

The Common Cause,

The Organ of the National Union of

Women's Suffrage

Societies.

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ONE PENNY.

Notes and Comments.

The Conciliation Bill.

We understand that the Conciliation Committee, after making enquiry in an authorized quarter, is satisfied that the Government has no intention of interfering with the day obtained by ballot—May 5th—for the second reading of its bill.

A State of Freedom.

Mr. J. St. Loe Strachey, at a meeting of the Freedom of Labour Defence last week said "they wanted the workers to face the battle of life with unfettered hands." "They wanted to encourage home-work in every possible way. It was a far more natural condition for women to work at home than in the factory. They would never get adequate remuneration for women's work unless they had freedom." It is strange to contemplate the different meanings which people give to the word "freedom." We should certainly have supposed that a state of affairs in which men alone can legislate so as to *compel* women either to stay at home or to go out of the home could scarcely be called a state of "freedom." Perhaps Mr. St. Loe Strachey has become a convert to Women's Suffrage.

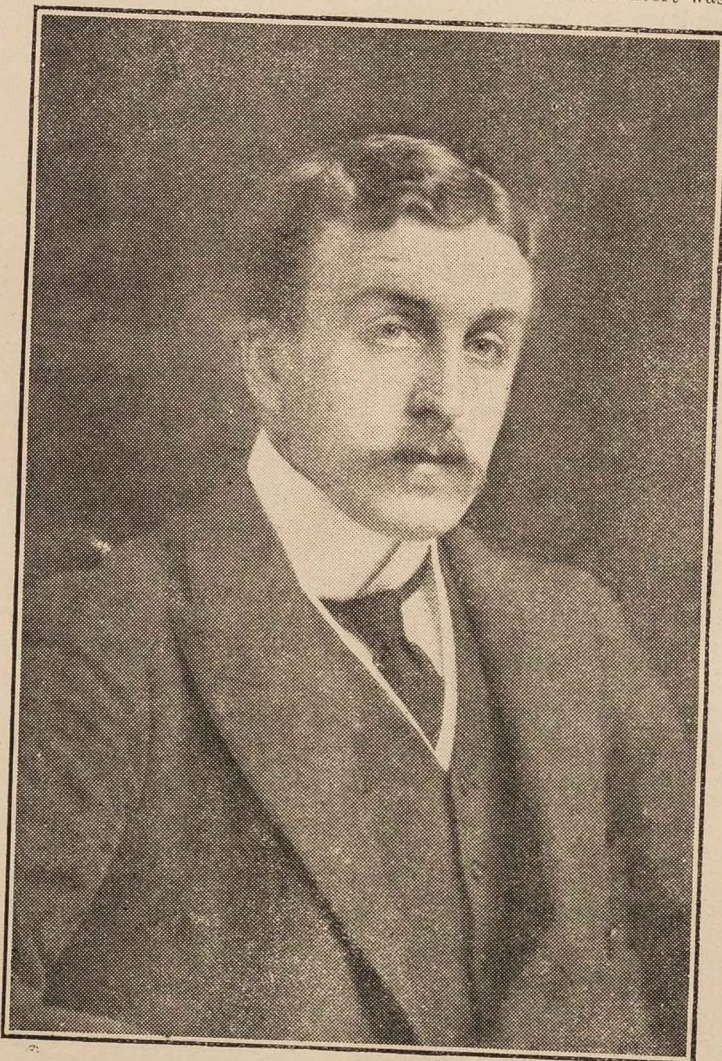
Wages in the Pimlico Factory.

Considerable comment has been aroused by the reply made by the Secretary of State for War on the 13th March with regard to the payment of machinists (see "Common Cause," p. 835). We hear that in reply to a further question it was stated that the earnings of the four highest and the four lowest machinists were given. According to these figures the best are at present receiving

31s. each, and these would drop to 29s. under the re-arrangement of prices; the four lowest are receiving about 28s. each, and they would drop to 26s. and 27s. each.

Dr. Ethel Smyth's Concert.

A most successful concert was given on Saturday last by the distinguished composer of "The Wreckers" and "Der Wald." The programme was made up entirely of her compositions and she herself conducted. The three "songs of Sunrise," the "March of the Women" and the humorous medley called "1910" gave a strong suffragist flavour to the concert, and the encore so heartily given indicated political as well as æsthetic approval.



SIR GEORGE KEMP, M.P.,

Who will speak at the Cheetham Hill Public Hall, N.W. Manchester, on April 10th, in support of the Conciliation Bill.

A Story of Miss Chrystal Macmillan.

At a meeting of the Scottish Federation recently, Mr. Mirrlees told a story which merits wider publicity. He said that he nominated Miss Chrystal Macmillan as his agent, as thereby she could be present at the counting of the votes. When she presented herself the Sheriff demurred on the ground that the Law Courts had decided that women were not "persons." Miss Macmillan pointed out that the law stated that "no person could be present at the counting of the votes except the candidates and their agents"; if she were not a "person" there could be no objection to her presence. This so impressed the Sheriff that he made no further difficulty.

This suggests, by the way, that although there is a moral liability for a woman householder to fill in the Census paper, there is possibly not a legal liability, for

this is imposed upon a "person" and the masculine pronoun alone is used on the form which states the legal penalty for refusal.

Cheap Travelling.

A paragraph in the "Times" last Friday referred to a present and a kind message sent by the Queen to 280 girls who form a working party under the supervision of Mrs. Montague Fowler. These girls are obliged to travel to town by workmen's early trains because they cannot afford the ordinary fares, but by so doing they arrive before the shops and workshops at which they work are open and Mrs. Fowler of All Hallows conducts working parties in which these girls actually sew to provide garments for the poor, while they are waiting to begin their day's work. One wonders whether everything possible has been done to induce railway companies to consider the requirements of these girls. We know that in one northern town, as soon as a woman was put on the city council she induced it to consider cheap tram fares for the girls whose hours of work were not the same as the workmen's, but whose pay was often much less.

Women Liberals and Reform.

The Lancashire and Cheshire Union of Women's Liberal Associations at Bury last Wednesday adopted resolutions against conscription, in favour of equal divorce laws, and of making incurable insanity or drunkenness a ground for divorce and in favour of a bill on the lines of Sir George Kemp's bill, for which they asked for facilities this session.

Mr. George Toulmin, M.P., said the views of women were absolutely necessary if the good government of the nation was to be secured. The sympathies and intuitions of women and their qualifications as the guardians of the home life and the higher moralities made it essential that their point of view should be represented in the Assembly which made the laws governing the relations of men and women, employers and employed, and all their surroundings. The more it was proved that women had different characteristics from men the more clear was it made that the views of women should have expression. Subject to the decision of the constitutional issue, the non-settlement of the women's demand for enfranchisement in this Parliament would disappoint him more than anything else.

The Case of Mrs. Woolmore.

The "Child's Guardian" for April gives a much fuller account of this case than was given in the "Daily News" and it differs in many respects, making the case against the parents a stronger one than the daily press would have led one to suppose. Even so, one cannot regard the prescription of prison for the mother as a very humane or helpful one, but since public interest has been aroused in the case perhaps the poor woman will be helped to make a better home in future. It would appear from the "Child's Guardian" that the man was discharged from one situation for being "lazy and filthy," but he was not imprisoned for these faults.

Professor Simpson on Women's Work.

Professor W. J. Simpson last week wrote a letter about women's work in which the following passages occurred:—

Having been for many years closely associated with the teaching of medicine to both men and women, I can say that neither is behind the other, and if an exception is to be made it is that the women as a rule take their work more seriously than the men. I am also on several councils consisting of men and women having for their object the betterment of the condition of the people. The hard workers on these boards are the women, whose patience, perseverance, and valuable advice are appreciated and recognized by the men, and if it were not for the women the progress would be small indeed.

I have often been surprised, with so many women prominent in almost every walk of life open to them, that there is so little recognition of their services. True, Miss Nightingale was decorated with the Order of Merit, but what of the many other able and brilliant women

whose names immediately occur to us, who have also done splendid work?

Courtesy to Opponents.

Miss Catherine Marshall writes, with reference to a recent debate in a private house, that she deprecates the want of courtesy shewn by suffragists to the opposition speaker. "Some of his arguments were greeted with contemptuous laughter." We heartily agree with her and we can assure suffragists that any discourtesy to the anti-suffrage speaker at a debate is most painfully felt by the suffrage speaker; all the more must this be so in a private house, or where the suffragists are in the majority.

Falmouth Town Council.

A suffrage resolution has been passed by the Falmouth Town Council by 9 to 5.

The Public, or the Public House?

The Darwen magistrates appear to have adopted the same views as the Liverpool magistrates with regard to the need for discriminating between men and women drunkards. They have issued a circular containing the remark: "It may fairly be presumed that any licensed house which cannot be profitably conducted without encouraging drinking among women is not required in the public interest." We have no objection whatever to this statement, but are we to understand that "public interest" requires the encouragement of drinking among men?

Long Patience.

It is interesting to note what a long time twenty-six years seems to Mr. Birrell. But it is not so long as 45 years! He says he has been asking for "one man one vote" since 1885; but women began to ask for the vote in 1866. He spoke of Home Rule. The first Home Rule Bill was introduced in 1886; there was another in 1893; the one forecast by Mr. Birrell will be the third. But the first Women's Suffrage Bill that passed its Second Readings was in 1870 and six bills since then have passed their Second Reading and been wrecked by the Government of the day. Who has a better right to be impatient? The women? Or the men?

Lord Haldane on Florence Nightingale.

At a meeting held at the Mansion House in support of the Florence Nightingale Memorial, Lord Haldane paid noble homage to this remarkable woman. He said that Lord Rosebery, speaking of Cromwell, said that the most formidable personality was the practical mystic. He thought there should be added to the category of formidable personalities the personality of a woman who with magnetic power and charm possessed immense capacity for business organization. These qualities Miss Nightingale possessed in combination. Yet it would be a great mistake to think that she took up the work of her life merely inspired by the impulse of genius. For years previously she had laboured to equip herself for the task. That was a lesson to us all. Even genius could not make up for the want of knowledge of detail. Thus prepared she went to the trenches in the Crimea and found there a state of things in regard to treatment of the wounded and sick which to us would seem inconceivable. Florence Nightingale spent her health in establishing proper nursing arrangements; and the influence of her achievement had lasted beyond her time. Never again should we be face to face with the situation which confronted Florence Nightingale in the Crimea. Her work, however, did not end in the Crimea. The beneficent effect of her labours in military places had extended to civil spheres. It was not, therefore, the Army alone, but the medical service throughout the world that had learned from her the way in which science could be most effectively applied to the problem which confronted them.

To many of us it seems that Florence Nightingale could have no better memorial than the opening out to women of more fields of beneficence and the granting to them of adequate opportunities for training.

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

OUR COMMON HUMANITY.

A speaker preparing to hold a meeting outside a mill in the dinner-hour the other day went to a poor little cottage to borrow a chair to stand on. The woman readily lent it, and, when asked whether she didn't think it right that a woman paying rates and taxes should have a vote, replied: "Of course it is!"

WE'RE FLESH AND BLOOD!"

These very words have been used by men, when extensions of the franchise to men have been in question. When, in 1884, Mr. Gladstone was making his great plea in the House of Commons for the enfranchisement of the agricultural labourers, he exclaimed:

"THEY'RE FLESH AND BLOOD!"

and he was derided for saying it, and it was quoted in mockery against him continually. Yet surely it was a too-often-forgotten truth, which needed reassertion; just as, now, the full humanity of women is apt to be forgotten, and must be asserted again and again.

What Gladstone wanted to bring home to his hearers and to the country was that CLASS DIFFERENCE is infinitely less than HUMAN LIKENESS. *It is easy enough to point out ways in which the average agricultural labourer differs from the average man of the middle-class: differs in physique, differs in quality of brain, differs in habits, differs in point of view. And yet, transcending all differences, are the fundamental needs, instincts, characteristics of humanity.*

The bar which had then to be swept away was that of CLASS, and

THE CLASS IN POWER

had to be convinced of the essential human needs and rights of

ANOTHER CLASS

The bar which all our efforts now are bent to remove is that of sex, and our task is to convince

THE SEX IN POWER

of the essential human needs and rights of

THE OTHER SEX.

So we make our plea, as the men have made it in their day:—

It is easy enough to point out ways in which the average WOMAN differs from the average MAN—differs in physique, differs in quality of brain, differs in habits, differs in point of view. And yet, transcending all differences, are the fundamental needs, instincts, characteristics of humanity.

The question for MEN has been: "Is it as A MAN, or AS A MAN OF A CERTAIN CLASS, that I can claim a vote?" The answer has been: "Men of all classes perform the duties of citizens and contribute to the upkeep of

the State. Therefore, no class of men shall be debarred

AS A CLASS

from the exercise of the rights of citizens." Now the women ask: "Is it as a HUMAN BEING, or as a MALE HUMAN BEING, that a man can claim a vote?" And the answer they needs must give is: "Women as well as men perform the duties of citizens and contribute to the upkeep of the State. Therefore, women should not be debarred

AS A SEX

from the exercise of the rights of citizens." Understand this well. They do not claim votes AS WOMEN; they do not make their sex a pretext for any special rights; but they do not consider that in being women they forfeit their right to be regarded as human beings.

This is clearly seen when we consider what their 50-years-old demand has been—
"THE VOTE FOR WOMEN"

ON THE SAME TERMS

AS IT IS, OR MAY BE, GRANTED TO MEN." Not votes for ALL WOMEN, because ALL MEN HAVE NOT VOTES, and women claim no special privilege; but votes for those women who fulfil the required qualifications.

What are those qualifications? That is a minor consideration. What the women say is:—"Let the human being who fulfils the qualification, WHATEVER IT IS, have the promised vote, whether that human being happens to be a woman or a man."

They have left it to the men to make the qualifications what they will.

On these terms much fewer women than men would be enfranchised but women are fighting for a principle and the Conciliation Bill which does still less, only enfranchising

WOMEN HOUSEHOLDERS

is being backed by women because it embodies this principle—the principle that sex, in itself, shall not disqualify, and that

WOMEN ARE HUMAN BEINGS.

THIS WEEK'S STORY.

At a Council of the Christian Church held at Maçon in the 5th Century, the question was raised for debate—"Has a Woman got a Soul." Fortunately, they decided, on the voting, that she had.

THIS WEEK'S MOTTO.

"But, oh! how different from reality Men's fiction is! How like you in the plan Is woman, knew you her as we!"

GEORGE MEREDITH

(Ballad of Fair Ladies in Revolt).

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
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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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A Militant on Militants.

[THE MILITANT SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT. By Teresa Billington-Greig. Frank Palmer. Pp. 219. 2s. 6d. net.]

Mrs. Billington Greig has published a book which it would be dishonest not to notice. It is an important book and well worth attention from suffragists of all sections. It is written by a convinced feminist and by a woman who has given what was in her nature and capacity to give to the feminist movement.

We do not believe and we never have believed that it is good for any persons or measures or tendencies to be protected from criticism. We believe intelligent criticism to be the very salt of life and the condition of progress. The fear of having such criticism mistaken for vulgar or ignorant abuse is a cowardly fear and although Mrs. Greig sees the certainty of such mistake arising, she has overcome the fear of it. We are all the better for genuine criticism. To say, as Miss Pankhurst is reported to have said in the Albert Hall last week, "We cannot see, we cannot hear, the small-minded people who are trying to hold us back," is to declare yourself, at best, a megalomaniac. It was probably a piece of forensic declamation, for she must know very well that the thousands of suffragists who condemned the last militant outbreak as ill-timed and needless are not all "small-minded." To be blind and deaf is a misfortune, not a merit. Mrs. Greig has every right to say what she thinks true and the manner in which she says it, though it may not meet with one's entire approval—to us it appears over-stated and exaggerated—is her manner and it is vivid and forceful and undoubtedly adapted to catching the public eye and the public press.

By far the greater part of the book is taken up with criticisms which the "constitutional" suffragists have always made, but certain passages are a deliberate publication of what the author could only have known from confidential association within the W.S.P.U. and the justification for such publication is a matter of nice ethical balance; we will not presume to adjust it. The

common conscience holds that except for grave reasons of public advantage the lips of old associates should be sealed concerning the secrets of their former communion.

With regard to policy and tactics, Mrs. Greig is a political pragmatist. She has wide views and great aspirations for the future of women, but in her earlier days at least, she was willing to adopt practical measures which she did not like or entirely approve because she hoped they would "work." She saw action follow comparative inaction and she endorsed it, sinking her doubts. Gradually, as the conduct of the W.S.P.U. diverged more and more from what she could approve, uneasiness grew in her until the time came when she (with others) broke off and formed the Freedom League. Now she has felt that no existing "militant" society really carries out what she believes to be the right "militant" policy and she has become a free lance. It may be that she can do the most effective work in this way.

What are the main heads of her indictment of the W.S.P.U.? Broadly, one may class them as of three sorts:—

1. They have "queered the pitch" for real rebellion.
2. They have applied an "anti-government policy" unintelligently and in a partisan spirit.
3. They have not realized that there is a time for Conciliation as well as for revolt.

It is characteristic of Mrs. Greig that, like most of the militants we have met, she seems to divide the world into Militant Suffragists on the one hand and Anti-Suffragists on the other and she seems to think that the above are discoveries made by her alone. This is probably due to the delusion which some of the leaders assiduously endeavour to spread, that the "constitutional" suffragists only abstain from joining the "militants" because they are too cowardly. In the speech already alluded to, Miss Pankhurst appears to have raised cheers by making such an aspersion. They seem unable to understand that we do not join them because we dislike and distrust their methods and as months go by and these methods become more pronounced, we dislike them more and we think them increasingly injurious.

Since Mrs. Greig alludes slightly to the National Union and once even to this paper, we should like to make clear again our position. She thinks that we ought to repudiate and denounce much more vigorously and insistently than we have, the actions of which we disapprove. We have always consistently applied the policy of stating our differences from the W.S.P.U. when we thought there was a danger that the whole suffrage movement might be identified with them and in October 1909, when it appeared that they were embarking upon a fresh departure of great gravity, the National Union issued a manifesto condemning such action. For the rest, we have always thought that we could act more profitably by constructive and educative work, especially in the constituencies, than by attacking women who were working, however mistakenly, for the same cause and who had given evidence of great courage and ability in that work. But the fact remains that nearly all Mrs. Greig's criticisms have been made by the constitutional suffragists and are the ground of their abstention, and if she had read "The Common Cause" regularly she would have seen many indications of our point of view (e.g., leaders on Sept. 16th 1909 and Oct. 14th 1909).

The militant movement has found a far stronger foothold in London than in the country. There are many causes for this but it is partly due to the much fairer attitude of the provincial press, which, even when opposed to our demand, has been in the main willing to tell the truth about our divergent methods. Nothing has been to us a more certain indication of the evil effect of militant methods than the fact that the anti-suffrage press of London booms them and suppresses our legitimate political work. Your anti-suffragist is always glad to divert attention from the real question at issue,—the enfranchisement of women,—and focus it upon what he thinks will damage the cause. It does damage the cause, of course, but not so much as he and Mrs. Greig think. There is a large and sound body of feminist feeling which will win out, in spite of "militant methods."

Mrs. Greig's analysis of these is well worth studying; she calls them "the double shuffle between revolution and injured innocence, the playing for effects and not for results—in short the exploitation of revolutionary forces and enthusiastic women for the purposes of advertisement." She shows how the policy of encouraging personal adoration and discouraging individual ability, the hurry and the rush, have led to an extraordinary exhibition of crudeness and ignorance on the part of the rank and file, whom there has not been time to educate. She deprecates the manufacture of artificial grievances, the policy of irritation and exasperation, the development of the anti-government policy into anti-Liberal policy and she sees that "militancy" is getting to be regarded not as a means only, but as an end. The points are trenchantly made and we recommend our readers to study them at first hand, for it is impossible to do justice to them here.

We may all agree that after Mr. Gladstone's action in 1884 a profound depression fell over suffragists and there was a very long ebb. Mrs. Greig scarcely does justice to the few who kept steadily plodding at Women's Suffrage and to the many who did pioneer work in other departments of women's life. She will probably come to this, because she sees quite clearly that political enfranchisement is part of a greater enfranchisement. But a "revival" was necessary and undoubtedly the "militants" precipitated it. The material was all there and the revival would inevitably have come; the only possible question was exactly *when* and *how*, and there are many suffragists who regard it as little short of tragic that the *how* should have been as it was. It is a commonplace of militants to ask "Where would the suffrage have been without us?" and to say that the movement would die without militancy. We all admit that they gave a fresh impetus, but many of us feel that it was in the wrong direction and most of those who know anything about the movement know that a revival was imminent from the pressure of irresistible and mighty forces.

These forces are as mighty as ever and therein lies our certain hope. No mistakes, no excesses can stem this movement. It would have been better,—there would have been less to undo,—if the revival had come from men and women who would have shewn the real and terrible grievances and disabilities under which women suffer, instead of manufacturing martyrs. It would have been better if the policy of legitimate questioning at meetings had been persistently carried out; in time, the men would have been won over to demand fair play, instead of being driven into brutalities of which they are afterwards ashamed and which therefore greatly embitter their opposition, for it is hard indeed to forgive those you have wronged. It would have been better to find some way to use and permeate the existing forces of party. They have almost closed the House of Commons and public meetings to women and they have made the whole work of negotiation and education enormously more difficult. In all these ways the militants have "queered the pitch."

It is easy to be wise after the event. Many of those who did not like the form the protests took were silent because they were so glad *some* protest was being made. We were so glad to find women who would be themselves, who would stand on their own feet and fight their own battles, even if they didn't fight as we wished. But we cannot away with the notion that women are bound always to back women—right or wrong; that women must never criticize women but should leave all that to men whom they can then accuse of sex bias; that "she that must not be named" is sacrosanct and immune from criticism.

We must have light and fresh air. Do not let us smash a number of windows in order to get into a room even stuffer than the last. The oligarchy of the womanly woman with her "influence" is a thing we are fleeing from; the oligarchy of a pseudo-military organization of women is just as repugnant to a true democrat. We owe it no allegiance and we distrust its short cuts to emancipation.

There are no short cuts.

The Case for Women's Suffrage.

MIDWIVES AND THE VOTE.*

[Reprinted by kind permission of the Editor of "Nursing Notes."]

Midwives will all know that a Bill has been before Parliament called an Act to amend the Midwives Act, 1902, which greatly concerns them. I want here to point out certain imperfections and injustices in that Act and also to dwell upon what seems to me the only adequate remedy for them.

There has been a great deal of correspondence in the papers and talk about this Act, pointing out certain supposed defects in it, but while many criticisms have been directed to the hardships to which the public, those employing midwives, will be subject, but little has been said as to the hardships to which midwives will be subject, the enhanced difficulties of getting cases or of getting fees from their cases owing to the working of this Act. Let us turn to the Act for a moment and see how midwives fare under it.

Look first at Sec. 7, here we see that each midwife on the Roll is to be compelled to register once a year and to pay a fee of 1s. on so doing. If she forgets to do so she is automatically put off the Register and is liable to a fine of 5s. before reinstatement. Instead of only forfeiting her place on the Register for a professional offence, as is the case with members of the medical profession, it is liable to be forfeited for a small piece of forgetfulness very easy to a busy woman, and she is only to be reinstated on the payment of a fine quite considerable to many midwives whose earnings are small. Turn now to Sec. 11, and we read that where a doctor is engaged to attend a case of labour and is not present at the time of birth, the duty of registering the birth falls on the midwife if such be present, notwithstanding the fact that she is not engaged to act as a midwife in the case. This means of course that if the doctor is not in time the *nurse* has to notify the birth, and the case becomes, as far as the Health Authority is concerned, a midwife's case and will automatically be visited by the officials of the Department under the regulations of the Sanitary Authority. Now turn to Section 17, which has already produced so much controversy. This Section enacts that when a midwife has found it necessary to call in a doctor, the doctor can obtain his fee from the Poor Law Authorities. The criticism which has been directed against this Section has been entirely in the interest of the patient and her family. It has been pointed out very truly how hard it will be for the poor woman and her husband to be pauperised after she has made the ordinary provision of her class for the confinement by engaging a midwife, subject to the visits of the Relieving Officers and all his hated enquiries. But no one has thought of the effect of these Regulations on the midwife and her practice. But I can foresee this conversation between the patient and her husband after the event: "Now, my dear, you must not get that Mrs. Smith next time. I can't be having to go up before the parish, I have always kept myself respectable. If you had gone to Dr. Jones first of all, he would have waited for his money a bit and we should have been all right."

Nor will matters be any better if the relief is granted by way of loan, and the husband finds himself responsible for fees of both midwife and doctor. I fear in many cases the midwife would not get paid—though the doctor is sure of his fee—and that is how the matter works out in many cases.

This, I have only quite recently learnt, is by no means a rare occurrence. A man is out of work but has not so far made any application to the Guardians, his wife is taken in labour and he runs off to the nearest midwife, who in common humanity cannot, or at least does not, refuse to come. Later he makes application to the Poor Law, the Relieving Officer, hearing the woman is in labour or recently confined, gives an order for medical relief, the Poor Law doctor comes down, finds a certified midwife in possession, asks if everything is all right, and goes away. He gets his fee from the Guardians but the midwife gets none.

*Notes of address given by Dr. Ethel Williams, President, to members of the Northumberland and Durham Midwives' Association on October 28th.

Now why has no mention been made of these various hardships inflicted on practising midwives? Simply because there has been no one with political power to watch legislation on their behalf. Let us suppose that instead of midwives the plumbers were the people whose industry was going to be controlled and regulated, what would have happened? Every sentence of the Bill would have been closely scrutinised by officials of the Union, in each constituency the Member or Candidate, when an election occurred, would have been questioned as to the view he held on the Act, would have been asked to pledge himself to uphold the plumbers' interest in the matter, and the support of the plumbers would have depended on his view and promises. Now yours is a profession where not one single practising member can exert any political pressure at all. But political pressure is in our state of society the natural way in which classes and professions get their particular interests brought under the notice of the legislature. There is no other effective way for us. If this were an autocracy where a beneficent tyrant legislated for all the different classes of the community as he thought best the matter would be different, but it is or pretends to be a democracy where every class is able to press its own point of view on the legislature by the votes of its members.

A whole class or profession which has no possibility of making itself heard politically is simply a class of slaves in a nation of free men.

I am not going to belabour this point any more. There is no remedy for the injustices and anomalies we have been considering but the possession of the parliamentary vote. Women are in the world's labour market; they need, as do the men, the regulation of the conditions under which they work; they need, as do the men, the vote in order that these conditions may be fair to them as well as to the general public.

The Conciliation Bill.

SIR GEORGE KEMP IN NORTH-WEST MANCHESTER.

Some of our Liberal friends in Manchester are getting up a meeting in Sir George Kemp's constituency, to be addressed by him on the Conciliation Bill, which he is to introduce on May 5th. The meeting will be at 8 p.m. on Monday, 10th April, in the Cheetham Hill Public Hall. Mr. C. P. Scott, J.P., will take the chair, and it is hoped that many supporters will be present. Admission will be free.

SIR GEORGE KEMP'S BILL.

The Conciliation Bill which Sir George Kemp has introduced and which is down for its Second Reading on May 5th runs as follows:—

A BILL TO CONFER THE PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE ON WOMEN.

1. Every woman possessed of a household qualification within the meaning of the Representation of the People Act (1884) shall be entitled to be registered as a voter and when registered to vote for the county or borough in which the qualifying premises are situate.

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 this country. (b) The organisation of Women's Suffrage Societies on a non-party basis.

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

The National Union and the Second Reading

For several reasons it has been found impossible and inadvisable to organize an open-air demonstration in connection with the second reading of the Conciliation Bill on May 5th. The National Union is, however, intending to hold a meeting in London on May 3rd, the

2. For the purposes of this Act a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being registered as a voter provided that a husband and wife shall not both be registered as voters in the same parliamentary borough or county division.

When the Bill has passed its Second Reading it will go into committee and it is at the committee stage that amendments can be proposed and voted on. If, therefore, any Member is in favour of the enfranchisement of women, but does not altogether like the provisions of this particular bill, he should vote for the second reading and press for facilities, so that the committee stage (at which amendments are in order) may be reached.

In Parliament.

PROGRESS OF BUSINESS.

The House of Commons was occupied during the week with the Revenue Bill, which passed its third reading on Thursday 30th by a majority of 104. On Tuesday the reports state that for half an hour members of the Government and the Opposition took it in turns to "shout each other down" so that no one could be heard. Mr. Emmott, Chairman of Committee, expressed his regret that both sides of the House were at fault.

In answer to a question, Mr. Asquith said on Monday that he could make no statement with regard to the introduction of a Plural Voting Bill this session.

THE SHOP HOURS BILL.

On Friday, Mr. Masterman moved the second reading of the Shop Hours Bill which provides for a maximum of 60 hours per week, excluding meal times, and a weekly compulsory half holiday as well as Sundays. There is also provision for local authorities to make early closing orders which must be approved by two-thirds of the shops in the trades concerned. The bill met with very general support from both sides of the House and passed its second reading without a division, being then referred to a Grand Committee.

THE REFERENDUM BILL.

In the House of Lords the discussion on the Referendum Bill took Tuesday and Wednesday. On Thursday Lord Lansdowne's motion was agreed to, as follows:—

That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty praying His Majesty that, with a view to the reform of the present constitution of the House of Lords, His Majesty would be graciously pleased to consent to a bill being introduced limiting the prerogative and powers of the Crown in so far as they relate to the creation of peerages and to the issue of writs of summons to Lords spiritual and temporal to attend and sit and vote in the House of Lords.

Viscount Morley stated that the Government had no desire to place any technical difficulty in the way of the introduction of Lord Lansdowne's bill, and they would advise the Sovereign to assent to the prayer. The Government would, however, be no parties to any postponement of the Parliament Bill.

special objects of which will be to emphasize the National character of the union, and to impress upon Members of Parliament the fact that the Conciliation Bill is supported in every part of the country. The arrangements at the meeting will all be designed to this end, and the committee have some original and effective schemes in view. Some of these will be announced at the Provincial

Council meeting, and secretaries of societies will receive full information in due course. In the meantime we ask all members of the Union to keep the date, May 3rd, in mind. Every society in the Union must be represented at this great national meeting, even if it should only be able to send one or two members.

K. D. COURTNEY (Hon. Sec.).

Treasurer's Notes.

I have been asked to explain how it is that the general public has such a very inadequate idea of the amount of money that is being spent annually by our National Union. It seems to be assumed that the amount which appears in the Annual Report of the National Union, that is to say, the sum of £6,580, represents the total raised within the Union. But this is far from being the case, for, in addition to the central fund, administered by the National Union Executive, each affiliated society has its own annual balance-sheet and spends its own income quite independently and apart from any other fund, and no complete record of the sum-total of these amounts has as yet been published. The sums spent by local societies of course vary enormously from the £4,000 raised by the London Society to £10 or perhaps less, spent by some newly-formed and struggling society. The late treasurer of the National Union, Miss Mason, calculated that altogether, something like £20,000 has been spent on Suffrage work within the National Union during the past year. This is a total of which any organisation may well be proud. But I would point out that it has only been achieved by continuous effort and sustained self-sacrifice on the part of our members. Now it is, I think, desirable that the public should be kept more fully informed of the money raised for local purposes by our societies, because this, the chief sign of our progress and activity, is also our greatest encouragement, and I would be glad if all branch treasurers would let me have at regular intervals, full lists of all money collected by their societies, for publication in the pages of "The Common Cause."

HELENA AUERBACH.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO GENERAL FUND.

March 23rd to March 30th, 1911.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	545	9	3½
Subscriptions—			
Mr. H. A. Thompson	0	1	0
Donations—			
Miss E. Hodgkinson	1	0	0
Miss E. A. Dangerfield	1	0	0
Newnham College W.S.S. (collected)	3	16	6
Miss J. H. Drew	1	0	0
Miss C. D. Corbett, for work in Northampton	4	10	0
Mr. Werner Rolfe	5	0	0
Mr. Rob Altmann	0	2	6
Affiliation Fees—			
Basingstoke W.S.S.	0	8	9
Coventry W.S.S.	1	5	0
Hull W.S.S.	4	7	6
Glenfarg W.S.S.	0	13	0
Dunbar W.S.S.	0	9	6
Wakefield W.S.S.	1	5	9
West Herts. W.S.S.	1	18	6
Cambridge W.S.S.	3	19	6
Harrogate W.S.S. (additional)	0	1	0
Mid-Bucks. W.S.S.	0	7	6
Royal Holloway College W.S.S.	1	2	9
Sevenoaks W.S.S.	1	1	3
Shetland W.S.S.	0	12	6
Worthing W.S.S.	0	14	6
West Bromwich W.S.S.	1	7	6
St. Helens W.S.S.	0	14	0
Perth W.S.S.	1	5	0
Lenzie W.S.S.	0	6	3
	£583	18	0½

QUEEN'S HALL DONATIONS.

March, 1911.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	197	7	11
Mrs. Anstruther	2	0	0
	£199	7	11

Women's Suffrage and the Press.

The work of organizing a Press Department at the National Union office is nearly completed. The plans of the Press Committee are awaiting the sanction of the Executive Committee, which meets on April 6th. If

they are passed a report will be sent to "The Common Cause" next week.

Our negotiations with the Press, begun in February, have been so far decidedly encouraging. The Editor of one of the London daily papers is considering the possibility of starting a Women's Suffrage page, to be open to Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists alike. We could not wish for anything better. A fair field and no favour is all we ask.

All Suffragists should show their appreciation by taking the paper in question. We hope to be able to publish a definite announcement next week.

The "Chelsea News" and the "Chelsea Mail" both printed full reports of Mrs. Swanwick's debate with Mr. Maconachie in their issues of March 24th. Anyone who wishes to have a more detailed account than that which appeared in "The Common Cause" of March 30th should write for copies. The offices of both papers are in the King's Road, Chelsea. The "Queen" and the "Ladies' Field" also gave accounts of the debate, and a short paragraph appeared in the "Manchester Guardian."

A careful record is being compiled at the office of all references to (and omissions of) Women's Suffrage in the London papers. We hope to publish a summary next week.

CATHERINE E. MARSHALL (Hon. Press Secretary).

By-election.

HADDINGTONSHIRE (OR EAST-LOTHIAN).

Candidates:—Mr. J. D. Hope (Liberal).
Mr. B. Hall Blyth (Unionist).

Scottish Federation Committee Room:

Market Street, Haddington.

Lord Haldane, who for 25 years represented East Lothian, is our good friend (as his speech quoted in last week's "Common Cause" shows). Both candidates in the by-election are worthy to succeed him as far as regards our cause. Both have put women's suffrage in their election addresses; both have answered all our questions satisfactorily. Propaganda only is therefore our business in this contest, and is mainly concentrated on increasing knowledge and support of the "Conciliation Bill." "One of the most delightful of constituencies," the retiring member calls East Lothian; farming, fishing, and golf are its main pursuits, with a sprinkling of miners in the North-West. We were in the field four days before the formal adoption of the Liberal candidate, and were received with open arms by the suffrage societies in Haddington and Dunbar. A large shop in Haddington, vacant for years, was promptly taken and set in order by local members, its frontage of six windows filled with posters, and its advertisements of Bass's Beer and Bourneville Cocoa decently draped in red, white, and green. An average of one meeting a day has been so far held, but this number will be far exceeded before the end of the contest. We are short of speakers, the chief Edinburgh workers being for one cause or other not available at present, though Dr. Elsie Inglis, with her usual cheerful energy, took a meeting on the eve of her holiday. Will no one offer to help us, and combine with a valuable and very interesting piece of suffrage work a visit to one of the most charming and historic parts of Scotland?

ALICE CROMPTON.

Notice. Miss A. Maude Royden's Address.

Miss A. Maude Royden begs that her correspondents will address both letters and telegrams by her full name as above. The greatest confusion and delay are caused by any shorter address.

Federation Notes.

Formation of a New Federation.

A new Federation, the West Riding Federation of Yorkshire, has been formed. The following are the officers:—Chairman, Miss I. O. Ford; hon. sec., Mrs. Bauer; hon. treas., Miss Beaumont. This Federation is being represented at the

Provincial Council meetings at Haslemere by Miss I. O. Ford and Mrs. Bauer.

Midland.

The Midland Federation Committee met at 10, Easy Row, on Thursday, March 30th, and came to the conclusion that it would be advisable to re-divide the area, which is too large for effective organisation. The Federation Committee intend to propose the following division at the annual meeting of the Federation, which will take place at Nottingham in June or July:—Birmingham and District (Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Shropshire, Staffordshire); Midland (Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Rutland); Oxfordshire to join with Bucks. and Berks. The Committee adopted Nottingham's suggestion that a big procession in London would have the effect of rallying country supporters to constitutional methods. All M.P.s within the area are to be sent a special appeal shortly before May 5th, besides which all our friendly Unionist M.P.s have received from the Federation secretaries the letter drafted by the N.U. protesting against the idea of a Referendum on Women's Suffrage.

In view of the danger of an Adult Suffrage resolution superseding a Women's Suffrage resolution on the I.L.P. programme, Mrs. Robinson has been sent down by the N.U. to work in the Midlands previous to the I.L.P. Conference in Birmingham in Easter week. She has already done very useful work, and has a full list of meetings arranged in the district, culminating in a big open-air demonstration in Birmingham on Easter Sunday.

All Societies were urged to let no meeting pass between now and May 5th without sending up a resolution both to the Prime Minister and to their local M.P., and also to hold special meetings just before that date.

Miss Gill, our Organiser, was suddenly taken ill the day before she was due at Olton, and Mrs. Bewick-Colby very kindly stepped into the breach, and has done a week's successful work there. We hope that Miss Gill will be able to start work in Bromsgrove (where we are anxious to form a Society) on April 8th. A drawing-room and a public meeting have been arranged for her by Miss Walford, who has done the preliminary organising work there during the last ten days.

North-Eastern.

On April 1st Mr. Taylor, M.P. for Chester-le-Street, received a deputation in Durham. In reply to Miss Johnson (Hon. Sec. Gateshead Society) and Mr. Black, Mr. Taylor stated that, although a convinced Adult Suffragist, he would vote for the Conciliation Bill at every stage, even if widening amendments were lost, and that he would press for the facilities necessary to enable the measure to be passed into law this session. Mr. John Wilson (Mid-Durham), who was approached by the Durham Society, and Mr. Robert Cameron (Houghton-le-Spring), by the Sunderland, have likewise pledged themselves to support the Bill throughout.

Scottish.

FORMATION OF A SOCIETY AT KILMARNOCK.

Miss Kirby's campaign culminated in a meeting on March 11th, at which the new Kilmarnock Society was formed. Mrs. Austin is the hon. secretary, and Dr. Nannetti the hon. treasurer. Miss Kirby makes grateful mention of the invaluable help she received from Dr. Nannetti throughout her campaign.

West of England.

FORMATION OF A SOCIETY AT TAUNTON.

We are glad to report the formation of a new Society at Taunton. Miss Baretta has for some time past been gathering the sympathisers together and now Mrs. Lucan Davies has established a promising little branch. The officers are elected and 18 of the new members have undertaken active work, so we hope the Society has a future.

Mrs. Lucan Davies is now preparing the ground in Bridgewater and will then take a few days in Stroud before her holiday, as a deputation to Mr. Allen is being worked up. The Cheltenham by-election will give that Society some unexpected work; but we hope Mrs. Davies will be able to help in it, as her services in every place have proved invaluable.

The three-weeks-old Society at Burnham deserves the highest praise. It has furnished us with a splendid batch of letters from Captain Sandy's constituents, and we hope they may impress him on the occasion of the deputation which is being worked by the C. and U.F.A. and ourselves. Mr. MacMahon is going up from Weston for it, as the N.U. Executive has kindly given us a grant for travelling expenses. We have to acknowledge this week a kind gift of £5 for the Federation from Mrs. Bright Clark.

Mr. C. Bouvier's Lectures.

Those Suffragists who were fortunate enough to hear Mr. Bouvier deliver his two lectures on "La Femme" at the house of Mrs. Annan Bryce enjoyed an unexpectedly great pleasure. I say unexpectedly because, in spite of Mr. Bouvier's reputation as a lecturer of rare literary attainment, I doubt whether many of us were prepared to hear our whole Suffrage creed expounded with so much brilliance, imaginative insight, and

eloquence as were displayed by Mr. Bouvier, whose lectures were characterised by constant flashes of wit and humour, keen satire, and now and again an amusing or pathetic anecdote—all delivered with that grace of language of which the Latin tongues alone are capable.

It is impossible to convey any idea of all the good things said in the course of Mr. Bouvier's lectures; but I am glad to hear that Suffragists will be given an opportunity of making themselves acquainted with these lectures, as they are shortly to be reprinted *in extenso* in "The Englishwoman."

Mr. Bouvier began by saying that it was no longer permissible for anyone to remain indifferent to the great Feminist movement going on in every country. Feminism, he said, was not for the happy woman, for it was primarily those whose misfortunes had taught them by bitter experience the legal and other disabilities under which their sex suffered, who had first created Feminism; but it was monstrous that those to whom the *status quo* brought no disadvantages should nevertheless acquiesce in it merely because they themselves did not suffer. It might be incorrect to say that men and women were equal, but woman was certainly man's equivalent—that is to say, there could be no real difference in the value of men and women. At present there was an artificial difference of value, exemplified by the fact that two different standards prevailed, of truth, of morals, and even of language; for instance, the word "honest" had come to have a totally different meaning, according as it was applied to man or woman.

Mr. Bouvier had much to say which was fresh and illuminating even on so well-worn a subject as that of girls' education. Many people, he said, feared that if the theories of the Feminists were put into practice there would be fewer happy homes; but what was the happiness of the home worth so long as it was dependent upon the self-denial and the subjection of woman?

Another reason why it appeared as though women were attacking the family was because, in some cases, it was their only way to economic independence.

Like a true friend, Mr. Bouvier refrains from wholesale flattery and adulation of our sex, and has the courage to speak out on what he considers are the weaknesses that constitute the most powerful obstacles to women's progress. Amongst these he laid stress upon the demoralising effect upon all classes of women of the growing devotion to fashion, luxury, and elegance, and of the pernicious sacrifices made to obtain them.

Finally, Mr. Bouvier said he was sure that "Ce que femme veut, Dieu veut," for woman would never give up her two most powerful weapons for the amelioration of the race—her goodness and her gentleness.



QUAKER BLOUSE

(as sketch), thoroughly well made in our own work-rooms, from extra fine Cotton Voile, tucked and hand veined, with hand veined white lawn collar and cuffs, a very practical and inexpensive Shirt, in grey, saxe, navy, heliotrope, pink, sky, rose du barri, white and black, also in white with black spots.

12/9

Debenham & Freebody.

Wigmore St., London, W.

The Church League for Women's Suffrage.

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

Owing to arrangements made by other Societies, the May Mission has been postponed, and will not be held until the third week in May (May 14th to 20th). May 5th, however, will still be observed as a Day of Special Intercession, of which particulars will be announced later. During the Mission collecting cards will be issued to defray the expenses of the Church Congress campaign at Stoke-on-Trent in the autumn. On May 4th Hon. Mrs. Henley and Rev. C. Hinscliff will speak at a meeting of the Worthing Branch. Miss Barlow, 88, Dalston Lane, N., has lent her drawing-room for a meeting in May; speakers, Dr. Letitia Fairfield and Rev. C. Hinscliff. On May 16th a public meeting will be held at Bromley; it will be addressed by Miss Frances Sterling and Rev. C. Hinscliff. The Oxford Branch has published a leaflet by the Rev. Frederick Spencer, entitled "The Moral and Religious Ground for Women's Enfranchisement." Copies at 3d. each, or 2s. 6d. per 100, may be obtained from the Hon. Sec., Miss Evelyn Gunter, 22, Fardon Road, Oxford. Successful drawing-room meetings were held last week at 8, Warwick Avenue, Paddington, W. (Mr. Shewell Cooper), and at 34, Ladbroke Grove, W. (Mrs. Grey).

Free Church League for Woman Suffrage.

Hon. Organising Sec.: Rev. Edward Clark, 1, Burn's Road, Harlesden, N.

Hon. Corresponding Secretary: Miss Hatty Baker, 35, Hartington Villas, Hove.

A most successful meeting was held last Wednesday at the Primitive Methodist Church, Penge. The tone and enthusiasm were splendid. The minister, Rev. A. Johnson, presided, and stated that though he had been told he should be ashamed to support the League, he would be ashamed not to do so. The Rev. Ernest I. Barson gave a most impressive address on the religious character of the women's movement, praying his audience not to oppose it, lest they be fighting God. Mrs. Sambrook also spoke. At the meeting on Wednesday, 11th April, at the Rectory Road Congregational Church, the platform will include Rev. C. Fleming Williams, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Lady Spicer, and Rev. Edward Clark. Time, eight o'clock. Helpers are still wanted to distribute handbills at the N. London Free Churches. They should apply to Mrs. C. Fleming Williams, 2, Holmbury View, Springfield, Clapton.

The Pioneer Players.

The first subscription performance will be held at the Court Theatre on Monday, May 8, at 2.30. Three new one-act plays will be given—"Jack and Jill and a Friend" (Cicely Hamilton), "In the Workhouse" (Margaret W. Nevins), and "The First Actress" (Christopher St. John). The plays are to be produced under the direction of Edith Craig, and the cast includes a number of famous actors and actresses, among whom may be mentioned Miss Ellen Terry, Miss Lily Brayton, Miss Clare Greet.

It will be remembered that the chief object for which the Pioneer Players have been organised is to produce new plays dealing with all kinds of movements of interest at the moment, and particularly of movements of interest to women.

The Situation in Cardiff.

The new organisation which has resulted from the split upon the question of Women's Suffrage is called THE CARDIFF PROGRESSIVE LIBERAL WOMEN'S UNION, and it is holding its first public meeting on Friday, April 7th, Mrs. Lester Jones presiding. The organizing secretary, Mrs. Glen Wade, has written to thank us for our comments upon the progress in Cardiff. "It helps one to go forward."

Foreign News.

GERMANY.

It is satisfactory to note that the petition of Prussian masters against women teachers being appointed to headships of girls' schools (see "Common Cause" of February 23rd) is not being allowed to pass unchallenged. The central association for promoting the higher education of women has taken the matter in hand and sent round a memorandum explaining the desirability of women occupying more responsible positions in girls' education, and asking for signatures from those in favour. During the month of February about 2,700 men and 7,600 women signed; amongst the former 800 were engaged in commerce, industry, and agriculture, only about 350 belonged to the teaching profession, 260 were clergymen, 350 professional men (doctors, lawyers, etc.).

AUSTRIA.

The report of the first conference held by the Association of Catholic Women in the Austrian Empire has just been issued. Although the Catholic women have hitherto not evinced much literary activity, it was decided that the Association should start a newspaper of its own. One of the chief items on the programme is the framing of more stringent laws for the protection of working women and girls; but the principal resolutions carried by the meeting were those dealing with the establishment of housekeeping schools, and the stricter application of laws having reference to the after-care of children, and the appointment of women as guardians. The activities of the Catholic woman are for the most part still centred in the home, in her duties as wife and mother, and in charitable works; the necessity of earning her living, more especially in the case of a married woman, is looked upon as an evil. Kamilla Theimer, who spoke about the industrial work of women, laid special stress on the need for more training in embroidery, dressmaking, millinery, etc. Professor Karl Hilgenreiner, in his speech on the higher education of women, proved himself a very half-hearted advocate of the cause; although he admitted that exceptionally gifted women should be allowed to attend the university classes, he thought it quite unnecessary for those who are merely breadwinners. No very definite attitude was taken up by the Congress as to the opening up of the higher professions for women, but several women students recommended teaching as eminently suitable to female capacity.

NORWAY.

In Christiania and in several other towns the domestic servants are forming themselves into powerful organisations. They demand a properly regulated time for work, extra pay for night work, a definitely fixed free time on Sundays and one afternoon a week, summer holidays, and decent rooms to live in.

UNITED STATES.

The Iowa Legislature has given a majority vote in favour of the constitutional amendment granting full suffrage to women, but not the necessary two-thirds majority.

A municipal Women's Suffrage Bill has been lost in the Indiana Legislature by five votes; but the women are not discouraged, because it is only quite lately that public opinion has been at all stirred in this matter.

The Kansas Legislature has decided that Women's Suffrage shall be one of the three constitutional amendments selected to go before the people for adoption at the polls.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst is continuing to hold enthusiastic meetings in the States. Her lecture at Washington was one of the most successful events in the Suffrage world in recent years, and from many other places comes glowing accounts of her speeches and her personality.

The Nevada Legislature has voted for an amendment granting full suffrage to women. This is in spite of the fact that Nevada had no State Suffrage Association, and is now the fourth State within the last few months to have passed this amendment.

Reviews.

The Shield for April has a very clear summary of the reasons against the proposal of the Majority Report of the Poor Law Commission that power should be given to workhouse authorities for the compulsory detention of persons suffering from venereal disease.

TWO PAMPHLETS BY LADY CHANCE.

Education and Women's Franchise. (From J. W. Bocking, 14, Bridge Street, Godalming. Twelve copies, post free, 3d.; 50 copies, post free, 1s. 2d.) This is a reprint from the article in the "Onlooker," and is an excellent brief statement of how educated women come to want the vote and what it will do for them.

Words to Working-women on Women's Suffrage. (Same publisher as above. Price 1d.; 6s. per 100, postage extra.) This is the fourth edition revised and improved, and it is a most useful booklet, nicely got up.

The Song of the Shop Slave.

A LYRIC OF LIVING-IN.

This is my life; what other life have I?
The same walls house me if I toil or rest,
The cage that still must hold me from the sky
Roosting the free bird's nest.

Same have I grown and quiet in my lot,
Though sometimes, when the seventh day brings the sun,
I think to break my bonds—yet break them not,
The web's too surely spun.

My wings grow weak, yet must not flag nor faint,
For there are other birds who, just for crumbs,
Will bear the cage, the fettering loss and taint,
When any there succumb;

Bear all, mere food and shelter to receive;
Shelter—the rich man's swine are happier-styed!
Food, coarse and scant, which we must take or leave;
This, and no home beside;

Just so much wage therewith as clothes us for
Brief sight of happier scenes, of fields and flowers;
Respite too brief to rest in, evermore
Rounded with heaviest hours;

A fireless den when the day's work is done,
In time of frost, and stifling air in heat—
Thus year by year our treadmill round we run
With ever wearier feet.

And if Love light awhile the murky air,
Scant sticks are ours to build the nest we plan,
Scant hope—the birds of Heaven are free to pair,
But not the slaves of man.

A life in death, with one day's sun in seven
That but avails to show the world we miss,
And so our youth slips by; and, O sweet Heaven!
We know no youth but this.

Bournemouth. —S. GERTRUDE FORD.

(Reprinted by kind permission from the "Co-operative News.")

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.

BRISTOL ANTI-SUFFRAGE CANVASS.

My attention has been drawn to a communication in your issue of the 9th inst. impugning the accuracy of the extensive canvass of municipal women voters which was made in Bristol last year with results which demonstrated that an overwhelming majority of the voters who expressed any opinion on the subject were opposed to the legislation advocated in your journal.

[1] Nearly three months after the results of this canvass had been published two letters appeared in the local press, one by a lady municipal voter stating that she had not been canvassed, and the other by your correspondent's mother stating that she had not been canvassed.

If one of the Suffrage Societies had undertaken an investigation of the opinions held by between 7,000 and 8,000 voters in any given area, and if after the results were announced this announcement had been followed by the publication of only two such letters as those referred to, the Society might, I suppose, congratulate itself on having secured the assistance of canvassers whose work had given rise to so little adverse comment, and decide that such complaints did not call for further notice in the local press. That was the course which was adopted here.

[2] Your correspondent, however, communicated privately with Lady Fry, the president of the local branch, who referred her to me. I then asked her for the names and addresses of the persons who she said had not been canvassed. In reply I received from her particulars of ten persons only, including her mother.

[3] I immediately caused special inquiries to be made of the canvassers concerned, and in due course sent to your correspondent a statement of facts as reported with reference to every one of the ten cases.

With your experience you will readily anticipate the replies that might be expected when a canvass has been carried out by bona-fide and intelligent canvassers.

(a) E.g.: In one case our canvasser stated that she had called twice at the voter's address, but failed to obtain any reply to the form of questions which had been left, and had reported the voter as refusing to sign; that, on receiving my request to make further inquiries, the canvasser called again, had then seen the voter, and was told that had she been at home she "would not have signed one way or the other." (b) Another of the ten persons on being revisited told the canvasser that she remembered the previous call, and acknowledged that the paper, which was again produced to her, had been signed by her. (c) In another case the canvasser had called twice; the voter was absent, but her daughter had said that her mother would not sign the paper, and it was returned, marked accordingly. (In this instance the canvasser also reported that on calling at my request a third time she found the lady at home, and the voter then gave a reply against the Suffrage.) (d) In another case your correspondent appeared to have seen the sister of the voter who had signed the paper, and regret was expressed that our canvasser had had the

trouble of revisiting. In another the voter had changed her address; and so on.

[4] Your correspondent was, as I have said, furnished with details in every instance. She afterwards sent me a few more names which I dealt with in a similar manner, with similar results, and then reported these results to her.

[5] In the first letter I wrote I offered to see her personally and to give her any information she might desire. Had she any real ground for questioning the statements of any of our canvassers she might, on receipt of my letter, have asked for an interview, and could then have confronted the canvasser with one of her informants. Instead of adopting this course, she writes to you a letter which does not remotely suggest her knowledge of the facts above stated, although these have a material bearing on the value of the communication made to your journal.

[6] I should add that before the results of our local canvass were tabulated I invited representatives of the local branch of the Constitutional Suffrage party to scrutinize the returns and attend the counting of the votes. No accredited representative of that party has, as far as I am aware, lent the slightest countenance to your correspondent's allegations.

[7] She also states that she has been unable to ascertain from any woman canvassed by us one who could "give any information as to the nature of the questions asked." I have, of course, no knowledge of the persons to whom this inquiry is said to have been made, but some weeks since I sent to your correspondent a copy of the form of questions used, and I now enclose a duplicate of this.

I am glad to see that in your Editorial note you merely refer to, without adopting as your own, the investigation alleged to have been made by your correspondent; but your journal is read far beyond the confines of Bristol, and I have thought it right to trouble you with a reply that would not be required for Bristol readers alone. With these comments I will leave your readers to form their own opinion as to the weight they should attach to the "investigation" and the "opinion" of your correspondent as to the nature and importance of the Bristol canvass.

[8] The statement that your correspondent ventured to invite Lady Fry to join her in personally canvassing any street in Bristol is one upon which I do not comment, though to characterise suitably such an invitation would not be difficult for anyone who has any sense of the respect due to Lady Fry, not only in Bristol, but wherever her name is known.

[9] I take this opportunity of correcting one verbal mistake in the returns as tabulated. These refer to the "electorate" canvassed as "7615." The "electorate," according to the returns on which we worked, was 7782, but we were unable to cover the whole of the ground, partly through the illness of one canvasser. Had we done so, there is no reason to suppose that the results would have been materially affected one way or the other.—I am yours faithfully,

EDITH LONG FOX,

Honorary Secretary of the Bristol Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage,
15, Royal York Crescent, Clifton, Bristol,
21st March, 1911.

[It appears that this canvass was a personal one, and not by postcard. Miss Long Fox has kindly enclosed the question-form, which is as follows:—

No.
ELECTOR'S NAME
ADDRESS

(1) Do you prefer that the Parliamentary vote should remain as at present, in the hands of the men in this country?

(2) Do you consider that women should not be given the vote for Parliamentary elections?

(3) Do you consider that women should be given the right to vote at Parliamentary elections?

Signature or Initials.

Kindly answer "YES" to one only of the above questions.

Having received her letter just too late for insertion last week, we were able to send it to our Bristol correspondent, who replies as follows:—

[1] During December (a few days after the Anti-Suffrage figures appeared) at least one letter was printed in the local press. (See enclosure marked 2.) Miss Fox states that only two letters appeared, and those after three months' delay. The Anti-Suffragists were apparently unable to reply to any of the letters.

[2] This is a mistake on the part of Miss Fox; the list was sent to Lady Fry. The additional names were sent immediately after, as it was not made clear which

register had been used by the Anti-Suffrage League, and to allow for the contingency of changes of address. These were the *humble names* usually selected, although counting Mrs. Parry the exact number was thirteen. Mrs. Parry's name was sent from intense curiosity to learn what excuse would be forthcoming to meet her case.

[3] (a) This is not in accordance with the evidence sent. The canvasser stated that he went to the house, but could get no answer, and therefore marked the paper, "Refused to sign." After the publication of the result of the canvass the canvasser called and saw the voter for the first time.

(b) It was stated in the account in "The Common Cause" of March 9th that two out of the twelve casually selected had been canvassed.

(c) In this case all the daughters emphatically deny that they had seen the canvasser, and although the voter is Anti-Suffrage, she still maintains that she had heard nothing of the canvass previous to the publication of the results. This was made quite clear to the canvasser when she called after the investigation had taken place.

(d) It was the Anti-Suffrage canvasser who admitted not having seen the voter, but said he had seen the voter's sister, who had not thought it worth while to tell the other. The voter herself had heard nothing of the canvass until the figures had appeared in the papers.

[4] With regard to at least three of the voters on the list, Miss Fox admitted that no attempt had been made to see them, and that they had not been called upon before or after the publication of the results. Two others were referred to as "out." Another case, a ratepayer in the Kingswood district, had been described as "refused to sign," but she persists in her statement that she had heard nothing whatever about the canvass until the publication of the figures. This lady has subjected her household to a severe examination, and all the members maintain that no one called with reference to the canvass. This voter is very indignant that such liberty has been taken with her name.

Instead of sending further lists of names, a whole street which had been omitted by the canvassers was mentioned to Miss Fox. This fact was admitted by her, the first explanation being that some districts were left unfinished, "as the figures had to be given in by a fixed date." Later, Miss Fox said that the district of Cotham had not been wholly done owing to a canvasser's breakdown.

[5] A letter was received from Miss Fox making an appointment for an interview, but before the date of the suggested meeting, Miss Fox wrote again withdrawing the invitation, and this, of course, made a personal interview impossible.

[6] Miss Fox declined to allow the correspondence to be mentioned unless all the letters were published *in extenso*. This was impossible owing to their length.

[7] The fact that the matter was so warmly taken up by a disinterested private individual only proves the genuineness and impartiality of the investigation.

[8] The form was only received on March 1st, while the investigations referred to were made during the early part of December. The statements which appeared in the Press during February state that reply-paid postcards were used at Bristol for the canvass.

[9] The fact that the statement first appeared over Lady Fry's name was the reason for asking her for information. The suggestion was that Lady Fry or Miss Fry should canvass any given street in Bristol.

[10] The "verbal" mistake. It is now admitted by the Anti-Suffrage Society that the number of the electorate as printed in the tabular statement is incorrect. The fact that a number of women had not been called upon should have been stated.

WINIFRED PARRY.

"THE COMMON CAUSE."

I think "The Common Cause" improves weekly. I recently lent a book, "Marriage as a Trade," to a friend. Before reading it she said: "It is very bitter, isn't it?" I replied: "Facts are bitter!" That is what your correspondents who complain of your tone do not seem to grasp. We must look facts in the face, and not be afraid to draw conclusions from them. If we know of a man who beats his wife, it does not alter the fact for us to say he gives her a gentle pat!

FANNY JOHNSON.

Allow me to add a word or two in support of the protests you have received as to the attitude of "The Common Cause" towards Liberals. A very large proportion of the Suffragists in the country, both men and women, belong to this great party, and have no wish to repudiate the ties which bind them together. I would suggest humbly, as a Suffragist and a Liberal (and, as your Cheltenham correspondent says, the position is often a difficult one), that it is of very little use, if any, to make these attacks on what is after all earnest co-operation for other "common causes" which their promoters believe to be great and worthy. At a time, like the present, of keen political conflict, when neither side feels able to risk any compromise, it seems particularly futile to suggest the ideally impartial standpoint. I am under the impression that party government is almost universally admitted to be the

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"ARTOX" not only makes good bone, blood, and muscle, but prevents constipation, and is therefore the great preventive against Cancer, Appendicitis, etc.

Try it for a week, and you will give up white flour. It is the most digestible and nourishing flour known.

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West Heath School, HAMPSTEAD.

For Boys and Girls between the ages of six and eighteen.

[ESTABLISHED 1897.]

The school is happily situated, and attention should be drawn to its special advantages in this respect. It is no doubt considered ideal for a school to be in the country, but in the part of Hampstead where West Heath School stands, many advantages of the country are present, while those of the town, which can be turned to good use for children, are at hand.

The school has a large playing field; good well-treed gardens; is near to a quiet part of the heath, and itself faces across open country towards the Harrow Weald. It thus finds a freedom which many schools actually in the country cannot compass in these days of golf, motor-cars, and game-preserving. At the same time, the advantages of having the British Museum, the Zoological Gardens, the Natural History Museum, historical buildings, beautiful pictures and sculpture (to mention only part of what is available), within easy access for the visits of a class, are of incalculable value in the education of the children.

Particulars from the Principal.

Reference is allowed to THE REV. CANON SCOTT-HOLLAND, D.D., 1, AMEN COURT, ST. PAUL'S, E.C.4.; and DR. JANE WALKER, 122, HARLEY STREET, W.

best practical way of getting things done. In any case, is it likely that the House of Lords, as at present constituted, would be willing to add to the electorate of the country in any way at all?

In conclusion, let me ask what object is effected by the admittance of such expressions as "the slimy trail of party" into a paper which stands for the bettering of political life, and claims to rise above the "petty squabbles" of party organs.

I make these protests just because I value "The Common Cause" as a very important factor in our movement, and should be sorry if it were to lose any of its effectiveness and power.

DOROTHY TARRANT.
53, Westover Road, Wandsworth, S.W.,
March 27th, 1911.

[We can, of course, express no opinion on the controversy with the House of Lords, and can only say that, up to now, each House is, for women, a House of Lords. With regard to the quotation made by our correspondent, the phrase was not used of party in general, but to characterise the effect that extreme partisanship has in blinding people to what is good and true, and we instanced the treatment of Women's Suffrage by unbiassed reviewers and partisan leader-writers respectively. One finds a paper like the "Times," for instance, being most appreciative of Olive Schreiner's book in a review, and yet in its leaders sneering at and misrepresenting manifestations of the spirit of that book in practice.—Ed. "C. C."]

Instead of blaming you for your words re the Government, I should like to thank you. Our one obstacle in getting a Suffrage Bill on to the Statute Book is the attitude of the chief members of the Cabinet. The country itself seems to me sufficiently acquiescent. Well, then, surely the business of the "Common Cause" is to deal with this obstacle in the best way it can. You take our pennies for this very purpose. If the Liberal Government is not liberal, too, as it certainly is not in its attitude to women, it deserves censure and hard criticism not only from Suffragists, but more especially from its own supporters. Our business is not to flatter it, but to keep it in order and make it do its duty. I think I may say this, as I am also a

LIBERAL WOMAN.

In company with Mrs. Verrall, Dorothea Jordan, and others, I, too, would plead earnestly for a fairer and—I say it deliberately—a higher tone in the "Common Cause."

I am certain that an attitude of petty antagonism to men in particular and to men in general does more harm than good to the great cause of Women's Suffrage, and unfortunately this is the attitude too often expressed in "Common Cause." I know that many readers share this opinion—some hold it so strongly that they have ceased to spread the sale of the paper. Others, I know, who have been induced by it to join the increasing ranks of the Adult Suffragists.

I trust the editor will seriously consider these protests; hitherto they have met with scant sympathy.

A. D. SANGER.

58, Oakley Street, Chelsea, S.W., March 27th.

[We have every desire to meet genuine criticism with an open mind. Where no "antagonism to men in general" is felt, it is hard to conceive how it is conveyed. But we are bound to accept Mrs. Sanger's statement that it has been conveyed—to her at least, and as she says, to others. We are sorry. It is not there, we assure her—and others.—Ed. "C. C."]

As I agree entirely with E. B.'s opinion expressed in the last number of "The Common Cause" that the militant tactics have much delayed the granting of the franchise to women, I venture to protest against space and advertisement being given in your columns to the W.S.P.U. Also I think some supervision of advertisements is necessary. When I saw that "speakers from all societies" were announced as taking part in a mass meeting to advocate resistance to the Census, I realised that such a statement could only harm our great cause.

A. TARRANT.

[We cannot accept the implication that we are never to publish news or advertisements unless we approve of everything contained in them. The National Union did not

advocate Census resistance. We do not know whether any speakers from the National Union were included in the meeting alluded to, but if they were, the Union and we are powerless to prevent them. Our rules are few and would not forbid them.—Ed. "C. C."]

MISS PANKHURST AT THE ALBERT HALL.

When I heard Christabel Pankhurst's passionate defence of militancy at the Albert Hall on March 23rd, and her equally passionate appeal to "constitutional suffragists" to ask themselves again, even at the eleventh hour, whether militant methods were not only necessary, but right, I felt at once that she gave an opportunity to the "enemy" to accuse her of "denouncing the Constitutionals."

But by the "enemy" I meant those who for their own purposes are only too willing to sow dissension amongst suffragists holding different views as to tactics. But it remains for the misunderstanding to come from within and not from outside the camp.

Miss Rosamond Smith says in a letter you publish on March 30th:—"Unfortunately, she (Miss Pankhurst) denounced in vigorous terms those who chose to work by constitutional means, declaring that, in her opinion, they must, as women of intelligence, believe in militant action and only abstained from taking part in it through cowardice."

I should like to quote a great deal of Miss Pankhurst's speech, but have space only to deal with the actual words as to cowardice:—"If we rely on constitutional methods when our intelligence tells us that these methods are in vain, then we are cowards."

This, even apart from its context, gives I think a very different impression from that produced by reading Miss Rosamond Smith's version of what was said, but only those who actually heard and saw Miss Pankhurst as she made her speech can fully realize how essentially her words were an appeal to those whom she (rightly or wrongly) considers blind and how far they were from an attack on individual constitutionalists or an imputation of cowardice to their leaders.

ALICE POLLARD.

Wimbledon Common, 31st March, 1911.

[We have enquired from several of Miss Pankhurst's hearers, some of them with strong "militant" sympathies, and they entirely bear out Miss Rosamond Smith's report. We will, however, quote from the report in "Votes for Women," which shows clearly that, in the light of the context, Mrs. Pollard's quotation does convey an imputation of cowardice:—"We say to you non-militant women, do not sin against the light. Do not let cowardice blind your vision. Be honest with yourselves. Think this thing out clearly without any heat or emotion. Ask yourselves what is the good of a constitutional policy to those who have no constitutional weapon. We say to constitutional suffragists, you are no longer children and you must not play the part of children. You are women with the souls and minds of women and you must quit yourselves like women. I will put two questions to you: Do you deny that these militant methods are necessary? You cannot. You must know they are necessary."

It does not appear to us to be a matter of importance whether or no Miss Pankhurst imputed to us either cowardice or dishonesty, directly or indirectly, but it seems clear that she did so. It is a common political device.—Ed. "C. C."]

Work of Societies in the Union.

MIDLAND FEDERATION.

The BIRMINGHAM Society has been at work during this month in preparation for the bringing forward of a resolution in favour of Women's Suffrage at the next City Council meeting on April 11th. A memorial, signed by 245 influential citizens, was addressed to the Lord Mayor asking for permission to bring forward the resolution; this was granted, and two councillors have consented to propose and second it. Through the generosity of Miss Kirby, six advertising stations in the city have been rented for three months, on which large posters dealing with Suffrage matters are displayed, and changed every week. Mrs. Dowson has provided for weekly advertisements about Suffrage in the local papers, and Miss Higginson has also arranged for the display of "Common Cause" posters at New Street Station for one year.

Lounges and Spacious Dining, Drawing, Writing, Reading, Billiard, and Smoking Rooms. Bathrooms on every Floor. Perfect Sanitation. Passenger Lifts. Floors Fireproof Throughout. Night Porters. Telephone.

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SHROPSHIRE reports two successful meetings in Shrewsbury. On March 7th Miss Abadam addressed a crowded audience of women only, when her eloquent, earnest words made a deep impression, and many of her hearers realized for the first time what was the inner meaning of the Suffrage Movement. On March 14th Mrs. Bracey, of Birmingham, addressed a meeting at Kingsland House, by kind permission of Mrs. Harold Cook, its object being to further the candidature of Mrs. Harley as Rural District Councillor and Poor Law Guardian. Mrs. Bracey, herself a P.L.G., testified to the increasing necessity for women guardians, and spoke most helpfully on their special duties. On March 13th, at a meeting of the Shrewsbury Town Council, a resolution in favour of the new Conciliation Bill was proposed and seconded, and there is every reason to believe it would have passed had it not been blocked by the moving of the "Previous question."

NOTTINGHAM reports that weekly "At Homes" have been held in the office—the speakers being Mrs. Blurton, Mrs. W. E. Dowson, and Mrs. G. E. Dowson,—and have proved most successful. On March 22nd a whist drive and dance were held, at which seventy-eight were present, and this was the means of raising a small fund and bringing the members together.

OXFORD reports a novel and successful entertainment for raising money, which might well be imitated by other societies. A "white elephant" tea was organized by Mrs. Margolouth, who described a white elephant as follows:—"Anything which your friends might value more than you do yourself, or any object for which you have no use, but which might prove a valued possession to someone else." On this occasion the articles given were sold, and a most substantial sum was realized.

SUTTON COLDFIELD reports a splendid meeting, at which 500 people were present. There was a Suffrage address by Mr. F. Bolder, who moved a resolution in support of Sir George Kemp's Bill for Women's Suffrage. This was put to the vote and carried. The performance of Miss Cicely Hamilton's Anti-Suffrage waxworks was a great attraction, especially as she herself appeared as showman. The evening's amusement concluded with a two-act comedy.

LEICESTER AND LEICESTERSHIRE held their annual meeting in the Memorial Hall on March 15th, when Miss Fraser gave an interesting address on the present position of the Women's Suffrage movement. A resolution was passed calling upon the Government to grant facilities for the passing of the Conciliation Bill. This Society has published an excellent report.

WARWICK AND LAMINGTON held their annual meeting in the Pump Room, Leamington. The Rev. Ingham Brook took the chair, and the speaker was Miss Fry, of Birmingham. The secretary's report showed a good return of work done during the year.

STRAFORD-ON-AVON reports a public meeting on February 28th, the chair being taken by Lady Willoughby de Broke, and the speaker Mrs. King. The usual resolution was passed, and it was decided to send a copy of it to the Prime Minister.

NORTH-WESTERN FEDERATION.

AMBLESIDE.—The annual meeting was held on March 23rd. A very practical and interesting address was given by Mr. Lyon Blease, of Liverpool. He made special reference to methods of influencing District Councils and local members of Parliament in favour of the Conciliation Bill.

KENDAL.—An Anti-Suffrage meeting was held on March 25th in Kendal. Mrs. Humphry Ward was the speaker. No resolution was put to the meeting, but so far as one could judge at question time, there were as many Suffragists as Anti-Suffragists present, and we did not feel that our cause would suffer any set back.

SCOTTISH FEDERATION.

Beginning and ending with a by-election campaign, March has been a month of strenuous and varied activity.

Miss Crompton's highly successful campaign in N.-E. Lanark, with its record of fifty-one meetings in fifteen days, has already received notices in "The Common Cause." The Federation has now drafted its forces into East Lothian, and welcomes this further opportunity of impressing our cause on the public imagination—never so susceptible as during the fever of an election.



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ALEXANDER WILKIE,
LADIES' TAILOR and
DRESSMAKER.

61, Shandwick Place, Edinburgh.

March 25th is memorable as the date of our first annual meeting, noticed in last week's paper. From this first gathering, and the beautiful service on the following day, has come fresh strength in the deepened sense of unity of effort for our Common Cause.

From ABERDEEN comes news of an interesting meeting held in the Music School, Cults, on February 23rd. Miss L. I. Lumsden, who gave the address, sketched the progress of the movement in different countries, and dealt forcibly with the Anti-Suffragist arguments. Mrs. Robertson, who presided, showed how civilisation had been retarded by the denial to women of full rights of citizenship.

From PEEBLES we get prominent notices from the local paper of an Anti-Suffrage meeting on March 1st, followed by a meeting of the Peebles Society on the following day. The Antis. were ably heckled by Miss Alice Low, Edinburgh, who took the Anti. arguments—and bogies—as the basis of her address next day, and dealt with them to such good effect that several new members were gained. The Society is now engaged in preparations for a cake and candy sale, to raise money for the Festival Initial Fund.

The EDINBURGH Society again reports a month of constant activity, in spite of the fact that some of the most active members were engaged until March 9th in N.-E. Lanark. The Friday "At Homes" have been interesting and well attended. On March 3rd Miss Williamson spoke on "Women and the Empire" to an interested gathering, and several new members were enrolled. On March 10th an address on "Women of the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries" was given by Miss Clem. Gordon. By the collection and a small sale of sweets 23s. 6d. was raised. The "At Home" on March 24th was held in the Café Hall, Princess Street, where Mr. Mirrieles aroused his audience to enthusiasm by a magnificent fighting speech. We reported in last week's issue his inspiring and convincing address at the reception the same evening.

On February 25th Miss Lamont's meeting of girls engaged in business was addressed by Miss Alice Low and Miss Begbie. Eight new members were gained from an audience of thirty. Dr. Inglis addressed a social gathering at Newington on February 28th. On March 9th, the polling-day in N.-E. Lanark, two meetings were held in the Edinburgh area. Miss Chrystal Macmillan and Miss Clem. Gordon spoke in the Buccleugh Street Hall, Dalkeith, to a small but attentive audience. A collection of 18s. was taken, and twenty "Common Causes" sold, besides some literature. Miss Alice Low and Miss L. M. Gordon addressed a public meeting at Gullane. Seven new members were enrolled. Two drawing-room meetings are reported. That at Mrs. Fraser's, Blackhall, on March 13th, was addressed by Miss Alice Low and Mrs. Scott, and was successful in gaining ten new members. At Mrs. Pringles', on March 22nd, Anti-Suffrage sentiment was represented in force. The speakers were Miss Mair and Miss Alice Low. A characteristic discussion took place, led by Mrs. Bailey Jones on behalf of the Antis, and by Mr. D. Scott-Moncrieff on the side of Suffrage.

One of the most delightful items in the month's work was the reception at 9, Melville Street, on March 15th. The entertainment provided was varied, and of a high order. Mrs. Pyatt and Mr. Franklin took part in a dialogue, entitled "The Philosopher"; Miss Helen Ford sang with her wonted charm and distinction; and Miss Agnes Copeland enchanted the audience with her violin playing. By the sale of tickets at 2s. 6d. (which charge included the excellent refreshments, managed by Mrs. Christison), the sum of £10 18s. was raised for the Edinburgh Society.

PAISLEY Society reports an interesting address given by Miss Chrystal Macmillan in the Minor Town Hall on March 6th. Miss Macmillan outlined the N.U. election policy, particularly with reference to the running of Suffrage candidates, and explained the present position of the Conciliation Bill.

HADDINGTON Society organised a successful meeting on March 9th, at which the speakers were Dr. Inglis and the Rev. Mr. Mellone.

On March 14th two successful drawing-room meetings were held in MELROSE. The afternoon meeting, at Miss Riddell's, attended chiefly by members, was addressed by Miss Florence Matheson, Edinburgh, who spoke again at the evening meeting, held in St. Dunstan's, where an address was given also by Miss Hilda Cotterill. There was a good sale of "Common Causes," and seven new members joined the local Society, which is still young and has much fresh ground to break.

Preparations are now being pressed forward for the great campaign in support of the Bill which is planned for April and May, when we look forward to having our cause championed by Miss Abadam and Miss Nina Boyle.

GLASGOW.—The new secretary of the Glasgow Society is Miss K. W. Lindsay.

SURREY, SUSSEX, AND HANTS. FEDERATION.

On February 26th Mrs. Cooper addressed the Women's Co-operative Guild at HASLEMERE. The meeting was most successful, the working-woman's point of view securing rapt attention. At Camelsdale, a working-class district where no meeting had been held, she made an excellent impression the next evening. The wife of the vicar of Grayshott, speaking recently to the Mothers' Union upon "The Woman's Question," made her hearers see what underlies the demand for the vote. People hitherto unreached are accepting invitations to a Church League meeting on March 30th at Haslemere. Great interest is aroused over the Provincial Council, and local membership has been increased lately by house-to-house visiting.

On March 8th Mrs. Cooper spoke at the CROYDON Society's "At Home" in the Adult School, the audience of over 200 consisting mainly of keenly interested working-women. In the evening, in Miss Miller's drawing-room, Mrs. Cooper converted several shop assistants. On March 20th the nine Croydon Suffrage Societies gallantly, but unsuccessfully, attempted to persuade the Borough Council to petition the Government for facilities for the Conciliation Bill. The councillors were obviously impressed by the splendid work of Miss Green, one of the lady Guardians, but declined the request by a majority of ten, because the subject was political. However, pleasure is felt at having gained over 1,600 signatures to the memorial, and also because a large deputation presented it, including many influential inhabitants.

The GONALMS Town Council has decided in a similar manner; but the debate was in our favour, and one alderman said the town had already expressed its opinion—apparently alluding to the

voters' petition and the successful canvass among women there, and that further action was unnecessary.

On March 9th Mrs. Alexander held a drawing-room meeting at REIGATE, with Miss A. Klein in the chair, at which Mrs. Cooper spoke. Next day Mrs. Auerbach presided at a public meeting in the Parish Hall, and Mrs. Cooper moved a resolution—"That the political enfranchisement of women is an urgent necessity, and that Colonel Rawson be urged to give his utmost support to the Conciliation Bill through the stages necessary for its passage into law." Miss Maude Royden seconded the motion, which was carried. The following day a public meeting took place at Horley, Miss Bidder in the chair, when Mrs. Cooper again spoke.

On March 10th Mrs. Stanbury spoke at Mrs. Kitchen's drawing-room meeting at OXTED, and on the 16th a debate was held at the Assembly Rooms there, nearly 270 people being present. Mrs. Rackham was opposed by Miss Mabel Smith, and won her motion in favour of the Suffrage by eleven votes (63 for, 52 against).

On March 9th the Federation Committee at BRIGHTON was followed by a public meeting in the Hove Town Hall. In spite of frequent Suffrage meetings last winter the audience was large. The vicar of Portlade presided, and Mr. Cecil Chapman quoted examples of the legal hardships of poor women who came before him in the police court. Miss Maude Royden called for untiring workers, stating that she had abandoned her favourite work for our cause, for one year or for a lifetime. The resolution, urging the Government to grant facilities this session, was passed with one dissentient. The collection amounted to £6 8s.

On March 14th Mr. A. Weeks, J.P., took the chair in the Parish Room at Hurstpierpoint, when Miss Verrall and Miss Chute Ellis addressed the meeting. Next day Lady Brassey presided in the Congregational Hall, HORSTED KEYNES, making a convincing speech, and Lady Betty Balfour, who was enthusiastically received, explained the Parliamentary position of the Conciliation Bill, and defeated the arguments against it. The attendance was good, despite bad weather.

Lord Lytton took part in a debate in the DOMINGO Public Hall on March 15th, opposed by Mr. F. E. Bray; the National Anti-Suffrage League and its Dorking branch both having refused to take part. The much-interested audience numbered about 200, and the motion was won by 85 votes to 41.

The death of Col. John Penrycuk, C.S.I., is a real loss to the CAMBERLEY Society. He gave invaluable help in its formation, and through months of illness still retained its interest in it. On March 13th Mrs. Atkinson held a drawing-room meeting at Portesbury Hill, Camberley, when nearly forty people attended. The Rev. A. H. G. Creed took the chair, and Mrs. Cooper gave an address on "Women Workers and the Vote" to an interested audience, largely unfamiliar with the subject. Mrs. Robie Uniacke seconded the resolution calling on the Government to give facilities for the Conciliation Bill. That evening Mrs. Cooper addressed the local branch of the Women's Co-operative Guild, and next day she took a meeting in Frimley Village Hall, Mr. E. J. Close in the chair. New members and much encouragement have resulted from Mrs. Cooper's visit. This Society has been canvassing for subscribers to "The Common Cause," and obtaining information about a canvass, found to be very incomplete, undertaken by the local Anti-Suffrage Society.

BOURNEMOUTH.

On February 27th there was a very lively debate in St. Peter's Hall on "Should the Parliamentary Franchise be Extended to Women?" Mrs. Marivale Mayer took the affirmative, and was opposed by Mr. Harold Salt. Mrs. Mayer pointed out the good results from the granting of the franchise to women in Australia and Norway. She spoke of the great need the industrial woman has of the vote. Mr. Salt, unfortunately for himself, mentioned the divorce laws as an example of how many laws favoured women. He tried to make capital out of the physical force argument. A discussion followed, in which the following took part: Mrs. Gohlke, Mrs. Rome, Mrs. Edison, Councillor Mackenzie, Mr. Patrick, Mr. Hume, Mr. Hankinson, Mr. Raymond, and Mr. Haigh. The vote resulted in a great majority for Suffrage.

CHELMSFORD.

A meeting was held at Shire Hall on March 28th. Alderman J. O. Thompson presided, and Miss K. D. Courtney gave an address. She said women must be given a voice in those affairs which ultimately governed the home. She moved a resolution in favour of the Conciliation Bill. This was seconded by Miss Bancroft, M.A. The resolution was carried, with only one dissentient.

LEWES.

A successful drawing-room meeting was held at The Grange, Southover, Lewes, by kind permission of Mrs. Stewart-Jones (president), on March 21st. The Rev. H. Anson kindly took the chair, and there was a good audience. Lady Stout gave a most interesting address on the result of women's franchise in New Zealand.

Other Societies.

THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Office: 8, Park Mansions Arcade, S.W. (Opposite Knightsbridge Tube Station.)

Two large halls have been booked in the Maldon Division of Essex for meetings—one at Braintree and one at Maldon. Both towns are being thoroughly canvassed. After Easter this Society will send organisers to Hastings and to Rye to assist the local branch to arrange public meetings.

The Mid-Norfolk campaign has had splendid results in arousing the interest of those who had never before attended a Suffrage meeting, and the resolutions urging "the member" to give effective support to the Conciliation Bill, and carried almost unanimously, must have weight. To create a solid and lasting public opinion in favour of Women's Suffrage in these places further education is needed. The women especially must be brought to feel more than an academic interest in the question. To crown our success the work must be continued, and organisers must be sent to revisit the places where the work has been so favourably begun. To do this we must have more money, for there is already a deficit on the campaign fund. Suffragists! realise the need and send subscriptions to the hon. treasurer. Remember that every shilling counts.

A dinner is being arranged for a date in the first week in May—to be announced later,—at which Miss Ella Wheeler Willcox will be one of the guests. A reception, with a dramatic entertainment arranged by the Actresses' League, will follow. Office "At Home."—On Tuesday, March 28th, Dr. Cobb gave an interesting and original address to a crowded audience in the office. On Tuesday, April 11th, at 4-15 p.m., the speaker will be Miss Thompson.

ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

The Actresses' Franchise League will hold their next "At Home" on Friday, April 7th, at 3 p.m., in the Grand Hall of the Criterion Restaurant, Piccadilly Circus, W., when the question of Woman's Suffrage will be dealt with by the speakers from four most interesting points of view. Mr. C. S. Goldman, member for Taunton, one of our champions in the House of Commons, will discuss the political situation and the fortunes of the Conciliation Bill in the present session. Mrs. Archibald Little: Old Chinese philosophy in relation to woman's emancipation. Mr. Harold Gorst: Personal experiences with the politically awakened young womanhood in America. And Mrs. Nevinson, L.L.A., on the latest move, i.e., Census resistance. Miss Lillian Braithwaite will take the chair. Hostess: Miss Lily Brayton. Doors open at 2.30 p.m. Admission free. All invited.

Forthcoming Meetings.

- APRIL 6.
 Haslemere—School—Public Meeting—Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Swanwick, Aneurin Williams, Esq. 8.0
 Rochdale—Town Hall—Mrs. P. Snowden. 8.0
 Cambridge—C.E.Y.M.S. Rooms—Younger Suffragists' At Home—Miss Baden (hostess), Miss Ray Costelloe. 8.0
 Leamington—Birch's Music Rooms—Franchise Club. 3.0
 Sutton Coldfield—Y.M.C.A. Hall—Monthly Meeting. 3.30
 Birmingham—10, Easy Row—Speakers' Class. 5.0
- APRIL 7.
 Oldham—Greenacres Co-operative Hall—Mrs. Philip Snowden, Mrs. J. B. Duckworth, the Mayoress (chair). 7.45
 Taunton—Parade Assembly Rooms—Capt. Luthell (chair), Lady Betty Balfour, Mr. Hannon. 8.0
 Bromsgrove—Assembly Rooms—Public Meeting—Dr. Rowlands (chair), Miss Helga Gill, Mrs. Robie Uniacke. 8.0
 Bristol—111a, Whiteladies' Road—Working Party—Hostess, Mrs. Randall Vickers. 3.0
 Leeds—Primitive Methodist Chapel, Cardigan Road—Mrs. Parrish. 8.0
 Sheffield—Nether Lecture Hall—Social Evening—Mrs. Marivale Mayer, Dr. Helen Wilson, Miss Maud Maxfield. 7.30
- APRIL 8.
 Birmingham—Men's Adult School, Clark Street—Mrs. Ring, Miss K. Clarke, Mrs. A. D. Matthews (chair). 8.0

- APRIL 10.
 Benwell—Bond Memorial School—Miss C. M. Gordon. 7.30
 Birmingham—Islington Wesley Guild, S. Martin Street—Debate—Mrs. Ring v. W. G. Hooper, Esq., F.R.A.S. Admission 5d. 7.45
- APRIL 11.
 Birmingham—Alum Rock—Open-air Meeting—Mrs. Robinson. 8.0
- APRIL 12.
 Letchworth—Girls' Club—Meeting for Associates—Miss A. Villiers. 8.30
- APRIL 13.
 Dublin—35, Molesworth Street—Irish W.S. and Local Government Association—Committee Meeting. 11.30
- APRIL 19.
 Bournemouth—St. Peter's Hall—Miss Abadam. 8.0

LONDON.

- April 7: S. Kensington, Suffrage Shop, 7, Stratford Road. 8.30
 Camberley, Mrs. Bousfield's Drawing-room Meeting. Miss A. H. Ward, Miss I. B. O'Malley. 5.30
 Sutton, Mrs. Gillett's Drawing-room Meeting, Miss J. H. Thomson, B.A. 3.45
- April 8: E. St. Pancras, corner of Pratt Street, Open-air Meeting, Miss Rinder. 8.0
 Norwood—Suffrage Office, Rev. R. Pyke, Miss Green. 8.0
 April 11: Lambeth, 24, Lower Marsh, Westminster Bridge Road. Meeting for Mothers, Miss A. H. Ward. Afternoon
- April 12: Kingston, Market Place, Open-air Meeting, Miss Dawson. 8.0
 April 15: Norwood, Suffrage Office, Miss Eunice Murray, Miss Abadam. 8.0
 April 19: Kingston, Market Place, Open-air Meeting, Speakers from Men's League. 8.0

SCOTLAND.

- April 7: Edinburgh, 40, Shandwick Place, Miss F. G. Matheson. 4.30
 North Berwick, Parish Church Public Hall, Miss Alice Crompton, M.A. 8.30
 April 21: Edinburgh, 40, Shandwick Place, Miss F. Raeburn. 4.30

IRELAND.

- MISS ASHTON'S MEETINGS.
 April 17th—Killarney—Victoria Hotel. 4 p.m.
 Killarney—Dr. Bruner's Drawing-room Meeting. 8 p.m.
 April 18th—Limerick—Athenaeum Hall—Lady Clarina, chair-man. 8 p.m.
 April 19th—Cork—The Imperial Hotel. 8 p.m.
 April 20th—Mallow—Drawing-room Meeting at the Castle. 11.15
 April 20th—Waterford—Large Concert Hall—Chairman, The Dean of Waterford. 8 p.m.
 April 21st—Dublin—Leinster Hall—Sir C. Cameron, M.D., C.B., chairman. 8 p.m.
 April 22nd—Dublin—Drawing-room Meeting—Mrs. C. L. Townshend. 3.30

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GET Knight's Primrose Soap from Suffrage Shop, 54, Long Row, Nottingham. All profits to the Cause. Send for prices and samples.

LADY, having let her house for the London season, wishes to find temporary situations for her staff—four altogether,—from May till July 20th. Housekeeper, cook, housemaid, young footman; wages £20 per month, and travelling expenses. A young under-housemaid also, if desired.—G. 22.

MISS MARGARET ASHTON begs gifts of Books for second-hand Sale, on May 12th, for Suffrage. No sermons. Parcels to the Social Club, Lower Mosley Street, Manchester.

MISS ALICE CROMPTON recommends a Dressmaker, who will work in her own home or in ladies' houses in or near Manchester.—Apply Miss Johnson, Brook Houses Farm, Bayfield, Derbyshire.

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