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The Common Cause

The Organ of the National Union of

Women's Suffrage

Societies.

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ONE PENNY.

Notes and Comments.

Liberalism and Liberals.

We publish two letters this week protesting against some remarks in our last issue. We are sorry if we have offended Liberal Suffragists; it is not our wish to

are merely asking the Government to act up to its principles.

We used the phrase "their precious Liberalism" of those Cardiff women who are ready to work for a candidate who will vote against Liberal principles in the House. The ironical use of the word "precious" merely indicated our opinion that such "Liberalism" has no



By kind permission of the "Manchester Guardian."

MISS A. E. F. HORNIMAN.

offend any Suffragists, whether Liberal, Conservative, Labour, or Nationalist. But we think that one of our correspondents has somewhat misinterpreted (and in one case misquoted) us. We do not regard an attack on the illiberal conduct of the Government as an "attack upon Liberalism"; on the contrary, our quarrel with the Government is precisely that it is acting contrary to Liberalism. We are always being told by Liberals that "Women's Suffrage is a Liberal principle" and we

value. We did not write "Liberal cant," but "the cant of these 'Liberals,'" and we used the phrase to describe Mr. Rees's statement that "he was a Suffragist because he was a Liberal." Now we hold that "cant" implies "mental insincerity" and we hold that a man who professes to be a Suffragist, yet works to get an Anti-Suffragist into the House is guilty of "mental insincerity" and therefore "canting." Our correspondent would see the justice of the epithet at once if a

man professed to be a Liberal and worked to send into the House a man who would vote against the Parliament Bill! The fact is that the party system has so divorced people's minds from realities that they have ceased to look at anything but the label.

As to the more personal phrases, it really seems to us charitable to look for physical excuses for the grossly unstatesmanlike conduct of the three gentlemen we named. It is an open secret that one after another the members of the Government are breaking down; they are not superhuman and they show the strain, each in his own way. It is their weakness, not their strength, which is opposing such a fantastic series of excuses, subterfuges and evasions to our steady reasoned demand for enfranchisement.

Further Criticism.

Another letter we publish to-day is so kindly meant and so temperately worded that we should like to reply to its criticism. Nothing is further from the intention of this paper than to suggest that all men are bad and all women good. It is our meaning to insist constantly on the common humanity of men and women and therefore on their common good impulses and their common lapses from right. But there is a tendency in other papers, which our correspondent would probably admit, to attribute any lapse or error on the part of a woman to the fact that she is a woman and we therefore make it one of our objects to quote evidence shewing that lapses or errors are also incurred by men. Further, the growing intensity of our need for enfranchisement is caused by the fact that all things are not well with us, but, on the contrary, terribly ill, and we must draw attention to these ills in order to make men see them. This is a very small paper and there is not much space to say what we have to say. We have to reject many interesting and illuminating things. But we thank our correspondent and will watch the pens of our contributors.

The Queen's Hall Meeting and the Press.

The "Morning Post" reported this meeting in 1½ inches; the "Daily News" gave 3 inches; the "Times" gave 2½ inches; the "Manchester Guardian" gave nearly a column.

The Real Point.

The "Times" has been making the most ridiculous fuss over a letter from Lady Selborne and in a long and pompous leader last week suggested that her escapade and the resolution of the militants to boycott the Census were sufficient reason for denying all the remaining millions of women any representation. Wild horses shall not drag from us any comment on Lady Selborne's action; we have no such motive as the "Times" has to side-track her complaint, which remains unanswered, in this proving over again (if it were needed!) how ready Anti-Suffragists are to meet any but the real point. The real point being that the "Times" persistently and of malice aforethought suppresses an enormous mass of news,—facts, statements and meetings—favourable to Women's Suffrage and gives the greatest prominence to what is unfavourable. The *suppressio veri* may, we would remind the "Times," be ethically quite on a par with the *suggestio falsi*.

The National Union and the Census.

The other fresh reason given by the "Times" for denying women the vote is the Census boycott. The National Union has not adopted this boycott and for this reason: that anti-social acts of the sort are only justified when all else has been tried and the members of the Union do not yet feel that all else has been fully tried. They are actively engaged in putting all possible pressure on Members of Parliament and in continuing the work of education and organization in the country. Now you cannot at the same moment treat with a man and knock him on the head and in a state of war, education is impossible. Therefore, we think that those members of the Union who have sentimental hankering after the Census boycott are falling between

two stools and they would do better work seated firmly upon one.

But this does not mean that we think acts of social war always and under all conditions wrong, and even if we thought this one wrong, we could not agree with the "Times" that its adoption by some women is a sufficient reason for continuing the disfranchisement of all women. If we did so, we should have to admit that men, who burnt the Library of Alexandria and sacked the Palace of Pekin and who have destroyed the priceless records of antiquity, time and again, were unfit to be represented. The plea comes comically from Anti-Suffragists who refuse women the vote because they do not fulfil "the primary duty of citizenship"—fighting! War involves not only the destruction of human life, but the destruction of records which could not be replaced. Now there is nothing to prevent another Census being taken after the vote has been granted to women, so that the actual injury done need be but small and easily remediable.

Civilization and Party.

It is interesting and instructive to contrast the civilized and humane and intelligent quality of the special articles and reviews in newspapers with the barbarous and prejudiced style of much of the leader-writing. The reviewers of Olive Schreiner's noble book, for instance, have nearly all recognized its greatness and power and truth, and many have written of it in modest and dignified language, recognizing that here is a woman something beyond the ordinary small woman—or man. They have recognized that prophetic wisdom has touched her lips and have been reverent. Compare these sane and sensitive critics with the babbling, phrase-mongering, insincere hacks who turn out what the party expects them to say on the "woman question!" The editorial "we" should make a paper one; but what link is there between the reviewer who can recognize all the burning passion and need, the sorrows and struggles of ages which underlie this book and well up in its torrential eloquence, and the writer of leaders and paragraphs belittling women's achievements, misrepresenting their actions, denying their aims or fobbing them off with fair words and flatteries and half promises.

It is the slimy trail of party again which allows no one to see what is true or fair until it has had the seal of party set upon it. So all our newspapers, with a few honourable exceptions, are at cross-purposes with themselves and contradict and stultify themselves, because they dare not be honest.

Women Recall a Mayor.

There is a curious system in America known as the "recall." If a certain number of electors petition for the recall of an officer, he has to stand for re-election. The newly enfranchised women of Washington State demanded the recall of the Mayor of Seattle, who was elected by a large majority a year ago. On the ballot being taken he was turned out by over 6,000 votes and it is stated that the women worked this for reasons of public morality.

A Baltimore editor has been found to deny that the women had anything to do with this and states that the mayor would have been recalled without the women's votes, or the men of Seattle must have been "extraordinarily depraved." A fine commentary on this is the fact that, in Baltimore itself, the dance programme at a ball given lately by the Fifth Ward Democratic Organization carried twelve advertisements of houses of ill-fame. The women have not the vote in Baltimore.

A Tempting Debate.

A debate on the resolution "That the demand for women's enfranchisement is a symptom of progress," is to take place in the Small Queen's Hall, Langham Place, at 8-30 on Friday, April 7th, between Miss Cicely Hamilton and Mr. G. K. Chesterton. It should prove tremendous fun and we should imagine the small hall will be much too small. Tickets, 2s. 6d. and 1s., may be obtained at the Box Office, or at the International Suffrage Shop, 31, Bedford Street, Strand.

The A. B. C. of Women's Suffrage.

When people say the possession of the vote will make no difference, either immediately or later on, in women's wages, they forget what Norway did when women got the vote there. Even before the women had had the opportunity of using the votes they had got, the Norwegian Government raised the wages of its female employers to the

SAME LEVEL AS THAT OF THE MEN

employed, for the same work.

Now, what does our Government do? Wherever it employs women it pays them less than it pays the men. One of the reasons given for having girl messengers in the Post Office instead of boys was that the

GIRLS WERE A SHILLING CHEAPER

per week in wages than the boys. Whenever Government does not pay the men who are employed in working at its contracts either Trade Union wages, or what is called "at a fair rate," they have the right as voters to make their representatives ask questions in the House of Commons and stir the Government up, and get things set right. The women working at these contracts are underpaid, and even sweated to a terrible extent. They have no right to stir up the House, for no representatives of women sit there.

A party of working girls from Leeds, used to receiving low wages and to seeing women work under bad conditions, went round a factory in London which had just got in some postmen's clothing ordered by the Government. The whole place was so bad, the women—many of them white-haired, sad-faced old women—were evidently receiving such very small pay, the dining-room was in such a miserable cellar, that many of the party came out in tears. They burst out into a chorus of indignation: "We wouldn't work in such a place for aught i' t' world!"

That was a

GOVERNMENT SWEATING SHOP.

But the man who owned the shop said he was going to be ruined, for the next order was to be sent to a firm which offered to do it cheaper still!

If Government were to raise the wages of its female employees to the same level as the men's, just as Norway has done, it would set an example to other employers, and women everywhere would benefit by degrees.

We have heard Anti-Suffragists say that it is a "corrupt practice" to force a Government, by political power, to give fair wages to its employees. But if that be so, women should not endure patiently that MEN should force Government to pay them higher wages than women out of the taxes which women

pay. If it is a corrupt practice for women, it is a

CORRUPT PRACTICE FOR MEN.

Enquiries have been made lately into the low wages some women earn in Birmingham, and into the reasons why women everywhere receive smaller pay than men. At the bottom of it all it is found that

WAGES DEPEND ON STATUS.

When people are thought little of, and their position is low, they are paid little, and their conditions are low. Having a vote will raise the POSITION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WOMEN in the employers' eyes, and so will make their wages begin to rise.

But this is not by any means the whole of the story of women's low wages. People often tell us that wages depend not on laws, but on

SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

We all know now that the law has actually begun to interfere directly with wages, as at Cradley Heath and in the box-making trades, where a MINIMUM WAGE is being decreed. But in other ways that are indirect, wages are lowered artificially by increasing the supply of labour and diminishing the demand. It is well known that industries are

CROWDED AT THE BOTTOM,

and if women are refused training for better work, and are kept out of numberless employments, artificially, as they are, they have to crowd into the unskilled trades and make the wages there lower and lower. Every fresh restriction made by law on women's labour puts the

WOMAN AT A DISADVANTAGE

as compared to the man. Although many of these restrictions are made by men who say they make them in the interests of women, it would be fairer to ask the women what they think about it themselves, and not treat them as if they were too silly to understand their own work. They understand it far better than men, and ought to be given the vote, so that they may have a say in the laws which regulate their lives.

THIS WEEK'S STORY.

An Australian visiting England was asked whether he found England very different from Australia.

"In one thing it is," he said; "men are so much ruder to poor women here in their every-day behaviour. In my country it is never safe to be rude to any woman, for she is a voter."

THIS WEEK'S MOTTO.

It is the weak and defenceless who are trampled on, not the strong.

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

ADVERTISEMENTS should reach the office by first post on Tuesday. THE PAPER WILL BE POSTED to any address in Britain or abroad for the following prepaid payments:—

3 MONTHS	...	1 9
6 MONTHS	...	3 3
12 MONTHS	...	6 6

LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS should be addressed to the Editor, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester, accompanied by a stamped envelope addressed if it is desired that they should be returned. The Editor accepts no responsibility, however, for matter which is offered unsolicited.

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

NOTICE.—This paper should be obtainable at newsagents and bookstalls by mid-day on Thursday. If people have any difficulty in getting it locally they should write to the Manager, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester, giving the name and address of the newsagent or bookstall from which they wish to be supplied.

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An Ostrich Policy.

Suffragists are sometimes accused of not having the courage of their opinions and we think there is some truth in the contention. We are familiar with the cry that we must not bring forward this or that argument, we must not shew this or that social sore, we must not allow this or that fact to be known, because—it will alarm the feeble or the vicious man and he will then refuse to enfranchise us. We must not bring to light the hideous wrongs from which women and children suffer; we must not tell what women have done where they have had power, because if we do, corrupt or brutal men will see what we are heading for and will be more than ever anxious to keep us in subjection.

This ostrich policy strikes us as having nothing but disadvantages. First, it suggests that we think the great majority of men are brutal and vicious—a shameful assumption which we should repudiate with all our might. Secondly, it is cowardly and mean, and shews a faithlessness in ultimate good, which would be our ruin were it widespread and deep. Thirdly, it shews a fundamental misconception of how and why liberty is ever won. We shall not get our liberty from the brutal and the vicious; we shall get it from the humane and reasonable. By suppressing or slurring over the real and tragic disabilities of women we shall not win the bad man and we shall fail to interest the good man. The large mass of well-meaning honest fellows who form the bulk of English manhood cannot be interested in the women's claim for representation unless the women will speak fearlessly to them of the terrible wrongs that arise from their unrepresented state and the injury to the nation which is the consequence.

Now there are two root principles at the base of this demand for the enfranchisement of women (and let it never be supposed that the mere acquisition of the Parliamentary Vote represents complete enfranchisement!) These are: (1) That physical force undirected by moral force is injurious to humanity. (2) That women are degraded by legal, social and economic conditions which

make their sex a matter of purchase and take away from them the free control of their lives and bodies. It follows that women who want liberty for women must be of the Peace party and the Purity party, and that by a cowardly avoidance of strong and passionate advocacy of these two great causes, they lose the support of the only men who will help them. Be it understood, we use the word "party" not as covering any one political party. Peace and Purity have their advocates within all political parties.

It is unhappy that these two great words should, in so many minds (owing partly to the action of the press and the music-halls, but mainly to the confusion of the party system), suggest sentimental and Utopian fanatics or puritanical kill-joys. It should not, however, be impossible for women of the new age, with their wider possibilities of knowledge and understanding and with their new-born passion for freedom and vital processes of life and joy, to break free from all these old associations and through the conviction of the "sisterhood" of man attain at last that "brotherhood" which the one-sexed "man" has talked of but never yet found.

In last week's number of "London Opinion," Mr. Charles McEvoy alludes to the shyness of women suffragists in touching upon the degradation of their sex. There is enough truth in what he says to make us all search our consciences, but we confess ourselves surprised that Mr. McEvoy should be obtuse as to the reasons for this shyness. He repeats the old, tiresome (and we hope he won't think us rude if we add, *stupid*) accusation of "unreasonableness." It may be fear and cowardice; it is, we believe, largely ignorance, in supposing that vicious men can be placated by suppression and good men interested by negation; it is the result of the dependent position of most women; it is also caused by dread of two common although false accusations—one that women are all sex and the other that the Suffragists are fomenting a sex war. It is plain, of course, that if your sex is made the sole ground of your disabilities, you cannot speak honestly of the disabilities without speaking honestly of sex; but that does not make it easy. Yet we should say that women on the whole are less cowardly than men, when it comes, not to jokes and innuendos, but to plain, grave speaking on the matter. As for the "sex war," it is of course equally plain that this war is ancient and that it is one of the objects of Suffragists to put an end to it. These things, we say, are plain to the thoughtful and the independent woman, but they are not so easy for her to see who has been reared in ignorance and dependence and it requires immense courage for such a woman to speak out her mind, when she knows it. Men must help.

Sir Edward Grey on the 13th, in the speech which has so stirred the world, spoke of the necessity for public opinion to rise to a "high plane of idealism," before a great system of arbitration could be made strong. We believe this to be true for the great mass of men. But what is idealism in a man is often mere common-sense in a woman. To many thousands of women the waste of men and money, the horrors not only of war when it comes, but of the barrack system, of the shameful idleness and waste of young life, the cramming of men together under unnatural and demoralizing conditions, the breaking up of the home and all that means to women and children, the dangers which other women incur from the herded soldiers, the burden of taxation—all these seem monstrosities of unreason which have only become possible under a one-sex domination, so that at last the climax of absurdity is reached when all that this monstrous unreason stands for is dubbed "patriotic" and an Anti-Suffragist can stand up at a meeting and gravely assure us that military service is the "primary duty of citizenship," and women are invited to go on their knees and do humble service for the "man-made shelter" which one set of men have erected against—another set of men!

Suffragists are out to deny that physical force alone ever can or ever should rule the world and they must fearlessly take all the consequences of this position. Let us by all means increase our physical forces to their utmost: let us by labour and continence and economy and hard living, by ingenuity and activity, strengthen

our physical force,—it will be found that all the moral and intellectual graces only help in this. But let us never forget that, in public as in private, in matters international as well as national, physical force must be the servant and not the master of the god-like mind of man.

Art, Business and Philanthropy.

An Interview with Miss Horniman.

Cultivated Manchester is very proud of its University, of the Hallé concerts and of Miss Horniman. It didn't do anything to *make* Miss Horniman but it has taken her to its heart and has developed a tendency to boast of her as of an indigenous product.

She had promised to see me on Saturday and she kept her engagement although suffering from the chill afflicting half the world just now. I found her enduring her imprisonment with cheerful philosophy and reflecting, "At least it gives me time to make up arrears," as she laid her hand on a pile of plays lying on the bed awaiting her verdict. Her answer to the time-honoured question,— "What interested you first in the theatre?"—was somewhat startling.— "Pure cussedness. I was born into a very respectable, pious, dissenting home, and I remember when I was about six years old hearing my father and some other men talking and my mother crying and the word "theatre" cropping up repeatedly, and a young man saying we ought not to blame a thing we knew nothing about. I determined then to go and see for myself what it was like, when I should be grown-up."

"Then you really came to the theatre with a fresh mind, like Stead?"—"Yes, absolutely. You see, mine was the small shop-keeper class, on-the-make. We never saw any actors or musicians, or any of the set who tell you what you ought to think, or people who 'go in for things.' I thought for myself and struck out my own line. I remember seeing my first Ibsen play,—I think it was 'Pillars of Society' with Genevieve Ward in it—and when the curtain went up I felt as if I was not at a play at all, but was overhearing ordinary conversation and then in ten minutes I was more interested than I have ever been in my life."

"You are very fond of music too, aren't you?"—"Yes, especially dramatic music and I have a very fine ear. But there was more to be done for drama."

"Was the Abbey Theatre your first venture?"—"Dear me, no! I was at the back of the performance—was it in 1894? of 'Arms and the Man' at the Avenue. Oh, yes, we knew how to keep a secret. I didn't want it to come out and for years no one knew except Miss Farr, Dr. Todhunter and myself. But it was a great event! Why, think! It was the beginning of Shaw as a playwright of *acted* plays. We brought out Yeats' 'Land of Heart's Desire,' and Lewis Parker's 'Man in the Street.' We introduced Aubrey Beardsley (by his celebrated poster) to the passer by. We brought Louis Calvert from the provinces, and Mrs. Charles Calvert from retirement. Claire Greet and Granville Barker were understudies! It was a great affair, but I lost money on it and had to wait awhile before I started the Abbey Theatre in Dublin. That was done to give a home to the Irish National Theatre Society for which Mr. Synge, Lady Gregory and Mr. Yeats wrote. I hope and believe they are now doing very well and happily."

"What made you come to Manchester?"—"There was an opening there," said Miss Horniman, lighting a cigarette. "I came in 1907 and we are doing well now. We have made two visits to London and they have been so successful that my Manager is negotiating to return in 1912 for a season of three months (May, June and July). The reputation of the company is growing all over England."

A reference to the censorship brought some caustic comments from the lady, who hoped "poor, dear Mr. Redford was spending his leisure in learning German," and an account, too long I fear for this column, of the disorders in connection with the first performances of "The Playboy of the Western World."

Nothing makes Miss Horniman more wrathful than to be accused of being a philanthropist. She is immensely

interested in the theatre and chooses to use her capital in the business of running theatres. She cannot see why the wish to do good work of its kind should be supposed to militate against the firm intention that the work shall be made to pay. I was anxious to know what she felt about it and said: "I notice, Miss Horniman, that a certain dignitary of the Church in receipt of a handsome stipend for his spiritual ministrations, seems to have suggested that you could not be doing good and making money at one and the same time. He seemed to be of opinion that the two things were incompatible. What do you think?" Miss Horniman fairly snorted:—"Huh! No one dare insult Mr. Neil Primrose standing for Parliament, because he inherits political influence from his father and a fortune from his mother! No one will object to him, if he is good enough to get into the Cabinet, drawing his £2,000 a year pay! Why should a woman be insulted by having her serious work called an 'altruistic hobby,' while a young man is welcomed into the more ornamental part of public life?"

"Oh then," I said, "you do think a woman meets difficulties peculiar to her, as a woman?" "I should think so! In her youth no one will believe that a woman who is comfortably off in the middle class of life has any other aim than to marry above her social position. In middle age, on the other hand, it is always implied that she is anxious to save her soul, and everything she does is set down to philanthropy."

With these words my interview terminated, leaving me with the feeling that Miss Horniman had as big a "down" on the "philanthropist" as even Nathaniel Hawthorne. SIGMA.

In Parliament.

DEBATE ON THE ESTIMATES.

On Monday 13th Mr. Murray Macdonald moved "That this House views with alarm the enormous increase during recent years in the expenditure on the army and the navy, and is of opinion that it ought to be diminished."

This was seconded by Mr. A. A. W. H. Ponsonby who emphasized the opinion that it was the *excessive* expenditure which he regarded not only as waste but as a menacing danger. Dissatisfaction was expressed by a number of Liberal and Labour members with Mr. McKenna's estimates of 1909 and Mr. McKenna's defence consisted mainly in an explanation that if he had clearly confessed his error at the time it would have added to the "scare."

Sir Edward Grey drew attention to the fact that the increase in armaments was greatest among the most "civilized" nations of Europe and in rivalry with one another. "Unless this does come to be felt as a paradox—unless the incongruity and mischief is brought home not only to men's heads generally but their feelings, so that they resent the inconsistency and realise the danger, civilization in the long run must be broken down."

Sir E. Grey maintained that the fearful increasing burden of armaments must either be lightened or lead to revolution among those on whom taxation pressed most heavily. "This is the direction in which the great countries of the world are heading." He hoped that some other way than revolution would be found:—"What we have to look for is some beneficent movement which will go to the root of the matter. I can see but one thing which will affect this naval and military expenditure on the wholesale scale in which it must be effected if there is to be real relief and assurance. You will not get it till nations do what individuals have done, and that is come to regard an appeal to law as the natural course for nations instead of an appeal to force."

He quoted President Taft's suggestion that international arbitration was the solution and that it should be possible for "two nations at least" to establish some system of law analogous to that existing between individuals. In a speech of fine ethical quality he invited the public opinion of the nation to support such an example of reason.

The amendment was lost and another, which was adopted by the Government was passed. This ran:—

"That this House views with profound anxiety and regret the continued necessity for the maintenance by this country of large armaments, and would welcome the establishment of international arrangements under which the Great Powers would simultaneously restrict their warlike preparations."

On Thursday Mr. Balfour gave a qualified support to the suggestion of an alliance with the United States. Mr. Dillon however, pointed out the strangeness of Sir Edward Grey's proposal, coming as it did, in a debate upon such monstrous estimates and he expressed a fear that an alliance of the sort suggested would leave the small struggling nationalities to be oppressed.

Queen's Hall Meeting.

MARCH 15th, 1911.

Suffragists are not as lucky about weather as they are about the ballot, and the weather on the 15th was worthy of a general election. Once inside Queen's Hall, however, it was easy to forget it. The attractive appearance of the hall, with its beautiful red, white and green decorations, the large numbers present and the atmosphere of sympathy and enthusiasm, made us feel that the winter of our discontent *must* soon come to an end. The keynote of the meeting was given by the Chairman, Miss Frances Sterling (whose appearance in public, after her illness, was a matter for congratulation), when she said that we had come together not to convert the heathen, but to demonstrate in favour of the Conciliation Bill. If some of those present were feeling, as they came in, that we have already demonstrated that we needed the vote, till anyone but an ostrich or a Cabinet Minister would have seen what we showed him, and that it was very difficult to go on demonstrating to those who, having eyes, see not, their faith must have been re-inforced by such speeches as those of Mrs. Swanwick, Mr. Lansbury and Miss Royden. Mrs. Swanwick reminded us that, though the wounds from which we suffer are as old as the existence of womankind, they are as fresh now as they were 2,000 years ago. Mr. Lansbury, whose life has been spent in endeavouring to bind up social wounds, spoke with the passion of experience and made us feel that he understands, as we understand ourselves, why we need the vote; and Miss Royden re-inforced his appeal by reminding us that since the cause for which we fight is not our own, we may not measure or limit our sacrifice. Mrs. Fawcett was, of course, terribly missed by us all, but her message showed that her thoughts were, as ever, with us, and we are now able to look forward to her speedy return. Many people were disappointed that, owing to the lateness of the hour when her turn came, Miss Ray Costelloe thought it better not to speak. Mr. Chancellor was also obliged to leave before the end of the meeting. It was evident, however, from the expressions of opinion heard, and from the faithfulness with which the audience remained, that the unusual hour chosen was a very popular one. It was an impressive demonstration and showed what strong and united support there is among all kinds of Suffragists, in and out of the House of Commons, for re-born hope,—Sir George Kemp's Conciliation Bill.

Before the beginning of the meeting the following message from Mrs. Fawcett was circulated in the hall:—

"My thoughts and best wishes are with the National Union for their meeting on March 15th. Our splendid luck in the ballot gives Mr. Asquith an opportunity of redeeming this session the promise he gave on November 23rd that he would afford facilities during this Parliament to the House of Commons for effectively proceeding with a Women's Suffrage Bill. Full Suffrage was given to the women of the Commonwealth of Australia in the Coronation Year of King Edward. It will be singularly appropriate if the disability of sex is broken in the Mother Country in the Coronation Year of King George."

MISS FRANCES STERLING in the chair, said this was not an ordinary meeting, but a demonstration in support of the Conciliation Bill. Its object was not to convert the

heathen, or to discuss various bills, but to back this particular bill with all possible strength and enthusiasm. She gave a brief summary of some of the hard, grinding work done since the autumn, especially during the general election, when every Suffragist had worked in some constituency and some had worked in many. After calling attention to the Australian resolutions, Miss Sterling showed that the suggestion that Women's Suffrage should be submitted to a Referendum was a fresh instance of the attempt to put in force one law for men and another law for women. If the Referendum is a good thing why have not men used it long ago? If it is not good enough for men, why is it good enough for women?

Speaking of the absurd contention that all women must ask for the vote before any women can have it, Miss Sterling said that the women who did not want votes were those who had suffered the deterioration of a disfranchised class. Mr. Asquith had spoken of the present electoral machine as being the best possible machine for ascertaining the will of the PEOPLE. He had also expressed great sympathy for those who were continually frustrated by the veto of a non-representative chamber. "That is just what we complain of, we also are the people and we are continually frustrated by the veto of a non-representative chamber."

Mrs. SWANWICK proposed the resolution:—

"That this meeting urgently calls upon the Government to put an end to the growing discontent amongst women by granting facilities for the passage into law this session of Sir G. Kemp's Women's Suffrage Bill, which is down for Second Reading on May 5th," and said that the discontent had indeed had a long time in which to grow, since the grievances from which we suffered were as old as the existence of women in the world. Speaking of the thoughts suggested to her by the play of "The Trojan Women," she said that in our modern industrial system we had not far to seek for Hecuba, the desolate widow, for Cassandra, the violated virgin, for Astyanax, the sacrificed child. "Now, as in the time of the Trojan Women, the cry of women goes up to heaven." But there is this difference: women can help each other more now than they could then. With regard to woman, man's attitude is still neolithic. He helps her as he can, as he knows, when he has time, when her interests do not clash with his. Therefore it is necessary for women to speak for women. It is a disgrace for a woman not to know—not to care, how other women live. We *do* care and therefore we work. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has told us himself we shall never have really good effective measures of social reform till women have votes. Yet what does he do to get them votes? We do not see him carrying on a vigorous campaign in favour of Adult Suffrage, in which he professes to believe. We care so much for the enfranchisement of women that we are willing to accept any form of Women's Suffrage that is offered us. "I sometimes think we Suffragists are the only people left who care for representative government."

Speaking of the Conciliation Bill, Mrs. Swanwick said that the passing of the second reading would probably be followed by a resolution asking the Government to give full facilities this session. She concluded by saying that "we women care for our homes and our country quite as much as men. Only we do not separate the two quite as much as they do."

MR. CAMERON CORBETT, M.P., supporting the resolution, alluded to the Anti-Suffragist statement that some of the members who voted for the Conciliation Bill last June had not really wished it to pass. He said that if this were so, it would show that there was great pressure from the electorate in favour of the bill, as such pressure was the only thing likely to make M.P.'s vote against their own wishes. As far as results went he would have no fear of a Referendum, as he believed that the Electorate was with us. He supported this bill as he would support any Women's Suffrage Bill which had a chance of uniting parties. His object was to get the disability of sex removed. As Chairman of the Liberal Suffragist M.P.s he would see that they followed a course which would promote this object. The grant of further facili-



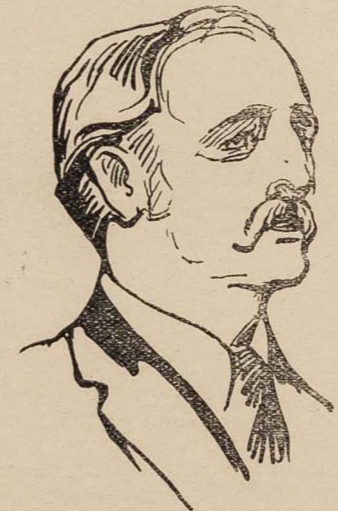
MR. CAMERON CORBETT.

Drawn by Miss May Gibbs.

ties for the bill would depend very much on the size of the majority by which the second reading was passed, we must therefore see that the majority was even larger than last June.

SIR JOHN ROLLESTON, M.P., spoke of the growth of public interest in the Suffrage movement and of the industrial, scientific, artistic, and political work done by women all over the world.

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P., L.C.C., said that we all approached the Women's Suffrage movement from different standpoints. He himself believed in votes for all women, but it would take a long time to convert the whole



MR. LANSBURY.

Drawn by Miss May Gibbs.

country to Adult Suffrage and in the meantime we must press for this small instalment. A long experience in many spheres of work had taught him that women were as valuable to the community as men, and that it was folly to refuse their services in political life. "But my fundamental reason for working for Woman's Suffrage is that I live among very poor people and I know what

poverty means, and above all what it means for women. According to official reports there are 17,000 women on the streets of Glasgow. God only knows how many there are on the streets of London. We know that in this metropolis there are 50,000 to 60,000 children underfed every day. And it is women who bear the chief burden of all this. You women of the middle and upper classes who are here to-day demanding your freedom, I want to say to you, that I hope and believe you will use that freedom to lift up your sisters pressed down by intolerable suffering. You younger women who are helping with the task Mrs. Fawcett has carried on for so many years, remember why you want the vote, remember the terrible distress you have to relieve, and go on with the struggle."

MISS A. M. ROYDEN, in appealing for funds, said that our opponents hoped to tire us out, but our answer to that must be a constantly growing enthusiasm. She appealed to those present to take the full responsibility of their opinions. We could most of us remember the stages by which we had come into the Suffrage movement. We had probably all begun by having an academic opinion in favour of Women's Suffrage, then we had taken to doing suffrage work in our leisure moments, instead of other things. Then, perhaps, a moment had come when we had realised that we might have to make something more than a temporary sacrifice.

"I appeal to you to go on, remembering that it is not you who have chosen suffrage work, but suffrage work that has chosen you. You must go on even if you have to give up not only the leisure you desire, but the work you love, perhaps for a long time, perhaps for ever. This must be our answer to the Anti-Suffragists. We cannot give up, because the cause for which we fight is not our own. We are sometimes told that we fight only against an abstract injustice. There is no such thing as an abstract injustice. This injustice will work itself out to-night in the streets of London. I sometimes think that we Suffragists are too slow to 'hitch our wagon to a star.' We ought to remember that all we do or can suffer is but a small measure of what our sisters are forced to suffer day by day. It is for them we fight. I appeal to you therefore to give, remembering that the measure, not of your gift, but of your sacrifice, will be your answer to those who think they can tire us out."

MR. ENSOR, L.C.C., said that he had reached a point, when if he were in the House of Commons he would vote for any Women's Suffrage Bill whatever, however wide or however restricted it might be. The sex disqualification was without a parallel. It was nothing less than a life sentence. Our agitation on this point was therefore different from any other agitation. He also said that the question of Women's Suffrage could be argued either on the ground of women's right or of men's advantage. From either point of view, if we were to have a reasoned democracy at all, it was evident that Women's Suffrage must be passed. He hoped that this Coronation Year, remarkable in so many ways, would be remarkable also for the granting of our almost absurdly moderate demand.

The motion was then put to the meeting and was carried unanimously and with great acclamation.

I. B. O'MALLEY.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

OBJECT: To obtain the Parliamentary franchise for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men.

METHODS: (a) The promotion of the claim of women to the Parliamentary vote by united action in Parliament and by all constitutional methods of agitation in the country. (b) The organisation of Women's Suffrage Societies on a non-party basis.

Hon. Secretaries:		President:	Hon. Treasurer:
Miss K. D. COURTNEY.	Miss EDITH PALLISER (Parliamentary).	Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.	Mrs. AUERBACH.
Telegrams: "Voiceless, London."		Secretary: Miss T. G. WHITEHEAD, M.A.	Telephone: 1960 Victoria.
Offices: Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.			

Notes from Headquarters.

A full account of the successful meeting held in the Queen's Hall on the 15th, will be found elsewhere. Mrs. Fawcett's stirring message, which appeared in "The Common Cause" last week, was read by the Chairman and was heartily applauded. Mrs. Fawcett

herself is now on her way home and we hope to greet her with the news that every Society is doing its utmost to work for Sir George Kemp's Bill.

In bringing pressure to bear upon doubtful supporters and Anti-Suffragists, it must not be forgotten that friendly members should also be reminded by their constituents of their pledges to support the bill. The grant-

ing of facilities at an early date will undoubtedly depend to some extent upon the size of the majority for the Second Reading.

The Executive Committee has under consideration a scheme for a demonstration in London in support of the Second Reading. It is hoped that details may be published next week.

Several societies are asking about the attitude of the National Union as to Census Resistance. No resolution on the subject was passed by the General Council, but the Executive Committee does not advise its adoption. Our bill is down for a Second Reading on May 5th; we have good hopes of obtaining facilities from the Government for its passage into law this session; all our energies are needed in demonstrating in support of the bill all over the country and in working steadily in the constituencies. The moment therefore scarcely seems a suitable one for devoting ourselves to a piece of purely destructive work. Those who think that war is the only way have adopted a counsel of despair. It is the whole principle of the National Union that all other means have not been exhausted and that we can win by constructive not by destructive work. Let us stick to our principles and show the "better way," which was alluded to by "The Common Cause" a few weeks ago. The Women's Tax Resistance League has published a leaflet headed "Passive Resistance to the Census Involves no Sacrifice." The National Union does call upon its members to make sacrifices, and to make them by devoting their time and everything they have to give to work, and to constructive work.

I am very anxious to make the acquaintance of secretaries and members of societies whenever they happen to be in London. I have therefore arranged to be at the office to see callers every Wednesday from 11 to 3, and shall always be glad to make appointments at other times.

K. D. COURTNEY.

Wednesday Afternoon Receptions.

The National Union and the London Society have arranged to hold a series of Joint Receptions at the Portman Rooms, on Wednesday afternoons, from 3-30 to 6-30. The first Reception will take place on April 5th and the others will be weekly after Easter—April 26th, May 3rd, 10th, 17th, 24th. As most of these Wednesdays coincide with meetings of the National Union Committee, it is hoped that members of the Executive who do not live in London will find it easy to be present. Wednesday has also the advantage of being the day for cheap tickets from places in the neighbourhood of London, so that members of societies within reach will have the opportunity of meeting both the National Union and the London Executive. The Portman Rooms are close to Baker Street Station and are easily reached from all parts of London. The names of chairmen and speakers will be announced later.

The Work of the National Union.

May I be allowed to appeal to every member of the National Union not to relax any effort to secure a good majority on the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill? Much remains to be done before May 5th, and I should like to remind members that this is a soldier's battle where every individual can contribute work. Ultimate victory will depend largely on the majority by which the bill passes its Second Reading, and to make that majority a large one is the object towards which all our energies should now be directed.

Some of our members, impatient of delay (who among us is not impatient?) have been attracted by what may seem to them a surer method of attaining our common aim, namely by joining in the movement to resist the taking of the Census—probably because such action promises relief for this feeling of impatience and sense of injustice suffered. Can we at this moment afford to indulge in the luxury of relieving our feelings by embarking on what is, to say the least of it, a doubtful experiment?

Does not such action savour too much of despair, or a taking for granted that our present line of policy is already doomed to failure? It is not in this spirit that victories are won. An opportunity has been given us for pushing our constitutional action with vigour, let us take every advantage of it by concentrating our forces upon it, and shewing our faith in the principles which have all along guided us. The resources of parliamentary action are still available for securing this measure of justice and it is for us to make all the use we can of these resources until they fail.

EDITH PALLISER.

Treasurer's Notes.

I would like to tender my hearty thanks to all who attended the great meeting at the Queen's Hall on Wednesday last and who gave money and promises of money. I am well aware that those who gave will be the last to expect thanks, and will feel themselves amply repaid by the knowledge that by their generosity they have made our meeting as great a success, financially, as it was in every other way.

Of course, it was not possible for more than a small proportion of our members to be present in person and I therefore appeal to the many thousands who were unavoidably absent, not to let the burden of sacrifice fall only on the few, but to send us the money which they also, I know, would have given had they been able to come last Wednesday. The speakers evoked an irresistible enthusiasm and perhaps the audience felt most deeply stirred when it was shown them how all that we now spend in money and in labour is needed most of all on behalf of those women who themselves helpless and inarticulate, sunk irremediably in poverty and misery, can look for no improvement in their lot so long as every measure of political power is denied to women. The liberation of a whole sex is surely a cause to which we may well give our lives and our treasure, but it can never be achieved by those who grudge the cost.

HELENA AUERBACH.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO GENERAL FUND.

March 9th to March 16th, 1911.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	439	7	10½
Subscriptions:—			
Miss E. Bateson	1	0	0
Miss A. Leigh Browne	1	1	0
Miss Isabel Hervey	1	0	0
Miss M. Lyttelton	0	10	0
Mrs. Langley Browne	0	10	6
Lady Nottage	1	0	0
Miss Hildyard	0	5	0
Mr. W. S. B. McLaren	5	0	0
Mrs. Marmell	0	3	0
Mrs. Philip Snowden	1	0	0
Miss V. Garrard	0	1	0
Miss Rosanna Powell	0	2	6
Miss A. M. Stephenson	0	1	0
Mrs. Robin Roscoe	0	10	6
Mrs. Pilcher	2	0	0
Miss M. A. Rice, M.A.	0	5	0
Lady Wright	2	2	0
Mrs. Fitzroy	0	5	0
Mrs. J. Sykes	1	1	0
Mrs. A. Dick Hart	0	2	6
Affiliation Fees:—			
Bristol W.S.S.	6	5	0
Dover W.S.S.	2	0	9
Bradford W.S.S.	1	9	0
Lincoln W.S.S.	1	5	0
	468	7	7½

JOINT QUEEN'S HALL MEETING.

March 15th, 1911.

The sum of £285 17s. 5d. was promised at the Queen's Hall meeting, and the following amounts have been received up to the time of going to press:—

	£	s.	d.
Mrs. Auerbach	20	0	0
T. Barrett, Esq.	2	0	0
Miss Dorothy Cholmeley	0	10	0
Collection	46	10	11
Miss Cons	5	5	0
Miss C. Courtauld	5	0	0
Miss Anna Cox	0	10	6
Mrs. Davidson	1	1	0
Mrs. Edward Davis	0	10	0
The Misses Ellis	1	0	0
Miss Evans	0	3	0
Miss Kate Eyre	0	5	0
Miss Philippa Fawcett	50	0	0
Miss Margaret Hodge	1	0	0
Mrs. Hodgson	5	5	0

J. S. Lister, Esq.	1	1	0
Miss Laura F. Morison	5	5	0
Miss Edith Palliser	1	0	0
Miss Paul	0	10	0
Miss Catharine Scott	2	0	0
Mrs. Spielmann	1	15	0
Mrs. Spring Rice	2	0	0
Mrs. Todhunter	0	5	0
Mrs. Hugh Thomson	10	10	0
Mrs. Leslie Thomson	1	1	0
Miss Helen Ward	5	0	0
Mrs. Theodore Williams	2	2	0
Sums under 5s.	0	15	0
	£172	4	5

By-election.

BOOTLE DIVISION OF LANCASHIRE.

Polling Day: March 27th.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies have received equally satisfactory assurances from both candidates in the Parliamentary Division of Bootle of their support of Women's Suffrage.

Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. Muspratt voted for the second reading of the Conciliation Bill in the last Parliament.

It has therefore been decided to carry on propaganda work only during the election.

EDITH PALLISER (Hon. Parliamentary Secretary).

The arrangements are in the hands of the West Lancashire, West Cheshire and North Wales Federation and any persons desiring to help should communicate with Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Greenbank, Liverpool.

Common Cause Week.

THE MANCHESTER SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

85, Deansgate Arcade.

The Didsbury and Withington members of the Manchester Society for Women's Suffrage are making a special effort for "The Common Cause" this week and we therefore give a few particulars of the Society for new readers and intending members.

The Manchester Society is the oldest and one of the largest of the societies forming the great National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. On page 815 will be found the objects and officers of the Union. There are over 200 societies and branches in the Union and they are distributed all over the United Kingdom. In Manchester the offices are at 85, Deansgate Arcade; the Chairman of Committee is Councillor Margaret Ashton, M.A., Hon. Sec., Mrs. F. T. Swanwick, M.A., Secretary, Miss M. C. Marshall, Organizer, Miss Darlington.

The Manchester Society is a member of a local Federation of societies and of this Federation the Chairman is Mr. Piddock, Hon. Sec., Mrs. Stanton Barnes, Hon. Treasurers, Miss Hester Bright and Mr. Stanton Barnes, Organizing Secretary, Miss Margaret Robertson, B.A.

The work of the Society consists in every sort of educational propaganda and peaceful political pressure for securing to women the protection of the parliamentary vote. It has no other object and no party. Manchester has always been in the front ranks of the suffrage movement since this society was started in 1867 and many honoured names have been associated with it. These include Miss Lydia Becker (its first Secretary), Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Bright, the Rev. W. H. Herford, Dr. and Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Josephine Butler, the Rev. S. A. Steintal, Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Thomasson, Miss Wolstenholme (now Mrs. Elmy), Mr. and Mrs. Max Kyllmann, Mrs. Lucas, Sir W. Houldsworth, Professor Adamson, Mr. and Mrs. W. S. B. McLaren, Miss Isabel Dacre, and Mr. Phythian.

Membership entails approval of the objects and methods of the Society and a minimum yearly subscription of 1s.

London Society for Women's Suffrage.

58, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

March 20, 1911.

Dear Madam,—I am desired by the Executive Committee of the London Society for Women's Suffrage to inform you that they have unanimously passed a resolution stating that in

their opinion it is undesirable that women should refuse to fill in the Census papers.

As the matter is one of some urgency I beg you to be so good as to insert this letter in your forthcoming issue.

I am, etc.,

PHILIPPA STRACHEY.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Welsh Suffragists and the Conciliation Bill.

The energetic Hon. Secretary of the Bangor and District W.S.S. is having the new leaflet on the Conciliation Bill translated into Welsh and hopes to get it circulated by suffragists in Wales. This is by far the best way of reaching people in the remoter towns and villages and we hope that many suffragists will make use of this excellent opportunity by ordering copies (4s. for 500, 7s. for 1,000 post free) from Mrs. Price White, Rockleigh, Bangor, N. Wales.

Once dispel ignorance and misconception and our cause is won!

The Situation in Cardiff.

THE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.

Mr. Tudor Rees, who last week moved the resolution at the meeting of the Cardiff Women's Liberal Association regretting the action of the Executive Committee in not working at the last general election, is a member of the Cardiff and District Women's Suffrage Society. Consequently last Thursday, March 16th, this Society held a special general meeting, when the following resolution, submitted by the Executive Committee, was passed:—"That in the opinion of this Society the action of Mr. Tudor Rees at the meeting of the Cardiff Women's Liberal Association on Friday last is inconsistent with his position as a member of the Cardiff and District Women's Suffrage Society."

THE WOMEN'S LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

The following report is taken from the "South Wales Daily News" (March 16th):—"As a result of the recent meeting of the Cardiff Women's Liberal Association, at which a majority of members expressed disapproval of the action of the Executive in refusing assistance to the Liberal candidature at the last election while abstaining at the same time from active opposition, a conference of members of the Executive and others was held last evening at the residence of Mrs. Hopkin Williams. Mrs. Lester Jones presided. The position was reviewed, and ultimately all those present decided to resign their membership of the Association." "The Association will thus lose" (here follows a list of twenty-one names). "The above-named were all present at the meeting, as was also Mrs. Mackworth, who, although not a member of the Cardiff Association, takes great interest in political matters in the city."

"In addition, adherence to the policy adopted had been expressed by" (here follows a further list of ten names).

"It was resolved to hold another meeting shortly, and meanwhile Mrs. Herbert Glen Wade was asked to act as temporary honorary secretary."

ERIE EVANS.

Federation Notes.

Eastern.

WORK IN STOWMARKET AND BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

I began work for this Federation in Southwold, where I stayed nine days. We had a very successful drawing-room meeting at Mrs. Foster's house, followed by a public meeting on February 7th, with Mr. Loftus in the chair. We had a very good audience, who listened sympathetically throughout my speech. I was obliged to leave early next day to help with the Horncastle by-election.

I resumed work in the Stowmarket and Bury St. Edmunds district on February 24th. The first few days I spent in working up interest in Bury St. Edmunds, then I went to Stowmarket, where the ground was being prepared by Miss Worthington, Mrs. Peacock, and other local Suffragists. We had two drawing-room meetings, one given by Miss Norton, the other by Mrs. Charles Pettward, and on March 3rd we had a public meeting with Mr. Charles Pettward in the chair. Mr. Mirrlees and Mrs. Heitland (the latter at very short notice) very kindly came to speak for us and we had an excellent meeting. There must have been 400 present, and there was no sign of opposition. The local Suffragists decorated the hall, acted as stewards, sold literature, and took the collection. It is the best Suffrage meeting ever held in Stowmarket. On Monday, the 6th, I addressed a smaller meeting in Bury St. Edmunds. There were about 100 present in a room at the Angel Hotel. There seemed to be a great deal of sympathy, and I was well satisfied, as Bury is rather Anti-Suffrage than otherwise. Mrs. Salmon (Mrs. Fawcett's sister) kindly took the chair for me. As a result of these meetings and the work connected with them we have enrolled about fifteen members, with a hope of more to follow. Miss Astley-Cooper (Bury St. Edmunds) and Miss Worthington (Stowmarket), as secretary and treasurer respectively, have kindly consented to serve temporarily until the new branch is thoroughly organised.

We sold 44 dozen copies of "The Common Cause" at the two meetings, and have got several subscribers.

I was asked to go to Dennington, near Framlingham, one night to speak at a men's club. Miss Sylvia Clark opened the discussion, and then two or three of the men spoke, and I "wound up." It was quite an interesting experience, as the men had no knowledge of our work. Their objections seemed rather curiously behind the times, but some of them were very sympathetic, and when the resolution was put the voting was 21 to 13 in our favour.

GERALDINE COOKE.

North-Eastern.

PUBLIC MEETING AT SHILDON.

During the past week the Federation has been looking after the education of yet another M.P.—viz., the member for Bishop Auckland. Until now there has been no society in the division, and its representative has been found hitherto in the wrong lobby. Now, owing to the energy and initiative of Miss Alice Robson, a branch, duly affiliated to the N.U., has been formed at Shildon, where a public meeting was held on March 13th. Miss Lucas took the chair, and Miss C. M. Gordon, Mr. Watson, Mr. Bland, Mr. Martindale, and Mr. Davidson were the speakers. A resolution was carried *nem. con.* urging the Prime Minister to grant full facilities this session, and requesting Sir Henry Havelock Allan, M.P., to support the Bill in all its stages. The direct results of the meeting were a collection which covered expenses, the addition of twenty-five new members to the Society at the close of the meeting (this number has since been increased to sixty), the election of a strong committee, and a letter from Sir Henry promising to be in his place while the Bill is under discussion, and saying that in no case will he vote against it.

F. HARDCASTLE.

West of England.

FORMATION OF A SOCIETY AT BURNHAM

Mrs. Lucan Davies has done us excellent service, having strengthened the work of the Weston-super-Mare Society, and formed a new branch at Burnham after only two days' canvassing. Dr. Bruce-Kelly is the treasurer of the branch, and Miss Greswell, The Colony, Burnham, is acting as secretary. Mrs. Davies is now working up Taunton, where a public meeting will be held on April 7th, with Lady Betty Balfour as one of the speakers.

DEPUTATION TO M.P.'S.

A deputation to the member for Taunton, Mr. Peel, will be arranged during Lady Betty Balfour's visit there. Other deputations have also been organised, including one to Mr. Jardine (East Somerset) on April 19th, which will be worked from Bath. This member is an Anti-Suffragist. So is Mr. C. Bathurst (Wilton), who describes himself as "a hopeless case," and is a little surprised that we should think it worth our while to pursue him. The deputation, nevertheless, is fixed for April 7th at Salisbury, and Miss Norah O'Shea has kindly consented to be chief speaker. Mr. Mathias (Cheltenham) will probably be interviewed in Easter week; and Captain Sandys (Wells) has chosen April 3rd, in London. We have approached the C. and U.F.A. with a view to a joint deputation in this case. Mr. Allen (Stroud) will also be interviewed in London.

Delegates from Gloucester, Cheltenham, and Street will attend the Provincial Council at Haslemere.

The following subscriptions towards Federation work are gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. Randall Vickers, Miss Thompson, and Miss Eden, £1 each; and 2s. 6d. from a friend in Barnstaple.

EDITH G. WHEELWRIGHT.

Correction.

Mr. H. Terrell, K.C., is the member for Gloucester who has promised to vote again for the Conciliation Bill. By an error in our last issue, he was alluded to as Mr. George Terrell. Mr. G. Terrell is the member for Chippenham.

West Lancs., West. Ches., and North Wales.

In reply to a letter sent by the Seaforth Society and enclosing a copy of a resolution in support of the Conciliation Bill, the Hon. Arthur Stanley, M.P. (Ormskirk District of Lancs.) writes:—

"I am afraid that no alteration in the Bill itself will make it a real Conciliation Bill, so long as those who promote and introduce it state that this is only a first instalment, and that if they get this Bill through, they will at once proceed to agitate for further extension of the franchise. Surely if it is to be a Conciliation Bill it should be the last word on the subject, in which case I should be strongly inclined to vote in favour of it."

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

159, St. Stephen's House, Westminster, London, S.W.
At a meeting of the Executive held on March 16th, Mr. Goldfinch Bate in the chair, the following resolution was proposed by Sir Edward Busk and carried *nem. con.*:—
"That the Executive Committee of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage observe with the greatest indignation that the Home Secretary in a Parliamentary paper has described the Women's Social and Political Union as a 'copious fountain of mendacity,' but has not attempted, even by a single



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Tea Gown
(as sketch), in all shades of rich satin, with dainty fichu of gauze edged with silver lace, and finished at the waist with silver girdle to match.

58/6

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quotation from the publications of that Union during the five years of its existence, to justify the serious charge of habitual falsehood.

The committee are well acquainted with the proceedings of the Union and are sure that the charge is wholly unfounded, and they challenge the Home Secretary to substantiate it by definite quotations, or, if he be unable to do so, to withdraw and apologise for the grave accusation he has made and to explain how he came to make it without proper investigation."

Another resolution to the following effect was also passed:—"The Executive Committee of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage having read the memorandum of the Conciliation Committee on the alleged outrages committed by the police on women on November 18th and 23rd, considers that a sufficient case for inquiry has been established, and asks for such inquiry in the interest of the public, the police, and all concerned."

Actresses' Franchise League.

The Actresses' Franchise League is starting a new plan of campaign, and proposes to hold meetings in the East End of London for the poor working women whose lives contain so little pleasure. An attractive programme is being arranged, consisting of Suffrage plays, songs and recitations, besides good converting speeches. Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., has promised to help the League in Poplar, Bow, and Bromley, and is taking the chair at the first meeting in Bow on March 30th. The League is raising a special fund for this campaign. Lady Knyvett and Miss Ada C. G. Wright head the list with contributions of 30s. each. All contributions, however small, will be gratefully received. These should be addressed to the Organising Secretary, Actresses' Franchise League, 2, Robert Street, Strand, W.C.

On Tuesday, March 7th, the Actresses' Franchise League gave the first of their trial matinees at the Rehearsal Theatre. The plays were specially produced in order that secretaries of societies and organisers might have an opportunity of seeing them and judging whether they would be suitable for a propaganda performance. "Her Wild Oats," by Harold Rubenstein, is about a girl whose militant leanings were not approved by her people; and "Restitution," by John Kidd, is a painful study of one aspect of our defective divorce laws. Sandwiched between the two plays was "An Anti-Suffragist; or The Other Side," an amusing monologue by H. M. Paull, which was splendidly done by Miss Margaret Bussé.

The Church League for Women's Suffrage.

Offices: 11, St. Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park, London, N.W.

It has been decided by the Executive Committee that another May Mission shall be held during the first week in May, and that the League shall organize a Church Congress campaign in the autumn at Stoke-on-Trent on much the same lines as last year at Cambridge. On April 29th the secretary goes to Ireland to inaugurate the Irish Church League at Dublin. Drawing-room meetings will take place on Friday, March 24th, at 3 p.m., at The Chine, Winchmore Hill; speakers, Miss Gadesden and Rev. C. Hinscliff. On Thursday, March 30th, 3.15 p.m., at Mrs. Shewell Cooper's, 8, Warwick Avenue, Paddington; speaker, Mrs. A. J. Webbe. And on Friday, March 31st, at Mrs. Grey's, 34, Ladbroke Square, W.; speakers, Dr. Letitia Fairfield and Rev. C. Hinscliff. The remaining Lenten addresses by Rev. C. Hinscliff will be given as follows at St. Mary's, Paddington Green, at 8.30 p.m.: March 23rd, "The Poor"; March 30th, "The Unfit"; April 6th, "The Profligate." On April 4th there will be a League service at St. Mary's Church, Warwick; preacher, Ven. Archdeacon Escreet. The Rev. Claude Hinscliff will conduct a Quiet Day on Thursday in Passion Week, April 6th; Holy Communion, 7.30 and 8; addresses, 11 a.m., 1.15, 3, and 6 p.m.

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Free Church League for Women's Suffrage.

Hon. Organizing Secretary: Rev. Edward Clark, 1, Burns Road, Harlesden, N.W.
Hon. Corresponding Secretary: Miss Hatty Baker, 25, Hartington Villas, Hove.

Forthcoming events include: (a) A meeting in the Rectory Road Congregational Church, Stoke Newington, N., on Tuesday, April 11th, at 8 p.m., Mrs. Philip Snowden and Rev. C. Fleming Williams being among the speakers. (b) A devotional service in connection with the second reading of Sir George Kemp's Bill on May 5th. (c) Business meeting of the League in May. (d) Inaugural meeting of the Penge Branch on Wednesday, 29th inst., at 3 p.m., at the Primitive Methodist Schoolroom, Beckenham Road, Penge. Speakers, Rev. A. Johnson (chairman), Rev. Ernest J. Barson, Mrs. Sambrook, and Rev. E. Clark, hon. organizing secretary, F.C.L.

Miss Pickworth, steward captain, is making a list of those who would steward at meetings. Will those willing send name and address to her at Kemmore, Dyke Road, Brighton?

The Women's Social and Political Union.

We have received the fifth annual report of the Union which shows that, exclusive of £9,000 turnover of the Woman's Press and of several thousand pounds raised and expended by local W.S.P.U.s, the available cash of the Union for the year amounts to £34,506, the principal items of expense being: Rent, etc., £2,600; salaries, £6,100; hire of halls, £3,700; election expenses, £2,700; printing, £2,400. The salaried staff of the Union now consists of 110 persons, the number of rooms at headquarters is 37, and in addition the Union occupies premises in 19 centres in the provinces, and in 29 local centres in London. There are shops in different parts of the country for the sale of the literature and colours of the Union.

The Pioneer Players.

The Pioneer Players will give the first of their series of six performances at the Court Theatre on Monday, May 8th, at 2.30, when they will present three new one-act plays—"Jack and Jill and a Friend," by Miss Cicely Hamilton; "In the Workhouse," a realistic scene, by Margaret Wynne Nevinson (Mrs. H. W. Nevinson); and "The First Actress," by Miss Christopher St. John, in which Miss Ellen Terry will appear. The plays will be produced by Miss Edith Craig, and the casts will include Miss Lillah McCarthy, Miss Lily Brayton, Miss Clare Greet, Miss Margaret Halstan, Miss Suzanne Sheldon, Dorothy Minto, Mrs. Saba Raleigh, Miss Suzanne Sheldon, Miss Olive Terry, Miss Agnes Thomas, Mr. Tom Heslewood, and Mr. E. Harcourt Williams. It is hoped that the subsequent performances will be given on two days, Sunday evening and Monday afternoon. All subscriptions should be made payable to the hon treasurer, Lady Sybil Smith, 2, Adelphi Terrace House, Strand, W.C.

Penal Reform League.

The following resolution has been passed by the committee of the Penal Reform League:—

"This committee of the Penal Reform League, having had brought to its notice the report of the Conciliation Committee on the alleged outrages committed by the police on Women in November last, is of opinion that a *prima-facie* case for inquiry has been established, and therefore that a public inquiry is called for in the interests of the confidence of the public in the administration of justice, and for the sake of the police themselves."

Also that copies of this resolution be sent to the Home Secretary and to the Press.

ARTHUR ST. JOHN,
Hon. Sec. P.R.L.

Foreign News.

FRANCE.

The French Union for Women's Suffrage held a crowded and enthusiastic meeting on March 4th, under the auspices of the president, Deputy Ferdinand Buisson. After a brief presidential address, Monsieur Louis Marin, Deputy for the Nancy, gave a somewhat disheartening account of the chances for Women's Suffrage in France. It is true that the feeling of indifference has given place to one of violent opposition, but the latter will be difficult to overcome; all the more so as the newspapers, the chief factors in the education of the country, are very lukewarm in their adherence. Dr. Sicard de Planzoles spoke next for the "League for the Rights of Man," which is strongly in favour of the equality of the sexes in civic as in other questions. Madame Jane Misme, vice-president of the Union for Women's Suffrage, reported on its progress during the last ten years, and stated that it was the first French Suffrage Society to affiliate to the International Alliance. One of its objects is to instruct

women as to the laws and constitution of their country, and she also invited her hearers to help forward the movement by signing a petition which is to be sent up to Parliament. Madame Maria Verone, a barrister, delivered an earnest and eloquent appeal, urging the familiar arguments, and asking more especially for the municipal vote. She endeavoured to rouse the patriotic spirit of her audience by inquiring if they wished to remain behind the more northern European countries and those in the new world, where women have political privileges (though not in all cases sufficiently extensive ones). A few words from Monsieur Buisson brought an inspiring evening to a close.

PORTUGAL.

The "Times" correspondent in Lisbon says that "the new Electoral Law permits all Portuguese over 21 years of age, able to read and write, or who maintain parents or relatives, to vote." The only people excluded are "soldiers on the active list, foreigners, naturalized Portuguese, bankrupts, and proscribed persons." Where do the women come in? Are they included amongst "all Portuguese"? It hardly seems likely, owing to absence of further comment, and although it was reported in the Hungarian press, and although it seems that they are taking their usual humble place amongst "bankrupts and proscribed persons," or amongst those who can neither read nor write. We condole with our Portuguese sisters.

NORWAY.

March 17th is memorable in the history of the Suffrage movement in Norway as being the day on which Miss Rogstad took her seat as the first woman in the Storting. She had been elected in 1909 as a substitute for General Bratlie, who has now gone on leave for a fortnight. Miss Rogstad was welcomed to the House by speeches from the President, the Premier, and several other Deputies; she also received a number of congratulatory messages from various parts of Europe and America.

DENMARK.

The Premier and the Speakers of both Houses recently received a deputation from the group of professional women's societies, and declared themselves entirely in favour of Women's Suffrage. Our readers may remember that a Bill for the reform of the constitution is now being discussed, and the proposal to include Women's Suffrage has just passed its second reading in the Lower House, with the amendment that women cannot be privileged voters for the Upper House. Danish women are very jealous of their liberties, and are now opposing with great energy a Bill prohibiting women's night work in factories.

HUNGARY.

The work of the Suffrage Society has been proceeding quietly but steadily during the winter. The Young People's Group which was recently formed is growing in numbers, and carrying on much useful work, and the Men's League has had some very successful meetings. At a meeting of agricultural labourers held at Debreczin, one of the members created great enthusiasm by advocating Women's Suffrage; the Free-masons are also including it in their programme, and, strange to say, only the Radicals are opposing it, although their leader has declared himself theoretically in favour of it. The folly of trying to legislate for women without consulting them is being shown in a Bill against the white-slave traffic and bad literature, which does not go to the root of the questions; the Suffragists organized a grand meeting in the Town Hall at Budapest, where, before a crowded audience, they protested against the inadequacy of such laws.

Reviews.

THE MAGAZINES.

The *National Review* for March has an article entitled "The Girl Graduate in Fiction," by Miss H. Reinherz, who points out that except for Shaw's Vivie Warren, there has never been a type in fiction which remotely resembles the reality. She suggests that intending authors might essay a more faithful portrait. In the same number D. C. Lathbury writes on "Elementary Education: Are We on the Right Road?" In the opinion of the author, the rudiments are unduly neglected in most elementary schools. He proposes a division between higher and ordinary elementary schools, the latter giving special attention to reading, writing, and arithmetic.

In *The Westminster Review* for March, Dr. Elizabeth Sloan Chesser writes on "The Treatment of Mental Defect in Belgium. The Interesting Colony of Gheel." This colony for the segregation of mental defectives, says the writer, might serve as a model for the rest of Europe. Ronald H. Kidd writes on "Women and the Christian Ministry," instancing the able work of the abbesses of mediaeval times, and contending that women should be allowed to hold office and to preach in the churches. Except in the Salvation Army and in one or two other cases, women perform a large amount of church work without receiving any sort of recognition or holding any status.

Stephen Gaselee writes in the *March Contemporary Review* on "Cambridge University Reforms." He puts forward the usual incoherent objections to degrees for women, fears lest

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they should wish to take part in University government, and share benefactions bequeathed for males, and suggests a National University for Women as a means of keeping them quiet.

In *The Nineteenth Century*, Miss Edith Sellers, in an article entitled "Cassandra on Votes for Women," puts forward the theory that the woman's vote when obtained will be largely clerical.

The Actresses' Franchise League is publishing its plays in pretty little booklets, which can be purchased (price 6d. each) from the League. Many of these plays form excellent propaganda of the lighter sort and coax people to think who could not be made to come to an ordinary meeting. We therefore recommend secretaries of societies or Suffragists with a turn for amateur theatricals to buy some of these publications and consider performing Suffrage plays as interludes to graver meetings.

Letters to the Editor.

Correspondents are requested to send their names and addresses, not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of good faith. The Editor is not responsible for any statement made in the correspondence column.

Correspondents are requested to write on one side of the paper only.

OUR CRITICISM OF MINISTERS.

The personal depreciation of Ministers in which the "Common Cause" increasingly indulges seems to some of your readers unworthy of the cause which you advocate, and to come perilously near the familiar weapon of a losing cause: Abuse the plaintiff's attorney.

I have no desire to limit legitimate comment on the conduct of public men, but I find it neither helpful nor instructive to be informed (p. 793 "C. C." March 16th, 1911) that "Weariness . . . in the more stolid type to which Mr. Asquith belongs . . . leads to a dull bored obstinacy."

I am a constant reader of your valuable paper, but I cannot think it gains by these attacks.

MARGARET DE G. VERRALL.

5, Selwyn Gardens, Cambridge, March 16th, 1911.
[We are sorry to have offended so good a Suffragist as Mrs. Verrall. It is strange that she should have picked out these words as constituting a peculiarly abusive attack. We should have regarded them almost as an "apology" for conduct which without some such human plea appears unstatesmanlike beyond the permissible or forgivable.—Ed., "C. C."]

May I venture to appeal to the Editor of "The Common Cause" for a fairer treatment of Liberal Suffragists? The National Union is supposed to be a non-party organization, and consequently its official organ should be courteous to all parties.

The fact that the Liberal party is in power makes any attack upon the Government an attack upon Liberalism, at least in some measure. That being the case, is it too much to ask that more care should be taken to avoid methods of attack which tax the forbearance of Liberals to the utmost?

Does it advance the cause of Women's Suffrage to call Liberal statesmen "tired tyrants"; to describe Mr. Asquith as in a state of "dull, bored obstinacy"; or to declare that Mr. Churchill exhibits hysterical petulance? Such expressions as "their precious Liberalism," "servile menials," "Liberal cant," are, I submit, inconsistent with the fairness which should characterise a non-party journal.

A LIBERAL SUFFRAGIST.

[We refer to this letter in Notes and Comments.—Ed. "C. C."]

OREGON AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

I was very interested to see in this week's "Common Cause" that both Houses of the Oregon Legislature have voted in favour of an amendment granting full Suffrage to women. A referendum was taken on this subject in Oregon not very long ago, and went against us. Will another referendum be taken before the amendment will become law? Lately I have heard complacent Anti-Suffragists speaking hopefully of the time when a referendum shall put an end to the Suffrage movement by going decisively against us. It is particularly cheering to see that an adverse referendum does not daunt the women of Oregon, and that shortly their pluck and perseverance may be rewarded by the vote.

EDITH E. WEBSTER.

9, Ridgeway Gardens, Wimbledon.
[We believe that the resolution cannot pass into law unless two-thirds of the electors wish it.—Ed., "C. C."]

MRS. WOOLMORE'S FRIEND.

In your current issue, in speaking of the case of Mrs. Woolmore, you state she has been taken charge of by a lady "said to be a Suffragist." It may interest your readers to know that Mrs. Wyatt, the lady in question, has been a member for some years of the W.S. and P.U., and is partly responsible for the Kilburn Suffrage Shop. She also sells our paper, "Votes for Women," in the streets, and her daughter is one of our known speakers. Mrs. Wyatt may, therefore, I think, be considered a Suffragist of the deepest dye!

A MEMBER OF THE W.S. AND P.U.

THE POLICE AND SUFFRAGISTS.

As a member of the last Suffrage Deputation to the House of Commons, I would like to point out how absolutely hopeless it would be for us to bring charges against the police in the courts as you still hope we may do. To begin with, on the Saturday following the deputation all the cases were dismissed, so that it was impossible for the treatment by the police to be made public, as it would otherwise have been had we had the chance of making our statements in the court. Then, again, as soon as our deputation got near the House of Commons it was broken up by the police, who were determined we should be separated. Miss Winifred Jones and I made repeated efforts to hold together, and linked arms. The police separated us again and again, one or two declaring savagely that we should not walk together; with the result that it is almost impossible to get a witness to corroborate one's evidence, for the police take very good care if possible that no two members of the deputation, whose white badge marks them out, shall be together, and it would be difficult to pick out witnesses from the seething crowd of unknown faces to back up one's evidence. On the following Tuesday the arrests were made much more quickly, so that we were not so scattered, and I was able to bring a witness to swear that I had used no violence; but unfortunately she was unable to swear that she was with me at the actual moment of arrest, though it was my impression that she was. I see Mr. Churchill says that none of those arrested charged the police with undue violence. I myself told the magistrate that I had been arrested simply for telling a policeman he was a brute for knocking a woman down (and the policeman then charged me with hitting him in the eye). I should have thought that was undue violence. But what chance have we of being believed? The police swear on oath the most fantastic lies, and we, being almost too particular about being in the smallest degree inaccurate, have a hopeless case, as the word of the police is always taken against that of a prisoner. It made me feel terribly sad to think of the poor women who are in their power, as I had always believed before that the police were truthful men. In our case, of course, they had special inducement to lie, as they were ordered not to arrest if possible, so had to have an excuse for doing so. On Black Friday I heard one of the two policeman who arrested me ask the other: "What shall we say she did?" So they said I slapped his face, which was utterly untrue. One man, a doctor, who was arrested in Downing Street, said he was not even a Suffragist, but was taking a policeman's number for ill-treating a woman when the policeman hit out at him, bashed his silk hat in, and then arrested him for assault. Being a man, he thought they would believe him, especially when he produced his ruined hat! But he had to apologise to the police or go to prison. He preferred the former. A great many of the arrests that were made were of women who remonstrated with the police for their treatment of other women, when they were promptly arrested for interfering. Mrs. Drummond complained of the behaviour of the police at the time, and I know at least one of the Suffragettes had to have medical attention in the police station. Probably there were many others. Mr. Mansell Moullin, Vice-President of the College of Surgeons, wrote to the Press. Mr. Winston Churchill was himself written to by influential people, so it is useless to say that these statements should have been made at the time. They were made at the time, but not so fully, as many of the women were in prison and some were not released for two months after, and many were too ill to do anything. Would anyone in their senses advocate the trial of thieves by their fellow-thieves? To me it seems just as ridiculous for us to proceed against the police in the police courts, where it is a well-known fact that the sentences against the Suffragettes were fixed up before they were tried. Mr. Churchill admitted his responsibility just as openly as Lord Gladstone denied his. It is curious that a Government, which boasts of its democratic principles, should be so autocratic in its practices.

MARION E. MACKENZIE.

The Valley, Scarborough, March 12, 1911.
[Since Mr. Mansell Moullin wrote to the papers about what he saw, would he not be prepared to swear to it in the witness-box.—Ed. "C. C."]

There seems to be a disposition on the part of some constitutional Suffragists to place the responsibility of proving the charges against the police on the shoulders of those who state that they have been assaulted.

This surely shows a misapprehension of the wider aspect of the question. The point for those who stand outside the militant movement, is not that individuals shall obtain redress for injuries inflicted on them, but that the national honour shall be vindicated, and the British name cleared from what must remain an indelible disgrace unless such charges are disproved.

This can only be done by a public inquiry, such as has been demanded by the Parliamentary Conciliation Committee, and refused by Mr. Winston Churchill.

MARION CHADWICK.

19, Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, March 18th, 1911.

CENSUS RESISTANCE.

If the resistance to the census is carried out successfully on a proportionately large scale the effect will be to vitiate statistics which would otherwise be of enormous use to Suffragists in substantiating their claim to Parliamentary

representation. The new detailed statistics dealing with MOTHERHOOD alone would constitute for us an invaluable weapon, while those which show how large a share women have in the industrial life of the community would form a practical and indisputable ground for our appeal for political freedom. Vitate these statistics, and our cause—if we still are obliged to fight for it—is at a disadvantage for another ten years.

If the resistance to the census is carried out on a proportionately small and unimportant scale, the whole affair becomes futile, feeble, and silly; and "Women don't count, and therefore shall not be counted," deteriorates into an empty shibboleth.

As the counting is to be done by machinery, I see no use even in making protests on the census papers. It is obvious that the Government machines will take no heed of them, and we cannot imagine that it will be the specified duty of anyone else to do so. Meanwhile let the machines work; feed them with sound material, and they will forge for us new, bright weapons, truster than any we have used before.

ROSE M. H. ROBINSON.

Watford, March 19th, 1911.

According to this week's "Votes for Women" it would appear that, as a protest, the refusal to fill in the Census return will be fairly effective. Might I suggest that the efficacy of the protest would be enhanced if every member, or even a large proportion of the members of the National Union, would attach to the returns a note, saying that in view of the voteless condition of women the returns were only filled in under protest.

I do not see that this is in any way contrary to our constitutional methods.

F. STANTON BARNES.

12, Deyne Avenue, Prestwich, March 20th, 1911.

I regret that my letter has been apparently misunderstood. I wished to emphasise the fact that I regard resistance to the Census as a valuable form of "protest." I have no objection to the inquisition (details re married women), and had women the vote should welcome these questions. But I do think this extra information is demanded as a preliminary to legislation seriously affecting the interests of women, which may be enforced before they themselves have the power of expressing an opinion. Personally I have no fear that such statistics, rightly used, could form a reason for restricting married women's labour, as enough information is already at hand to prove that the effect of married women's work in factories has not such an effect on infant mortality as many wish to attribute to it (for further information vide Report of Dr. Newsholme on Infant Mortality).

In my previous letter I gave the history of these questions, as I thought it might be of interest to your readers, and in giving that information I did not wish to imply that these details should be refused because of the probable result. That, as I have already said, I do not fear. I heartily agree with you, Madam, that Suffragists should never fear the truth.

Finally, I reiterate my plea that all women should resist the Census as a "protest" because I think women can logically refuse to fulfil a citizen's duties while denied a citizen's rights.

MABEL L. RAMSAY.

North Hill, Plymouth, March 20th, 1911.

THE POLICY OF THE NATIONAL UNION.

It may seem superfluous to say anything in reply to Miss Montgomery's letter of the 9th of March, beyond the editorial note which followed the letter. But as one or two societies in the Federation to which I belong seem not quite to have understood the position, perhaps I may add a word of explanation. The Editor was not making an assertion of her own; she was simply quoting the rule passed at the annual Council meeting in January under Affiliation V. 2.

"No society shall be affiliated to the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies which permits its officers or the members of the Executive Committee to work in any constituency except on the lines of the National Union policy for the time being."

This is a new rule, but surely it only embodies the spirit of our policy as we have always understood it.

The rules and policy of the N.U. are short and simple, and they are broad enough to include all Suffragists.

The Executive Committee has no power to legislate, but only to interpret the policy. In a case where there were two candidates for Parliament, one in favour of, and one opposed to Suffrage, the Executive gave it as their interpretation that a passive attitude would have been permissible, but that the officers and committee who represented the Society could not work for the Anti-Suffrage candidate. This interpretation was certainly in the broadest, most inclusive spirit possible.

In the breadth and elasticity of the National Union lie its glory and its strength. If we were bound down by hard-and-fast rules there would be no individual responsibility. As it is we should respect our liberty.

Miss Montgomery speaks of "caring very deeply for certain measures." Yes, indeed. It is because we care so deeply that we are Suffragists.

"The Suffrage movement," said Dr. Childs, "is a living reality because of the attainment of political consciousness by the womanhood of the nation." And this political consciousness tells us that only by direct power can we begin to

realize our political ideals, and only by direct and consistent means can we gain this direct power.

The splendid motto of St. Augustine was chosen as the watchword of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, "In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity." Surely the essential of a Suffrage Society is to put Suffrage first.

Miss Montgomery's letter has given rise to the idea that "non-party" means that only those who belong to no party can join a Suffrage Society. This is far from the case. Societies in the National Union are composed of people belonging to various political parties, united on one great non-party question. They need not sacrifice their personal opinions. They are at liberty as individuals to work within their parties, or to remain passive at an election, or to work in other constituencies; but a society which works officially for an Anti-Suffrage candidate falls behind the party societies which have Suffrage as an object, such as the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, and the Forward Suffrage Union of Women's Liberal Associations.

If a Suffrage Union exists for anything at all it is at least to make Suffrage its first object.

I earnestly hope that all societies will realize the breadth and elasticity of the N.U., and that there will be no more talk of disbanding or reorganizing, but only of a closer Union and more united effort.

S. J. TANNER.

"THE COMMON CAUSE."

I always read "The Common Cause" with the greatest interest, and I feel that I owe to you, and to others who write for it, much instruction as to the need for the enfranchisement of women, both as a matter of abstract justice and from a practical point of view. I greatly admire and enjoy the eloquent and witty articles in which the essential justice and wisdom of our cause and the essential absurdity and injustice of the whole attitude of the typical Anti-Suffragist is forcibly and clearly explained. I think it a most admirably written paper, and one that is actuated by zeal for righteousness. I quite realise, too, that since the object of the paper is to prove that things at present are not what they ought to be, it is inevitable that much stress must be laid upon the seamy side of life, and that your readers must be shown how unrepresented women suffer through the selfishness of bad men, the carelessness of indifferent men and the ignorance of good men.

But it seems to me that just because we are engaged in fighting wrong conditions we need even more than other people to have the beauty of right conditions and the necessity for "respectful and self-respecting" co-operation between men and women ever held before our eyes. Nothing makes one hate the very idea of marriage that means slavery or degradation to either partner like the constant realisation of what marriage at its highest is. Nothing makes one so righteously indignant with those Cardiff Liberal men who flouted and betrayed their women comrades, and with the "Liberal women" who "kissed the hand that cuffed them," as a conception of what the co-operation between the sexes might be if mutual loyalty and respect prevailed. And I should like to see very much more in our paper about the ideal relation between man and woman. I see much about the wisdom and justice of good women, and the work in the State that awaits such women, but, I think, almost nothing about co-operation between men and women. I am sure that two women whom I know, who have protested to me that "The Common Cause" preaches sex antagonism, were unjust, but I think I understand how they came to make the mistake. The constant praise of women, combined with constant dispraise of unjust men, modified by no praise of just men, the frequent pictures of marriages in which the woman is oppressed, uncontrasted with any picture of ideal or even of happy marriages, the contemptuous treatment of political struggles which if they do not go perhaps quite so deep as the Women's Suffrage question, still go very deep, and in which thousands of good women and good Suffragists are keenly interested, as mere men's quarrels got up for the sake of satisfying men's instinct of pugnacity, all this helps to give the impression that you think women utterly different from and vastly superior to men, and that you regard man as woman's oppressor.

Would it not be infinitely better if the paper took the line of appealing to just men almost if not quite as strongly as to just women? If it called upon them, by their love for their own wives, to protect women who have bad husbands?

It really seems to me, Madam, that you are not just to men. To read "The Common Cause" one would suppose that most if not all men more or less consciously tried to keep their wives in ignoble subjection, and that men politicians cared very little, if at all, for the needs of their own women-folk. But surely what is wrong with men is exactly what is wrong with women—not heartlessness or injustice, but lack of imagination and a broad view of things. These politicians and others who care so little about Women's Suffrage probably care little because their wives don't care much, and they, half from loyalty, half from stupidity, think that their wives know what all women require.

I do think, too, that you are far too hard on Liberals who are not tremendously keen on Women's Suffrage. No one regrets their inconsistency more than I do, being a keen Suffragist and a keen Liberal. But inconsistency and hypocrisy are two very different things; and the extreme

bitterness which you display against so many Liberals, and particularly Cabinet Ministers, suggests that you think them guilty of dishonesty. I cannot help thinking that the reason why they do not recognise the paramount importance of applying Liberal principles to the relations between men and women is that, when they think of women they think not of "Liberal principles," but of what "my wife" wants.

However that may be, I do not think it is possible to justify the reckless attacks upon Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Winston Churchill. Against the two last I think we have just cause of complaint—of grievous complaint in the case of Mr. Churchill. But are we therefore to seize upon everything they ever say, to put the very worst possible interpretation upon it—sometimes a very far-fetched interpretation, too—and then assume that that was what they meant, and abuse them for it? Are we justified in saying that Mr. Asquith broke his word about the Reform Bill because circumstances which he could not possibly have foreseen in May, 1908, absolutely compelled him to dissolve Parliament a year earlier than he had intended? It seems to me that no party newspaper could be more unjust to its political opponents than "The Common Cause" often is.

M. DOROTHEA JORDAN.

8, Royal Parade, Cheltenham.

AN OLD BOOK.

I shall be grateful if you can give me any information about a book called "Woman and Her Master," by Lady Morgan. The preface is dated 1840, and signed "Sidney Morgan." I have only two volumes, but think there must be more.

Curiously enough, it has been in a bookcase of old family books since my childhood. The title always repelled me. The other day I took it down for the first time, and found it to be surely by a Suffragist!

In the first chapter, "Woman," she gives a little sketch of the progress of civilization, and speculates as to why it has often been arrested, why there are still barbaric laws and savage reversions.

"Where," she says, "lies the oversight?" And in a passage of intense feeling she points out that woman has been left behind; that it is because of her subjection that progress is delayed. The book is an historical account of our progress, with chapters on homes of different countries and on particular women. The second volume ends with women of the Roman Empire. I should be glad to know if there are more volumes. And also to know anything of Lady Morgan herself. The style is, of course, old-fashioned, but full of life and feeling; very convincing.

MILDRED MARTINEAU.

Women's Tax Resistance League.

On Thursday afternoon, March 9th, a drawing-room meeting was held at 50, Hyde Park Gate, by kind permission of Mrs. Stanton Coit. Mrs. Zangwill was in the chair, and gave an opening address which was full of charm and subtle truth. Miss Abadan was the principal speaker, and her address was a masterpiece of oratory, directed to emphasize the grave responsibility of the tax-paying women of this country towards the moral, spiritual, and political emancipation of woman. Mrs. Kington Parkes gave a short account of the work of the Society, formed to put into practice the principles of tax resistance, this was followed by a good discussion, opened by Dr. Stanton Coit.

The Secretary of the League also addressed a crowded audience in the Public Hall, Croydon, on the subject of Tax Resistance, on Tuesday evening, the 7th, and the chair was taken by Miss Green, Treasurer for the local branch of the W.S.P.U.

On Thursday evening, March 16th, a good public meeting was held in the Town Hall, Uxbridge. The chair was taken by the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, who gave a most earnest and spirited address upon the fundamental basis of the Suffrage movement. Mrs. Kington Parkes spoke on "The Principles of Tax Resistance," and gave a short resumé of the work being done by the Society. Mrs. Cobden Sanderson made an urgent plea to the women of Uxbridge to boycott the census, and gave most lucid and logical reasons why the women should refuse to be counted, and endeavoured to show the serious results which follow to women from legislation without their consent. This meeting was entirely given and arranged by Miss Raleigh, who is a member of the New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage, and also of the Women's Tax Resistance League.

Work of Societies in the Union.

EASTERN FEDERATION.

The first meeting of the Federation Committee took place in Cambridge on February 14th. Six out of seven federated Societies were represented, and arrangements were made for Suffrage work in the district. The Federation is fortunate in having secured the services of Miss Cooke.

KENT FEDERATION.

SEVENOAKS reports that the debating society, newly formed this session, is popular and quite a success. The members now number twenty-one. The meetings take place monthly at members' houses, at 8 p.m., and it is found that a little conversation over a cup of coffee is a good introduction to the work of the evening. The subjects of discussion have been as follows: November, "Some Objections to Women's Suffrage"; December, "Militant Methods"; January, "Tax Resistance"; February, "Arbitration and Disarmament"; March, "House of Lords." The members were a little diffident in speaking at first; but, the plunge once made, they find a pleasure in expressing their views and dealing with objections, and already seem to appreciate the opportunity of discussing political

and social questions. There is an inclination towards the choice of immediate political problems as subjects. Each member may bring a friend; the visitors are always interested, and we have gained new members in this way.

From **TORBRIIDGE** we have an account of a "Suffragists' Dance" at the Public Hall Chambers, which was an unqualified success. It was arranged under the patronage of Mrs. C. Lowry, Mrs. Earl, Mrs. Goldberg, Mrs. LeLacheur of Tunbridge Wells, and Miss Taylor. The proceeds are to be devoted to the branch funds, and the results are contemplated with satisfaction.

NORTH-EASTERN FEDERATION.

The work of the Federation is progressing splendidly under Miss Gordon, who is as tireless and ubiquitous as ever. Another new Society has been formed by her at Shildon, and it and the Hexham Society ought to have a good leavening influence in the county constituencies.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.—On February 24th a meeting was held at the Suffrage Room under the auspices of the Church League. Miss A. M. Royden was advertised to speak, but owing to the unfortunate accident to Sir John Royden, she was obliged to cancel all her engagements. At extremely short notice Miss Cicely Corbett very kindly and very ably took Miss Royden's place and subject, and spoke on "The Religious Aspect of Women's Suffrage." For an afternoon meeting the attendance was fairly good, and the five or six clergy of various denominations were a welcome sight. Miss Corbett's speech was altogether delightful. On February 25th the annual meeting was held. Dr. Williams was in the chair, and a most commendable balance-sheet was presented by the Treasurer, Miss Hardcastle. The Wednesday evening meetings are being held regularly, and have been exceedingly interesting, but the secretaries feel very strongly that they ought to be supported more loyally by the members. On March 1st an interesting paper was read by Mrs. Mundella on "Some Women in Fiction." On March 8th several five-minute speeches were given on eminent women. This plan, by which a number of short speeches are prepared beforehand and delivered, as far as possible, without notes, is recommended to other Societies; it often induces the shy members to speak. On March 19th Miss Weddell and Miss Fenwick were asked to speak at a meeting connected with the Congregational Church, Heaton Road. There was an excellent attendance, whose enthusiastic interest was very gratifying to the speakers. Literature was readily accepted. On March 15th Mrs. Gray gave a most interesting address on "The Emancipation of Women."

GATESHEAD.—The annual meeting was held on Friday, February 24th. In the absence of the president, Mrs. Spence Watson, Miss M. Temperley, M.A., occupied the chair. The election of officers took place, and favourable reports were read by secretary and treasurer. When the business was concluded light refreshments were served, and a happy and successful meeting was brought to a close by the performance of "Hard Lines," a dramatic sketch with a Suffrage motif, written by Mrs. Hutchinson, one of the very energetic members of the Society.

DURHAM.—On Saturday, February 25th, a drawing-room meeting was held at the High School, by kind permission of Miss Headlam. Miss Corbett again took Miss Royden's place, and gave a most interesting address, touching clearly and concisely upon the present political position and the nature of the opposition to Women's Suffrage. Tea was given by the President and the Committee, and between forty and fifty people were present. Mrs. Darwin presided. Great regret was felt at the enforced absence, owing to ill-health, of the president, Mrs. Jevons, and the Society owes a debt of gratitude to Miss Robinson, the secretary, for taking charge of all the arrangements.

SUNDERLAND.—The first At Home organized by the Sunderland Society took place on February 28th, and proved a great success. The guests were received by Mrs. E. Vaux, and there was a large company present. Refreshments were served, and an enjoyable programme was presented, which consisted of songs by the Rev. H. Greenwood, dances by Miss Madge Moon-Ord, and recitations by Mr. Percy Greenwood. Mrs. A. Grimshaw was the accompanist. During an interval Miss Cicely Corbett gave an attractive address, which was listened to with the greatest interest. In the afternoon of the same day a drawing-room meeting was kindly given by Mrs. T. G. Turnbull, High Fulwell. Mrs. W. T. Jupp presided, and there was a good attendance. Miss Corbett spoke, and six new members were enrolled.

DARLINGTON.—A meeting was held on February 24th. Mr. A. Woodward, who presided, moved a resolution expressing the hope that Sir G. Kemp's Bill might be passed into law this session. A brilliant speech was made by Mrs. Gray on "Suffragist and Anti-Suffragist Ideals." The Darlington Committee passed a resolution urging an inquiry into the action of the police during the deputation of W.S.P.U. to the House in November. On March 6th the Darlington Young Liberals arranged a debate on Women's Suffrage, at which Miss C. Lucas and Mr. H. Maw were the principal speakers. Mr. S. Bishop occupied the chair.

SOUTH SHIELDS AND JARROW.—On February 23rd, at a meeting presided over by Councillor J. D. Rose, Miss C. M. Gordon gave an excellent address. On February 24th Miss Corbett spoke at South Shields and made an excellent impression.

WEST OF ENGLAND FEDERATION.

CLEVEDON.—On February 23rd, at the Public Hall, Clevedon, a large and interested audience listened to Miss Bertha Mason's well-known illustrated lecture, "The Story of the Suffrage Movement." In the regrettable absence through influenza of Miss Mason herself, the lecture was read by Miss Wheelwright, who most kindly came over from Bath for the occasion. We may hope that it was not only the Suffragists present who felt the inspiration and meaning of the pathetic story of long-continued struggle against great odds and the very gradual brightening of the horizon, nor only they who appreciated the portraits of the splendid men and women whose work we carry on, and in whose footsteps we of to-day, through their hard fight, so much more easily and hopefully tread. Mr. F. J. Hallett, an ardent supporter of the cause, and member of the Men's League, made an interesting little speech in introducing the lecturer. The good attendance, better than at any meeting the Clevedon Society has yet organised, reflected credit on the work of the committee and of those who helped them.

CHELtenham.—On March 4th a second performance of "How the Vote was Won" was given, the clever comedy being rendered with

even greater spirit and more general excellence than on the former occasion. Owing to bereavement and other causes the caste had to be slightly altered, and at a day's notice Mrs. Swiney (president) and Mrs. Mills took the two parts formerly filled by Miss Theodora Mills (secretary). The piece did not in any way suffer, however. The programme was lengthened by eight miscellaneous items, including two topical recitations, and although the bad weather doubtless reduced the audience, those present warmly appreciated everything, the bits in the play especially being received with enthusiasm. "Common Causes" sold well.

BRISTOL.—Debates are still the order of the day as far as Bristol is concerned. On February 23rd, at a moment's notice, Mrs. Cross and Miss Baretto took part in a very small and informal discussion held in a most Anti-Suffrage drawing-room. The same evening Miss Baretto met Miss Mabel Smith, of the N.S.O.W.S. in debate at a Baptist Chapel, while Mrs. Cross, with Mrs. Lucan Davies, our new organiser, took Miss Tanner's place at Westbury. At the chapel Mrs. Senington was in the chair, and the vote resulted in a small majority for the right side. At Westbury the atmosphere was too hostile to allow much chance for our speakers, but no doubt they sowed the good seed in some receptive mind, which will bear fruit in the future. On the 27th the Junior Conservatives invited Mr. Hannon, one of Bristol's Unionist candidates, to a debate at their Club. Mr. Hannon, whom we welcome as a most valuable recruit, made a splendid speech, covering pretty nearly the whole ground of our topic. He was strongly supported by members of our Society; Mrs. Hicks, wife of the Liberal candidate for Bridgwater; Mr. Cross, one of our most prominent Liberal Suffragists; Mr. Rogers, of the Men's League; and Miss Smith, local president of the N.U.W.W., and secretary of the C. and U.W.F.A. Owing to a number of favourable visitors we again won the vote, but the Club itself needs converting. The members know next to nothing about the constitutional side of the movement, but asked to be enlightened by copies of our paper and other literature. In addition to these activities three working parties and one drawing-room meeting have been held. At the latter Mrs. Pearson was hostess, and Miss Theodora Johnson, a well-known authority on hygiene and Swedish drill, took the chair. Mrs. Lucan Davies again spoke, and to such good effect that seven fresh members were added to our numbers. Miss Tanner, who, we regret to say, has been suffering from a bad attack of influenza and therefore obliged to cancel all her engagements, is now able to begin work again. We have much missed her in our Bristol work, and welcome her back most heartily. The education of Mr. Athelstan Rendall's constituency also continues.

On February 25th, at the Friends' Meeting-house, FRENCHAY, a meeting and discussion took place. Mrs. Randall Vickers, who is working hard to form a separate branch in this part of the world, and Mrs. Davies were the speakers. They found that the chief obstacle on that occasion was the selfish passion of the men of the audience for adult suffrage, which in their eyes meant manhood suffrage. More political power for men before any is given to women was their cry.

On March 2nd **TORBURY**, in the same division, was treated to its first Suffrage meeting. Owing to the excellent canvassing done beforehand by Mrs. Davies and Mrs. Willis, quite a large audience came to hear our message. Mrs. Davies put our case clearly and forcibly, showing the connection between the low economic position of women and their lack of political power; and Miss Baretto, in an

opening speech from the chair, pointed out how irresistible is our claim, based as it is on the great principle of the connection between taxation and representation. In spite of the liberal use of cayenne pepper, which distracted the attention of some of the audience at the back of the hall, a good impression was made, and four Thornbury residents, including the district nurse, joined our Society on the spot.

BRADFORD.

A meeting took place on March 15th in the Mechanics' Institute. Mrs. Parrish (Leeds) presided. Miss Ashton, the principal speaker, proposed a resolution urging the Government to grant facilities for the Conciliation Committee's Bill this session. Miss Ashton spoke of the need of the vote from an industrial point of view, and described it as a natural evolution. Women needed liberty of action to say what should or should not be the laws under which they lived. Speaking of sweating, Miss Ashton instanced cases where the Government were the worst sweaters in the country. Miss Maude Hingworth seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously. A discussion followed, in which several gentlemen took part. A vote of thanks to the speakers was moved from the chair and seconded by Mrs. Watmough. A vote of thanks to Mrs. Parrish for presiding was moved by Miss Falding, and seconded by Mrs. Isaac Smith. "Common Causes" were sold, and leaflets about the Conciliation Bill distributed.

HUDDERSFIELD.

On March 2nd an interesting debate took place at High Street Chapel between members of the debating society and Mrs. Donkersley and Mrs. Studdard, members of the Huddersfield Society, on "Should Women Have the Parliamentary Vote?" The Rev. Henry James presided. Mrs. Donkersley opened the debate, and claimed that women should have the vote on the ground of payment of taxes, and that general legislation affected women as much as men. Mr. Shaw opposed. Mrs. Shires, Councillor E. A. Beaumont, Miss Taylor, Messrs. Ives and Leonard also spoke, and the resolution was carried in the affirmative by an overwhelming majority.

LETCHEWORTH.

The "American Fair," held on March 11th, was a great success, and we hope to clear at least 25. Considering the whole affair was worked on a three-penny basis, this result is very satisfactory. The side shows, consisting of "Lady Geraldine's Speech," "A Political Punch and Judy," and a concert, proved very attractive. The refreshments, under the capable management of Miss Tatton, were a great feature, and much appreciated. There were several amusing competitions, and the palmitist, one of our members, was besieged by a crowd of anxious inquirers. The evening ended with half an hour's dancing.

WAKEFIELD.

On February 24th Mrs. Atcherley very kindly entertained the members to tea, preceded by a Suffrage debate. Miss Fielden championed the cause, and Miss I. O. Ford was kind enough to appear as an Anti-Suffragist—a real one who would debate could not be found. Three new members joined the Society. On March 3rd a highly successful At Home was held in the Institute of Literature and Science. Mrs. Edwin Gray, of York, gave a splendid address on "The History of the Women's Movement," for which she was cordially thanked. This was followed by tea and an entertainment, comprising songs, recitations, and a Suffrage duologue, "Lady Bullerby and Mrs. McBean" (acted by Mrs. F. Stanton Barnes and Miss Beaumont), which caused much amusement. Miss Marguerite Hudson, the little daughter of the Mayor and Mayoress, sang a couple of songs delightfully. The absence of Miss Fielden was much regretted. Several new members joined, all our "Common Causes" were sold, and there will be a substantial profit on the meeting.

The annual meeting was held in the Wakefield Assembly Rooms on March 15th. Mrs. Lee presiding. Mrs. Atcherley was unanimously elected chairman of committee, and Mrs. Hindmarsh hon. treasurer. A satisfactory report and balance-sheet were read and adopted.

On March 17th, at the Wesley Guild, Mrs. F. Stanton Barnes took part in a Women's Suffrage debate. She gave so clear and convincing a defence of the plea for the vote that the motion against Women's Suffrage was lost by 45 votes to 61.

Forthcoming Meetings.

MARCH 23.

Wallasey and Wirral Society—1, Mainwaring Road, Seacombe—
Dr. Frances Ivens. 8.0
Filey—The Grand—Mrs. Raekham, J. Clayton, Esq. 8.0
Birmingham—Friends' Hall, Cotteridge—Drawing-room Meeting
Mrs. Bourlay, Mrs. Frankland, Mrs. Parsey. 8.0
Heywood—Trades Hall—Mrs. Snowden, Miss M. Robertson. 8.0

MARCH 24.

Leeds—Primitive Methodist Debating Society, Cardigan Road—
Mrs. Parrish. 8.0
Birkenhead—Institute Room, 2, Park Road South—At Home—
Miss Cicely Corbett, Professor B. Moore (chair) 8.0
Marple Bridge—"Ingliside" (Mrs. Shanks)—Annual Meeting
and Social Evening. 7.30
Bristol—15, Beaconsfield Road, Clifton—Miss Stock's Working
Party. Afternoon.
Birmingham—10, Easy Row—Speakers' Class. 8.30
Filey Society—Hummanby—J. Clayton, Esq. 8.15

MARCH 25.

Bristol—David Thomas Memorial Hall—Debate. 8.0
Holyhead—Market Café—Councillor Eleanor Rathbone, Mrs.
Fox Russell (chair). 8.0

MARCH 27.

Burton-on-Trent—Boot's Café—Mrs. Ring. 8.0
Llanfairfechan—"Mona View"—Councillor Eleanor Rathbone,
Rev. R. Garratt Roberts (chair). 3.0
Penmaenmawr—Oxford Hall—Councillor Eleanor Rathbone,
Colonel Darbshire (chair). 8.0
Leeds—Salem Congregational Church—Mrs. Parrish. 8.0

MARCH 28.

Nottingham—54, Long Row—Mrs. G. S. Dowson. 7.30



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Bristol—111a, Whiteladies' Road—Lecture, "Asoka, King, Monk, and Missionary." Evening. 4.30
 Hayward's Health—Co-operative Hall—Mrs. Francis, Mr. Wheeler (chair). 8.0
MARCH 29.
 Oldham—Music Room, Werneth Park—Lecture, "The Winter's Tale"—Mrs. Leo Grindon—Tickets 1s. and 6d. 7.45
 Wallasey and Wirral—Fairhaven Institute—Work Competition and Sale. 3.0
 Newcastle-on-Tyne—27, Ridley Place—"The Economic Aspect of Women's Suffrage"—Mrs. Harrison Bell. 7.30
 Leigh—Smaller Co-op. Hall—Miss M. Ashton, M.A., C. H. Barton, Esq. 8.0
 Colwyn Bay—Mrs. Elcock's Drawing-room Meeting—Miss M. Spencer. 3.0
 Bangor—Queen's Head Café—Councillor Eleanor Rathbone. 3.0
 Bethesda—Assembly Hall—Councillor Eleanor Rathbone, R. J. Parry, Esq., J.P. (chair). 8.0
 Croydon—Mrs. Carter's Drawing-room Meeting—Miss A. Miller. 3.0
MARCH 30.
 Haslemere—The White House—Drawing-room Meeting—Rev. Claude Hinscliff. 4.30
 Norwich—Dr. Mary Bell's Drawing-room Meeting—Miss Abadam. 3.0
 Great Yarmouth—Town Hall—Miss Abadam. 8.0
MARCH 31.
 Norwich—Thatched Assembly Rooms—Annual Meeting—A. M. Langdon, Esq., K.C. Mrs. Stuart (chair). 8.0
 Penrith—St. Andrew's Hall—Miss Abadam, Mrs. Slack (chair). 8.0
APRIL 1.
 Manchester—Y.M.C.A. Hall—Social Meeting—Mrs. Snowden, Miss K. D. Courtney. 3.0
APRIL 3.
 Middleton—Co-operative Hall—The Mayor (chairman), Mrs. Snowden, Miss M. Robertson. 8.0
 Bradford—Church Institute—Miss Maude Royden, C. Smyth, Esq., Councillor E. J. Smith (chair). 8.0
APRIL 4.
 Darwen—Co-operative Hall—The Mayor (chairman)—Mrs. Snowden, Miss M. Robertson. 8.0
APRIL 5.
 Croydon—Adult School Hall—At Home—Miss Abadam, "The Approaching Vote." 3.30
 Harrogate—Clarendon Hotel—Women Ratepayers' Meeting—Mrs. Parrish. 3.0
APRIL 6.
 Haslemere—School—Public Meeting—Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Swanwick, Aneurin Williams, Esq. 8.0

LONDON.

March 23: Epsom and Ewell, Oakfield Road, Ashstead, Mrs. Ruxton's Drawing-room Meeting, Miss Sheepshanks, Rev. J. A. Grant. 3.0
 March 24: Enfield, 1, The Chine, Winchmore Hill, Mrs. Bisset Smith's Drawing-room Meeting, Miss M. G. Gadsden, Rev. E. N. Coulthard, M.A. 3.0
 S. Kensington, Suffrage Shop, 7, Stratford Road. 8.30
 March 25: Highgate, Corner Queen's Avenue, Muswell Hill. Open-air Meeting. 7.30
 Crouch Hill, Dr. Kate Haslem's At Home, Miss Abadam. 3.30
 Muswell Hill, Athenaeum High School, R. F. Cholmeley, Esq., Miss J. H. Thomson, B.A. 8.0
 March 27: Windsor, Reception Room, Guildhall, At Home, Rev. Llewelyn Smith. 8.30
 March 28: Sutton, Mrs. Martin's Drawing-room Meeting, Mrs. Holman. 3.30
 S. Kensington, Mrs. Curteis's Drawing-room Meeting, R. F. Cholmeley, Esq., Miss H. D. Cockle (chair). 8.30
 W. St. Pancras, Miss Hallows' Drawing-room Meeting, Miss E. A. Bompas. 3.0
 March 29: N. and S. Paddington, Gynnasium adjoining Westbourne Park Chapel, Social Meeting, Miss E. A. Bompas, Mrs. Spielman (chair). 8.15
 Blackheath, Offices of Blackheath Press, Annual Meeting, Mrs. Adkin (chair), Miss I. O. Ford. Evening. 8.0
 March 30: S. Paddington, 32, Hyde Park Gardens, Mrs. Franklin's Drawing-room Meeting, General Meeting for Members. 4.0
 Balham, Council Schools, Debate, H. Glibbery, Esq., Godfrey de G. Griffith, Miss K. D. Courtney (chair). 8.0
 March 31: Surbiton, St. Andrew's House, Conference, "Sweated Labour," Miss C. Black. 5.30
 S. Kensington, Suffrage Shop, 7, Stratford Road. 8.30
 April 1: Highgate, Corner Queen's Avenue, Muswell Hill, Open-air Meeting. 7.30
 Blackheath, 8, Shooter's Hill Road, "The Society of the Spoken Thought." 3.15
 April 3: S. Paddington, Lecture Room, Ethical Church, Bayswater, Mrs. Rackham, Miss Nina Boyle, A. Dykes Spicer, Esq. 8.30
 Epsom, 3, Queen Anne's Villas, Annual Meeting, Mrs. Scott Tebb (hostess). Evening. 8.0
 April 4: S. Paddington, 19, Southwick Street, Debating Society. 4.50
 St. Pancras, 17, Camden Road, H. G. Chancellor, M.P., Miss C. Black. 8.15
 April 5: Hampstead, The Library, Prince Arthur Road, Miss J. H. Thomson, B.A. 4.0

SCOTLAND.

March 24: Edinburgh, 40, Shandwick Place, At Home. 4.30
 Edinburgh, 40, Shandwick Place, Reception to Delegates to Scottish Federation Annual Meeting. 8.30
 Glasgow, 58, Renfield Street, At Home, Mrs. Wood. 4.0
 March 25: Edinburgh, 9, Melville Street, Scottish Federation Annual Meeting. 8.0
 March 26: Edinburgh, Synod Hall, Suffrage Service, Rev. Mr. Gadd, Rev. Mr. James Black. 3.0

March 31: Edinburgh, 40, Shandwick Place, At Home. 4.30
 Glasgow, 58, Renfield Street, At Home. 4.0
 Kirkwall, Temperance Hall, Concert and "How the Vote was Won"; chairman, the Provost. Evening.
 April 1: Edinburgh, Regent Rooms, Waterloo Place, Whist Drive; tickets 2s. 6d. 8.0
 Peebles, Chambers' Institute, Monthly Meeting, Paper by Miss Balfour. 2.45

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Will be held in the
 Synod Hall, Castle Terrace, Edinburgh.
 On Sunday, March 26th, at 5.0 p.m.
 The service will be conducted by the Rev. A. T. GADD, St. Vincent's. Address by the Rev. JAMES BLACK, N. F. Church, Broughton Place.
 All men and women cordially invited.

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amended to meet objections, will be introduced by Sir George Kemp on May 5th. In the meantime it may be

misunderstood

by its friends, and certainly will be

misrepresented

by its enemies. It is imperative, therefore, that the public, but especially members and friends, should have the provisions and effect of the Bill clearly in mind, if they are efficiently to speak and act in its support and defence. Miss Margaret Robertson, B.A., having compiled a clear and concise statement of the case in a leaflet, the printing and publication of which have been entrusted to the William Morris Press, copies of these (demy 4to, printed in the colours of the Union, on presentable paper) are now at the disposal of branches. The prices are as follows:—

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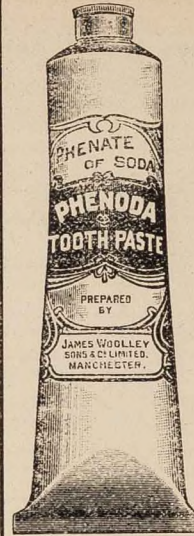
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