

The Common Cause

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

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which I hope—both parties will now come into conference with the supporters of women councillors, and agree to a sufficient number of official women candidatures for the future, whether with regard to by-elections or the election of 1916.

“Otherwise, the policy will be continued at by-elections, and both parties will run the risk of being put to expense and trouble by this protest on behalf of women’s just share in local government.”

The Fight.

Mrs. Ward adds that “Fighting gets hotter as it goes on.” The observation is perfectly just, but it is somewhat curious to find a sentence from her pen so oddly similar in spirit to the utterance of W.S.P.U. orators. To Suffragist onlookers it is clear that an experience of the attitude towards women of men’s political organisations is rapidly educating Mrs. Ward. If municipal elections were but annual instead of triennial, three years might suffice to bring her into the ranks of the Suffragists—where a woman of her intelligence really belongs. Even although she remains a professed Anti-Suffragist, however, she will be in our eyes an ally while she carries on the work of the Local Government Advancement Committee. Every step towards increasing the number of women who are members of local government bodies is also a step towards the Parliamentary enfranchisement of women; and every bit of electioneering done for a County Council candidate helps to show the electioneerer the need of the larger vote. Meanwhile, the result of Miss Willoughby’s candidature does seem to suggest that “No votes for women” is not the most effective of electioneering cries.

The Percentage of Women Voters.

From a report in the *Daily News and Leader* of Monday, March 10th, we learn that the Rev. Silvester Horne, speaking on the previous day at Whitefield’s Tabernacle, complained of the apathy of London’s municipal voters, and said that the people responsible for the misgovernment of cities and countries were “the people who don’t.” Only 50 per cent. of London’s citizens (he said) troubled themselves to cast their votes; and of the 115,000 women qualified, only 40,000 went to the poll. We do not, of course, know how far the brief note published represents the whole address, nor whether the favourite device of blaming women specially in a case where both men and women have fallen short was employed by Mr. Horne or by the reporter. Neither do we know whether any authority was quoted for the figures given. Even, however, if their accuracy is admitted, we would submit that a large number of the women qualified to vote in municipal elections are self-supporting—and often children-supporting—widows in poor circumstances. Such women are often at work all day; and in the evening they cannot well leave their children. The purchase of a newspaper, or the leisure to read one, are luxuries beyond their means. Moreover, they are shy of showing their inevitable shabbiness “where people would see” them. Such women are among the best of London’s citizens; their heroic industry and self-sacrifice are beyond all measure. But they are not, and cannot be, until their burdens are lightened for them by some communal effort, either fit or able to take part in the government of the great city in which they lead lives often harder than any which a slave owner would dare to impose. To reproach such women because they fail to vote is both unjust and ignorant.

Notes and Comments.

Municipal Election Figures.

In the *Times* of March 7th appeared some interesting figures about the voting at the recent elections for the London County Council. Only two women, out of the fourteen who stood, were returned; but these two were not those who polled the most votes. Miss Margaret Bondfield (Lab.) obtained 7,598 votes at Woolwich, and Dr. Sophia Jevons 3,993 at Dulwich; but neither was elected; while the sitting members, Miss Adler and Miss Susan Lawrence polled respectively 3,654 and 2,960. Miss Wallace (Prog.) came next, in Chelsea, with 2,598; the rest in order were: Miss Evelyn Fox (Prog.), West Marylebone, 2,110; Mrs. Elliott (Prog.), Poplar, 1,492; Mrs. St. Clair Stobart (Prog.), Westminster, 1,199; Dr. Ethel Bentham (Lab.), Kensington, 1,099; Mrs. Miall Smith (Prog.), East Marylebone, 1,055; Miss Pocock (Prog.), Strand, 793; and Miss Willoughby (Independent Municipal Reformer), 158. The last-named is, of course, the candidate of the anti-suffrage Local Government Advancement Committee.

Mrs. Humphry Ward’s Letter.

A letter from Mrs. Humphry Ward on the subject of Miss Willoughby’s candidature has appeared in several newspapers during the past week. It is a communication of particular interest to Suffragists; firstly, because it shows Mrs. Ward smarting under precisely that indifference of both political parties to the claims of women which has for many years tried the patience of all suffrage societies; and, secondly, because in this irritating position she threatens to adopt a policy similar to our own. She means to show these indifferent—not to say hostile—gentlemen that a determined body of women can organise such candidatures as will split either of both parties. She writes:—

“In another day or two Miss Willoughby’s candidature in Hoxton might either—through the extra effort made to reach the woman voters—have put in the strongest Moderate candidate, who was only defeated by 290, instead of 1,600 last time, or, by splitting the Moderate vote more effectively, we might ourselves have been responsible for the Moderate defeat. And in other districts, 100 votes subtracted from one side or the other would have been enough to upset the apple-cart in four constituencies yesterday, and 200 votes would have been enough in five more.

“An Independent on either side can harass his or her party considerably. And that is what we feel must be done, unless—



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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.

Women and the L.C.C.

It is now some years since Parliament admitted its need of women's wits by allowing the election of women on local authorities, and the London County Council admitted the same need of women's wits by co-opting women members on the Education Committee—the most important of its 24 committees—the Midwives Act Committee and the Local Pensions Committee. In the first two cases the Council was compelled to co-opt women by the Act of Parliament which regulated the activities of those committees. The lesson given by Parliament, which, however, does not co-opt any women on to any of its own committees, and, therefore, must have thought that such an inferior body as the L.C.C. was in greater need of women's assistance, has not been lost. For the Council next proceeded to go one better than its master, and, still further admitting its need of women's influence, elected Lady St. Helier an Alderman and appointed Miss Nettie Adler and Miss Susan Lawrence, whom the public had returned, as members of two committees apiece.

Miss Susan Lawrence having in the meantime resigned, there was only one woman member and one Alderwoman when the election of March 6th last took place. Women were encouraged to come forward as candidates; seven Progressives, one Municipal Reformer, one Independent Municipal Reformer and three Labour women presented themselves, and the two who had already served were re-elected, in spite of the enterprise of Militant Suffragism on the previous days. For these twelve women nearly 29,000 votes were polled; only two of the twelve polled less than a thousand votes apiece, which was more than the total of some of the men elected, and far more than were obtained by most of the men who were defeated.

The need for women councillors in the affairs of Greater London may, however, be looked at from a point of view other than that of the slow concessions of men, or the inscrutable results of the ballot box. Immediately before the election the Women's Industrial Council addressed to candidates a series of questions. They asked the support of candidates for the prevention of immorality; the securing of more effective police protection; the appointment of women officials in the parks and open spaces for the better protection of women and children; the increasing of facilities in the parks for girls' games; increased use of school buildings as winter play-centres; the passing of regulations to prevent underground work-rooms being used all day to work in, when the Council's own regulations would not allow people to sleep in them; the obligatory provision of accommodation for storing and cooking food, and the provision of water on upper floors of tenement houses; the obligatory remedying of chimneys which smoked into the rooms; the extension of the Day Trade School system to the training of girls as domestic servants and as children's nurses; the extension of the Local Government Franchise to all women, and under the same conditions in all parts of the United Kingdom; the making of a residential qualification for councillors of all grades, alternative with the present electoral qualification; the adoption by all parties of women candidates for the L.C.C. for a certain proportion of seats; the appointment of a certain number of women members on every Local Committee appointed to administer the promised new Mental Deficiency Bill; the provision and enforcement of by-laws relating to common lodging houses in London; and the provision by the L.C.C. of a number of medium-sized lodging houses for women in London.

These subjects were not selected at random, but by their urgency forced themselves on the Industrial Council's attention. They were adopted at a Public Conference, convened by the Women's Industrial Council, and attended by the following Societies:—The Federation of Working Girls' Clubs; the

The Sunderland Magistrates.

A correspondent sends us copies of the *Sunderland Daily Echo* for February 18th and February 20th. In the former appears the record of the day's police court, at which the following gentlemen sat in judgment: Mr. P. Coley (presiding), Alderman Johnstone, Councillor G. New, and Mr. John Ness. Four cases were heard. In three of them wives charged their husbands with persistent cruelty. In one case the man had actually consented to a separation agreement, but afterwards refused to sign it. In two of the cases there appears to have been evidence of serious ill-treatment; the report of the third is so short as to make any estimate of the facts impossible. All three cases were dismissed by the magistrates, and there are at least two unhappy wives unhappier than ever in Sunderland to-day. The fourth case was that of two women who had quarrelled in the street, and of whom each charged the other with assault—precisely the case in which judicious men would have bound over both parties and let them go with a caution. But the Sunderland justices have a different measure for women. They found both guilty, and sentenced each to a month's hard labour. We hope that suffragists in Sunderland will keep careful watch upon the doings in the local police court. The regular presence of a well-dressed woman or two in the court might have a beneficial effect. Of course, there ought to be a certain proportion of women justices of the peace. But pending that reform, it is not entirely impossible to bring public opinion to bear upon men who show so marked a bias.

Suffrage and Conscription.

A correspondent of the *Daily News and Leader*, Dr. C. H. Watkins, of 26, Clifton Villas, W., has convinced himself (upon the scantiest of evidence) that a majority of women would, if they had the Parliamentary vote, use it to bring about conscription. Of course, the truth is that women, like men, are divided in opinion upon the subject of conscription as upon other political questions. But even if this were not the case, even if, by some miracle, all women were united in desiring conscription, Dr. Watkins would not be justified in the conclusions which he draws. He says: "The right course seems plain. Let those who are against conscription refuse to support the Suffrage movement until it also, as a whole, is irrevocably committed against conscription." If such a course seems plain to Dr. Watkins, he can be no believer in the principle of representative government, and therefore (in common with a number of other persons who call themselves Liberals) no true Liberal. His declaration amounts, implicitly, to the assertion that no person ought to be allowed to vote who is not opposed to conscription.

Mr. F. E. Smith on "Female" Suffrage.

The current number of the *British Review* contains an article by Mr. F. E. Smith, K.C., M.P., entitled "The Future of Female Suffrage in England." We would not asperse Mr. Smith's education by supposing that he imagines suffrage capable of being either male or female; he uses the adjective, no doubt, merely for the sake of its contemptuous flavour. It contains an interesting admission that when, under the Ten Minutes' Rule, Mr. Shackleton introduced the Conciliation Bill, Mr. Smith rose to oppose it, with the intention of challenging a division, "but I was met with so much pressure not to persist in this intention by influential opponents of the proposals, who realised that we should be defeated by an overwhelming minority, that, somewhat against my wishes, I was persuaded to abandon a division." He believes that if the militants had, in the ensuing Session, been quiet, the Conciliation Bill would have passed. He comforts himself, however, with the reflection that no "Female" Suffrage Bill can now possibly pass, and by the ingenious plan of ignoring the whole body of Constitutional Suffragists is able to assure his readers that "the agitation has proceeded entirely from a handful of vociferous women," and that few people will live to see the formation of a Suffrage Government and "still fewer the successful execution of its difficult undertaking." But, of course, there exists beyond the "handful of vociferous women" a solid phalanx of between forty and fifty thousand members of the National Union Societies, with their outer circle of some thousands of Friends of Women's Suffrage, besides a number of other lesser non-militant Societies. Moreover, the National Union has now the support of one of the organised political parties, and is able to arrange—as the Independent Labour Party, in its early days, did on its own account—the introduction of a third candidate at by-elections. Such elections begin by the overwhelming defeat of the third man; they go on to the defeat of the Government candidate; they arrive at last at the winning of the seat. And nobody knows these facts better than the people who manipulate elections in the interest either of the Liberal or of the Conservative Party.

Ladies' National Association; the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants; the National Association for Women's Lodging Homes; the National League for Physical Education; the National Society of Day Nurseries; the National Union of Women Workers; the Women's Local Government Advancement Committee; the Women's Local Government Society; the Women Sanitary Inspectors' Association

Without exception, the reforms advocated require for their adequate treatment a woman's outlook and a woman's knowledge, yet they will have to be attended to, so far as they receive attention at all, by a Council of men and five women, since two more Alderwomen—Miss K. T. Wallas and Mrs. Wilton Phipps—have been nominated. It is no risky prophecy to say that the inadequacy of this one-sided treatment will presently be shown by the results.

It is said to be "unsafe to prophesy unless you know." This knowledge we have obtained by a careful examination of the replies sent in before the election; and the disastrous conclusion is forced upon us that the new L.C.C. consists, with twenty-three exceptions, of the men who did not think it worth while even to acknowledge a document drawing their attention to subjects of paramount importance to women. We note that questions sent in by societies consisting of men receive quite different treatment, and are answered more or less satisfactorily by every candidate, while out of 241 only 67 replied, even in the briefest way, to an unprovocative charter, which did not even name those blessed words "the Parliamentary Franchise."

The mere recital of the names of the committees of the L.C.C. proves, up to the hilt, their need for women members. The following committees have no woman member, or co-opted member, on them:—Establishment, Finance, Fire Brigade, General Purposes, Highways, Housing of the Working Classes, Improvements, Local Government, Records and Museums, Main Drainage, Parks and Open Spaces, Parliamentary, Public Health, Small Holdings and Allotments, Stores and Contracts, Theatres and Music Halls, Tramway Routes and Street Improvements, Appeals, Officers' and Teachers' Superannuation Committees.

Women sit upon the following committees:—Asylums: One woman member; none co-opted. Education: Two women members; five women out of twelve co-opted members. Public Control (including infant life-protection work): One woman member; none co-opted. Midwives Act: No woman member; three co-opted. There are now but five women to suffice for all the 24 committees of the Council; and, except in the case of one committee, the Council has in the past failed to co-opt women to any committee to which it was not statutorily obliged to co-opt them. Do the Committees on Housing of the Working Classes, Parks and Open Spaces, Public Health, Theatres and Music Halls—to name no others—really need no women on them, at least as co-opted members?

The Fresh Air Mission.

I hope I may be forgiven for stealing a rather attractive little title from what the pressmen would call our philanthropic contemporary. The Fresh Air Mission sends children into the fresh air to improve their physical health, and the Woman Suffrage movement sends men and women into the fresh air to establish their mental and moral health. When Peter the Hermit preached his "God wills it," which has rung as a battle cry down through the ages, he preached to the crowd out of doors, as did his Master. And so it has ever been—the great movements of the world have ever found themselves in the open air, in the sunshine and the wind, and, if so it be, in the rain and storm.

Suffragists came, unpractised, to out-door campaigns; but time has brought practice, and has also brought volunteers—of the right kind and of the wrong—those who rejoice the heart of an organiser, and those who fill that organ with dismay. Too often the person who feels sure that she could speak if she had a few hints, is one who will never perform any of the thousand little menial jobs which fall to the lot, at times, of all working Suffragists, without hinting that, though she does it this once, she is meant for higher things, while, in fact, her shallowness, ignorance, excitability, and general ineptitude are the despair of all but herself. But there are others. Here and there is found one who canvasses and gives out leaflets and sells the COMMON CAUSE, and puts her work first and herself second, and whose very presence is a strength because there is something

else that she gives out, something learnt perhaps of long years of sympathy with the poor and the down-trodden, and of work among them. And she says: "I should so much like to learn to speak," and the organiser's eyes sparkle with delight (or at least she displays the real equivalent to this curious phenomenon of which we read in the story books). How does one learn to speak?

Well, everybody knows the value of a good series of speakers' classes and a sound system of voice production. But skilled teaching of this kind is not always to be had, and classes can in no case teach everything. One method of teaching a child or a puppy to swim is to drop it into the water. Unkind, but sometimes successful. And one way of teaching a speaker to speak is to put her up at the corner of a street. After a person has addressed two or three small boys, who frequently remark to each other: "She's a Suffragette," for two or three minutes on the subject of Women's Suffrage, and has continued for several more minutes to an empty street when the boys, having quite obviously grown weary of her eloquence, have departed, when she has at last lived through the ordeal, and seen the two young women, or whom her eye has been hungrily fixed the while, draw near and gather to themselves six working men, has seen them swell to an attentive crowd, only to be herself plucked at by the lady in charge, and told: "That is enough, Miss A., it is time for Miss B. now you have got the crowd together," that person has learnt something at least of the philosophy of the movement in general and of public speaking in particular.

And the curious thing is that it is all so well worth while. The crowd grows to five hundred. It won't go away, it edges out the disorderly and drunken units, it asks intelligent questions, perhaps it passes a resolution, and concludes the meeting with a hearty round of applause.

But, times and again, things do not happen thus. For the good of your soul you may go a year or two and not happen to find this kind of thing at all. It depends on luck and on the locality, and on lots of things—to say nothing of the speaker. But, year in year out, except for a month or two, these meetings must go on, for without them our movement would lose much of its vitality and its close touch with mother earth, with the work-a-day men and women for whom, perhaps most of all, we care, and who, perhaps most of all, understand us.

But if you don't have visible results every time, you have lots of fun. For example, can you climb elegantly, indeed can you climb at all, into a covered grocer's van from the back—a foot's length of chain your only friend? And do you always remember, once in that ark, to look and see whether the good steed is having his evening meal, not because of any love you may bear to dumb animals, but because of the playful habits of the unfed? Beware, lest as you approach your peroration, the dear grey thing (they are for some reason mostly grey), gives a merry jerk. Then you, if you have some measure of presence of mind and of athletic training, leap forward into the midst of your surprised auditors. But do not despair; you are amid the most courteous of beings. If you appear to think that nothing out of the ordinary has occurred, they will fall into your humour. Gravely you climb back, gravely you resume at the point where the interruption occurred, and with equal gravity they will resume their attitude of intelligent attention.

There is worse, however, than this. Try not to give up believing in Woman Suffrage even if your cart is driven by a deaf person. This position is very trying—more trying than funny. He is so apt to misunderstand the situation. Perhaps, having told him to drive to a certain pitch, you warn him to stay on the box, in case you cannot pick up a crowd, and want to move on. So just as your crowd is well established, and you are getting "set," as cricketers put it, he thinks, or pretends to think, he has got a sign, and off they go at a gallop, he and his horse. What is to be done in a case like this? Well, to be frank, I should not even write to *The Lady's Pictorial* about it. "If just as Mrs. C. is, etc., Mr. D. goes and, etc." No, just give it up. You have earned a night's repose, go and take it. But do not give up the fight till the battle is won, till the last gun is fired, and all the i's dotted and the t's crossed, and the Royal Assent given, and till some little bird overhears Mrs. H.....y W.....d say to L.....d C.....r, as they fly to the poll in Mr. McC.....m S.....t's aeroplane: "I always said women ought to have the vote, for women *are* women," and till you hear the common people describe the Woman Suffrage movement in the terms in which I heard it characterised the other day by the Secretary of one of our largest Societies. "It is such an old-world thing, almost it seems to smell of sweet lavender."

A. H. W.

The New Policy Declared.

A meeting was held by the National Union of Suffrage Societies at Kensington Town Hall on Friday, March 7th, for the purpose of declaring publicly the new policy adopted at the Council during the previous week. Mrs. Fawcett, who was in the chair, explained why a new policy had become necessary. She said:—

"It is because we have received promises and pledges from Mr. Asquith and his Government which have not been fulfilled and which they show no sign whatever of desiring to fulfill. You all know what the promises were that were made to us in November, 1911. Mr. Asquith promised that a Reform Bill should be introduced by his Government in such a form that women's suffrage amendments would be in order, and that if they were carried they would be adopted by the Government and treated as an integral part of the Bill and defended by the Government in all its subsequent stages. Those promises have never been fulfilled, and there is no sign of their being fulfilled.

"When the Government found themselves in a position in which it was impossible to fulfil the promises, instead of consulting with us what we should consider an equivalent to those promises, they declined to see us when we asked for an interview, but tossed us what we consider an absolutely worthless substitute. That is the position that we have to press home upon the public, and the public is showing signs of beginning to understand the position in which we stand, and our righteous wrath and indignation at the treatment which we have received.

"Liberals are fond of chanting praises to Mr. Asquith's high sense of personal honour. All I can say is that his dealings do not illustrate it. He declined to see us when he found himself in the position of not being able to fulfil his pledges. He declined to have any consultation at all with us as to what we should consider a reasonable equivalent. Within less than one month of the time when Mr. Asquith gave us these promises in November, 1911, he was taking steps to render their fulfilment impossible. On a further occasion he told a deputation that he regarded Women's Suffrage as a political mistake of a disastrous kind. How could he expect his followers in the House of Commons to hear phrases of that kind and not to take the hint that the Prime Minister wished them to abandon their pledges and promises in favour of Women's Suffrage? And if they wished to stand well with him they knew they were expected to do their utmost to defeat Women's Suffrage.

"On the second reading of the abortive Reform Bill, in July, Mr. Asquith said that this was a Bill to enfranchise male persons only, and he said: 'I dismiss as altogether improbable the hypothesis that the House of Commons is likely to stultify itself by reversing in the same session the considered judgment at which it had arrived at an earlier period of the session.' The Women's Liberal Federation remonstrated most seriously with him for this breach in the spirit of his pledge, as did the *Manchester Guardian* and other Liberal organs. We further complain that down to the very last hour, almost before the amendments to the Reform Bill came on, statements by members of his Cabinet that they would withdraw from his Government and help to break up the Government if the Women's Suffrage amendments were adopted were allowed to go on without contradiction. It was not until Mr. Lloyd George addressed a deputation of working women that it was known that there would be no resignations on either side. We can place no faith whatever in Mr. Asquith in this matter. We decline altogether to listen to those who say that he is a pattern of honour and honourable conduct. We know how we stand now, at any rate. Our absolute want of faith in the honour and faith of Mr. Asquith when he made these promises, and the means he took to make these promises operative, is the reason why we have changed our policy and our attitude to the Liberal party."

Mrs. Swanwick said that the Suffragist cause was great and simple, although politicians had done their best to complicate it. Every party effort had been employed to dissipate the Suffragist forces, but defeat had but welded them more closely. All the Societies were now asking, not only for the same thing—the removal of the sex bar—but were asking for the same means of removal—namely, by a Government Bill. When, some months ago, there were rumours that Mr. Asquith would be unable to fulfil his pledges, Mr. Lloyd George had stigmatised these rumours as "an imputation of deep dishonour which he declined even to discuss." The pledges had been broken, and Mr. Lloyd George had not yet begun to discuss the dishonour.

Mr. Asquith had behaved like a gambler who laid a heavier stake than he owned, and, when he lost, turned welsher and refused to pay, because he knew there was no law to compel him.

The vote could be won only in one of two ways—by a private Member's Bill or by a Government Bill. For years the law-abiding supporters of Women's Suffrage had worked for the former; during the past year the National Union alone had raised £40,000 in support of a private Member's Bill, and the crime was not theirs if it had been defeated. Mr. Asquith had destroyed the free vote of the House, and convinced Suffragists that the pledges of politicians were worthless without the backing of a party. The Union, therefore, had done with private Members' Bills; they now asked for a Government measure, and would direct their efforts to the securing of a united Cabinet. The recent Council had had under careful consideration various schemes, and had decided never, while the present Government was in power, to support a Liberal candidate; and special efforts would be made to turn Anti-Suffrage Liberals—particularly if they were Ministers—out of their seats and to replace them by Labour candidates. There were good hopes of being able to unseat Mr. McKenna in North Monmouth, Mr. Hobbhouse in East Bristol, and Mr. Pease in Rotherham. The leaders of the National Union meant to put the fear of the Union into the hearts of the Government Whips. They meant to teach Liberalism to Liberals.

Some people asked why this had not been done sooner. The answer was that until now the private Member's Bill had not had a full and fair trial; and that now, when such a trial had been given, hundreds, nay, thousands of Liberal women would join with the Suffragists. Moreover, until lately no party had put Women's Suffrage in the forefront of their policy. Merely to cry, "Keep the Liberal out," combined the maximum of irritation with the minimum of effect. The Liberal was best kept out by bringing the Labour man in.

Lord Lytton said that the new policy of the Union showed a spirit of determination, and that it now realised that its patience had been too long trifled with. It was a proof that their zeal was just as great as that of those who showed their discontent by violent methods, and who acted as if votes could be got out of pillar-boxes or rise, phoenix-like, from the flames of private property. It was, however, no change of principle, because it was still a fundamental principle of the Union that they put Women's Suffrage before any other question of party politics. The Government had now offered to afford facilities for a private Member's Bill. Although they would have been grateful for this offer two years ago, they were not at all grateful now. Their complaint against the Government was that it was always two years behind the times. When they asked for this favour at a time when it would have been useful to them it was refused, and it was refused then because it would have been effective. They were taking this line because the promise made had proved to be illusory. They were now offered a course which they were previously told was an undesirable one. They blamed the Government because, when making their promises, they had not assured themselves that it was in their power to carry them out, and they were now mistrustful of any promise or advice coming from that quarter which did not involve those who gave them in the responsibility of carrying them out.

They meant to put their money and energy into a policy which, if it did succeed, would be the end of the fight. Every seat captured or endangered would be a real stage in the advancement of the cause. The question now was not whether women should have the vote or not—that had been decided by the House of Commons—the only question was what women and upon what qualification, and that was a question that could only be decided by a responsible Government. He would support the Labour Party because it was the only party which was of service to them, and would oppose the Liberal Party because while it followed its present leaders it was dangerous to women Suffragists. In a constituency where there were two Anti-Suffragists standing—a Liberal and a Conservative—and where it was not possible to introduce a Labour candidate also, it would be impossible for the Union to take any part. They would not definitely oppose a tried friend, even though he was a Liberal. They would not even for the sake of opposing the Government actively support an enemy to their

(Continued on page 839.)

Houghton-le-Spring By-Election.

CANDIDATES.
T. W. Richardson (Unionist).
Tom Wing (Liberal).
Alderman W. House (Labour).

OFFICE.
31, The Avenue, Sunderland.

ORGANISERS IN CHARGE.
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Federation).
Miss Margaret Robertson (E.F.F.).

COMMITTEE ROOMS.
Houghton—55, Sunderland Street; Mrs. Streeter in charge.
Hetton Downs—35, Market Street; Mrs. Tozer in charge.
Ryhope—86, Ryhope Street; Miss Beaver in charge.
Seaham Colliery: Miners' Hall.

This week we have a record of nineteen Hall meetings—all packed and, with one exception, orderly, courteous, and enthusiastic. The exception was Fulwell, where a few young men of the "better" class did their best, with chemicals, etc., to spoil the meeting, which, however, to their chagrin, survived all their attempts. The miners everywhere treat us with friendly respect and sympathy—we have not met with a gibe or a rough word from them—and the keenness of the women is something to rejoice in.

We are co-operating closely with the Labour party—sending speakers to their meetings and welcoming their speakers at

This is not exceptional as evidence of the political work we are doing. At another great centre, after hearing Miss Matters speak, a man who had always voted Conservative went to the Labour agent and asked to be allowed to sign one of Mr. House's nomination papers. On another occasion, a Liberal and his wife were coming out of a meeting: "Who be goin' to vote for now?" said the woman to her husband. "I be goin' to vote for Alderman House." "That's a good job," she replied. "There'd ha' been hell in our house if you'd ha' said different!"

Everywhere we hear the same thing—we are turning votes.



SOME OF OUR WORKERS.

(Newcastle Illustrated Chronicle.)

From left to right—Mrs. Aldersley, Miss C. M. Gordon, Mrs. Oldham, Mrs. Rothwell, Miss Entwistle, Miss Dring.

ours—and our joint propaganda is received daily with a more awakened intelligence and keener sympathy. We had all the work to do here—there has never been a Labour candidate before, which means that every man who votes Labour is a brand snatched from Conservative or Liberal fires—but the process of conversion is proceeding apace. One of our speakers received from a man and his wife in one of the mining centres the following letter, which speaks more eloquently than our words can:—

DEAR MADAM,

I Mr. _____, of the above address write hoping that you will oblige the people of _____ with another lecture; they are almost pulling our place down to hear you again. I think you did more good than all the speakers has done yet; any amount of men was voting Liberal till you changed their opinion, and they really think that women have a right for a vote. Please try and oblige.—

Yours, _____

We feel it ourselves more definitely and constantly than we have ever done before.

Our method of organising meetings by a personal canvass has endless advantages. Our workers, the tireless enthusiasts, Mrs. Tozer, Mrs. Rothwell, Mrs. Oldham, Miss Rowlette, Mrs. Aldersley, Miss Entwistle, Miss Crompton, Miss Dring, Miss Beaver, Mrs. Pressley Smith, Mrs. Sheard and others, hold innumerable little cottage meetings with groups of men and women, and carry the message to many who never come to the Hall. Their work is not showy, but it is the staple foundation on which all our success is built. The people who crowd to our meetings have already caught something of the spirit of the movement from the worker who has talked to them at the cottage door, and it takes little speaking sometimes to rouse them to an enthusiasm which is occasionally slightly disconcerting, as in the case of the old man who punctuated Miss

Robertson's speech with "Drive it hame, hinny!" varying occasionally with "Good lass! Good lass!"

Less in evidence even than the canvassers are some of the most important cogs in the wheel—those who sit in the office and manage all the wearisome business of the election—Mrs. Streeter and her indefatigable clerk, Miss Burnip. But we who are working here know how they lighten all our labours. We have been fortunate this week in having Miss Matters and Miss Lisa Gordon, as well as our usual staff of speakers, and we had also the great pleasure of securing Mr. Fenner Brockway for another couple of nights, on which he addressed four meetings. Next week Mr. Ben Turner is coming, and Mr. Philip Snowden is giving Friday night to Suffrage meetings in the constituency. The candidate has spoken at several of our meetings and will be addressing more, and Mr. Tom Richardson and Provost Brown, of Midlothian, have given us splendid help.

PRESS.—The local press has devoted a good deal of attention to us lately, reporting fully all our meetings at which Alderman House spoke, and cogitating much as to the "influence of women in the election." Mr. Tom Wing has also discovered that we are "vindictive" in our attacks upon Mr. Asquith, and seems to be devoting a good part of his speeches to the subject. His limitation to "Dickinson" is much questioned by

is so vital that we implore all our friends who own cars to hire for the day, and send theirs over to us.

MARGARET ROBERTSON.

Labour plus Woman in Durham.

As an old-time member of the I.L.P.—before the Labour Party was born, and with the memory of the Party Conference decision fresh in my mind, to which decision I had the great joy of adding a vote—which had the absolutely unanimous support of ten thousand Trade Unionists behind it, I am not, perhaps, an unbiassed judge of the wisdom of our course in supporting the Labour man at by-elections.

I cannot help wishing, however, that those suffragists who have no predisposition, as I have, towards the Workers' Party, could be on the spot when we are actually carrying out our policy. I can imagine nothing better calculated to convince them that here, after all, lies the solution of our problem, and that in supporting Labour we are working on constructive lines, that we are laying foundations on which a solid structure of success may be built soon—or later. Should the Liberal after all be returned, it will be hard to realise that we are right. But the fact will remain, as stubbornly as ever, that our only hope lies with the working man.



BY-ELECTION INCIDENTS.

(Newcastle Illustrated Chronicle.)

Mrs. Oldham and Mrs. Aldersley interviewing a coloured voter.

the miners, and he gets considerable heckling as to his attitude on the matter generally. *The Illustrated Chronicle* has published some pictures of our people at work, which we have sent for reproduction in *THE COMMON CAUSE*.

DONATIONS.—We have, with that gratitude which is a keen sense of favours to come, to thank all those who have already sent us donations for motors and halls, and to appeal to those who have not yet done so, to have a share in this most inspiring election.

POLLING DAY.—Polling day is now fixed for the 18th, and we urgently beg for the loan of cars. We know that it is a hard day for the chauffeur, and damaging to the car, but the occasion

Men of the orthodox parties can get the little which they demand from Parliament without having to take women into account. The awakened worker, who needs a great deal, and who wants it desperately, cannot get it without reckoning with the women. He cannot even get the knowledge and the will to desire consciously what he needs without tripping up against the woman problem. The position in life of his women folk (which is much worse than his own) crowds and hampers him in his own struggle, and he must inevitably realise more and more, as he gains experience and knowledge, that to be free himself he must free the women alongside.

This is just where our Labour fights are so valuable. Education of a unique and priceless kind goes on among both men

and women. Liberal, Tory, and even Labour politics are more or less vaguely understood, and are correspondingly stale and lifeless. But a combination of party politics and woman's suffrage—especially a clear indication of cause and effect—and need for combination on the part of women as women and workers as workers is new and thought-inspiring.

Though a Labour woman, and hoping for the return of our candidate on other grounds than his staunchness to our cause, I am prepared to face the possibility that he may not be returned—this time. Our woman's cause suffers, not only because the men of other parties will not adopt it as part of their party programme, but because its best champions—working men—had to go to work when their bodies and brains were only half grown; it suffers too from the fact that they lack education, and leisure for mental culture. They see the new idea; but a few short weeks are too little in which to turn a life-long Liberal into a Labour man.

This especially applies, perhaps, to the cautious North-countryman. But though he may turn tail at the ballot-box this time, yet such education as he is getting in these election-fights will come back to us a thousandfold when he has had time to digest it.

Besides, there are the women to reckon with! Looking down so often on the crowded, packed mass beneath us, how I wish that all those who are feeling a little heart-sick with the delay of our victory could see those women's faces! Toil-worn and care-worn, lined and hardened, and prematurely aged with a life-long struggle with dirt and poverty and maternal trials and losses, how they gradually light up and respond to every thrust aimed at them by our speakers straight from one woman's heart to another's!

It would be a mistake to think that the political education of women does not matter. It is the men's votes which will count, no doubt—when we can get them. But the votes will only follow a certain amount of conviction, and there is nobody so likely to convince a man in the long run as the woman on his own hearthstone. So that our educational work amongst women is by no means waste of time. If the time is too short to get enough votes this time, we shall have them next time.

The Durham miner, although he pays for his own candidate, meets with bewildering statements from the Liberals whom his father and grandfather supported, to the effect that the *Liberal* is the *Labour* man—that Codlin's the friend, not Short—and his brain whirls with the combination. Then we come along with a policy which is at least straightforward—we are for the Party that's for us, like *he* ought to be. He looks very dour, and very solemn, and gives little indication of wincing under the attack. But his interest is breathless and profound; and he can even laugh at himself as seen through woman's eyes.

I have taken part in several Labour meetings this week, and have watched carefully the effect of Labour politics pure and Labour politics plus woman. The former has a mixed effect; the latter goes straight home every time. Bewildered as he is, the dawn of new knowledge is there, and will deepen into the broad light which leads to action. Unfortunately, he is due at the ballot-box before there is time for all the darkness to disappear. But whatever the result of the poll, we shall leave him with a profound respect for the woman's cause, and a quickened interest in his own cause. Time and the woman at home will do the rest.

This is the stiffest fight we have ever had, from causes entirely beyond our control, on which I have not touched here. But from the point of view of having gained solid support for our cause, to be reaped now or in the future, it is a fight splendidly worth while.

ADA NIELD CHEW.

The Durham Miner's Home.

The woman suffragist is still told in tones of varying crossness that "woman's place is the home," and that because her place is the home she ought to be content with the duties she finds there and not agitate for the additional duty and responsibility of political power.

In this constituency the vast majority of the women, the wives and daughters of miners, are home women, whose time and strength are absorbed in home work. The coal industry is dependent on the labour of women, because the efficiency of the coal getter is built up by his home life. When he descends to his arduous toil in the mine he must take with him the carefully-packed food and drink prepared for him by the hands of the woman in the home. The women here bake twice a week, so that the bread may be wholesome and sustaining. The woman must prepare the bath which each miner requires when he comes home tired and dirty after his eight hours' shift underground. She also dries his pit clothes,

mends them and has them ready for next day's labour. She mends and washes for him. The miner's wife is his partner in industry. The coal-getter does his part underground. The wife does hers in the cottage which the coal company provides as his home.

The standard of housing is low. One of the surest tests of the quality of the housing of a district is the rate of infantile mortality which prevails in the district. In the year 1912, of every 1,000 babies born in England and Wales, 106 died in the first year of infancy. In the County of Durham the infantile death rate was 126 per 1,000. In Houghton-le-Spring it was 160 per 1,000. In the language of the Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health:—"No doubt the higher figure is partly the result of bad housing and especially overcrowding of dwellings, which is probably worse in this county than in any other part of England and Wales." These figures represent terrible facts, for when it is remembered that a heavy infant mortality does not only mean a weeding out of delicate infants in districts where infant mortality is persistently high, but also an excessive death rate at a later age, then the true cost of bad housing and overcrowding can be guessed at. The morality, decency and modesty of the people who live in these districts must also suffer.

Very few of the cottages have a bathroom, a wash-house, or a scullery. The washing is done in the living-room, which, in the case of one and two-roomed dwellings, is also used as a bedroom. In some parts of Houghton and Easington Lane there is no water supply inside the houses, and all the water used must be fetched from the yard outside. The back streets and courts are unpaved and unmade, which adds to the burden of the housewife by dirt brought continuously into the house by the children's footsteps.

Yesterday, Mrs. Oldham and I were in one of the homes, which opened on to an unmade street. It consisted of a one-roomed dwelling, where a man, his wife and four children—the oldest a girl of 13—lived. When we were there the housewife was baking and her baby, which is ill from consumption, was lying in a cot by the hearth. The floor was flagged, and all the water had to be brought from outside. I do not mean to say that that particular home is really a common type. It is not. But it exists, and so do more like it in this constituency.

Yet the sturdy Durham women stand up bravely to their task, and accomplish miracles of order and cleanliness in spite of their evil conditions. Their common saying is: "A miner's wife must be either a slut or a slave," and most of them are willing slaves to the service of their families. But our suffrage workers have found out that the miners' wives are not willing slaves to the inconveniences and crowded conditions of their cottages. Their response to our message has simply been wonderful, and if the return of Alderman House depended on the votes of the women I honestly think he would be returned with a huge majority.

Alderman House, as chairman of the Health Committee of the County of Durham, has done as much as any single individual could to alter housing conditions. Through the efforts of his committee many of the worst houses have been pulled down or shut, while others have been considerably improved and the whole standard of housing raised by the building of some rows of model cottages. The women know and appreciate this fact.

The women are suffragists, and must have been ready for the message which the election has brought to their doors. But the men are ready too. Everywhere we go huge audiences are waiting for us. In this campaign we have, so far, held our meetings indoors, and every one has been crowded.

The electors, like wise men, have considered the claims of the three candidates and the parties they represent. There never was any doubt of their sympathy with the claims of the women for a vote. There was some doubt, at first, whether they could break their old allegiance to the Liberal Party and support a Labour candidate. Now that the women have been won over and the political situation put before the electors, and the claims of Labour on their support set forth, a wonderful enthusiasm for our candidate is showing itself. Polling day is still more than a week away, and with eight days' steady work in front of us, I have great hopes of the result of the election in Houghton-le-Spring.

ANNOT ROBINSON.

Treasurer's Statement

A most inspiring response has been made at once to our appeal for funds for the 1913 campaign, headed, as usual, by generous donations from Mrs. Fawcett (£100 acknowledged last week) and Miss Ashton (£120).

The special contributions for the Houghton-le-Spring by-

election include £50 for hire of motors (of which £20 was sent by Newnham College, Cambridge). This gift will rejoice the hearts of our zealous band of workers. But it must not be forgotten that *hired* motors may not be used on polling day. We would call the attention of all owners of motor cars to the urgent appeal made by Miss Robertson for the loan of cars on that occasion (March 18th), and remind them that, in a scattered constituency, the number of votes a candidate can poll depends very largely on the number of motor cars at his disposal. This is especially true in the case of Labour candidates, because their supporters are men who are at work all day, and often their place of work is far removed from the polling station at which they have to vote. In many cases a working man's only chance of voting is in his dinner hour, when only a motor car can enable him to get to the polling booth and back in the time.

The number of cars we were able to lend to Provost Brown in Midlothian very probably accounted for the 32 votes by which the Liberals lost the seat. We appeal to those of our members who can help in this way, and perhaps in no other, not to let any of the results of our work in the Houghton contest be wasted by inability to get all Alderman House's supporters to the poll.

Election Fighting Fund.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	4,486	6	7
Received since March 3rd			
Miss C. Cochrane (3rd donation)		2	10 0
"Dividend"		0	2 4
Southport W.S.S. (4th donation)		2	8 0
Miss Rigby		1	0 0
Mrs. Ford		0	10 0
Collection		0	18 0
Mrs. Eric Carter (2nd donation)		5	0 0
Mrs. Rendel		10	0 0
Miss Fenwick (2nd donation)		0	10 0
Miss Finke (2nd donation)		0	5 0
Miss Edith Place		0	5 0
Mrs. Tennant		0	7 6
Mrs. Webster (2nd donation)		3	0 0
Miss Edith E. Webster		1	0 0
Mrs. Thompson (per Manchester W.S.S.)		0	2 6
Mrs. Percy Thompson (instalment, in memory of Sidney Gilchrist Thomas)		40	0 0
Miss Dalby (2nd donation)		10	0 0
Miss J. H. Drew (3rd donation)		2	0 0
Miss Jessie Barrett (collected)		0	10 0
Miss M. F. A. Stedman (profit on sale of home-made jam and marmalade)		0	5 6
Mrs. Scott (2nd donation)		1	1 0
Miss E. M. C. Druce (2nd donation)		5	5 0
Madame P. Hamelius (2nd donation)		0	5 0
Miss D. Sheepshanks (2nd donation)		0	2 6
Mrs. M. A. George (2nd donation)		10	0 0
Miss Dorothy C. A. Paine (2nd donation)		0	5 0
Lady Strachey (2nd donation)		5	0 0
Miss E. Pritchard (2nd donation)		5	0 0
Miss B. A. Clough (2nd donation)		50	0 0
Mrs. L. A. Richards (2nd donation)		1	1 0
Miss A. Vachell (2nd donation)		1	0 0
Mrs. Herbert Cowell (2nd donation)		5	0 0
Miss M. Ashton (3rd donation)		100	0 0
Anonymous from Ireland		10	0 0
Miss L. E. Bowler		1	1 0
Miss Gaskell (2nd donation)		1	1 0
Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D. (2nd donation)		50	0 0
Miss S. Thomas (2nd donation)		1	0 0
Miss W. Gurney Smith (2nd donation)		5	0 0
Miss Coxhead (2nd donation)		2	2 0

**Special Donations.
Houghton-le-Spring By-Election.**

Miss M. M. Boldero	1	0	0
"Well Wisher"	10	0	0
Mrs. Eyres	5	0	0
Miss E. Spencer	0	3	0
Miss Dilwyn	1	0	0
Two Scarborough Members	0	7	6
Mrs. Soulsby	0	5	0
Miss F. M. Grace	5	5	0
Keswick W.S.S. (for motor cars)	5	5	0
Newnham College branch, Cambridge W.S.S.	20	0	0
Miss M. Ashton (for motor cars)	20	0	0
Miss Lees	5	0	0
Miss Young	0	5	0
Miss Bolden	0	5	0
Nurse Emerson	0	1	0
Mrs. Wilkinson	0	2	0

£4,892 9 5

Foreign News.

France.

Suffragists of all countries will hear with regret of the death of Madame Orka, who has done so much in Paris to promote the International movement. She was the Secretary of that interesting institution, the *Congrès permanent du Féminisme International*, which formed a link for feminists of different countries sojourning in Paris, an active worker for several Suffrage Societies, and the author of some important pamphlets. She also instituted a scheme of visiting various institutions under the name of *Excursions à travers Paris social*. In memory of her work it has been proposed to rename this institution *Excursions Orka*. Every month a delegate from one of the societies visited will conduct one of these excursions. The funeral was attended by representatives of all the societies with which Madame Orka had been connected, who offered tributes to her memory at the graveside.

Belgium.

The Roman Catholic Women's Suffrage League, a Branch of the "Féminisme Chrétien de Belgique," has sent up to both Houses of Parliament a petition pointing out the expediency of granting the suffrage to women as well as to men in the forthcoming revision of article 47 of the Constitution, which deals with the Franchise. After pointing out the good work done in those countries where women have been enfranchised, and the justice of associating representation with taxation and of granting what is not a privilege but mere equality, the petitioners go on to say: "We do not doubt the success of our efforts in the near future. A Belgian Parliament which honoured itself by enfranchising women for professional elections, cannot fail to carry on its work of justice by inserting into the text of article 47 of the Constitution the right of Suffrage for women as well as for men. No act of legislation could have a better influence on our country's future well-being, on its economic prosperity, and especially on its moral progress."

Mrs. Chapman Catt will arrive in England on April 29th, en route for Buda-Pesth; and Dr. Anna Shaw, on May 12th. Each lady is expected to stay about a week.

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Correspondence.

GOVERNMENT CANDIDATES.

Miss A. Maude Royden writes that she has received a private letter from a delegate at the recent Council, which contained something like a reproach to her for having seemed, in the opinion of the writer, to assume that delegates who had misgivings about the new policy were actuated by party (i.e., Liberal) feeling rather than by zeal for Women's Suffrage. Miss Royden asks us to print her reply to her correspondent, which runs as follows:—

First, let me thank you very warmly for giving me a chance of explaining myself. And let me say at once that I realised while Miss Catherine Marshall was speaking that the point you raise did require explanation, though at the same time I thought with relief that Miss Marshall had clearly explained it.

The point she made (and I omitted to make) was that you cannot support a Government candidate without also supporting the Government.

If you will consider, how else can one support a Government but by supporting its candidates?

You remind me that we have done this in the past. True; because in the past we still believed a non-party Bill was possible. We regarded the Government as neutral, because it had taken no line of opposition to Women's Suffrage; and consequently we did not care whether a man was a Government candidate or not, and only considered whether he was a Suffragist.

Now all that is changed. We have learnt (and we definitely stated our lesson in a resolution at the Council) that a non-party measure is hopeless; we therefore demand a Government measure. We hold that it is the fault of Mr. Asquith that a non-party solution is impossible, and a Government measure refused; therefore, we consider his Government to be, in fact, *Anti-Suffrage*, and we refuse to support any man who supports it.

The whole difference lies in the fact that we have abandoned the idea of a non-party solution as a thing impossible, at any rate, as long as Mr. Asquith is Prime Minister. We, therefore, put pressure, not on individuals, but on parties.

I have stated the case as I see it, very badly. . . . But may I explain that I never intended any *accusation*? I thought those who took the line you did, failed to realise that pressure on individuals ceases to be effective when we have decided to work for a Government measure, though it was exactly the right policy as long as we sought for a private Member's Bill. This (if I am right) implies a misunderstanding of the position, not a lack of devotion; and I cannot too earnestly apologise if, when very tired, very nervous, and painfully conscious of a great responsibility, I expressed myself in a manner wounding to the feelings of much better Suffragists than myself.

A. MAUDE ROYDEN.

THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT.

With reference to the letter and comment on this subject which appeared in last week's issue, Miss K. Raleigh writes:—

I must own that my forecast of "few three-cornered contests" has not been correct, and the continuance of these contests seems to show that the Cabinet does not rely on the support of the Labour M.P.s in Parliament, especially since the Lansbury secession.

I am aware that the Labour Conference intends its decision to be binding on Labour Members, but as long as the present Parliament lasts the Conference cannot deprive them of their seats, and the unusual delay in dissolving Parliament requires some explanation. I should be glad to be convinced that the contingent loss of salary all round weighed as nothing in causing this delay. But I can only be convinced by acts. We shall see whether Labour Members will reject the "Plural Voting" Bill.

K. RALEIGH.

NOTE.—In my former letter "Labour Members are chosen by us" should read "paid by us."

In your "Notes and Comments" in the last week's issue you criticise Miss Raleigh; but I am inclined to the opinion that

if you will only study the speeches delivered and the resolutions passed by the Miners' Federation of Great Britain you will arrive at the same conclusions as Miss Raleigh. The miners' representatives in Parliament do not intend to allow the National Labour Conference to control them on the question of Women's Suffrage. They stand first of all for Manhood Suffrage, but some useful purpose may be served if our Suffrage friends would write in their respective constituencies to the Labour M.P. and ask him if he is prepared to oppose every proposed extension of the Franchise unless it includes the enfranchisement of women.

ROBERT COOPER.

A Laborious Life.

MEMOIRS OF MARY SOMERVILLE. (The Women's Rights Library, 2d.)

This little tract gives, in a pleasant way, the outline of Mrs. Somerville's useful and laborious life, from her somewhat repressed girlhood, through her brief first marriage, widowhood, re-marriage and honoured old age. No author's name appears, and from that slightly didactic and condescending tone we should be inclined to guess this a reprint or adaptation of some earlier original. It is sadly deficient in dates, giving neither that of Mrs. Somerville's birth nor of her death. But for these small defects the account is good and twopence will be well expended upon it. Mrs. Somerville's fine and simple character comes out clearly, and so does her almost incredible industry. Perhaps, indeed, her example has its dangers. It is not wholly good that a woman capable of the highest mathematical and astronomical achievements should be expected also to administer all the details of a household. No man would be required to do so. Nor is it entirely a desirable thing that a mother of children should imitate Mrs. Somerville, who "always rose at a fixed time even when she did not retire until 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning." True, Mrs. Somerville lived to be nearly ninety years old; but many another woman's life—ay, or many a man's life—would have been cut short by toil so incessant. Mary Somerville was a member of the first General Committee for Women's Suffrage, and signed a petition to the University of London for the granting of degrees to women.

Women's Exhibition in Holland.

A Women's Exhibition is to be given in the Congress Hall at Amsterdam from May 2nd till October 1st. It should be extremely interesting to suffragists, as exhibits will be shown of all things pertaining to women from 1813 to 1913. All those who are attending the International Woman Suffrage Alliance Congress at Buda-Pesth are urged to visit the Exhibition on their way to Buda-Pesth, or on their return. Those who would be willing to speak at the Congress Hall in Amsterdam should communicate with Mrs. Shelley Gulick at the offices of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, Parliament Mansions, 14, Great Smith Street, S.W.

The London Graduates' Union.

The following resolution was passed at general meeting of the members of the London Graduates' Union for Women's Suffrage, copies of which have been forwarded to all members of the Cabinet:—

"The London Graduates' Union for Women's Suffrage, realising that the promise of facilities for a private Member's Bill is no adequate fulfilment of the Prime Minister's pledge, adopts the policy of demanding a Government Measure for the Enfranchisement of Women."

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Discussion. Tea, 6d.

The New Policy Declared.

(Continued from page 833.)

cause. Therefore, where there were two Anti-Suffragists, one a Liberal and the other a Conservative, and no Suffrage candidate would be run, they would take no part. Where there were two Suffrage candidates—one Liberal and the other Labour—they would support the Labour man and oppose the Liberal. They would support a Labour man against a Conservative Suffragist, because they supported the Labour Party as a party. They would support a Conservative Suffragist against a Liberal Suffragist, because they were definitely opposing the Liberal Party as a party, and because the Liberal was a member of the Government which they wanted to see out of power.

Miss Maude Royden read a message of greeting from Mrs. Philip Snowden, who had been asked to address the Legislature of Ohio for an hour from the Speaker's chair.

There was all the difference, Miss Royden went on to say, between the Suffrage movement in 1913 and in 1884. Then women were discouraged. They had hoped to be included in the Reform Bill. Now, there was no need for discouragement; first, because the Reform Bill had had to be abandoned; second, because the Suffrage movement had gained ground rapidly. The reason the vote had been withheld was said to be that women were unfit for it—there was no stigma so gross as that which said or implied they were unfit to conduct the affairs of their own lives. The vote was the sign and symbol of government and responsibility. That was why they asked for it. Funds, she said, were necessary for the cause—the cause that was "the cause of freedom." They did not ask to be free because they were women; they asked because they were human.

Mr. Philip Snowden, speaking amid interruptions from militant Suffragists, defended the Labour Party's line of action, and said that its policy had never been determined by any selfish expectation of gain from the alliance. It was said that their attitude would be ineffective because the Labour Party was not an independent party, but an integral part of the Coalition. But a party which had not an independent majority could only get reforms by bringing pressure to bear upon the party in the House which had the power to concede them, and when reforms were before the House which the Labour Party had been advocating for many years, it was bound by its pledges to support them from whatever quarter they emanated. Some people were unable to distinguish between support of a measure and support of a Government. The Labour Party would never have the slightest hesitation in voting against the Government on a measure of which they disapproved, whatever the consequences might be upon the fate of the Government. They, at any rate, had sufficient intelligence not to force a General Election upon the country by voting against the Government on some question on which they were pledged, and if a Tory Government was in power the position of the Labour Party would be precisely the same. If it turned out that no Bill was introduced to alter the qualifications of the main franchise, it would be because the Government had a great deal more faith in the independence of the Labour Members than some professed women suffragists had. It would be because the Government would know that forty Labour votes would be given against the third reading unless some measure of women's suffrage were included in it. Yesterday the Labour Members decided by a unanimous vote to make and use in the coming session every possible opportunity of forcing this question upon the Government.

Nine times during the past few months the Labour party had intervened at by-elections against the Liberal candidate, and twice that policy had resulted in the loss of the seat to the Government. At the next general election there would probably be at least a hundred candidates, most of whom would be in three-cornered contests fighting Liberals. Every one of those candidates would make this question a dominating issue, and the certain result would be the loss of a considerable number of Liberal seats, and the Liberal Whips were wise enough to know what the reason was. The loss of a seat to the party was the most powerful argument they could bring to make them take the question up as a Government measure. The next general election, which could not be long delayed, was going to settle the question.

After Mr. Snowden had spoken, the resolution proposed by Mrs. Swanwick was put and carried. Its words were:—"That this meeting, regarding the offer of facilities for a private Member's Bill as no equivalent for the Prime Minister's pledges in connection with the Reform Bill, calls on the Government to redeem their pledges in the only way now possible by introducing a Government measure next session to give votes to women."

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In Parliament.

The House of Commons met, after its adjournment, on Thursday, March 6th. Among the questions asked was one by Mr. Keir Hardie, as to the number of women in prison "for offences connected with the agitation for the enfranchisement of women," and as to whether any such prisoners were being forcibly fed or were in hospital. It must have been present to the minds of all his hearers that since their separation a young woman had been brought to death's door—and is still, we believe, not out of danger—by the forcing of food into her lungs. This horrible injury, moreover, was inflicted not upon a convicted prisoner, but upon one awaiting trial.

Mr. McKenna replied that there were fifteen women Suffragist prisoners now in prison, of whom ten were taking their food, three being fed by tube, one by cup, and one, "received into prison" on the previous evening, was refusing to take food. There were also seven such prisoners in the prison infirmary, one on account of illness, two for purposes of observation, and four to facilitate the process of feeding. The state of these last six prisoners demands further elucidation. Does "observation" mean a watching for the moment when the patient can bear no more without risk of death? Is the way in which the process of feeding is facilitated the strapping down of the four prisoners to their beds? These are questions which should be pressed.

On Friday the House met in order to be prorogued until Monday, and on Monday reassembled for the new Session. The King's Speech contained no mention of Women's Suffrage, but forecast a Plural Voting Bill. In the debate on the Address Lord Hugh Cecil intervened, and reminded the Prime Minister of the Government's unfulfilled pledge, which carried with it "a great obligation of honour." The Government had, he said, an obligation of honour to include in the Franchise Bill the opportunity for putting in Women's Suffrage. "They propose fully to meet the obligation of interest, and they propose to deal with the obligation of honour by a composition. I think that is unfortunate." Ministerial assurances, as he truly said, are part of Parliamentary currency; and, if they went down in value, the whole system of Parliament began to be affected in much the same way as trade got out of order when currency was depreciated.

The Franchise in South Africa.

We have received the following communication from a correspondent at Cape Town:—

In the House of Assembly (Lower House) of the Union of South Africa, on February 11th, Mr. Andrews (Labour Party) moved:—"That in the opinion of this House women should be made eligible for inclusion in the lists of persons qualified to vote in Parliamentary elections." He was seconded by Mr. Meyler (Unionist), and there was a protracted debate, in which no less than seventeen members took part, including the Premier and the Minister of Education. Of the seventeen speeches delivered, four (all of them in Dutch) entirely opposed the motion. Another member, Mr. Vosloo, who also spoke in Dutch, professed himself in favour of the principle, but moved an amendment to the original motion so as to limit the extension to include women taxpayers and self-supporting women only. The Prime Minister, General Louis Botha, said that he was entirely in accord with the principle involved in the motion, but he felt that there was as yet no sufficient demand on the part of the women of South Africa to justify the Government in proceeding with legislation.

The Minister of Education (Hon. F. S. Malan) strongly supported the motion on the ground of the good effect the enfranchisement would have on the women themselves, and through them, on the race. Out of seventeen speeches made, there were only four against the motion. Of the other three speeches, one proposed the amendment and the two in support were by Cabinet Ministers—i.e., the Premier and the Minister of Education. After about three hours and a quarter, the debate was adjourned for a fortnight.

A few days previously, through the kind offices of a sympathetic Senator, representatives of the Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union (which represents sixteen independent Women Suffrage Societies), the Premier was asked to receive a deputation. He replied to the effect that pressure of important work made it impossible for him to do so at present; and that at the present time he did not see his way clear to promise them early legislation to extend the franchise to women. He concluded by assuring them of his sympathy.

EDITH M. WOODS.

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The opportunities for women in Canada in every branch of life are fully described in a new edition of the pamphlet "Canada for Women," issued by the Canadian Pacific Railway. Write to-day for a copy, which will gladly be sent post free.

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THE SUFFRAGE CLUB, 3, YORK STREET, St. James's, S.W.

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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 I. B. O'MALLEY (Literature). Hon. Treasurer: MRS. AUERBACH. Secretary: MISS GERALDINE COOKE. Offices: Parliament Chambers, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Press Department.

TITLED ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS AND LOGIC.—In the current issue of the Pall Mall Magazine there is an interesting symposium of three reasons from the man's point of view why women should have the vote, and three from the woman's point of view why she should not have it. All are in response to an editorial request for "logical" reasons for the opinions held.

Sir Laurence Gomme, Bernard Shaw, George Lansbury, Sir Hubert Parry, Lord Lytton, Granville Barker, Sir John Cockburn, Canon Scott Holland, Sir Arthur Pinero, Professor Sims Woodhead, Izrael Zangwill, Arthur Boucherier and William de Morgan are the men who give good reasons why women should vote. The eight ladies who think women should not vote are, with the exception of Mrs. Humphry Ward, the novelist, all members of the aristocracy, and none of them seem to understand either the position of the professional and industrial workers who need the vote, or the meaning of the adjective "logical." For instance, Lady Wantage thinks the responsibility of the vote would lower a woman's position and prestige (whatever that may be), and says the immutable laws of Nature tend to assign to men certain public duties unsuited to women—we presume she alludes to the placing of a X on a ballot paper. Women, in Lady Wantage's opinion, should be exempt from such a sphere of duty, because—so far as we can make out—the counterpoise of Nature would otherwise not be maintained. High-sounding, but rather vague arguments, these!

Then Mrs. Humphry Ward runs away from the position altogether and asks what do New Zealand, Finland, and all the other items in the Suffrage Stage Army matter to us? One wonders whether Norway, Australia, and the great Suffrage States of America will quite relish being dismissed as "items in the Suffrage Stage Army." What is a "Suffrage Stage Army," anyway? Mrs. Ward winds up:—"The Anti-Suffragist Cause is the cause of women—it is the cause of the higher civilisation—it is the cause of our country!" Now, where did Mrs. Ward get such a queer notion of civilisation?

Lady Maud Simon makes a great parade of logic, and she writes:—"Any political constitution which fails to take into account the different functions of the sexes, physical, social and political, in building up the State, will probably prove to be both theoretically and practically unsound." Precisely. That is just why Suffragists insist that in order to build up a sound State, you must take into account the different functions, needs and interests of the sexes, and this can only be done by getting the women to help in the government of the country.

Viscountess Peel—a woman herself—thinks that as women are showing themselves in "their true colours as hysterical and totally devoid of all power of self-control, there should be no question of placing any authority in their hands." The women with whom she associates may tally with this description (though we should doubt it), but the women who have to earn their daily bread, and want the vote for the same reasons as working men wanted it in the past, have no time for hysteria, and upon their toil and self-control, as upon the toil and self-control of working men, the leisured classes largely depend for very existence.

Sir Arthur Pinero's four brief lines are refreshing after the discursive "logic" of the titled ladies. He says:—"I can think of no logical reason why women should not have the vote, and this excuses me, I hope, from furnishing reasons in favour of it." It does, at times, become wearisome to prove that black is black, that white is white, or that the sun shines and the earth is round. E. M. LEAF.

Contributions to the General Fund.

Already acknowledged since November 1st, 1912 £1,360 4 11 Received March 4th to 10th:—

Table with columns for Subscriptions and Donations, listing names and amounts.

Table of Affiliation Fees and 1913 Campaign Funds for various Women's Suffrage Societies.

THE SUFFRAGE CLUB.

A lecture by Mr. Cameron Grant was given at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, St. James's, S.W., on Tuesday.

Mrs. Sackville Calbeck (who kindly took the chair, owing to Mrs. Percy Boulnois' unavoidable absence) said that on looking back 40 or 50 years, it was astonishing the strides that the Woman's Movement had made.

She introduced Mr. Cameron Grant, who showed that women now-a-days can take their place in the front rank of work with men, both in commerce, finance, science, literature, and many other branches; even in that which has been considered man's particular province—mechanical invention; and that the enormous development of woman's intellectual powers during the last 80 years made it essential for the good of the State that they should work side by side with men in the field of politics as elsewhere.

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News from the Societies and Federations.

London Society.

BARNES, MORTLAKE AND EAST SHEEN.—A meeting was held under the auspices of this Society in the small Byfield Hall, Barnes, on February 18th, to promote interest in women's work in local Government.

BOW AND BROMLEY.—Miss Goddard addressed a women's meeting at Bow Church Hall on March 3rd. It was a very interesting audience and twelve "Friends" were enrolled.

CANNING TOWN.—On February 19th, by kind permission of Miss Clifford, Miss Hay Cooper gave an interesting address on the White Slave Traffic to over 250 working women at the Mission Hall, Custom House, the Rev. R. Clifford being in the Chair.

FINCHLEY.—Through the tireless energy of Mrs. Harrington, Hon. Secretary for Highgate, a Branch has now been formed at Finchley.

HACKNEY (NORTH).—By invitation of the Devonshire Square Debating Society, Miss C. Elkin addressed the Society on Women's Suffrage on February 23th, and a resolution in support of this principle was passed by two-thirds, one man speaking against and five in favour.

HACKNEY (CENTRAL AND SOUTH).—On February 10th Mrs. Gingham addressed a Mothers' Meeting at 10th St. George's Church, Clapton. Much interest was shown, and twenty-two "Friends of Suffrage" were obtained.

HAMMERSMITH.—By invitation of the Hammersmith Ethical Society, Mrs. Stanbury gave an address on "Spiritual Militancy" at Hammersmith Club on Sunday evening, February 23rd.

ISLINGTON (WEST).—The first of a series of Study Circles was held at Miss Bissett Smith's, 57, Hillmorton Road, N., on Friday, February 21st at 8 p.m.

KENSINGTON (SOUTH).—On March 3rd a very successful joint meeting of members of the L.S.W.S. and of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association was held by Mrs. Felkin in her drawing-room, at 30, Letcham Gardens, W.

NEW CROSS.—A debate was held at the Hatcham Liberal Club on February 23rd. Chair, Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P. Pro: Mrs. F. T. Swanwick, Anti: Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.

The Federations.

North of Scotland.

REPORT.—Last month a meeting was held in Elgin under the auspices of the South United Free Church Women's Guild, addressed by Mrs. James Fraser (Inverness), who took as her subject "The Moral Aspect of the Women's Movement."

A Public Meeting on "The Religious Aspect of the Women's Movement" was held in the Town Hall, Inverness, on February 11th.

Inverness W. S. Society. The chief speaker was Dr. R. J. Drummond (Edinburgh), one of the Vice-Presidents of the Scottish Churches' League for Women's Suffrage.

INVERNESS.—At a public meeting in Inverness, addressed by Mr. J. Annan Bryce, the following question was put by a member of the Inverness Society:—"Is Mr. Bryce aware that an increasingly large number of his electors are supporters of the Extension of the Franchise to Women, and will Mr. Bryce support a Government Measure (Private Members' Bill for this purpose)?"

Oxon, Berks, and Bucks.

ASCOT.—Great pleasure was felt at a visit from Mrs. Robie Uniacke, ex-president of the Ascot Society, on her return from abroad.

BANBURY.—On January 22nd Miss Clarkson addressed the Women's Co-operative Guild, pointing out Women's great need of the Parliamentary Vote.

BANKSBURY.—On February 13th, a Public Meeting was held in the Schools at Sibford Ferris on February 6th, when a large audience listened to Mrs. Rackham and Mr. A. Gillett, Dr. Routh being in the Chair.

BERKHAMSTED.—The last of the series of monthly lectures took place in the Progress Hall on February 21st.

BERKS (NORTH).—On February 4th Mrs. F. J. K. Cross spoke to a small gathering of friends at Marolam, Abingdon. Much interest was shown.

BRACKNELL.—A Public Meeting was held in the Victoria Hall on February 11th. The Hall was full, and interesting speeches were made by Lady Betty Balfour and Sir William Chance.

CROWTHORNE.—Miss Mason spent 10 days here and earned the Society's gratitude for her successful work both as canvasser and speaker.

GERRARD'S CROSS.—A crowded meeting was held in the Town Hall on February 21st. Dr. Barbara Thoday-

kowsky took the Chair, and the speakers were Mrs. Chew and Mr. H. D. Harben. The former laid great stress on the importance of establishing a minimum wage for women, and pointed out how the women by accepting their present average low wage are undercutting the men.

HERTS (WEST).—On January 20th Miss Dora Mason went to Watford for a fortnight. A number of meetings had been arranged beforehand, and others were organised during her stay, at the request of people who heard her speak in the Market Place.

HIGH WYCOMBE.—On February 12th Miss Irene Cox, Secretary of the Industrial Law Committee, gave an address on "Industrial Law as it affects Women and Children."

LONDON. MARCH 14. London Reception—Westminster Palace Hotel—Chair, Mrs. Rackham, P.L.G. Speakers, Miss I. O. Ford, Miss Maude Royden, Miss Frances Sterling.

MARCH 15. Camberley—"Deloraine"—Hostess, Mrs. Wilson—Sister Councillor, "Some Methods of Treating Tuberculosis."

MARCH 17. Birkenhead—2, Park Road South—Institute Room. Chair, Mrs. Kent. Speakers, Miss Evelyn Deakin, Mrs. M. G. Hastings.

MARCH 18. Solihull—Forest—Lecture: "Old Furniture"—Mr. Harold Baker. High Wycombe—Church House—Miss K. Coyle.

MARCH 19. High Wycombe—1, White Hart Street—Address by the N.U.W.S.S. Organiser. Leeds—9, Park Lane—"At Home."

MARCH 20. Dundee—Motherwell Y.M.C.A. Hall—Miss Lisa Gordon, Miss Stuart Paterson, Mr. Andrew Ballantyne.

WORKINGTON.—The sum realised at a whist drive organised by the Workington Society was £1 10s., net £3 10s., as reported in our last issue.

The remainder of the News from Societies is held over until next issue.

Forthcoming Meetings.

(ARRANGED BY THE NATIONAL UNION.)

MARCH 14. Bolton—Large Spinners' Hall—Public meeting. Mr. James Parker, M.P. 7.30

Chesterfield—21, Alexandra Road—Chesterfield Suffrage Society. Mrs. Cowmadow: "Political Attitude of the National Union" 8.0

Birmingham—Franchise Club—10, Easy Row 8.0

Leamington—Masonic Rooms. Speaker, Mrs. Stanbury. Chair, Mrs. Dykes. (Stall for sale of Home Products) 3.0

Sunderland—2, Gray Road—Mrs. Johnson's "At Home" 8.0

Wrexham—Central Hall—Meeting for men only—Mr. H. Drinkwater, M.D., Miss Muriel Matters. Chair, Councillor R. O. Roberts 8.0

Scarborough—Municipal School—Lantern lecture: "Women at Work; Sweated Industries." Chair, Miss Alice Thompson 8.0

Leominster—Church Institute—Debate. Chair, Mr. Gibson Dyson. Speakers, Miss Mildred Ransom (N.U.W.S.S.), Mr. W. G. Hastings (N.L.O.W.S.) 8.0

MARCH 15. Camberley—"Deloraine"—Hostess, Mrs. Wilson—Sister Councillor, "Some Methods of Treating Tuberculosis" 4.0

MARCH 17. Birkenhead—2, Park Road South—Institute Room. Chair, Mrs. Kent. Speakers, Miss Evelyn Deakin, Mrs. M. G. Hastings 3.0

Belper—Public Hall—Public Meeting—Mrs. Manners, Mrs. Cowmadow. Chair, The Rev. Leslie Smith 7.30

Croydon—34a, The Arcade, High Street, Croydon—Meeting—Miss Theodora Clark—Tea 3.30

High Wycombe—Queen Street—Miss K. Coyle 4.0

"—The Fountain—Miss K. Coyle 6.0

MARCH 18. Solihull—Forest—Lecture: "Old Furniture"—Mr. Harold Baker 3.0

High Wycombe—Church House—Miss K. Coyle 2.30

"—The Fountain—Miss K. Coyle 6.0

Crick—Rectory Club Room—Mrs. Jackson 8.0

MARCH 19. High Wycombe—1, White Hart Street—Address by the N.U.W.S.S. Organiser 8.0

Leeds—9, Park Lane—"At Home" 3.30

LONDON.

MARCH 14. London Reception—Westminster Palace Hotel—Chair, Mrs. Rackham, P.L.G. Speakers, Miss I. O. Ford, Miss Maude Royden, Miss Frances Sterling.

Fulham—Bishop Creighton House, 376, Lillie Road, Fulham—Social Meeting. Chair, Miss Richmond. Speaker, Miss Dawson 7.30

Canning Town—Women's Settlement—Cumberland Road, Plaistow, E. "At Home." Speaker, Miss Royden 8 p.m.

Wimbledon—246, Coombe Lane, Wimbledon—Drawing-room meeting. Hostess, Mrs. Threlfall. Speaker, Miss M. Goddard 8 p.m.

North Kensington—5 and 7, Johnson Street—Miss Keating (Chair). Speakers, the Rev. A. W. Allen and others 8 p.m.

MARCH 17. Harrow-on-the-Hill—Roxborough Park—Drawing-room meeting. Hostess, Mrs. Campbell. Speaker, Mrs. Gingham, M.A. 3.30

N and S, Paddington—Ethical Hall, Queen's Road, Bayswater—Meeting. Speaker, Miss Rinder. "Some reasons why Women need Votes." 8.30

Islington—Study Circle—57, Hillmorton Road, N. Hostess, Miss Bissett Smith 8 p.m.

MARCH 18. Wandsworth—West Hill Girls' Club, L.C.C. Schools, West Hill—Meeting. Miss P. Fawcett 8.15

MARCH 19. Bermondsey—Railway Women's Guild, Fort Road Institute, Bermondsey—Meeting. Speaker, Miss Ransom 8.30

West Southwark—Farmhouse Mission, Harrow Street, Marshalsea Road—Meeting. Chair, Mrs. Melloy. Speaker, Miss Ruth Young 8.45

MARCH 25. Walworth—Co-operative Guild—Browning Hall, 187, Walworth Road—Meeting. Speaker, Mrs. Rogers 8.15

SCOTLAND.

MARCH 14. Edinburgh—40, Shandwick Place—"At Home"—Mr. W. M. Stone (Headmaster, Royal Blind Asylum and School) 4.30

Glasgow—Office, 202, Hope Street—Hostess, Miss Wells—Speaker, Miss Henderson 4.0

MARCH 17. Edinburgh—31, Midmar Gardens (Mrs. Glover)—Drawing-room meeting. Chair, Mrs. W. P. Scott 8.30

Dundee—Lochee Women's Guild, Miss Muriel Craigie 8.0

MARCH 19. Edinburgh—Townhill Co-operative Hall—Public meeting. Speaker, Miss Alice Lou 8.0

MARCH 19. Edinburgh—Lassodie (nr. Dunfermline)—Public meeting. Speaker, Miss Alice Lou 6.30

MARCH 20. Dundee—Motherwell Y.M.C.A. Hall—Miss Lisa Gordon, Miss Stuart Paterson, Mr. Andrew Ballantyne 8.0

Progress in Tunbridge Wells.

The annual report of this Society proves it to be stirring and progressive. In addition to meetings and "At Homes," at which addresses have been given by members of the National Union, its activities during the past year have included working parties and a speakers' class once a week.

The following meetings have already taken place this year:—January 17th, Invitation meeting, the Rev. G. B. Charles, Vicar of Paddock Wood, in the chair; Miss Eva Macnaghten spoke on the "Spiritual aspects of Women's Suffrage."

"Culto" is an invaluable Japanese preparation for polishing the finger-nails and keeping them in perfect condition. The fundamental basis of it is an extract from the "Rhus Succedanea," or vegetable wax tree, and it has been used for thousands of years by the priests of Japan, to whom the brilliancy of their nails is of vital importance.

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Coming Events.

We shall be glad to announce Meetings of Societies, Lectures, etc., in this column, and a charge of 2s. per insertion of 24 words will be made. To ensure insertion in our next issue all advertisements must be received not later than Wednesday morning.

Free Church League for Woman's Suffrage.

Spring Fair, Rectory Road Congregational Hall, Stoke Newington, Thursday and Friday, April 17th and 18th. Countess Brassey will open.

PREPAID ADVERTISEMENTS.

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