'drawn, hungry look.'"

The report, Mr. Evans continued, made certain suggestions for ameliorating this state of things; but it was quite clear that the ladies responsible had had the eye of the Financial Secretary to the War Office, or the Under-Secretary, upon them when they made the report, as they had been afraid to make any suggestions that would cost any money. He himself would go further, and suggest that the full privilege of marriage on the strength should be granted to all non-commissioned officers and men over twelve years' service, and in the Departmental Corps to all non-commissioned officers over seven years' service.

"The Government tell us that they are short in numbers. They have been advertising in the Press and on the walls of our towns, and even in cinematograph theatres for more men. That is all to the good. The Press is very powerful, and has helped the Government, and extra numbers of men have been enrolled in consequence. But there is another advertisement—a living picture, which is going on all the time. It is not in any one place. It is everywhere where garrisons are to be found. It is in every town. And that picture is a picture of squalor in a one-roomed tenement, a picture of starving women and children, recognisable at once as the children of a man 'off the strength.' The man also is recognised by his hungry, drawn looks. The right hon. gentleman may spend lots of money in advertising in other ways, but he could not spend any money better than by altering this picture of the misery of men in the Government service."

COLONEL SEELY, in a somewhat vague reply, in which he expressed sympathy, but made no definite promises, congratulated Mrs. Tennant on the "immense care and labour she gave to this, one of the most difficult problems connected with the Army."

Friday, March 13th.

AFFILIATION ORDERS BILL.

Read a second time, and committed to a Standing Committee.

Monday, March 16th.

HOUSING AT ROSYTH.

LORD ROBERT CECIL called attention to the question of housing in Rosyth Dockyard:—

"Two Departments of the Government are concerned—the Admiralty and the Scottish Local Government Board. Whichever Department you take, there is a tendency to say immediately: 'It is not our fault; it is all due to the other Department.' . . . The charge which I shall have to make . . . is one of neglect and indifference to a very serious condition which prevails among a body of men to the number of 3,600, and with their wives and children reaching a figure of 6,000 persons. I see that lately, or at least so I am told, the convener of a Town Planning Committee characterised the attitude of the Admiralty as one of 'callous indifference.' . . . The Government appointed (in 1911) two gentlemen of the highest eminence to make an inquiry. . . . They reported, and as far as my inquiries have gone, the condition of things that they found to exist exists now, and in some respects has become even worse. . . . At Bedford not long ago the Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking of rural housing in general, said, 'Housing is atrocious, inadequate, insufficient, insanitary, rotten.' If the right hon. gentleman had been speaking of the housing conditions at Rosyth, I for one would not have quarrelled with his rather lurid adjectives. Why is this condition of things allowed to continue? Was it because, owing to the defects of the registration law, the great majority of the men at Rosyth had no

THE FREE CHURCHES AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Great Speech by Mrs. Snowden.

The Free Church Council, at its concluding session on March 12th, considered the contribution of women to the solution of present-day problems. Mrs. Philip Snowden was the chief speaker, and her speech, which was throughout on the loftiest level, was received with tremendous enthusiasm by the great audience. Her plea was always for co-operation between the sexes, and, with a note of humour, she wondered "why this was the only meeting at which women had been asked to speak!"

Every form of life to-day, she said, showed a concern not only for individual salvation, but for co-operative or social salvation. A great change had come over politics; we found the politics of the day concerning itself with the condition of life of the masses of the people; we found the problems which were formerly the concern of private philanthropy had now become matters of public concern. Had the women of the nation anything to contribute along the line of handling social and industrial problems? Had the women any right and title to stand by the side of the men of the country to try and solve with them the grievous evils and problems with which we were confronted? She thought they had. The community as a whole had admitted that right. A certain number of women might engage in municipal work, and were entitled to vote and sit on local governing bodies. And yet in national affairs one valuable part of the political community was cut out altogether. When women took up this new service they would bring into politics a new emphasis—an emphasis of the value of human life and human honour. Everybody who read the papers must know that even to-day the legislation of every country on the face of the earth revealed a far too tender regard for property. Only a little while ago a tramwayman who was a penny out in his accounts and altered the sheet in order to make the account right was sentenced to six months' hard labour; while a man convicted of a criminal assault on a little girl in a picture palace was sentenced to a fine of 10s. Cases of that sort could be multiplied by the thousand. She was not out against private property. But still there were far more valuable things than property;—human life and human honour, it was these things that an awakened womanhood would have seriously at heart. Men had toiled and sacrificed and died for property. On the other hand, large numbers of women died annually from childbirth or the diseases resulting from childbirth; and what they suffered for and died for they would, perhaps, value in an exaggerated fashion. What she prophesied was that when women came into the exercise of this new power, and had served their political apprenticeship—some of the men of the country were not yet quite out of their time—the majority of the sex would cast their votes on the side of human life and human honour. This was precisely what had happened in every country where women had the vote, and had had it for a reasonable term of years.

Mrs. Snowden went on to describe the part she had taken in an election in California. She detailed the moral issues which underlay the contest, and mentioned that the brewing interest, the traffickers in women's purity, and the corrupt politicians were all solidly against the enfranchisement of women. Why? Because they knew perfectly well that the mother sense of every woman, even childless women and women who had never married—even those could not escape from the inbred God-given instinct of mothering somebody. She deplored more than she could say the awful crimes committed in the name of a good cause. It was pitiful in the extreme. Some of them were breaking their hearts about it. There never was a cause that was not disfigured by some few fanatics; never a cause that had not some who were unworthy of it. Those who by any kind of act put back the cause of civilisation and preached the gospel of might being right were traitors to humanity. The women wanted to live highly and holily, or not at all. They wanted the conscience, the heart, the intelligence, and the men behind them, because they wanted to be comrades with them. Whether right or wrong, their ideal was comradeship, not competition. We wanted men and women to work together, each contributing to the whole what the other lacked; each inspiring and strengthening the other.

MISS HOSKYNs-ABRAHALL'S LECTURES.

We regret that by a misunderstanding the subject of Miss Abraham's lectures at Crosby Hall was not rightly stated in our last issue. She will deal with the relations of the adult generation with the adolescent, and the peculiar difficulties of the transition period of life.

votes, and therefore, like women, were not considered by the Government?"

DR. MACNAMARA, for the Admiralty, and MR. MCKINNON WOOD, for the Scottish Local Government Board, put the case for the Government, the latter claiming that the Board had taken a very keen and proper interest in the matter and had done all in their power to see that sanitary conditions were observed, and to discourage the development of houses in the district, but their explanations were not regarded as satisfactory even by some of the Government's supporters, MR. A. WILLIAMS (Durham, N.W., Lib.) winding up the debate by saying that he "shared with a large number of members a feeling of humiliation that the Government should have allowed such conditions to grow up in Rosyth. He hoped the Government would acquire more land at Rosyth and set a great example of how workpeople should be housed."

Political Notes.

WELSH HOME RULE BILL.

The introduction of the Welsh Home Rule Bill into the House of Commons by Mr. John took place last week as we were going to Press, so that we were unable to give any account of the details of the Bill. This is of peculiar interest to women since it provides for the entry of men and women into the Welsh constitution upon equal electoral terms.

In his introductory speech, Mr. John pointed out that the Bill was largely based on lines similar to those of the Irish Home Rule Bill, though there were important differences. The Welsh Parliament would deal with domestic affairs only, leaving Imperial matters to the Imperial Legislature. As Anti-suffragists admit the value of women's work in domestic matters, the clause enfranchising women should have the support of Suffragists and Anti-suffragists alike. The Welsh Parliament would consist of one chamber, elected by proportional representation on a franchise based on the same qualifications as that for the Imperial Parliament, but without the sex-distinction. It is also proposed that the twenty-seven members who are to be allotted to Wales in the Imperial Parliament shall be elected on lines of proportional representation by large constituencies returning three or four members.

Earlier in the Session the Scottish Home Rule Bill, which passed its Second Reading last year, was re-introduced by Mr. Ian Macpherson, and is to come up for Second Reading on May 15th. The Government have already promised to take this up, though not this Session; it seems probable, therefore, that they will also adopt the Welsh Bill. If this is the case it is hardly likely that they will disregard the expressed wish of the Welsh Members and refuse to include women in the electorate for the Welsh Parliament.

LOCAL COUNCILS.

The Secretary for Scotland, Mr. McKinnon Wood, has announced that the Government are also bringing in a Bill for Scotland to make residence a qualification for eligibility to Town and County Councils. It is to be hoped that in this Scotch Bill the Government will not omit to extend the residential qualification for eligibility to Scotch Parish Councils. It will be remembered that the Parish Councils of Scotland do the work of the Boards of Guardians and District Councils in England, and that whereas for these latter bodies English women have had the advantage of a residential qualification for eligibility for twenty years, the choice of candidates to Scotch Parish Councils is still limited to those who are electors, so that a very small number of married women are thus eligible.

THE "I.L.P." COMING OF AGE.

The Independent Labour Party holds a "Coming of Age" Conference at Bradford on April 14th and the following days. Among the resolutions on the agenda are a large number dealing with the franchise. Three of these demand Adult Suffrage, and two demand opposition to any Franchise Bill which does not include women. Marple includes Registration Bills also. Middlesbrough urges the amendment of the law concerning municipal qualification, so that married women may be eligible for election. The resolution runs: "This Conference demands an amendment . . . to effectively ensure," etc., etc. While regretting the split-infinity, we cannot but sympathise with Middlesbrough on its little jibe at the House of Commons which passed the original Qualification of Women Act, apparently (but not in fact) giving the right to married women which has now to be demanded all over again!



Nothing annoys a Woman more

than to find her new frock creased and crumpled the first time she wears it. Yet this is what happens with all ordinary linen fabrics,—they begin to look untidy from the moment you first sit down. "Kant Krumpl" Flaxzella ends all that. "Kant Krumpl" Flaxzella is a new discovery. It is manufactured by a special process which makes it practically uncrushable, no matter how you fold it or press it.

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TRY THEM FOR TWO MONTHS.

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The comfort and pleasure of good wearing hose to men conveys a sense of well-being and satisfaction all day long, while to business girls and busy housewives, to whom the weekly darning is a long and tiresome task, the benefit is incalculable. Many of the officials of the "Common Cause" have worn our hose, and are highly satisfied with it.

- Prices: Two Pairs of Gent's Socks, 2/10, post 2d.
- Two Pairs Ladies' Stockings, 3/10, .. 2d.
- Colours: Gent's—Grey, Fawn, Tan, Drab, Purple, Navy, Dark Saxe, Blue, Green and Black.
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SILK HOLE-PROOF. Sold under same guarantee as above.

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NATIONAL UNION AND THREE-CORNERED CONTESTS.

A Summary of Results in by-elections since May, 1912, in which the Election Fighting Fund Committee of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies has supported the Labour candidate; showing the gains and losses in the Labour and Liberal polls. In each case the result at the by-election has been compared with the last occasion on which a candidate of the same party was standing in that constituency.

Labour Poll.	Gain.	Loss.	Liberal Poll.	Gain.	Loss.
<i>Holmfirth.</i>					
Jan., 1910	1,643	—	Jan., 1910	6,339	—
June, 1912	3,195	1,552	June, 1912	4,749	1,590
<i>Hanley.</i>					
Dec., 1910	8,343	—	July, 1900	5,944	—
July, 1912	1,694	6,649	July, 1912	6,647	703
(In 1910 Labour candidate had received the united support of Liberal organisation.)					
<i>Crewe.</i>					
Jan., 1910	1,380	—	Jan., 1910	7,761	—
July, 1912	2,485	1,105	July, 1912	5,294	2,467
<i>Midlothian.</i>					
Sept., 1912	2,413	2,413	Dec., 1910	8,837	—
(1st Labour contest.)					
<i>Houghton-le-Spring.</i>					
March, 1913	4,165	4,165	Jan., 1910	10,393	—
(1st Labour contest.)					
<i>S. Lanark.</i>					
Dec., 1913	1,674	1,674	Dec., 1913	4,006	1,154
(1st Labour contest.)					
<i>N.W. Durham.</i>					
Jan., 1914	5,026	5,026	Dec., 1910	8,998	—
(1st Labour contest.)					
<i>Leith Burghs.</i>					
Jan., 1910	2,724	—	Jan., 1910	7,146	—
Feb., 1914	3,346	622	Feb., 1914	5,143	2,003
Total ...	16,577	6,649	Total ...	703	15,282

Net Gain of 9,286 votes. Net Loss of 14,579 votes.

The policy of the National Union in these elections has been twofold: to show the Government that it is losing ground in the country through its continued refusal to bring in a Women's Suffrage measure, and to strengthen the Labour Party. The figures quoted above show to what extent this double purpose has been achieved. Hanley is the only instance in which the Labour poll has been reduced. The late Labour member had received the full support of the Liberal organisation, so that in reality the strength of the Labour vote had not before been tested, and in various respects this contest was exceptional. Even including Hanley, these eight by-elections show an average loss of 1,800 votes for the Government, and an average gain to the Labour Party of over 1,100. One seat was gained by the Government (Hanley), three were retained but with greatly reduced majorities, four seats were lost. The National Union does not claim all the credit for this turnover of votes, but it has at least proved itself to be a factor which must be considered in the electoral situation.

NEWS FROM ABROAD.

THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

We have received from the Editor of *Jus Suffragii* a most interesting explanation of recent Suffrage history in South Africa. Mr. Hugh Wyndham, who recently introduced a Women's Suffrage Bill, the First Reading of which was defeated by one vote, writes:—

"I am glad to say that this defeat does not prevent me from bringing in the Bill again this Session. The motion was that the Bill 'be now read a first time, and by defeating it the House only gave expression to the opinion that the Bill should not be read for the first time on the afternoon of Tuesday, 17th. There is nothing, however, in this to prevent its being read on any other afternoon. I have therefore given notice that I will move on Tuesday, March 3rd, that the Women's Enfranchisement Bill be read a first time. I am hopeful that in this case the Bill will go through its first reading in the usual formal way; but, in any case, on that occasion you may rely on all supporters being present, in case of the unexpected happening again."

The Bill was carried on being re-introduced by 62 votes to 30.

U. S. A. Mississippi.

In Mississippi a Bill has passed the House of Representatives and is now before the Senate, to raise the age of consent from twelve to eighteen years. In Georgia the age of consent is ten

years, and in nine other non-suffrage States it is fourteen years. In all the oldest Suffrage States it is eighteen or twenty-one years.

New Jersey.

By a vote of 14 to 3, says the *Woman's Journal*, the New Jersey Senate on February 24th passed the resolution providing for the submission of a constitutional amendment enfranchising women. It had already passed the Assembly by 49 votes to 4.

Pensions for Widowed Mothers.

The New York State Commission on Relief of Widowed Mothers has decided to report to the Legislature in favour of a system of pensions for necessitous widows with children. These recommendations are based on the grounds that widowed mothers are performing a valuable service to the State in bringing up children as good citizens, and that it is in the best interests of the State that they should be helped, to accomplish this duty to the best of their ability. The Chairman of the Commission of Investigation states that in all communities in the West where similar laws have been in operation for more than a year, it is agreed by all to be the greatest forward step in social legislation for the welfare of the child since the creation of juvenile courts.

FRANCE.

Women and Temperance.

The *Ligue Nationale contre l'Alcoolisme* has been making a wide appeal for the support of French women, and seems astonished at its success. On February 5th, 1912, the French Chamber indefinitely adjourned a proposal to limit the sale of licenses, and it is for the purpose of forcing Parliament to reconsider this vote that the National League makes its appeal. "We wanted," they say, "to appeal to the public at large, and, for the first time, to address ourselves to French women. It was an audacious attempt. It has succeeded beyond all hope. Already we have received 300,000 signatures." A further appeal is made for 100,000 additional women's signatures to make a total never once surpassed in the country.

INSPECTRICE GENERALE AU MINISTERE DE L'INTERIEUR.

Mlle. Marie Gautier, barrister-at-law, who for some years acted as assistant to M. Raymond Poincaré, until he gave up his practice on becoming President of the Republic, has been appointed to the important position of *Inspectrice Générale au Ministère de l'Intérieur*. Her chief duties will be to visit and inspect the hospitals, and asylums, and any institution in the country under the authority of the Ministry of the Interior. She can draw up reports to the Minister, recommend improvements, and suggest the appointment or removal of a number of public officials.

DENMARK.

Kvinden og Sarnfundet reports as follows:—

"On February 11th M. Borgbjerg" (the Radical Minister of Justice) "put the question before the Lower House as to whether the enfranchisement of women would involve their right to sit on juries. The Minister of Justice answered that the point was not decided. He added that he would not oppose the claim of women to serve on juries if it were involved in their enfranchisement; but if not, he could sympathise with those who said, 'Let us be content with granting women the vote this year, and let them wait longer before serving on juries.'"

This pronouncement does not at all content the Danish Woman's Union, who intend to approach the Government upon this question.

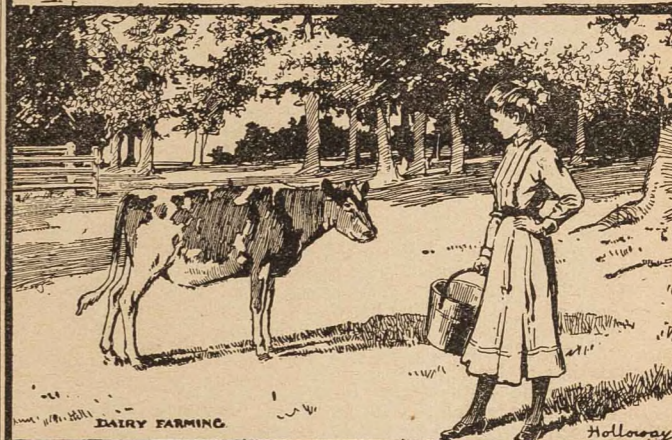
SWEDEN.

The recent change in the political situation has necessarily dashed the hopes of Suffragists in Sweden. Women had a staunch upholder of their claim in Herr Staaf, the Liberal Prime Minister, and under his ministry the Bill must certainly have passed the Lower House. The approaching election may probably result in the return of a Conservative Government, whose prime interest will be that of national defence. The first voting will take place in Stockholm on March 27th.

TURKEY.

An important meeting was held at the American Embassy in Constantinople on March 12th in connection with the International Association for the Protection of Young Girls. The discussion was opened by Mr. Coote, Secretary of the International Bureau for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, and Mr. Morgenthau, the American ambassador, submitted a resolution in favour of forming an organisation to be called the Constantinople Association for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women. A letter from the Grand Vizier was read promising the hearty co-operation of the Imperial Government, and Sir Louis Mallet, the British ambassador, also addressed the meeting. The growing interest of Mohammedan women in public affairs was shown by the presence of two Turkish ladies, one of whom is a distinguished writer.

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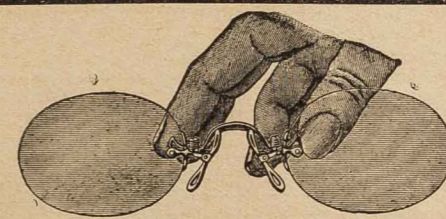
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Feminists and Anti-Feminists.

- ELLEN KEY. Louise Nyström-Hamilton, translated from the Swedish by A. E. Fries. (Putnam. 6s.)
- CONFLICTING IDEALS: TWO SIDES OF THE WOMAN'S QUESTION. B. L. Hutchins. (T. Murby & Co. 1s. 6d. net.)
- SOME PLAIN WORDS TO THE ENGLISH PEOPLE. Arthur Bennett. (The "Sunrise" Publishing Co.)
- THE OLD-FASHIONED WOMAN. Elsie Clewes Parsons, Ph.D. (Putnam. 6s.)
- THE VOCATION OF WOMAN. Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun. (Macmillan. 4s. 6d.)
- THE FRAUD OF FEMINISM. E. Belfort Bax. (Grant, Richards. 2s. 6d.)

Every week adds to the stream of feminist and anti-feminist literature, and even feminism is beginning to have its "old-fashioned" exponents. Of these, the most weighty, perhaps, is Ellen Key, whose biography has recently appeared. The aim of the writer has been to give a picture of the woman, rather than a study of her literary works. Few people have been more misrepresented than this Swedish pioneer of the Woman's Movement, who has been abused by one set of people as a revolutionary, and by another as a reactionary. Her claim for the absolute freedom of women led some to reproach her for "immoral tendencies"; while many of the more ardent champions of women's rights condemned her as "unfaithful to the ideas of her youth," because she urged that women should limit themselves as far as possible to work in which "the womanly in their nature may find expression." A complete understanding of Ellen Key's philosophy can only be attained by reading her works, which have been translated into many languages, and—according to her biographer—are held in higher esteem abroad than in her own country; but Mrs. Nyström-Hamilton has at least placed before the English public fuller particulars of her life and work than have yet been available.

In a brief introduction Mr. Havelock Ellis summarises Ellen Key's attitude thus:—

"Woman is the mother, the future of the race is in her hands, and woman is a human being; it is because she is both that she needs complete freedom for development and the power to exercise all human rights, not in order to imitate man, or to do any work which he may be better fitted to do, but to enable her to do her own work, to follow her own natural impulses, and to exercise that function of motherhood, in the wider sense of the word, which is not surpassed in importance by any other in the world."

She thus stands between those who wish to curtail women's freedom, in the interests of the race, and those who advocate that woman should enter upon any calling she chooses, on the same terms as men.

Equally moderate in her view is Miss Hutchins in *Conflicting Ideals*. The book appeals to one by its sense of human and historical value. No movement can fail to lose by ignoring the past from which it takes its origin, or denouncing human history purely as "a record of crimes and imbecilities." Yet many reformers fall into just this error, and Miss Hutchins's warning against it is very timely. On the other hand, she surely attaches too much significance to certain differences which are, after all, only verbal. Wives and mothers, she claims, create "use-values," but not "exchange-values." Yet these services have an exchange-value in any market; housekeepers, cooks, governesses, nurses, servants (and the mother is often all of them), earn a money-wage, and if they do not get one in the home, it is not because they have not earned it. Of course, there is an element of devotion which cannot be reckoned in money; but that is true of nearly all forms of human service. There is a danger of very confused thinking in the assumption that because the services of many women are not paid in money, it is because they have no money-value. That they are not paid may be an advantage or a disadvantage, justifiable or not; but let us be clear that non-payment is not due to the absence of "exchange-value" in women's work.

In *Some Plain Words to the English People* an attempt is made to stir the men and women of England to a higher sense of national duty, which, Mr. Bennett complains, is dying out, "and, in all classes alike, is giving place to an insatiable craving for pleasure." In a chapter entitled "Is Woman a Citizen?" Mr. Bennett makes a clear statement of the case for Women's Suffrage.

The Old-Fashioned Woman deals in an amusing manner with "Primitive Fancies about the Sex," and contains much interesting matter concerning the status of women in different ages and countries. In a "Foreword," apologising for "adding, even frivolously, to the already disproportionate bibliography on woman," the author foretells that the book will one day serve, with other relics of a past age, to "prove to a doubting posterity that once women were a distinct social class, the very special object of society's interest."

Of Mr. Belfort Bax's book one can only say that if it were a shade more readable it would be a most valuable asset to the Suffrage movement. Unfortunately, it is almost impossible to get through it. Those who succeed will find that Mr. Bax bases his case against Women's Suffrage chiefly on the attitude of the law towards women, being, however, so grossly ignorant of it as to state that women have the municipal franchise "on the same terms as men" (p. 18); that he regards the Divorce Law of 1857 as one of the most striking examples of "female privilege before the law" (p. 16); and that, while angrily rebutting the suggestion made by Suffragists that men are liable to error, he himself brings against them charges that leave us aghast. Men are, he says, possessed with "an unreasoning hatred" of their own sex, and an equally "unreasoning indulgence" towards

women; "an imbecile softness which reminds one of nothing so much as of the maudlin *bonhomie* of the amiable drunkard." They are "besotted" and swept along by a "hypnotic wave of sentiment." After this, to be told that only "every second or third woman" is suffering from hysteria is highly reassuring. It shows that at least half the women are sane, whereas all the men, except Mr. Bax, are "besotted." The argument is suitably supported by quotations from the unfortunate Weinger, who went mad and shot himself at the age of twenty-four.

Turning now to *The Vocation of Woman*, we find that "a feeling of helplessness comes over the writer as she pens" her views. It is a feeling which seems characteristic of the Anti-feminist. Nothing, it appears, will do the modern woman any good. She is wrong from beginning to end, and to "breed a different kind" seems the only possible hope. It is, perhaps, this terror of the future that characterises the Anti-feminist more than any other quality. Suffragists may be, as Mrs. Colquhoun contends, "discontented"; they undoubtedly are very liable to error; but at least they are full of hope. The oft-repeated fact (to the proving of which Mrs. Colquhoun tells us she has given her whole book) that "women are women and men are men," does not induce in them a dark despair. They are profoundly interested in the significance of the differences and likenesses of men and women; but confident that, if they are given freedom to develop along natural lines, there is no need for terrors about the dissolution of society.

Mrs. Colquhoun's attitude towards life is more significantly "anti-feminist" than she herself entirely realises. She lays great stress on the sexual character of women, who are essentially "the sex" to her. She would have their whole education and training governed by the prime necessity of practising their *métier de femme*, if they are to retain the affections of the men they marry. The phrase occurs again and again and always—prudently—in French. Mrs. Colquhoun realises that feminism has gone too far to make it prudent to attempt translation. But while we stifle in the hot-house air of this oversexualised philosophy, and long for the "windy open" of which Mrs. Colquhoun speaks with so genuine a shudder, we become aware of a still more repulsive element in anti-feminism. Man, we are assured, is polygamous; woman, monogamous. "No woman can help hoping for a monogamous marriage, and most will suffer at the thought that they can be, even temporarily, supplanted. *But wise and generous women will realise that . . . they may, without lack of dignity, forgive some faults due to masculine nature.* . . . We are not speaking of men who are habitually vicious, but of those who may lapse temporarily." (The italics are ours.)

A man does not "lapse" even "temporarily" alone, Mrs. Colquhoun. Even those not "habitually vicious" require a fellow-sinner. What is the wise and generous wife going to do about her? It is to be supposed that since Mrs. Colquhoun's view of what men need and women must allow requires the existence of the "other woman," wise and generous provision will be made for her. But no. The author quotes only to repudiate with horror such an idea. The temporary partner in the interests of the permanent one must be "penalised." Prostitution is a necessity, and prostitutes are to be punished! Illegitimate children have a high death-rate, but the growing concern of women on this point is a "growing sentimentality." The "traditional attitude" is the right one, and the virtuous woman must and ought to continue to penalise the vicious who—it is suggested—is her only safeguard against polygamy! To state such views is to realise their utter impossibility. The vast majority of feminists, we believe, deny the necessity of prostitution. But those who admit it, and admit further that if the trade is necessary, the traders must not, in common humanity, be "penalised," are surely incomparably more humane, more just, more honest, than she who accepts the necessity and scourges those who supply it.

Books Received.

- FACTS *versus* FANCIES ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. Chrystal Macmillan. (King. 4d.)
- WOMEN WORKERS IN SEVEN PROFESSIONS. A survey of economic conditions and prospects. Edith J. Morley. (Routledge. 6s.)
- PRISONS AND PRISONERS. Lady Constance Lytton and "Jane Warton," Spinster. (Heinemann. 3s. 6d.)
- WEALTH. Professor Edwin Cannan. (King. 3s. 6d.)
- THE CASE FOR CO-EDUCATION. Cecil Grant, M.A., and Norman Hodgson, B.A. (Grant Richards. 5s.)
- WHITE SLAVES OF TOIL. W. D. Willis. (Pearson. 1s.)
- REPORT ON THE CONDITIONS OF WIDOWS UNDER THE POOR LAW IN LIVERPOOL. Eleanor Rathbone. (Liverpool Women's Industrial Council. 2d.)
- THE GOLDEN HERESY. Max Plowman. (48, Fitzroy Street. 2s. 6d.)

PORTRAIT OF MR. COOTE.

A number of fellow-workers of Mr. Coote (Secretary of the National Vigilance Association) have been desirous that his portrait should be painted, with the view that after it has been widely exhibited, thus spreading the knowledge of his work, it may eventually be placed in one of the national collections. Among the contributors towards the portrait are his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, his Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, the Right Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London, her Grace Adeline, Duchess of Bedford, Lord and Lady Courtney of Penwith, Mrs. Creighton and Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D.

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Correspondence.

(Correspondents are urged to write briefly, as we receive each week a greater number of letters than we can possibly print. They are also warned to write on one side of a page only. Letters with writing on both sides must in future be consigned to the waste-paper basket.)

STATE REGISTRATION OF NURSES.

MADAM,—I was most interested in your correspondent's letter anent Registration of Trained Nurses. May I point out to the lady that we Nurse Suffragists do not expect an immediate settlement of our aim by the use of the vote, but we do understand that time will be found for women's questions when the woman's vote has to be reckoned with. Why does your correspondent refer to Lord Knutsford (Mr. Sidney Holland) as "a high authority on Nursing"? He is not a nurse, nor am I aware that he has gone through the curriculum of the trained nurse. Would it not be more correct to describe him as an "authority" on hospital finance? He has been dubbed "The Prince of Beggars." Miss Luckes is rarely heard of outside the one hospital of which she is matron. She takes no part in organising nurses as a profession, nor do I ever remember seeing her name mentioned on the International Council of Trained Nurses, a body of women who, as members of the nursing profession, might justly claim to be authorities on nursing.

The British Medical Association have for long supported our demand for registration. We accept these gentlemen as higher authorities on nursing than Lord Knutsford. The Society for the State Registration of Trained Nurses, with its membership of between two and three thousand trained women, might also be trusted to be an authority on their own work. There is no need to touch on the point raised in regard to Miss Florence Nightingale, the Editor having so ably dealt with this in a footnote. She was the woman for her day. I agree with the gentleman who, at the Albert Hall meeting, refused to believe that the nursing world, or woman's world, could not produce other Florence Nightingales if need arose.

We are not asking for hospital chairmen or matrons to be registered—we are asking in our Bill that the term "trained nurse" may have a definite meaning and status; and for certain safeguards against exploitation of ourselves and the public by unscrupulous and immoral persons. One fact your Nurse Suffragist ponders on is, that almost without exception Anti-registrationists are also Anti-suffragists. Lady Jersey is unable to understand the connection between Women's Suffrage and State Registration, and naively asks: "Why connect the subject of Women's Suffrage and Registration of Trained Nurses?" I sincerely hope someone told her that we opined that there was some connection between members of Parliament and legislation.

I myself am a much certificated nurse. Each Institution that conferred a certificate on me considered it *the one—par excellence!* An unbiassed Examination Board might not have thought so.

ELEANOR FARRINGTON.

THE HOUSING PROBLEM IN OUR VILLAGES.

MADAM,—Following up the article I contributed to the last issue of THE COMMON CAUSE, may I remind your readers that the Unionists' Bill for the Housing of the Working Classes comes up for debate in the House of Commons on the 20th inst.? This Bill is practically the same as the Bills introduced in the Sessions 1912 and 1913. Its main principles are an annual grant in aid to councils which build at a loss, and stronger default powers in the hands of the Local Government Board. As a Rural District Councillor who has had some experience in administering existing housing laws, I strongly support the proposals embodied in the Unionist Housing Bill. Sir Arthur Griffith Boscawen, M.P., speaking at the recent annual meeting of the National Land and Home League, dwelt on the excellent work women had done, and were capable of doing, in regard to housing, and warned the meeting of the dangers of superceding the local authorities (which include women) by a central authority consisting exclusively of men.

Women will anxiously follow the discussion on the Housing Bill on Friday, and also the Government proposals promised at an early date for dealing with rural housing, &c.

MARION PEASE.

THE LADIES' PAGE.

MADAM,—The thanks of all women are due to you for your note in THE COMMON CAUSE on the subject matter to be found in the "Women's Column" or "Ladies' Page" of most of our papers, and, as you point out, the religious papers are the worst offenders in this respect.


My own attention has been recently drawn to the matter by reading for two or three weeks the so-called "Woman's World" of the *British Weekly*. This paper occupies a deservedly high place in the Free Churches, and its literary articles and reviews have a wide reputation; but it serves up as the special fare of its women readers the veriest trash of childish drivel. Some of the paragraphs have nothing to do with women, and others are mere gossip. All that one can say for them is that they are harmless. I took the trouble to point this out to the Editor, asking him to try and put himself in the place of a thinking, working woman of to-day, and see if he would be satisfied with the stuff offered to his readers. Needless to say, he did not answer my letter! But may I suggest that the women who read the religious papers—and, after all, the majority of the workers and members of our Churches are women—should write to their respective Editors, asking that their column should at least be a record of living interests, and not merely a series of cookery, toilet, and household recipes, with a little gossip thrown in.

ANNIE CHOWN JOHNSON.

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ALL BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS to be addressed to The Manager, THE COMMON CAUSE, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C., and all ADVERTISEMENTS must reach the Office not later than first post on Tuesday. Advertisement Representative, S. R. Le Marc.

NOTICE.—This paper is obtainable at newsagents and bookstalls by mid-day on Friday. If any difficulty is found in obtaining it locally, please communicate with The Manager, THE COMMON CAUSE.

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.

The Shadows of Coercion.

The posters of a London newspaper recently bore the words: "Asquith's Climb Down." And Suffragists of a certain type at once proclaimed the triumph of militancy. It was argued that history had proved again—what militant Suffragists are seeking to prove—that force alone can win reform.

Is this a true reading of history? Can anyone look at Ireland to-day and think its condition a triumph for anyone? Or has either party reason to congratulate itself on the results of coercion? To us the Irish question presents a proof of all that coercion fails to do, and a picture of all we hope the Woman's Question will never become. Looked at from any point of view—Home Rule or Unionism—the tragic dispute which actually threatens us with civil war is the result of the impatient use of coercion, rather than conciliation and justice.

The record of England with regard to Ireland is one of which no Englishman can be proud. Regarding the Irish (much as a certain type of man regards women) as an inferior race, England rarely took the trouble to offer them any kind of Government than that of force, and force in its most cynically brutal form. The humane and gentle poet Spenser wrote of the Irish exactly as he would have written of the vermin with whom he compared them. Queen Elizabeth won a reputation for financial honesty by reforming the English coinage—and sending the debased coins to Ireland. Strafford destroyed the Irish wool trade because it conflicted with the English. Cromwell—godly man—is a synonym for the devil in Ireland. The whole problem of Ulster was actually created by the determination of the English to have a "loyal" enclave to hold down the disaffected population: the alien Scot was "planted" in the north to hold in terror the south.

The result has been to make of Ireland the sorest spot in the Empire, the least prosperous, the most difficult to deal with. It has been to create an atmosphere of hate and distrust in which the best intentions failed, and the most carefully considered reforms were received with hostility. While Scotland and Wales and the more distant parts of our Empire prospered, the population of Ireland fell and fell.

A more humane and honest statemanship sought to conciliate rather than coerce. But Roman Catholic Ireland, filled with profound and easily understood distrust, would have none of it. They retaliated, as far as they could, with crime for crime. They made Home Rule impossible, even for Gladstone. They struck terror into the hearts of those who most desired conciliation. They created in the mind of Ulster a deep and obstinate distrust of their ability—even if they had the will—to moderate and to be just. They created, in a word, the *impasse* to which we have come to-day. Ulster, said Sir Edward Carson, may be won: she cannot be coerced. No attempt has been made to win her. The long memory of coercion applied to themselves has had its bitter fruit in a desire to coerce others, and it is not too much to say that Mr. Redmond has left unused the years since the last Home Rule Bill passed the House of Commons, as far as any attempt to understand or to safeguard the position of Ulster is concerned.

No one can fail to be struck by the difference of the feeling in this country about Home Rule for Ireland, and for Scotland

or Wales. If and when the problem of government has to be solved with regard to these two, in what a different spirit it will be dealt with! Here, also, there have been mistakes, and even crimes. But there has not been one almost unbroken record of coercion, resulting in a hatred and distrust which, when coercion was abandoned for justice, refused to believe in or accept the change. England, it may be said, is not greatly stirred by the prospect of Scottish or Welsh Home Rule. Recent by-elections, however, suggest that they are not greatly stirred by the thought of Irish Home Rule either. It is Ireland that is torn in half by these dissensions, and it is the Irish who are now finding every solution in turn intolerable. A passion of distrust makes every concession on either side to be regarded with grave suspicion. And each side—that is the tragedy of it—has such good reason to offer for distrust. In either case, the attempt to coerce has been the *fons et origo mali*. It is a vicious circle.

What, after all, does Ireland want? A united Ireland in any case. Its position within the Empire is subject to dispute, but neither Home Ruler nor Unionist desires to see the "political monstrosity" of an Ireland with another Ireland detached, suspicious, hostile, aloof, governed from elsewhere as though it were not Ireland at all. No one wants this. Yet this is, it seems, just what they are to get. Behold the triumph of militancy!

Again and again the Ulster leaders have repudiated the exclusion of Ulster. Mr. Redmond has been equally emphatic. Yet the exclusion of Ulster, either whole or in part, permanently or for a time, is, it seems, the only way out of the sore strait into which militancy has hurried Ireland. That it has had its effect is not to be denied. And its effect has been—this.

It is possible that even now the vicious circle may be broken. Sir Edward Carson's hint that Ulster "might be won" is reinforced from the other side. "Ireland has no use for a coerced province," says the *Tablet*; "a conquered Ulster, an Irish Alsace, instead of being the witness to, and the completion of, the unity of Ireland, would be its eternal denial. There is only one way to the completion of the nationhood of Ireland, and that is by the wooing and winning of Ulster. . . . If such an appeal were made, and the shadows of coercion removed, it would be generously responded to."

What tragedies in human history might have been averted if "the shadows of coercion" could have been removed in time! Are we never to learn that coercion provokes crime, and, learning it, repudiate coercion? Is the vicious circle never to be broken? "I would rather," said Mrs. Philip Snowden last week at Norwich, "be tricked and taunted and lied to, than trick and taunt and lie to other people." It is only when we grasp all that that saying implies that we shall end the long and bitter series of crime and revenge, revenge and counter-crime. Let us of the Woman's Movement learn of history a nobler lesson than the dreary one that history repeats itself. We are bringing into the world a new thing. Let us win it in a new way. Never in human history have women been on equal terms with men. Examples of unusual independence enjoyed by them—in Rome, in Egypt, in Babylon—are only examples of greater or lesser inferiority to men. Real equality has not been granted to women. It is a revolution—a moral revolution—to ask it. Let us demand it fearlessly, sincerely, as they ask who ask for justice. But let us for ever abandon the weapons that men have put to so evil a purpose, with so disastrous a result. Let us refuse to pore over the record of wrongs which men have inflicted on women, if the only purpose of our poring be to justify us in inflicting our revenge, rather than to move us to a mighty determination to inflict wrong on no man. Surely if we do so—we who have suffered many things, and had great cause for bitterness—we shall, when the freedom of women is won, a little lift the shadows of coercion, not from our own hearts only, but from the human spirit.

Women as Mothers and Home-makers.

[In a previous issue of THE COMMON CAUSE, Mrs. Chew suggested one solution of the difficulties which make the burden of the married working-woman so heavy. This week, Mrs. Annot Robinson suggests another. The views propounded are in each case those of the individual writer, and are not to be regarded as those of THE COMMON CAUSE or the N.U.W.S.S.]

The cheapness of women in the labour market is one of the saddest and most perplexing of problems in modern society. There are many reasons to account for the underpayment of women with which I do not propose to deal. But the explanation most commonly given and received is one which must be carefully considered by every Suffragist, and cannot be lightly brushed aside.

Briefly it is this. The functions of men and women in society

differ. A man looks forward in most cases to being a husband and father, to maintaining his wife and supporting his children until they reach wage-earning years. Hence his wage is larger than a woman's, because it is intended to be a family wage. A woman, on the contrary, is paid an individual wage, because she looks forward to marrying, and thereafter living on the earnings of her husband. This theory, of course, breaks down in many cases. Some men do not marry; others, when they do, do not fulfil their obligations as husband and father; while many women have parents, brothers, sisters, invalid husbands and children dependent on their earnings for a living or for a start in life. But allowing for these exceptions, I think it may be accepted that in Great Britain, because we regard the family as the unit of society and the husband as the responsible wage-earner for the family, we tolerate this pernicious system of a double standard of wages.

At present public opinion and economic conditions impose on many men and women a wickedly low wage. The sweated individual wage, and the sweated family wage, impose on tens of thousands of men and women misery, degradation, and ill-health. No readjustment of the burden of family life, which at present falls so hardly on the married working woman, can increase the spending power of a wage which is just above or below the poverty line.

The establishment of an equal minimum wage for both men and women is, in the opinion of the writer—who knows intimately the social conditions of one poverty-stricken district in a large city—the beginning of the setting up of a decent standard of family life in the homes of badly paid workers and labourers, and would do much to lessen the rate of infantile mortality and improve the health of the children of the nation. To the writer who knows how widespread is the weariness and discontent with the present conditions of motherhood among countless married working women, the subject has often been one of anxious thought.

The mother's point of view has been overlooked so often, when reformers have legislated for home and the child, that laws passed with the best intentions have only harassed, and not helped, her. The Education Act makes it impossible for a mother to have help when she requires it in the home from her growing children. The raising of the school age, which took away from her five of the wage-earning years of her children and gave her no corresponding compensation, has terribly increased the economic pressure during that trying period in the home when all the children are young, and the husband's wage does not rise in proportion to the claims on it.

The Insurance Act is the latest example of how the point of view and burdens of married women are ignored when legislation is proposed. In view of the voteless and unrepresented position of women, the following suggestions are put forward in all sincerity, but with considerable diffidence.

One of the indirect effects of the economic dependence of married women is the double standard of payment and the consequent underpayment of many women wage-earners, and the undercutting and reducing of the wages of men. Men and women should be paid the same wage for the same value of work done, and the claims of the family should not be a factor in fixing wages. Marriage would then be looked at by both men and women from a slightly different point of view. Marriages of affection would perhaps be more common. Women would not be expected immediately to give up an outside occupation and become exclusively housekeepers. On the contrary, they would very likely continue wage-earning.

Children, and not motherhood, should be endowed. Every child should have a grant out of public funds sufficient to cover maintenance, &c. Every penny of the grant would be spent on the child, and trustees—of whom two out of three would be the parents—would administer the money. If the mother determined to become the nurse and trainer of her child or children, the money would be paid over to her. She might, if she chose, become a nurse to the children of other women, who, although mothers, did not feel themselves specially fitted to develop the best that was in their children, and who, therefore, continued to work outside the home after marriage and motherhood.

Were the value of woman's labour increased in the labour market, homes would be designed to save the brutal, unnecessary labour, which drains the vitality and strength of many women. Washing would be a skilled trade, and a laundry would be built for every dozen houses or so. Labour-saving appliances under the management of a skilled staff of women workers would be available. There would be airy, well-furnished nurseries, where the women who are good nurses would look after the children of wage-earning mothers, and kitchens where it would be possible to get good meals at a moderate cost.

This idea of the endowment of children rather than mother-

hood will be regarded by many folks as rather revolutionary. But the results in healthy, happy children would be so good as to justify the novelty of the scheme. No reader of THE COMMON CAUSE can be satisfied with the position of the mother as we find her to-day in many homes.

ANNOT E. ROBINSON.

OBITUARY.

COLONEL H. B. HANNA.

In Colonel H. B. Hanna, who died last week at his residence in Petersfield, the cause of Women's Suffrage has lost a warm friend. During the last years of his long and useful career he made this Cause his chief political interest, sacrificing many of his old political associations in his efforts to further it.

URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL ELECTIONS, 1914.

At the time of going to press only eight women have been nominated as candidates for Urban District Councils. These are:—

- Colwyn Bay: Mrs. Deacon, Dr. Mary Perry (Ratepayers' candidates). Finchley: Miss Dowding (Ind.), Mrs. Edwards (Ind.). Hendon: Miss Growse (Ind.), Mrs. Richardson Rice (P.). Hornsea: Miss Greenland (Ind.). Keswick: Miss Dover (Ind.).

The need for women's work on these, and other, local councils will be illustrated at a stall organised by the Women's Local Government Society at WOMAN'S KINGDOM EXHIBITION.

JUBILEE OF A GREAT DISCOVERY.

Saturday last was the jubilee of the discovery by Sir Samuel Baker and Lady Baker of Lake Albert Nyanza—a discovery which solved the mystery of the source of the Nile, which had baffled mankind for thousands of years.

A CHURCH FOR WOMEN.

A church which is to be administered entirely by women is being started at Wallasey, Cheshire, its founders feeling that there is a growing discontent among women with the very unsatisfactory conditions under which they were allowed by men to do so much of the Church's work.

CONSERVATIVE AND UNIONIST WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.

A debate on Women's Suffrage will be held on March 23rd, at 8.15, at the Queen's Gate Hall, South Kensington, when Lady Betty Balfour will be opposed by Mrs. Wentworth Stanley.

ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

The three plays which are being produced by the Actresses' Franchise League (see page 982) on March 24th contain a considerable amount of propaganda. "The Suffragette," by Alfred Bucklaw, is a little sketch on Ju Jitsu versus strength; "Kindly Flames" is a satire on personal prejudice; and "Which" portrays a girl's choice between her profession and her home.

STEAD MEMORIAL.

Contributions from York Society Office ... 3s. 10d. Contributions may be sent to Miss Royden, 111, Bedford Court Mansions, W.

"WOMAN'S KINGDOM."

The Special Women's Department of the CHILDREN'S WELFARE EXHIBITION, Olympia, April 11th-30th.

Office: N.U.W.S.S., 14, GREAT SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER. Organiser: Miss V. C. C. COLLUM. Treasurer: Miss LONGLEY.

LANTERN LECTURES.

A feature of Woman's Kingdom that is sure to be popular is the Magic Lantern Room. This is an enclosed stand at the Western end of the Gallery, where Suffrage Talks will be given to those who feel they want to hear more about the subject after going the round of the stands, and where Miss Hibbert-Ware is organising a most interesting series of lantern lectures.

OFFERS OF HELP ARE URGENTLY NEEDED.

We Want:— 1. Lecturers.—There are still several evenings unarranged for. No great oratorical skill is required; but a good voice is essential. Lantern slides with readings can be supplied if desired.

Offers of help should be addressed to: MISS HIBBERT-WARE, 23, Fladgate Road, Leytonstone, N.E.

THE MODEL COTTAGE.

Readers will be delighted to learn that the National Union is going to make up any deficit on the Cottage Fund, full details of which are appended. The cottage is now actually under way. The concrete is being made in London, hardly a mile from THE COMMON CAUSE office, and work on the fittings is going forward energetically.

£68 16s. 6d. has been collected for the Cottage by the Editor of the Daily News in response to a personal appeal from Miss Collum. £16 13s. 6d. has been contributed direct to the exhibition headquarters by readers of THE COMMON CAUSE.

Table with columns: Cottage Donations, £ s. d., and names of donors such as Mrs. James, Miss White, Mrs. H. Weston, etc.

POSTER EXHIBITION AT WOMAN'S KINGDOM.

The workers at the Suffrage Atelier, which is taking over the whole of the decoration and sign-writing at Woman's Kingdom, have conceived the happy idea of covering up blank walls and uninteresting woodwork by an exhibition of Suffrage posters.

Notes from Headquarters.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. President: MRS HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D. Hon. Secretaries: Miss K. D. COURTNEY, Miss C. E. MARSHALL (Parliamentary), Miss EMILY M. LEAF (Press), Miss EVELYN ATKINSON (Literature). Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. AUERBACH. Secretary: Miss CROOKENDEN. Offices: Parliament Chambers, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W. Telegraphic Address—Voiceless, London. Telephone Number—1960 Victoria.

How to Help the National Union.

We are always receiving ingenious suggestions for raising money; the last suggestion seems particularly excellent; simple in idea, easy to carry out, and likely to be of very practical help to the Union. Put briefly, the suggestion is that every member should write as few letters as possible, and that the stamps so saved from letters which would otherwise have been written should be sent to help defray the immense cost of our postage at headquarters.

The majority of letters are, of course, in these days, written from necessity, and no member, however enthusiastic, would be expected to dispense with the writing of a letter which, for whatever reason, it was necessary to write; but the inventor of this Stamp-saving Scheme is of the opinion that almost everybody writes at least three unnecessary letters in the course of the year, or even week, and if members were to confine themselves to the writing of only necessary letters, a substantial amount would be saved for the Union.

The total cost of postage at headquarters during the last twelve months has been over £350. If every member could be induced to save up the stamps of three unwritten letters, and send them to Headquarters, it would bring us enough to defray our entire postage bill.

We shall be glad to hear whether any secretaries of societies would lay this proposal before their committees; unless it were undertaken on a sufficiently large scale, it would not have the required result. But meanwhile, perhaps many individual Suffragists will be prepared to commence a little stamp saving on their own account, and send us the proceeds for our postage fund.

We shall be very grateful for any gifts of stamps sent to the Secretary, N.U.W.S.S., 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster.

"Common Cause" Selling.

THE COMMON CAUSE Corps is not intended as something extra for the many people who are already giving time and energy to Suffrage work, but is an opportunity for service to those hundreds of members who are keen enough to want to do something for the cause of Women's Suffrage, but haven't perhaps the time, or the opportunity, or the training for the more skilled and arduous forms of work.

These by banding themselves together into a great selling corps, each unit of which contributes even one weekly or fortnightly hour of service, will be helping to build up a really important branch of propaganda work, and one that appeals to people who cannot be reached by meetings or speeches.

Will volunteers either call at THE COMMON CAUSE Office on Thursday afternoon, or write to Miss Gosse at L.S.W.S., 58, Victoria Street?

Press Report.

The attitude of the different papers towards the "Rokeby Venus" outrage last week was an interesting study. The majority were frankly hysterical, and spoke as though the Suffrage movement were entirely eclipsed by Miss Richardson's action. The Manchester Guardian kept its head as usual, and was capable of seeing the act of one woman in its true relation to a movement in which thousands of women are consistently upholding constitutional methods.

ONE OF OUR SUPPORTERS AT "WOMAN'S KINGDOM." NEUMANN'S SPECIAL GUARANTEE SYSTEM.

Where glasses are necessary, Mr. Neumann's clients will not only get the best possible lenses and frames accurately fitted for their immediate needs, but also a guarantee that he will make the necessary changes in their lenses free of cost during a period of ten years from date of fitting. In nearly every case the vision alters slightly, and therefore corresponding changes in the glasses should be made. To carry this special system out successfully, Mr. Neumann invites his clients to call at least once every twelve months, so that a periodical examination may be made.

Mr. Neumann will be showing some of his special fittings in the latest models of rimless eyeglasses and spectacles, as well as some dainty lorgnettes and opera and field glasses at the forthcoming "Woman's Kingdom" Exhibition, where readers of THE COMMON CAUSE will be welcome visitors.

St. George's Church, HART STREET, BLOOMSBURY, LENT, 1914. Stainer's Sacred Cantata "The Daughter of Jairus" Will be Sung on Wednesday, March 25th, at 8 p.m.; and Gaul's "Passion" Will be Sung on Wednesday, April 1st, 1914, at 8 p.m.



"CAMILLE." Smart Gown, in Black Taffeta, trimmed with Navy Satin, Self Buttons, the Bodice has a pretty Vest and Waistband of coloured Fancy Silk, finished with dainty Hemstitched Lawn Collar and Cuffs. 59/6

"VILNA." Dainty Gown, in Navy Serge, Poplin, the Bodice is pretty draped with Self Ninon over Moiré and finished with Navy Taffeta, embroidered with a Beetroot Rosebud design of Silk, finished with a dainty Collar and Vest of Champagne embroidered Crêpe. 69/6

"WILHEIM." Exceptionally smart Gown, in Black and White Check Material, the Bodice and Skirt being trimmed coloured Glass Buttons, to blend with Beetroot Moiré Waistbelt, and finished with dainty Navy Suiting Serge, with smart Plaid Ottoman Waistbelt. 45/9

"SIMPLITE." Useful Gown, in Navy Serge, smartly draped Skirt, and pretty Bodice with Belt and Sash ends of coloured or Black Satin Ribbon, finished with dainty Medici Collar and Cuffs of White embroidered Lawn. 52/6

"CLIFFORD." Stylish Gown, with pretty draped Skirt of Navy Satin Meador, the Pannier and Bodice is composed of Navy Taffeta, embroidered with a Beetroot Rosebud design of Silk, finished with a dainty Collar and Vest of Champagne embroidered Crêpe. 69/6

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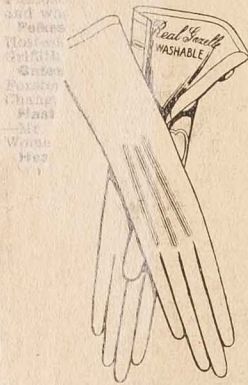
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Thousands of pairs of Fashionable Gloves that really fit and wear. Bought from the leading Continental Markets. Every pair guaranteed, and can be fitted at counter by expert fitters.

The following are a few typical examples of the splendid values now being offered.

These Bargains are only obtainable this week. An early visit is advisable, the qualities being of such a high standard and the prices so tempting that the stocks may soon give out.

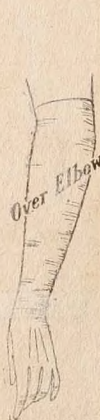
Ladies' and Gentlemen's Washable Gloves a special feature.



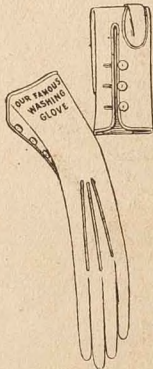
Very Smart Glove, in Washable Gazelle. Greys, beavers, white, cream, and Chamois.
2/11½



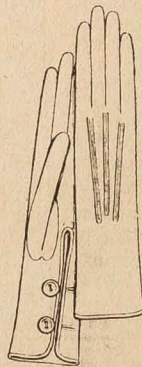
59 dozen pairs of Dents Imitation Gazelle Gloves, with 2 smart buttons. In white, beaver, and Greys. Suitable for every day wear.
1/8½



Over Elbow
Reliable 16-button length White Glace Gloves. Made from skins that will not split. Suitable for coming season.
2/11½



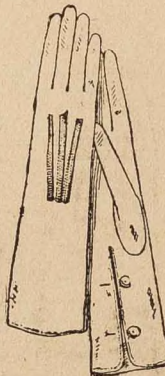
Special Bargain. Ladies' Smart Washable Glove. Our Famous Carlsbad make. In white and chamois, with 3 buttons. The smartest glove ever produced at the price
2/6½



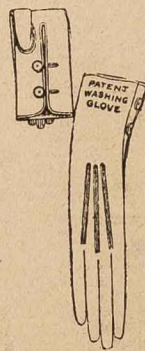
Special Bargain in Ladies' smart and useful Washing French Castor Gloves. White with two buttons. This week
1/11½



Paris Stock. Ladies' Choice 3-button Pique Suede Gloves, made from selected skins, in black, grey, mole and beavers. Very smart. Bargain price
2/6½



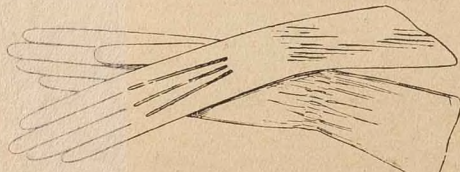
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725 pairs of Ladies' Very Choice 2-button French Doe Gloves. The Glove that will wash again and again. Usual price 3/11
Special price
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Bargain in Long Gloves. 20-button length White Italian Glace Gloves, Made from very fine skins.
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Our Famous Biarritz Kid Glove. Easy to slip on. In black, white, lavender, greys, moles, beaver.
1/11½



Great Bargain in Ladies' Long White Arabian Doe Gloves. In 12 and 16 button lengths, made from the choicest picked skins. Original prices 6/11 and 8/11. Only obtainable next week at
5/-



Ladies' Smart 3 button White Glace Gloves, made from specially selected skins and guaranteed for reliability. Sale price
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