

The Common Cause

THE ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF



July 11th,
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Women's Suffrage

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A NEWSPAPER

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PURE INDIAN TEA

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MOST people love a cup of tea. Medical opinion has declared unmistakably in favour of a well-made tea as a standard beverage. We have only to read the "Lancet" for January 7th, 1911, to see how strong is this expert opinion in favour of tea. The leading medical paper says that there is more tannin in a dose of red wine than in a corresponding dose of tea, and that therefore the fuss about tannin in tea is ill-founded. All infusions of tea are alkaline, and they are incapable in that state of acting as tanning agents.

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THE COMMON CAUSE.

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Literary Contributions should be addressed to the Editor, The Common Cause, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. The Editor however, accepts no responsibility for unsolicited matter, and no manuscripts will be returned unless accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope.

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 day possible, not as the one upon which all news should arrive.

NOTICE.—This paper is 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, The Common Cause, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C., giving the name and address of the newsagent or bookstall from which they wish to be supplied.

Notes and Comments.

No Interest.

During the first day's debate on the second reading of the Government Franchise Bill—"the greatest Reform Bill since 1884"—we have it on the authority of "P. W. W." of the *Daily News*, that "the average attendance in the House was eight to twelve members." This bears out what we Suffragists have always maintained, and faithfully reflects the feeling, or lack of feeling, in the country. Scarcely anyone cares tuppence for the Franchise Bill as it stands; the one interest it possesses is the fact that it is "open to amendment," and unless it emerges from Committee as a Women's Suffrage Bill, it will go to its unhonoured grave, unlamented, as it was uncalled for.

Antiquated Attitudes.

We note that one paper speaks of Mr. Harcourt as a "great Parliamentarian," and several papers go into raptures at the "wit" of his retort on Mr. Mason, who threatened to oppose the Bill on third reading if it did not include women. Mr. Harcourt's sublime contribution to this controversy was: "Why should the hon. member betray the sex he adorns in the supposed interests of the sex he adores?" Exquisite, is it not? There is a decidedly Labouchereian flavour about this wit. It is eminently "House-of-Commons—Old-style." Mr. Harcourt is reported to be devoted to "Radical traditions." It seems this is true. Do his constituents really find that he is a satisfying representative for a twentieth century industrial community? His style strikes us as resembling the flowery language of the *ancien régime* rather too closely to suit the terrible realities of modern economics. Mr. Harcourt should go down to Wapping and Bermondsey and Rotherhithe, and ask the starving docker's wife who has no bread why she does not eat cake. He should go to a meeting of women in support of the White Slave Traffic Bill and explain how the men who "adore" women are whittling down or opposing the Bill. He should tell the women weavers of Rossendale what he told the Anti-Suffrage ladies at the Albert Hall and discover for himself whether working women are as ignorant as "adored" ladies. The Liberal Party has discovered the working man; is it not time it made a fresh adventure and discovered the working woman?

Work Within the House.

A small Parliamentary Council for amending the Franchise Bill has been formed consisting of representatives from various groups of suffragists. Among these are Lord Lytton, who has been elected Chairman; Lord Robert Cecil, Sir Alfred Mond and Mr. Brailsford from the Conciliation Committee, and Messrs. Henderson, C. Roberts, F. D. Acland, and W. Rea from the Campaign Committee; the Liberal group is also to be represented and the object of the Council will be to make effective the suffrage forces in the House.

Amendments to the Franchise Bill.

In our issue of June 27th some statements were made with regard to amendments to the Franchise Bill, which need some modification. It is now held best on Clause I, subsection (1) merely to delete the word "male." It is held that this deletion would not actually *do* anything to enfranchise women (since women are under a "legal incapacity" as regards the Parliamentary franchise) but it *makes it possible* to do anything to enfranchise women in subsection (2).

We give on page 229 the text of parts of the Bill so that our readers may follow Lord Robert Cecil's article on procedure, but these amendments will only come on in Committee, and it is not yet known when the Franchise Bill will go into Committee. The division on the Second Reading this week will probably follow party lines, since an adverse vote would mean the defeat of the Government and also the loss of the promised opportunity to amend the Bill.

When is a Lodger not an Occupier?

It must be remembered that the term "Occupier" has now been extended by this Bill to cover "lodger" and to include occupation of any value. The "Norwegian" amendment to enfranchise "occupiers and wives of occupiers" would therefore be a much larger measure on the proposed new basis than on the present one and would introduce another complication in that women are expressly excluded in the Bill as it stands from having the local government vote as lodgers; that is to say the woman lodger would not vote, but the wife of the male lodger would vote if the "Norwegian" amendment passed and the bar on women lodgers were not removed.

The Rights of Citizens.

It is stated that the City of London Conservative and Unionist Association will hold a demonstration in the City in the early autumn to protest against the Franchise Bill recently brought in by the Government, and to take every possible step "to protect the rights and privileges of the citizens."

Principle and Interest.

Something very like panic occurred in the Liberal ranks when it was known on the 2nd that Labour was going to contest Hanley and Crewe and was fairly indifferent to what might happen in the House in the course of these battles in the country. Into the merits of the quarrel between the two parties as to which of them has a prescriptive right to certain seats we do not propose to go; for us it is quite sufficient to back with all our force those men who are not only friends to women's suffrage but who belong to the only party that supports women's suffrage. Men no longer oppose us as a matter of principle, but as a matter of tactics. What we have to do is to show them it is good tactics not to oppose us. From Miss Housman's letter in our issue of last week it would appear that there are keen party Liberals who are simply yearning for evidence that if they "go agin" the women, the women will "go agin" them, and we are giving them this evidence. They will surely not go against their interests as well as their principles! That would be to qualify for one of the few remaining "legal incapacities" left to the male sex! We do not admire the man who breaks his word to save his party, but we regard the man who breaks his word in order to wreck his party as little short of a lunatic.

The Party Spirit.

One of the strangest of the many strange things said in the name of Liberalism occurred in an article last week by Mr. Harold Spender in the "Daily News and Leader." He wrote with reference to the threatened withdrawal of Labour Members during the contests at Hanley and Crewe that "such a withdrawal would, of course, relieve the Government of any obligation to pass Labour measures such as the Trade Union Bill." Never, surely, has the party as opposed to the patriotic view been more cynically taken. We have in our time said some strong things about the demoralising effect of the party spirit but we never said anything so cruel as this of the party to which Mr. Harold Spender belongs.

The Home Rule Bill and Women.

We are much interested in the amendment to the Home Rule Bill which is down in the name of Mr. Philip Snowden. Of course, if women were included in the Government Franchise Bill they could afford to look with comparative tranquillity to the near certainty of being included in any measure for Ireland. But since the Government has chosen not to put women into its Franchise Bill, the women are very naturally making a fight to get into the Home Rule Bill, and we are given to understand that many forces may combine to give them a very good chance.

THE NEW POLICY AND THE FIGHTING FUND.

THE LIBERAL-LABOUR CRISIS.

The New Policy made its first essay at Holmfirth. It is undergoing the crucial test at Hanley and Crewe. These two contests are for the Labour Party a matter of life or death. They must be for us a triumphant demonstration that the organised power of the women's movement can turn the scales in the electoral balance. The position as it affects labour is obviously critical. The Liberals, on the death of Mr. Enoch Edwards, have chosen to claim the seat which he had held for many years as a Labour member. They have in Mr. Outhwaite a capable candidate, and they count on using the campaign to popularise the new programme of land taxation which Mr. Lloyd George favours. But the chief asset in their favour was the fact that the local party organisation was in their hands. The Liberal Party has chosen to challenge Labour, and evidently it reckoned on taking it at a disadvantage. It is here that the suffrage movement can make its influence felt. It can supply what Labour particularly lacks in Hanley—expert organisers and workers who will do all that zeal and intelligence can effect to enable it to poll every possible vote. The Fighting Fund will supply the sinews of war for this auxiliary army, and as many organisers, speakers and voluntary workers as can effectively be used, will be massed in the field both at Hanley and Crewe. Our colours must be in evidence at every corner of the two towns, our activity so conspicuous and unremitting that friend and foe will alike admit that we have powerfully affected the issue of the fight.

WHAT IS AT STAKE.

What is at stake? Precisely what has always been at stake in the women's battle. We have to prove that we can make ourselves invaluable to our best friends and formidable to our opponents and to those who can offer only half-hearted support. Through all these years of struggle women have sought for a weapon. Militancy was one attempt to solve the problem; the anti-Government policy was another. Neither has yielded the results expected by those who used it. Our plan is to show by our power of organised work that we can reward the loyalty of the one party which has officially espoused our cause. Labour is faced by a real danger. It is fighting for its independence, and if at Hanley and Crewe it were to fail in its resistance to the Master of Elibank's attack, all its seats would be in jeopardy and its very existence as a separate party imperilled. No effort which we can make in such a crisis can be too great. Labour, by the vote of its two party conferences, has made itself the suffragist party. In fighting for it we are battling for ourselves. Our intervention implies no hostility to Liberal principles or even to the Liberal candidates as individuals. We are supporting Labour against the Liberal, because the Liberal Party has hesitated as a party to make our cause its own. Half its leaders are our opponents, and the will to serve us of those who are our friends is thwarted by a reactionary minority within its ranks. We must prove that when the party whose attitude is unflinching and unanimous is at issue with the party whose attitude is divided and equivocal, we can throw our weight decisively into the scale of our better friends. The eyes of the country are fixed on these two contests as on events which possess an historical importance. Chance has brought us a great opportunity, and no effort will be spared to turn it to account. If in both towns the Labour candidate heads the poll, we may be sure that the moral which we desire to enforce will be drawn by those who control the Liberal machine. It has resolved to enter on a reckless competition with Labour. It must learn that the influence of women can intervene to upset

its calculations. At every by-election we shall be ready, if the same conditions are repeated, to reinforce that lesson until the Liberal machine has realised that it has nothing to gain and everything to lose by its refusal to assist the enfranchisement of women.

THE PARTY TEST.

The new policy means a new vigour and a new concentration in electoral work. But as at Holmfirth, so at Hanley and Crewe, it involves no break with the traditions of the National Union. We are working for the Labour candidate primarily because his party alone is the suffragist party. But it happens here, as it will almost always happen, that he is personally the "best friend" of women's suffrage. Mr. Finney and Mr. Holmes will vote for every women's suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill, and they will also vote against the third reading if no women are included. Neither of the Unionists is in any real sense of the word a suffragist. The two Liberals will vote for a democratic amendment, but also they will vote for the Bill, even if it should emerge from Committee a measure which perpetuates the disabilities of women and ratifies the privileges of "every male person." In a word they are party men, but theirs is not a suffrage party. Neither Mr. Outhwaite nor Mr. Murphy can claim to be "tried supporters." We welcome their declarations, but they have no record which would enable us to decide whether they belong to that class which Mr. Sydney Buxton and Mr. Crawshaw Williams adorn. The Labour candidates, if they are elected, will join a party which is exposed to no temptation. The pressure of its "machine" and the mandate of its representative conference will do for us as much as the pressure of the Liberal machine has done against us.

THE FIGHTING FUND.

Our Fighting Fund has now reached a total of £3,000. But as the possibilities of the policy develop we find ourselves confronted by continual calls. It has met, or will meet, the heavy cost of the work at Holmfirth, Hanley and Crewe. It is also preparing to send its organisers to prepare the ground in the constituencies of leading Liberal opponents who will have to face a triangular contest at the next General Election. We must build up a formidable organisation in all these places, and enlist in our ranks every woman who respects herself, so that the whole available force of suffragist opinion may be mobilised at the critical moment against the Liberal anti-suffragist. But we have still to fill a war-chest which will be available when the General Election comes. Let no one say that this is three years head. An accident might bring it upon us at any moment. Our larger plan of campaign cannot be carried out unless we are assured of the funds to fight the twenty or thirty suitable seats which ought to be contested. We appeal with confidence for the subscriptions which will enable us not merely to meet current claims on a generous scale, but also to announce by autumn that our reserve stands at the round figure of £10,000.

FOURTH LIST.

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Anonymous	100	0	0	Mrs. Fyfe	10 1 6
Anonymous	50	0	0	H. R.	100 0 0
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Miss M. J. Buchanan	0	5	0	Mrs. Harley	5 0 0
Mrs. Walter Cohen	5	0	0	Mrs. Ernest J. Harrington	1 0 0
Miss S. R. Courtauld	100	0	0	Mrs. Heiland	25 0 0
Miss Catherine Courtauld	100	0	0	Miss E. Dora Higginson	10 10 0
Miss Cozhead	1	1	0	Mrs. Homan	5 0 0
Miss Alice Crompton	5	0	0		
Miss Dowson	2	0	0		
Miss Dowson	2	0	0		
					£1,609 6 10



HANLEY BY-ELECTION.
National Union Committee Room.

Photo by W. H. Nagington, Hanley.



HANLEY BY-ELECTION.

Photo by W. H. Nagington, Hanley.

Mrs. Annot Robinson addressing a meeting in support of Mr. Finney.

The National Union and the Franchise Bill.

We propose briefly to restate the position of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies towards the Government Franchise Bill. The National Union has been demanding the Parliamentary vote for women on the same terms as men ever since 1867, when the first Women's Suffrage Society was founded in England. Since then one great Reform Bill has been passed (in 1884), when the women were thrown overboard to "lighten the ship." Now the agitation has grown to such dimensions, and the demand has become so insistent that we have been told on all hands that no Reform Bill could be passed without women in it. That is our opinion, and it is also our opinion that the statesmanlike thing for the Liberal Government to do is to provide in its own Bill for the enfranchisement of women. So far the Government has not named women in its Bill except to take away from them something which they have, and to perpetuate all the absurdities of the Local Government Franchise. But we have been assured by Mr. Asquith that the Bill would be so drafted as to permit of amendments giving women the vote on terms different from men, and that the House should be left free to vote on these amendments without party pressure, and, further, that any amendment enfranchising women which was passed would be treated as an "integral part of the Bill and be defended by the Government in all its stages." The subject of the various amendments which may be proposed, and of the places in the Bill where they will be discussed, is dealt with in an article in this issue by Lord Robert Cecil. But the National Union is constantly being asked what amendment it prefers of those which give the vote on terms different from those on which men have the vote, and the answer of the National Union is: We prefer the widest amendment that will pass. It is for the Suffragists in the House of Commons to compound their differences and agree on some greatest common measure.

It is a common experience to find men, who are themselves at sixes and sevens as to the kind of franchise desired, most insistent that "You women must all be agreed." Well, we are all agreed. We want "the same terms as men." It seems the men are not "all agreed." So now it is their turn to come to an agreement.

We have never refused to support any Bill which had the merit of commanding a practicable majority. We accepted the Conciliation Bill. Not that we specially liked it. Not because—as a Liberal M.P. most unjustly declared—we "wished to prevent married women from having the vote"; but because it was offered to us with evidence that there was a working majority behind it, and this grew from 110 in 1910 to 167 in 1911, and was only smashed into fragments in 1912 by the action of the Government in introducing the Franchise Bill this year. We women are united; we ask for the vote on the same terms as men. But you shall not evade the issue by saying you cannot give us that particular form of franchise, for we reply: "What then will you give us?" It is not for us women to whittle down the franchise for women. We are not afraid of a "majority of women"! We think that whatever qualifies a man should qualify a woman. If the men think otherwise, it is for them to formulate their solution. We can't do their thinking, still less their "feeling," for them, and we decline to be credited with the absurdities and anomalies which they may perpetrate in their anxiety to discriminate between men and women.

There is a certain kind of Suffragist who always wants to give women just the kind of franchise for which there is not a majority. During the debates on the Conciliation Bill there were kind friends who would give us all, and therefore would not vote for some. There are now gentlemen who, the Conciliation Bill having been defeated, are awakening to its supreme merits. The Liberal candidate at the recent Holmfirth election was that sort of friend, and there is a plentiful crop of them among Liberal journalists. But the Labour Party remains as always, staunch. The Labour Party stands for Adult Suffrage, yet it has taken the rational position that any extension of the franchise to women is better than none, and it is really working to get something accomplished. The men of the Labour Party never vote against any proposal to enfranchise women, although probably the Conciliation Bill appealed to them as a party less than any other form of franchise. It is amusing to think of Mr. Asquith lecturing Labour men on what is truly democratic!

Now a special committee has been formed within the House to consider all the varieties of amendments and the chances of success for each. The National Union wishes this committee

all possible success. Agreement is essential, and that individual persons or groups should not vote against each other's amendments, so that the extension of the suffrage which cannot be defeated in principle would be defeated in detail. A very hearty desire to find a solution was shown by our friends, and they may rest assured of the hearty desire of the National Union to support their efforts.

Amending the Franchise Bill.

BY LORD ROBERT CECIL, K.C., M.P.

The Franchise Bill is to be read a second time in a few days; it is therefore of the utmost importance that the advocates of the enfranchisement of women should consider by what amendments they can best forward the object which they have in view.

The Bill is drafted upon the lines which are now usual in legislation. Its first clause contains the pith of the whole matter; it sets up the new Parliamentary franchise. The second clause deals with the Local Government franchise. The rest of the Bill and the schedules are of subsidiary importance. The first clause is divided into two subsections, the first of which provides for the enfranchisement of qualified persons and the second defines the qualification of such persons. But there is one qualification which is inserted in the first subsection: no one is to be enfranchised who is not a "male person." The first line of the Bill runs: "Subject to the provisions of this Act, every male person" who is qualified is to be enfranchised. It is clear, therefore, that if any woman is to be enfranchised the word "male" must be struck out. It is then possible to settle by amendments to subsection (2) what women are to be enfranchised.

It is suggested that if "male" be omitted from the first subsection and no further amendment be made, this would involve adult suffrage. It is very doubtful if this is true. By Clause 6 (2) all present incapacities, not expressly removed, remain. Among those incapacities is that of women and in view of the decisions of the courts on words somewhat similar to those found here, it could scarcely be said that by striking out "male," the present incapacity of women to vote would be expressly removed. The effect of the omission of the word "male" would seem to be only to enable the Committee to consider subsequent amendments designed to give the franchise to women. If it is desired to extend to women the franchise proposed to be conferred on men in the Bill, it will be necessary to insert, either in the first or second subsection, words making clear that "person" is to mean "person of either sex." That is not a proposal likely to command much support in the present House of Commons and the more practical question is, admitting that the suffrage is to be limited, what should be its limits. Among suffragists there are three main streams of opinion on this point. There are those who wish to give the franchise straight off to all women who are possessed of the residential or occupation qualification proposed for men by the Bill. Their course is simple; all they have to do, as has been said, is to extend Clause 1 to women as well as men. Putting that proposal aside as impracticable, the next group is that which proposes to give the suffrage to those women who are householders or married to householders and the third group desires to confine the suffrage to those women who at present vote in Local Government elections. The third suggestion is from the point of view of amendments the easiest to deal with. All that will be necessary after removing the word "male" from the first subsection, will be to insert in the second subsection a paragraph enfranchising for Parliamentary purposes those women who have already the right to vote for Local Government purposes.

The group who desire what may be called Household Suffrage for women could accomplish their object in one of two ways: they could either propose an amendment to the amendment of the Local Government group adding wives of householders to women Local Government electors and making that the basis of the Parliamentary franchise for women, or they could accept as a first step the extension of the Parliamentary vote to women Local Government electors, reserving to themselves the power to move on the second clause of the Bill an amendment extending the Local Government franchise to women who are married to householders. Probably the first plan would be the more convenient, since it would take the form of an amendment to the proposal to extend the Parliamentary vote to the women Local Government electors and would be put from the Chair before that amendment was put. The result would be that the division would take place on the wider proposal and then, if that were defeated, on the narrower, which is from every point of view desirable. Moreover, if it were defeated, and the narrower amendment accepted, it would still be open to the Committee to

consider when they came to the Local Government franchise, any extension that might be proposed of that franchise. There would thus be as it were two opportunities for those who desire a wider suffrage than that of the present Local Government electors.

In addition to these three main streams of opinion several proposals have been made for other modifications in the enfranchisement of women. There is—e.g., the proposal that they shall have half a vote each. There is also the proposal to raise the age of women voters to 25. It is feared that some of these proposals may be designed merely to sow dissension in the suffrage forces; as far as they are honest attempts to solve the question, they will no doubt be considered as and when they are brought forward. It must lie with the convinced advocates of the suffrage to prevent any more sinister objects of their proposers being accomplished. It may be asked what security there is that these amendments or any of them will come clearly and fairly before the Committee; suffragists have had, too often, experience of the use by their opponents of the forms of the House to defeat a clear issue on the suffrage question. The answer is that it all depends on the Chairman of Committees. He has complete authority to secure that every substantial issue shall be submitted clearly to the Committee and there is every reason to suppose that the present holder of the office will discharge his duties with ability and impartiality.

An Irishwoman in England.

It was with a sense of pleasurable excitement that I accepted the invitation of the National Union to spend a month in England and learn something of the details of its organising work on behalf of Women's Suffrage.

In Ireland our principal efforts so far have been directed to educating public opinion by the holding of meetings and the formation of societies in the larger centres. But since the constitution of the Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation six months ago the movement has been spreading in the country districts, and I felt sure that I should learn much from the English organisation that would be valuable in furthering this work. My first experience was with the West Lancashire Federation. Here I had the very great pleasure and privilege of working directly with Miss Eskrigge, the organiser for that district, and realised how complete, down to the minutest detail, this organising work could be. In the quaint little town of Poulton-le-Fylde, where we made a house-to-house canvass, many post-cards to the local M.P. were signed at our request by both men and women; and in Lytham, where an influential meeting was held, similar work was done.

I cannot say enough in support of this personal method of work. It is slow; it is often exhausting; but it is always interesting and never really discouraging, while its educational effect can hardly be over-estimated.

At the beginning of the following week we started a campaign at St. Helen's, and I had my first experience of an English "Black country" town. Black enough, externally, it was, in all conscience; one felt a thrill of indignation at the dullness, the ugliness, the horrible choking smoke, the whirling clouds of sharp dust which had inflamed the eyes of so many of the children.

One felt that here indeed the very stones cried out for the help of humane and practical women to devise a more excellent way of life for the dwellers in these great industrial centres.

But the people: how shall I describe them? Day after day we talked to them in their homes; night after night they thronged by hundreds to our open-air meetings, standing patiently in the pouring rain—an interested eager crowd; and never once did they show us the smallest discourtesy. Out of these dull and ugly little houses had come tired men, and women still more tired; but the fire of enthusiasm flamed in their faces and as one looked at them one saw a vision of the triumph of the human soul when touched to finer issues.

But if the Lancashire people impressed me so favourably what shall I say of Yorkshire, where the love of freedom seems to be in the very blood of the people? In the West Riding villages which form the Holmfirth division we did not need to call the people to listen to our gospel: they called us. Out of all the excitement, the gaiety, the strenuous work of that election week, the picture that remains most vividly in my mind is that of a scattered little hamlet perched on a hill-side, one of the most remote in the whole constituency. Hither I went one afternoon to hold a meeting. No preparation had been made; every thing was *à l'improviste*; there was only an hour in which to collect the audience. But as soon as the idea of the meeting got wind there was a general scamper to get cleared

up in time for it. The children were as keen as their parents, and rushed round spreading the news. At the appointed time, the space at the cross-roads was densely packed with as picturesque and handsome a crowd as I have ever seen. The women in their white aprons with gay coloured shawls over their heads, under which their eyes sparkled with excitement; the men more sober and sedate, but, like the women, quick to question and "prove all things."

It was an exhilarating experience, that week at Penistone; and it made one feel that the triumph of the cause of women's suffrage cannot be long delayed.

It is a far cry from Yorkshire to Surrey, and the difference between the external aspect of the deep Surrey valleys and the wind-swept hills of the north country is not greater than the difference in racial type between the two peoples. The southerner is slower of thought and of speech; he is not so instinctively a political being: but here, too, the people are waking up to the importance of a question which touches them so nearly, and the house-to-house canvass gained us many friends among the home-loving women. And here I should like to add that the idea of forming a band of "Friends of Women's Suffrage" seems to me a most admirable one. Soon, I hope, we shall see the whole of England, and Ireland too, linked together by this means in a bond of sympathy.

"One port, methought, alike they sought,
One purpose hold wh'er they fare,
O bounding breeze! O rushing seas!
At last, at last, unite them there!"

ELLEN DUNCAN.

An Enlightened Frenchman.

"Préjugé et Problème des Sexes." Par Jean Finot. Paris: Felix Alcan, 108, Boulevard St. Germain.

For centuries France and England have led Europe in almost every great movement towards political and social reform, and it is most fitting that the movement for the liberation of women should go forward without delay in France. M. Finot's volume breathes a noble spirit of hopefulness, instinct with the confidence that the present century is to mark the political emancipation of women, as the last one marked the political emancipation of men. He sees that the two causes are bound together; must, ultimately, succeed or fail together; and, though he admits that the future is uncertain, he puts in the front of his preface these words:—"Nous ne demanderons du reste jamais assez à la vie, dont les possibilités vont plus loin que nos rêves audacieux. Et si elle se montre souvent sourde à nos appels, c'est que nous ne savons point lui parler. Nous lui demandons surtout des choses impossibles et par cela même irréalisables. Nous avons ainsi proclamé la charte de l'homme, en oubliant celle de la femme." It is the cry of Shelley once more: "Can man be free if woman is a slave?" And for M. Finot full political freedom involves, as it ought to do, eligibility to the highest political functions. He quotes the splendid words of Condorcet in 1790, words that are absolutely appropriate to-day:—"Au nom de quel principe, au nom de quel droit, écarte-t-on, dans un état républicain, les femmes des fonctions publiques? Je ne le vois pas. Le mot représentation nationale signifie représentation de la nation. Est-ce que les femmes ne font point partie de la nation? Cette assemblée a pour but de constituer et de maintenir les droits du peuple français. Est-ce que les femmes ne font point partie du peuple français? Le droit d'élire et d'être élu est fondé pour les hommes sur leur titre de créatures intelligentes et libres. Est-ce que les femmes ne sont point libres et intelligentes?" The claim to the vote could scarcely be better put: no figments about "physical force," no makeshifts about property; the true ground is recognised in the possession of human intelligence, will and conscience. This man, at least, among the founders of political democracy realised what the democratic ideal meant. It is inspiring to recall, as M. Finot does, that at the same date in England Mary Wollstonecraft raised the banner of the women's cause. The book before us contains a wide review, almost world-wide, of the changes in the status of woman, so far back as history can go with approximate certainty.

The institution of the matriarchate, M. Finot considers, in any sense involving the real dominance of the woman, to be exceedingly doubtful, and in general the result of his survey is that the position of woman has markedly improved, though very slowly and with many relapses, as mankind has advanced gradually from the brutish towards the human. He realises that Christianity lifted up women in so far as, following its Founder, it pitied the oppressed and appealed to the human soul in all human beings. But he points out that the initial grand impulse was checked and thwarted by narrow concep-

clear. They have pledged themselves to give a free and fair chance for Women's Suffrage, but I am not sure that pledge is very fully carried out in this Bill. The word "man" appears at the outset, thus emphasizing that this is not a Bill for Women's Suffrage. The local government suffrage in this respect is untouched. Again, it is rather disquieting that we have Mr. Pease moving the first reading—a man who is a strong opponent of the suffrage, while Mr. Harcourt—the strongest opponent in the House—moves the second reading. I hope and trust that before the debate closes we shall hear the views of other occupants of the front bench. (Cheers.) I earnestly hope the Government won't adopt a provocative attitude in this matter. Here is a question exciting the deepest and strongest feelings, and I ask the Government not to attempt by any Parliamentary astuteness to take unfair advantage of those who are in favour of the suffrage. If we are united and the Government treats us fairly I believe the cause of right and justice will prevail and that women will by this Bill receive the vote in some form or other. (Cheers.)

SIR A. MARKHAM held that the Bill brought in its train a great injustice to women. They were asked to enfranchise three millions of men who had not asked for the vote while, according to some, they were to leave out a large body of highly-educated women who did want the vote. He threatened to vote against the Bill on these grounds. MR. C. ROBERTS believed that a compromise could be arrived at. The local government franchise was full of anomalies. MR. A. H. GILL welcomed the Bill but regretted the exclusion of women. Any amendment with the object of including women would secure the support of the Labour Members. MR. J. M. HOGGE believed in adult suffrage and would vote against the third reading unless women were included. SIR F. BANBURY asserted that he would "be inclined to support" an amendment to enfranchise women on a property qualification.

PORT OF LONDON STRIKE.

On July 1st, Mr. O'Grady moved:—
"That, in the opinion of this House, it is expedient that the representatives of the employers and the workmen's organisations involved in the present dispute in the Port of London should meet with a view to arriving at a settlement."

Mr. Asquith declared that he adhered to the view he had expressed before, "that the Government ought to be very chary of interfering in matters of this kind," and that the Government "had come to the conclusion they would not be justified in doing more than they have done" (namely instituting the Industrial Council). Nevertheless, Mr. Asquith declared his intention of voting neither for nor against Mr. O'Grady's motion.

Mr. Bonar Law moved as an amendment:—
"That this House regrets the continuance of the strike, and the consequent suffering, and approves of the declaration of the Prime Minister that the constitutional and normal attitude of the Government should be one of complete detachment and neutrality; and is of opinion that the intervention of the House in this instance can serve no useful purpose."

Mr. Asquith did not vote; the amendment was lost and Mr. O'Grady's motion was passed by 254 to 188.
In the course of his speech in support of the resolution, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald said: "We want this House simply to say that in this dispute neither side should stop the machinery of conciliation; that if one side or another, employers or employed, should say 'Something has happened that has put our backs up and we decline to meet the other side,' it is the duty of this House to use every particle of influence which it can command to keep both sides meeting, discussing and trying to find a way which will ultimately lead to peace."

THE CASE OF MISS CONNOR SMITH.

Lord Robert Cecil, on July 2nd, referred to the extraordinary mystery with which Mr. McKenna had replied on June 28th

to his question concerning the liberation of Miss Aileen Connor Smith. On that occasion Mr. McKenna had darkly hinted that Lord Robert had better consult her brother as to the reasons. The brother subsequently wrote to the papers to say there was no mystery about the reason and that he had begged the Home Secretary to liberate his sister as he feared he would otherwise be unable any longer to conceal the fact of her imprisonment from her aged mother, and he promised to use his influence to restrain his sister in future; it appears from Miss Connor Smith's statement that she is an adult of independent means. In reply to Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. McKenna declared on July 20th that he threw out the dark hints on June 28th, "in order that there should be no misapprehension as to my reasons."

DISTURBANCES IN IRELAND.

From replies given by Mr. Birrell on July 4th, it appears that County Clare remains very disturbed. He stated "There is good reason to believe that in the disturbed parts of Clare and Galway some evil-disposed men have banded themselves together by secret agreement for the purpose of intimidation."

The disturbance at Castledawson, where Hibernians and Orangemen came into violent conflict was also the subject of discussion on the 2nd and 5th.

DISTURBANCES IN LONDON.

On July 4th Mr. McKenna stated that up to the 2nd 402 persons had been arrested in the Metropolitan Police District for offences in connection with the strike, and there were in all 360 convictions.

STREET ACCIDENTS.

A return given on July 5th showed that from 1904 (before accidents from motor vehicles were recorded) to 1911 the number of persons killed in street accidents yearly in London had risen from 150 to 416 and injured had risen from 8,526 to 15,768.

WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC BILL.

At the end of June this Bill began to be considered by a Standing Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Stuart Wortley, M.P. Clause I. was amended to provide that only a constable who is "not below the rank of a sergeant and is detailed for special duty under the Act by the Commissioners of Metropolitan and City Police or the chief officer of a borough or county police force" shall have power to arrest without a warrant. An amendment moved by Mr. Handel Booth providing that the work should be done by special officers was decided by the casting vote of the chairman against it, there being 16 for and 16 against.

Mr. Arthur Lynch, Mr. J. Wedgwood and Sir W. Byles wanted to delete the words "being about to commit" the offence of procuration; Sir W. Byles opined that the miscreant "might change his mind." Mr. Lynch was afraid of blackmail. The phrase mentioned above was changed to "attempting to commit." Mr. Handel Booth strenuously opposed the clause and maintained that the Act would break down. The Clause passed as amended.

An amendment of Sir F. Banbury's was passed to omit subsection (2) which provides for evidence of previous convictions being given and another amendment was also passed to strike out the liability to flogging. So amended, clauses 1 and 2 were passed on July 3rd.

THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.
Non-Party. Non-Militant.

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.

PRESIDENT:

Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Hon. Secretaries:

MISS K. D. COURTNEY.
MISS EDITH PALLISER } (Parliamentary).
MISS CATHERINE MARSHALL

MISS EMILY M. LEAF (Press).
MISS I. B. O'MALLEY (Literature).

Hon. Treasurer:

MRS. AUERBACH.

Secretary:

MISS GERALDINE COOKE.

Telegrams: "Voiceless, London."

Telephone: 1960 Victoria.

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

From Headquarters.

THE BY-ELECTIONS.

During the next week or two, the National Union will concentrate its energies on the two by-elections at Hanley and

Crewe. All possible help is needed, and those who can give time and are willing to do whatever may turn up, are asked to write to the address given on the page giving local news of the elections.

SUMMER WORK.

Although no less than eighteen of our regular workers will

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FINAL REDUCTIONS.
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Smart Fur Model, in fine flat caracul kid. A new elegant shape. Exceptional value. Original Price, 59 gns. SALE PRICE - 29 gns.

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

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We are the pioneers of this popular style of glasses. Rimless glasses are especially appreciated by doctors and scientific people who understand the value of a wide field of vision combined with lightness, which of course with the heavily rimmed glass is practically impossible. TRY a pair NOW; you will be more than delighted with the result.



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LONDON, W.C.

be in the field at Crewe and Hanley, the ordinary work of the Union will not be seriously affected—indeed, we are running several special campaigns including a caravan tour in the Eastern Counties. Now, as always, the National Union falls back on its splendid body of voluntary workers on whom the efficiency of the Union is bound ultimately to depend. The demand for volunteers for all kinds of work is growing, and those who feel that some training and experience would make them more valuable workers will welcome the scheme for a summer school organised by the West Midland Federation. The idea is an admirable one, and we commend it to the notice of other Federations. Applicants, who need not be members of the West Midland Federation, should write to Miss Morrison.

NEW SOCIETIES.

Surrey, *Sussex and Hants.*—Newhaven.
West Riding.—Normanton.
West Midlands.—Bromsgrove.
Kentish.—Rochester.

Eastern Counties.—Great Yarmouth.

AUTUMN DEMONSTRATION.

The National Union has resolved to hold a great demonstration in the Albert Hall on October 29th to demand the inclusion of women in the Franchise Bill. Names of speakers and other details will be published later. In the meantime members are asked to remember the date and to make a point of being present.

THE LATE MR. W. S. B. McLAREN.

At the last Executive Committee deep regret was expressed at the loss the National Union had sustained by the death of Mr. Walter McLaren, who had for so long been a member of its Executive Committee and Mrs. Fawcett was asked to be so good as to write to Mrs. Eva McLaren expressing the warm sympathy of the Committee with her sorrow.

K. D. COURTNEY.

Press Department.

The Anti-Suffrage press is strangely inarticulate in relation to the clauses in the Reform Bill dealing with the Municipal Vote. An excellent article in the "Queen" on June 29th points out that "all women who are interested in their powers of public usefulness should make a point of getting a copy of the Bill and of studying its provisions with the utmost care." Under the new Bill, even "the existing slender possibilities of civic service are to be withdrawn from a woman because she is married, if she lives anywhere in England, excepting London. There is no longer to be any power even to get the question of married women's eligibility decided by a revising barrister in sympathy with modern ideas."

A special Press representative is undertaking the by-election work at Crewe and Hanley, and the news should be carefully noted by the Press secretaries during the coming weeks. Liberal papers, with the exception of the "Manchester Guardian," whose fairness is unimpeachable, continue to suppress news of our policy. On the other hand, the Labour papers show increasing support.

The "Labour Leader," on July 4th, says in answer to the remarks of the "Observer," that with Manhood Suffrage attainable at the age of 21, Labour will gain far more in proportion than either of the other parties, and will sweep Radicalism out of many of the industrial seats it at present holds.

The "Observer" may be surprised to learn that even with this alluring prospect in view, the Labour and Socialist movement is opposed to a Manhood Suffrage Bill. It is perfectly true that our movement would gain electorally under such a measure, for the young people with wider educational opportunities than their fathers, are with us and not with our enemies; but our movement will accept no gift that perpetuates the political disability of women.

In a report of the Hanley by-election, the "Manchester Guardian" already fears the effect of the support which the National Union is giving to the Labour candidate on the Liberal cause. For it says, "having been authorised to support the candidature of Mr. Finney, they (the representatives of the National Union) allied themselves to his cause so zealously that Mr. Outhwaite's chances may be damaged to an appreciable extent by their campaign."

The "Daily Herald" mentions with appreciation "the splendid work" which is being done by the National Union.

The "Daily News" and "Daily Chronicle," it would appear, have not yet heard of our advent into the constituency.

E. M. LEAF.

Literature Department.

JULY CATALOGUE OF PUBLICATIONS.

The July issue of the Catalogue is now ready and will be sent free to anyone who writes for it.

WOMEN'S WORK IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

By the kind permission of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association the National Union has reprinted their excellent leaflet on "Women's Work in Local Government," by Miss Marion Chadwick. This leaflet can therefore now be had with the National Union heading, B.77, 1s. 6d. per 100.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

LEAFLETS.

- B. 73. "The Vital Claim: An Appeal from Liberal Women to Women Liberals." By C. C. Osler. 1s. 6d. per 100.
B. 75. "The Reform Bill and Women's Suffrage." (Reprinted from the "Nation.") 1s. 6d. per 100.
B. 77. "Women's Work in Local Government." By Marion Chadwick. 1s. 6d. per 100.
B. 74. "Suffrage or Party?" 4d. per 100.

POSTERS, WITH BORDERS IN THE COLOURS.

"Is a Woman a Person?" 3d. each.
Announcement of Meetings. 3d. each.

LITERATURE RECENTLY STOCKED.

The National Union has stocked a very stirring Suffrage song, "Forward, Ever Forward." The words are by Miss Margaret O'Shea, and the music is by Miss Emily Jones. Price 2d.

It has also stocked two recently-published pamphlets:—
"An Old Doctor's View of the Women's Movement." By William Boulting, L.R.C.P.Lond. (Published by the Men's Society for Women's Rights.) 1d.
"The Working Life of Women." By Miss B. L. Hutchins. (Published by the Fabian Women's Group.) 1d.

I. B. O'MALLEY.

Friends of Women's Suffrage.

Solihull should have been mentioned among the societies which were the first to take up the "Friends of Women's Suffrage Scheme." It is carrying out the work with enthusiasm. Other societies which have signified their intention of adopting the scheme since my report was sent in last week are:—

Alloa.	Winscombe.
Ambleside.	Hockwold.
Ardrossan, Saltcoates, and	Marple.
Stevenston.	Northampton.
Croyden.	Rhyl.
Exmouth.	Stafford.
Gloucester.	Wadebridge.
Grantham.	

Any society which is now working the Friends of Women's Suffrage Scheme and which wishes to send copies of the leaflet describing the work to its members can be supplied free with as many copies as it can undertake to send out at once to its members.

Will societies who wish to have the leaflets on these terms kindly mention when they write for them that they are working the scheme and want to have the leaflets free?

I. B. O'MALLEY (Hon. Sec. to F.W.S. Committee).

Treasurer's Notes.

Among the gifts received this week is a donation from the Somerville Suffrage Society, who have had a Special Effort Week which included a Tennis Tournament, two Cafés, and an Insurance Society, for the National Union funds.

What we value most, in sums that come to us in this way, is the devotion and personal service to our Cause which the money represents. In the present instance the majority of those who have contributed to the success of the Special Effort Week are doubtless of an age when life offers a bewildering variety of interests and amusements. It is therefore all the more praiseworthy that the Suffragists of Somerville should show so earnest a desire to promote the serious progress and welfare of womanhood. Their unselfish and spontaneous effort to help the older women who are working for the attainment of a great ideal will be the strongest encouragement we can possibly have.

I believe that even the active members of the National Union can hardly realise the enormous calls that suffrage work in the country is making upon our funds at the present time. Mrs. Stanbury has therefore kindly consented to write a brief account of the varied appeals for assistance, besides the ordinary organising details, that came before the Finance Committee month by month. Mrs. Stanbury is the indefatigable chairman of that Committee and no one is better qualified than she is to write on this subject. We hope to publish the first instalment of her article under the heading of "Treasurer's Notes" in next week's issue.

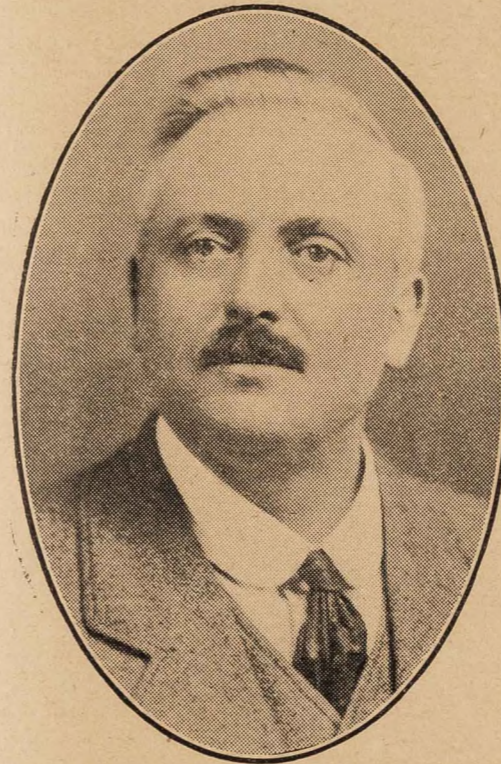
HELENA AUERBACH.

By-Elections.

CREWE.

Candidates: { J. H. Holmes (Labour).
H. Murphy (Liberal).
E. Craig (Unionist).

National Union Organiser: Miss Margaret Robertson, B.A.
National Union Committee Rooms:—
CREWE:—Miss Reeves, 46, High Street.
NANTWICH:—Miss Cooper, 2, C. High Street.
SANDBACH:—Mrs. Darlington, care of Mr. Allen, Bootmaker, The Square.



[Photo by H. Bullock, Crewe.]

MR. J. HOLMES,
Labour Candidate for Crewe.

Thanks to the promptness and efficiency of Miss Reeves and Miss Lillian, members of the Committee of the Crewe Society, the Suffragists were first in the field in the race for committee rooms and have secured excellent ones in High Street. Committee rooms have also been opened at Nantwich and Sandbach. Halls were promptly booked, and a brake hired for the whole election. Little else could be done until the candidates were adopted, but by Saturday evening the views of all had been ascertained. Mr. Craig, at the last election, found himself "unable to give his support" to women's suffrage; therefore, although his replies to our last questions have not been received, he is out of court as a "tried friend."

Mr. Murphy is sympathetic and will probably mention his support of Women's Suffrage in his election address, though he has made no absolute promise. He will support the official amendment and failing that, the Conciliation Bill one, but he will not make his support of the Bill conditional on the inclusion of women.

Mr. Holmes is a "whole-hogger." He answered all our questions without hesitation in the affirmative, and was particularly strong on the necessity of fighting the Government on the third reading if women were not included. We have therefore offered our strongest and warmest support to Mr. Holmes, and we go into the fight with the most sanguine expectations. Everything points to the probable success of the Labour candidate. In previous elections, both in the case of Mr. Tomkinson and Mr. McLaren, the personal factor has been strong. Men have voted for a man whom they knew personally and could trust, and the greatest emphasis has been laid by the Liberals on the age and

experience of the man whom they were backing—"tried" and "trusted" have been their favourite words. Now they have brought in a very young man, totally unknown to the constituency and of purely academic experience, who can hardly be expected to carry weight against a man of Mr. Holmes' age, experience and knowledge of life and the working conditions of the men he desires to represent. Even the "Manchester Guardian" admits that he can scarcely "claim the same practical experience of those states of life in which the shoe is apt to pinch as Mr. Holmes who is already a veteran in the Labour cause." "Tried" and "trusted" Mr. Holmes has been indeed in the Labour world, and many an argument used by the Liberals in previous elections can now be turned against their candidate, and used in support of his Labour opponent.

To sum up, Mr. Holmes is a far stronger candidate, in every way, than the Labour Party has put forward before in Crewe. He is opposed by a Liberal with none of the peculiar advantages which have made the seat "safe" to the party in previous elections. Moreover there is a strong and growing feeling amongst many of the railwaymen in favour of labour representation for a solution of industrial troubles.

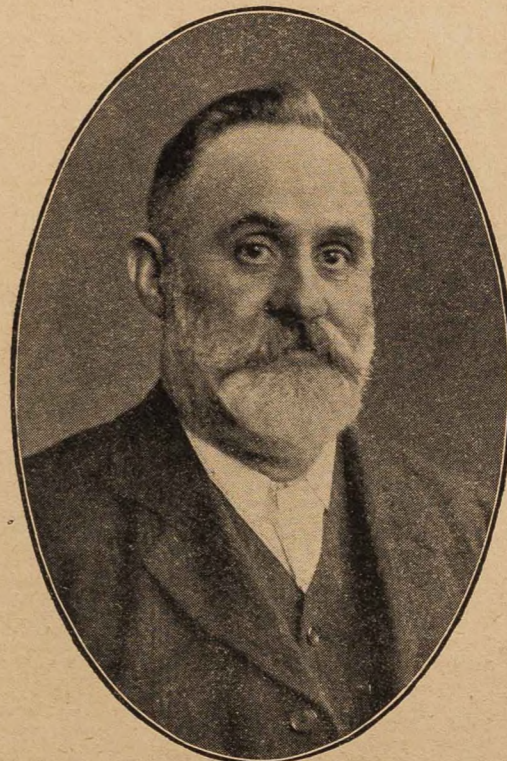
We shall do all we know. A vigorous campaign is being planned in co-operation with the Labour Party and we earnestly beg for help, in money or personal service, from men and women all over the country. We have a magnificent chance—an ideal candidate and every condition favourable. With plenty of money and plenty of workers this election should be a memorable one in the history of Women's Suffrage. May we remind suffragists that Crewe was the first place Josephine Butler chose to speak in when she had nerved herself to begin her great crusade? To Crewe she went at once because, as she says, she knew that amongst the working-men there, at least, she would find sympathy. She was not disappointed—nor shall we be if we put forth all our strength. Polling is probably July 27th. Helpers please offer at once.

MARGARET ROBERTSON.

HANLEY.

Candidates:—S. Finney (Lab.).
R. L. Outhwaite (Lib.).
G. H. Rittner (U.).

National Union Committee Rooms:—14, Percy Street, Hanley.



[Photo by W. H. Nagington, Hanley.]

MR. S. FINNEY,
Labour Candidate for Hanley.

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Will be held from

Thursday, July 18, to Wednesday, July 24.

Open-Air Meetings, Garden Parties, Garden & Literature Shop throughout the week.

PROCESSION on July 24 at 6.30.

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**PUBLIC MEETING in the HASLEMERE SCHOOL HALL,
8 o'clock.**

Speaker—MRS. PHILIP SNOWDEN. Chairman—SIR WILLIAM CHANCE, Bart.

Those willing to walk in Procession are asked to send their names to Mrs.
Watkins, Procession Secretary, Ridgeways, Hindhead.

There is a half-day return from Waterloo for 2s. 9d. Trains 11.45 or
2.35, returning any train after 7 p.m. Tea will be provided for those
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CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Monthly Paper (July) contains special articles by Sir John Cock-
burn, K.C.M.G.—"THE VOTE BEYOND THE SEA." Monthly 1d.

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it is hoped to organise new Branches.

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THE NATIONAL UNION

Is the great Non-Party, Non-Militant Women's Suffrage Society. If you approve of our methods and objects, please fill
in the accompanying Form and send it to the Secretary.

I approve of the objects and methods of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and desire to be enrolled as a member of the
affiliated Society in my district.

I herewith enclose cheque postal order for £ s. d., the amount of my annual subscription.

Name _____

(Mrs., Miss, Esq., or other title.)

Address _____

(in full.)

To the Secretary _____

Society for Women's Suffrage

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

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