

The Common Cause

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

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Notes and Comments.

The "Dickinson" Bill.

The dates set apart by the Government for the Women's Suffrage Bill are May 5th and 6th. The Bill will be introduced by Mr. Dickinson, and represents the demand of Liberal Suffragists in the House. It was not found possible to draft anything in the nature of an "agreed Bill," which should command the approval of Suffragists of all parties, and we fear that no great body of Conservative support is to be expected in consequence. It is a pity that no better plan could be found than to draft a measure representing the view of one party only, and leaves it open to amendment, as the support of all Suffragists in the House, whatever their party, is necessary in order to carry the Bill. The plan, however, has commended itself to our Liberal friends, and it is theirs to show us that it is a good one. We shall indeed rejoice if Mr. Asquith's supporters can prove to us that we were mistaken in thinking he had offered us counterfeit coin for gold, and that the dangers we foresaw for a "private Member's Bill" existed in our imagination only.

Mr. Roberts and the Plural Voting Bill.

We notice with regret that Mr. Roberts (of the Labour Party) is under the impression that members of that party are being pressed by Suffragists (of both sexes) to break their pledges to their constituents with regard to the Plural Voting Bill. Nothing could be further from the truth. The National Union has no use for broken pledges, and no desire to see them broken. The immediate gain to any cause promoted by such means is far outweighed by the degradation of public life and political honour which they must cause. Nothing has created more bitterness and suspicion than the breaking of pledges given to women, or more discredited our opponents than their open appeals to Members of Parliament to disregard their own promises. We desire to see no others treated as we have been treated, nor do we think a good cause should be fought with such weapons. But we do urge all Suffragists in the House of Commons to consider how cynical must appear in our eyes—and not ours only—the withdrawal of the Manhood Suffrage Bill on the grounds stated by the Government that to proceed with it when the women's amendments had been ruled out would have been dishonourable; followed by the passing of a Plural Voting Bill which was the one and only part of the original measure about which the Government really cared. Such jugglery can only discredit those who practise it in the eyes

of all honest men, whether Suffragists or not. It is designed to help the Liberal party; it is designed to do nothing else. It does not attempt to remedy any injustice except that injustice which weighs against Liberalism. The value of votes will be altered, but only in favour of the Liberal voter. The outrageous distribution of seats which makes the vote of a man in Kilkenny equal to the votes of thirty-two men in Romford is not touched. It would not help the Liberal Party to touch it. But the value of the man with one vote as against the man with many is to be increased; for the man with many generally votes Conservative.

We, who stand outside party, express no opinion on the reforms in question; but we are free to express disgust at so cynical a party spirit as this measure embodies, and we are glad to see that the Bill—which is not whole-hearted even about plural voting, for it leaves a man free to cast a vote wherever he has a qualification at any number of by-elections and only restricts him to one in a general election. This Bill is criticised by the Liberal as well as the Labour Press. It is not very likely that it will become law, since this Government must live to the extreme limit of its statutory life in order to make it so over the heads of the Lords; but if it does, it must come before the Commons twice yet. And what we do urge upon Mr. Roberts and his friends is, not that they should break their pledges, but that they should educate their constituents to understand the meanness of the device which has been practised upon us, and get them to endorse its rejection. The Labour Party has foresworn its own advantage in indignant refusal to profit by the women's loss. Let the Liberal Party have honour enough to do likewise, and not leave all the straight dealing to the youngest of political parties in the House.

"Local Option" and Mr. Asquith.

A correspondent points out in the *Daily Citizen* that if the suggestion to allow every constituency that chose to do so, to adopt Women's Suffrage within its area, be adopted, the Prime Minister will be placed in a position hard to reconcile with that dignity which we all expect from one so highly placed. Mr. Asquith did indeed promise to "bow to the will of the House of Commons," but at this shocking prospect, many gallant Suffragists quailed, and cries of protest were raised lest he should indeed be brought to such a pass. Now to our surprise, so staunch a Liberal as Mr. Massingham, proposes that his great chief should—not content with one entire and overwhelming bow to the House of Commons—bow 675 times to 675 constituencies. This it seems he could easily do, though the other was so hard. Harder still, perhaps, to understand the ways of politicians. But, however Mr. Asquith likes to do his bowing, we shall be delighted to see it done, and no doubt shall find it quite sufficiently graceful.

Miss Margaret Ashton and the House of Commons.

Miss Ashton's letter to the House of Commons contains a very incisive statement of injustice which has been created in quite recent legislation, and underlines our plea of urgency. One point is of special interest in view of the monotonous retort of Anti-Suffragists, that women who cannot earn a living wage should go into domestic service, and the halo of glory that is supposed to encircle those who prefer this form of wage-earning to any other. One would really suppose that domestic servants would at least not be put in a worse position than other workers by intelligent law-makers conscious—as who is not?—of "the

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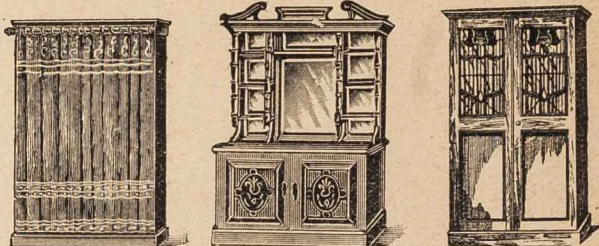
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ALL BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS to be addressed to The Manager, THE COMMON CAUSE, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. ADVERTISEMENTS (Societies, Miscellaneous, etc.) must reach the Office (2, Robert Street), not later than first post on Wednesday.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies being a body which exists solely to obtain the enfranchisement of women, holds no official view upon any other topic. Opinions expressed upon other subjects must not be regarded as necessarily those of the Union.

"Urgency."

No one, surely, will read the articles in this week's issue of THE COMMON CAUSE without a deep and burning sense of the urgency of the demand for the vote. How often have we been attacked by friends and foes alike for pushing our claim in season and out of season? How often assured that we clamour unduly, and have lost all sense of proportion in our demand? How often been told that the vote "will not do everything" for us, since it has not done everything for men? How often abjured to be patient?

Patient! At whose expense? At the expense of those women and children for whom our pages plead to-day. For them it is not easy waiting, though we know well that "the vote will not do everything." We do not ask or dream that it will do everything: we only ask that it should be allowed to do for women what it has done for men. We make no greater or more startling claim than that. Some of us, perhaps, in our hearts cherish the dream that women may have learned through suffering to use the powers they win to some fair purpose, higher and sweeter than the party politician permits to his faithful followers; and others hope that with the coming of the women into the work of the world, men will take heart to deal with the world's problems in a more humane and more hopeful spirit than they have done of late; since for men and women, working together, nothing should be too hard and nothing impossible. But to-day, whatever dreams we dream of the future, we set hard facts before our readers and ask—Why should these things be suffered when the vote would end them?

A deputation of working men waited on Mr. McKenna recently, and was received "sympathetically." To all they said, he gave a courteous hearing, and for much that they complained of, promised redress. But for the grievance from which few men and many women suffer, he had no great hope to hold out. The grievance of "fining" is not a heavy one to men. Few suffer from it very greatly. Only in the weaving trade (a trade in which the majority of workers are women) is it a pressing grievance. No doubt the ease with which the women are fined makes it easier for their fellow-workers to be treated in the same way!

What remedy is there for such a mean and squalid form of injustice? Trade Unions, say some: let the women organise, and then they will be strong. But they have organised where they could. The Weavers' Union is one of the largest in the country, and most of its members are women. Yet it is just the weavers who suffer most, say the men: so large a proportion of their Union is made up of non-voters.

There is no remedy but better and wiser laws, more carefully carried out. The Truck Act needs reform. Most of all in this, that they should be made to apply to the woman who works at home, as well as to the worker in the factory. Let us, for the sake of argument, admit that the women are more easily terroised, less able to combine effectively, more at the mercy of the employer than men. We may well admit it, for the reason for all these things lies much in their poverty and lack of skill, little in their fault. But, having admitted it, let us be the more urgent in our claim for the protection of these poor ones. When your case is desperate, as theirs is, it is no answer to say, "The vote will not do everything!" It is enough that the vote will do something. If these women were voters—if even a few of them had votes—would not the Truck Act be altered to include the home-worker as well as the factory-worker? Would not those who, from their poverty and their isolation are most help-

servant problem." Yet in fact the Labour Exchanges definitely refuse to consider them at all, except in the case of posts in hospitals, hotels, or public institutions. On enquiry, it seems that to deal with ordinary domestic service would be "very difficult." It is a curious fact that all the problems of modern life are "difficult," but only those which concern the voteless are so difficult as to be impossible.

Death of Dr. Agnes McLaren.

It is with deep regret that we hear of the death of Dr. Agnes McLaren, who has been a member of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies since 1907. Dr. McLaren was one of the pioneers who forced open the doors of the medical profession to women. The agitation, headed by Miss Jex Blake, for the opening of the medical schools and clinical wards of the infirmaries to women was organised at the house of Miss McLaren's father, the late Mr. Duncan McLaren, M.P. for Edinburgh. Dr. Agnes McLaren graduated in France, at the University of Montpellier, and practised for some years as a specialist at Cannes. On retiring from the medical profession, she gave herself up to work on a large scale for the suppression of the White Slave Traffic. She was also interested in many other undertakings for the benefit of humanity, and won a large circle of friends of all nationalities. Dr. McLaren was a sister of Lord Aberconway and of the late Mr. Walter McLaren, M.P.

Our Distinguished Visitors.

The Secretary of the Spiritual Militancy League announces that Mrs. Catt will speak at the Ethical Church, Queen's Road, Bayswater, on "The Heathen East and Christian West." Under this title she will consider the White Slave Traffic in its international relation, as observed by her in the Suffrage tour round the world which she has just completed. Suffragists wishing to have seats reserved should apply to Mr. O'Dell, Hon. Secretary, at the Ethical Church. We hope next week to publish a biographical sketch of our Intentional President. The Rev. Dr. Anna Shaw will shortly be in England also, for a little while, on her way to Buda-Pesth, where she is to preach to the delegates at the service on the first Sunday of the Congress. Mrs. Perkins Gilman, who will also visit us, will lecture in Great Britain on Feminist as well as Suffragist subjects.

Married Women Teachers Again.

The case of Mrs. Edgell continues to arouse keen interest in America, and it is proposed to appeal from the decision of the Board of Education that the question of her right to a year's leave, to bear and rear her child, may be made a test one. It is pointed out that Mrs. Edgell intended to resign on her marriage, but was so valuable a teacher that the authorities pressed her to continue her work. She has been teaching now for seven years, and it would seem that she had a right to the "Sabbatical year," which is all she claims, and which has been given freely to both men and women teachers who demanded it on the score of health. The case is one which should be settled as in the case of a man, or an unmarried woman—on its own merits. If Mrs. Edgell is worth keeping, she should be kept, without being penalised for marriage. In California (where women vote) the authorities have decided "to go on the principle that they are concerned only with the ability and fidelity of their women teachers, not with their domestic relations." It rests with women to decide for themselves, as grown-up people, what their duties are to themselves, their homes, and their work.

Alaska and Michigan.

Our attention has been called to the fact that a sentence was omitted in our issue of April 11th (on Alaska), and, in consequence, one note was made incomprehensible. Alaska granted Women's Suffrage at the beginning of this month; Michigan voted on the question on April 7th. It will be remembered that Michigan voted on the same issue last year, and the vote then went against us—but by so small a majority and in such peculiar circumstances as to arouse strong suspicion of foul play. The reform was, therefore, "re-submitted" this year. So far the reports are gloomy. The *New York Times* gives figures for the large towns "which are expected to go against the amendment," where the vote is heavily against Women's Suffrage. On the other hand, the country vote is held to be favourable, but it will probably not be large enough to outweigh the towns. The *New York Times* states that the Brewers' Association "offered cash prizes to saloon men up State for increasing the Anti-Suffrage vote in their counties," and we have the less hesitation in printing this report that the same Association boasted openly, in its own journals, of its share in the defeat of Women's Suffrage in Michigan last year.

less, and therefore most oppressed, be the first to whom the protection of the law is given, instead of being left outside it altogether. Would not more women factory-inspectors be appointed to see that the law, in the factory and in the home, was carried out? At present there are only eighteen women inspectors of factories, and in vain is the demand for more urged on the Home Office. Their splendid work, the urgent need for their services proved over and over again, gives them no assurance of a "sympathetic" hearing. And for lack of them, such wrongs as Miss Ford describes must often go unknown or unrelieved. It is useless to say such ills cannot be reached by law. They have been reached—by men. They have not been abolished altogether, but they have been enormously relieved.

We, therefore, "move urgency" for Women's Suffrage. We claim for it that the Suffrage will do for women what it has done for men—nothing more. And we claim that only the vote can do this. It is not for nothing that our supporters come to us from every kind of social and industrial service, some of which seems on the surface more pressing in its need. Any one of these grievances, we may agree, might be removed if all the strength of the Suffrage movement could be poured into that single agitation. Why, therefore, do the women who know, or who suffer them, turn to a "merely political" agitation. The answer is—because the vote is the instrument, not of one, but of many reforms; because the vote gives to the helplessness the power to help themselves. Miss Ford (to take but one example) served the cause of the sweated worker for years in a way that seems at first sight more direct. For years she organised a sweated union, and toiled for the abolition of overtime and the suppression of fines. Now she is a Suffragist, and works for the Suffrage only.

It is so with the mass of Suffragists. The "political" women, the women who are naturally politicians (for there are such among women as among men) have very largely stayed in their own political organisations. They have done splendid work there, but it has not generally been they who have given the passion and the force which has made the demand for Women's Suffrage unique among movements to-day. That has come, not from the politician, however keen, but from those women who have served in other ways, more human, more deeply touched with "the sense of tears in human things." They know that there are wrongs no laws can touch—who better? But they know, also, that there are wrongs, preventable wrongs, that the law can touch, and the administration of the law relieve, that never will be touched or relieved till those who suffer can call their rulers to account for that suffering. They read the report of Mr. McKenna's reply to a deputation of working men: they read the Government Report on our system of educating the children of the State; but they find hardly an echo of the woman's point of view. The voice of those who would bring justice into our factories, and humanity into our schools, is stifled before it reaches the House of Commons, and we read the debates in Parliament through and through to find any deep sense of the importance of these reforms, on the cruelty of this suffering; but we read them in vain. And therefore we "move urgency" for the enfranchisement of women.

A Deputation and Its Answer.

I wonder how many of the people who read that a deputation of men, under the leadership of Mr. Davis, had seen Mr. McKenna, asking him, amongst other things, for a law to abolish deductions and fines, wondered why no women were sent on that deputation. I wondered, and I must confess I was filled with indignation that about this matter, which so particularly applies to women, no Trade Unionist had apparently considered it worth while to have women's views specially and directly represented.

"You women will allus be fined more than us men, as well as have lower wages, till you get a vote," said a leading Trade Unionist to some tailoresses who were lamenting the heavy fines and deductions inflicted on them.

He was quite right, and he ought to have added: "Your wishes about your Factory Acts will never be listened to, till you are voters."

I have never found men fined to anything like the extent to which women are fined. I have never found men fined (2s. 6d. in one instance) for looking out of the window, or 2d. every time they laughed, nor have I found they were fined for unpunctuality when doing piece work. Women doing piece work in the tailoring trade are fined for being late, and always, in my experience, more than they could have possibly earned in the time lost. They thus lose the wage plus the fine.

These fines and many more are what women only have to bear.

In some places fines pursue them at every turn. I have seen deductions for bad work in weaving, up to 12s. out of a wage of 13s., and no reason given why or how the work was bad. I have seen a miserable little bill of 4s. 2d., a widow's week's wage, with 2s. deducted for bad work; and the "bad work" (waist-coats) was afterwards sold at full price as undamaged.

There are deductions for cooking—one penny a week—even though some of the women never have their dinners warmed up, but go home for them. Out of 150 women, about 50 or more will never use the cook's services.

"Mr. — has had ten years of cook pay out of me, and I've never once dined there," said one woman to me. Another had paid 15 years of cook pay, and so on.

Men never have to pay this deduction. I have seen deductions made of 1d. in every shilling earned, for the privilege of having steam power to turn the sewing-machines, instead of using treadling machines. Just as if the steam power wasn't a distinct advantage to the employer! A determined strike of 900 women in Leeds broke down this fine to some extent, but it still exists in some places. I have actually known this penny to be deducted from every shilling earned by workers on their own machines at home!

The deductions women have to endure for "sewings" (i.e., cotton, thread, and needles) in the wholesale tailoring trade became so outrageous (I have seen them up to 10s. in one week's wage) that an instalment a few years ago was added to the Truck Act about them, with the immediate result, I remember, that a woman's wages were then handed to her in two packets instead of one. The new packet contained the deductions for "sewings," and was handed back by her, so that she could not say she had not received her wage in the other parcel "in full." This juggling process, I suppose, made everything just and legal.

Employers dare not juggle so with men. Men are voters. Now I believe even this form of legality is dropped, and the old method of deducting is in vogue as before.

If the fines exceed the week's wage, which is not uncommon, they are carried on into the next week. There is no escape from them. And yet Mr. McKenna could say there will probably be "no time at present" for the proposed Truck Bill to be considered.

Women, by far, oh, infinitely by far, the heaviest sufferers, ought to have been on that deputation. If they were voters, I am convinced they would have been there. But, to my mind, the deepest insult of all is that no factory Bills, however vitally they may affect working women's lives, are first laid before the women factory inspectors. Those women are not consulted. Miss Anderson's opinion, as the opinion of the chief woman inspector, is quite as important as Sir A. Whitelegge's opinion, but it is not officially asked. Not content with paying her a smaller salary, the Government ignores the official representative of the working women, as it does not ignore the men's representative. Men have votes.

And do not let us forget that there are in the tailoring trade alone an infinitely larger number of women workers than there are men. If it comes to coats only, men's coats, an expert in the trade told me he reckoned eight women to one man were employed on each coat. And still the representative of these eight women is not consulted, and the one man's representative is! I think our Government, certainly Mr. McKenna, has no sense of humour, and none of justice.

It is, however, exactly the same thing with regard to the Insurance Act and the Trade Boards Act, working women's opinions were not taken into account in those laws. If they had been, would any woman have deliberately allowed the Government to state officially that a woman's minimum wage is to be 3½d. an hour and a man's 6½d.!

We have it now down in the Statutes of our land that whereas a man is worth 6½d. a woman is only worth 3½d. Also, the unscrupulous employer—who, after all, is the person for whom laws are made—is using this minimum of 3½d. (tailoring trade) as a means to reduce the wages of all his women to that level. Again, whereas men are paid at a higher rate for work done in overtime, I have never found that women are. In the tailoring trade I have always noticed that women want the 32 days allowed for overtime abolished. More than 15 years ago they petitioned and agitated for this to be done, but no notice has been taken of their wish. They went on agitating for years. Now they have given up in despair.

We see everywhere that the people who need most the help and protection of the law, are the most neglected and oppressed. The most sweated worker has to bear the most cruel treatment. She has no power to resist, for she has no Trade Union behind her, she can't afford to pay into one, she has no vote, no one cares to interview her in the House of Commons committee

rooms. She has, indeed, no courage to go there at present, for, if she went, there would be no more work for her. People who know nothing of these women's lives, have no idea of the boycotting and the espionage which is carried on.

It is really made impossible, in some factories, for women to join a Trade Union. If they do, dismissal for some faked reason follows. And this, too, in factories belonging to owners whom I have heard praising Trade Unionism on platforms. I have known personally, in one firm, a spy placed by the employer in every room in the factory, and at every meeting I held during a strike the spies, who were of both sexes, were present to report everything, to take down the names of all the women who spoke.

When your wage is only seven or eight shillings a week, and you have parents or children depending on you, can you be expected under such circumstances to speak out, to be brave, and join a Trade Union? Of course not.

But to return to the question of fines. Many people say, How are you to correct a fault such as unpunctuality if you do not inflict a fine? How are you to make workers careful to turn out good work? I have found fines do not correct faults. They seem to condone them, and have therefore an immoral effect, and the more so, the more unjust the fine is.

As one girl said to me, when I was remonstrating about her unpunctuality:

"'E gets more out o' me by 'is fines than 'e would out o' my work if I'd been up to time, so why should I mind!"

Dismissal after due warning is the only just and, therefore, effective way of treating this and other faults. Skimping work and unpunctuality are serious faults, and should be dealt with in a serious and just manner. Unless people are treated justly, you cannot expect that they themselves will be just and honourable.

An official friend of mine persuaded an employer to abolish all his fines, and dismiss his girls after due warning. At the end of two years he told her the system had worked wonders and was absolutely successful.

But we shall never have women treated justly, we shall never have their official representatives treated as honourably as men's representatives are, till we have the vote, and no one is now realising this more keenly than the working women themselves. It is no longer true to say working women are indifferent to our great movement. They are not. But if we would touch them more deeply, and bring them even more into line, we must understand their lives. We must understand their helpless condition. Their menkind are not helping them as they should—men, alas! are men—it is we women who must help them. Mr. McKenna must be made to see how monstrously unjust he is to them when he does not take the trouble to ascertain their wishes about this Truck Bill, and when he casually says there may be "no time" for its introduction this Session. He probably knows nothing about women's lives—why should he? Who studied the conditions of working men's lives before 1867? The conditions of working women's lives can only be remedied when, by means of the vote, they have the power themselves to insist that their wishes shall be attended to. Nothing else will do it.

The Government must appoint, and quickly, more women factory inspectors, and must treat their chief as it treats the chief man inspector. But the quickest way to work for all this is to work harder than we have ever worked before for the vote. We must get it before any more industrial legislation affecting women is passed.

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On Reports and Other Things.

The last Report of the Board of Education is of interest to the social reformer, and to progressive women mainly because of the existence of a kind of gold dust of references and allusions scattered through its pages. This gold dust is not in its essence a thing belonging to actual teaching at all. For though the Board issues pamphlets on "new" methods of teaching, these methods are not new but old, and the most novel of all are even resurrected from a death inflicted, if not by the hand, at least under the authority of the Board itself! No! what is new in the Report, and in the activities of the Board of Education, is concerned with the new medical service, and the hygienic and "preventive" measures now being gradually incorporated in our educational system.

It is pleasant, for example, to hear that in Wales the managers of a certain school, whose windows overlook a glorious expanse of billowy hills and shining waters, have decided that walls may slip back like folding doors and allow the classes of young Welsh girls and boys to feel Heaven's breath on their cheeks as they learn their tasks. "It is possible that the building may be an open-air school" all the year round. Why not, indeed? Even in mid-winter London boys and girls sleep out in mid-December with the best results. Last Christmas when they went home in holiday time for a fortnight they lost over a pound in weight. Fresh air is not a dangerous thing, but a blessing!

The Report comments briefly on the condition of affairs laid bare by the work of medical inspectors. I don't know that any Report can be expected to give us the literal facts, for inspectors vary so much. In Deptford, for example, some doctors pass children who, to other expert eyes, look far from healthy. Making due allowance for all this, the truth emerges that the medical advisers and inspectors have a heavy task before them. Up to the present, not a fifth of all the educational areas in the country have even begun to offer treatment. Better days are dawning, we are glad to believe. But the dawn is a clouded and a doubtful one up to the present.

In Deptford, for example, we see no improvement in the hygiene of the poorest class of children. A constant stream of tortured children passes under the nurse's hands, and she goes home every holiday time with minor infection of some kind. Bruised feet in filthy stockings, terrible septic wounds, the glassy eyes of the utterly neglected and ragged little ones from the bad areas, are always with us. And yet there is not a single school bath in the whole area. There is no hot water anywhere, either at school or at home. And what is "education" to children who cannot wash?

A dreadful tolerance pervades even this last Report. It does not ignore what is done abroad. But it does pass over what has been well begun at home. For example, it is popularly believed that School Hygiene began in Germany! No! Germany does not begin many things; her true strength and glory is that she understands and discovers every good thing started anywhere. The stimulus that made Germany build thousands of school baths in the last 17 years came from Bradford. Germany published broadcast 17 years ago in her schools, a leaflet written on washing and hygiene by the present writer. Austria circulated it, and in the United States it was printed also. But, though Bradford built baths, it was only seven years after that she began to use them as class rooms, and now 17 years after the first Cleansing Committee of an Education Authority was formed, London has practically no school baths, and the school children suffering from dirt diseases can be numbered by tens of thousands.

How weary one grows of writing of all this! When will these times pass? The times when the misery of a host of suffering children urges us to deal only with vital and swift measures of reform, and Mr. Philip Snowden says the New Education Bill will deal mainly with secondary education, and that our system of elementary education is the finest in the world! I have spent all last week in teaching children who are at least as bright as the average scholar in the average elementary school. The doctor told me that at least fifty out of seventy have some induced deformity. They are under-sized, a large percentage have eye defects, their speech organs are horribly misused and almost defective now, and their vocabulary is so miserably small that they cannot follow even a simple narrative with close attention and full understanding. These children speak no language but English, and their English is a mere apology for a language. Very few of them knew yesterday what it meant to be clean. One in thirty had a hair brush. Not one in thirty had a nail brush, and no one had ever told them that dirt is nowhere so dangerous as under the nail, and that the risks of workpeople are much greater in this respect than the risks of those who don't handle every kind of substance. Of religion, in the deepest,

highest sense, they knew little. The Roman Catholic children pray at night with clasped hands, and a rill of true poetry does flow into their minds from the altars of their church; but the Protestants, as a rule, are almost like the heathen. And the boys take in comic papers of a very vulgar order, and would like to show the pictures to every one. And yet, in all this failure and falling away, what a rain of sparkling suggestion! They long, they strive to learn. Their cramped minds stir at the bare promise of exercise or release. A commonplace, adapted, mutilated, cheap order of lesson would not stir them. But real teaching stirs them and holds them. Like a star in the thick gloom is the word and presence of the real teacher. And their response is so varied withal, giving a true indication of where their real power lies buried. One boy has a gift for drawing—undeveloped, but real; and another is a born craftsman (this last, however, is not a born workman in the common sense, for his oral work would be as good as his manual labour). One boy writes long essays, and is attracted by words as by persons; and, though he cannot read the "Merchant of Venice" with pleasure, he is always going back to the text and working at it like a baffled but magnetised creature. When a happy, generous, wealthy woman comes in and talks brightly of the great figures in the castles, he tries, and the others also try, to respond. They are spelling out the text, but their miserable articulation holds them back. If you have always said "as" for "has," and have never troubled about the end of any word, the doors of literature do not open very easily. If all your a's are i's, moreover, Shylock is a mere Tantalus. It's the same in other "subjects." How can one draw even an engine if one can't see it without all manner of dodging and subterfuge? And, as for books—the one open sesame of those whose intercourse and experience is alike very narrow and pitiful—it takes a little time to master such tools, and in many homes there is (strange to say) not even one book!

And it is impossible to remain indifferent or unconscious of the fact that the most precious and stimulating educational influences have never been, and will never be, furnished by mere schools! The word or glance that wakens interest; the narrative that draws the veil from a great continent, a great new centre of life and interest; the glowing pictures of other lands; the quiet talk of the past in the very yard, or street, or building that is immortal by remembrance; the happy evening meal with its "stories," its merry laughter, its reconciliations; the gay morning hours when the birds sing and the sunshine wakens the sleeper; the games, the fellowship, the savour of human sympathy, the eager looking forward and the wistful ambition that comes timidly at last to one heart and another—all these are education, and without them there is no such thing. And yet, these are things that no Board of Education can give. But the educated women of England could offer it, and in royal wise!

"But where—and how?" generous hearts may ask in haste. "To give all this you must have homes." Well, and why create any agency at all, save those that are life-giving? In camps, in play centres, in health centres and collective nurseries, in gardens cleared behind the gloom of mean streets let us get ready our new agencies of joy and help.

It would cost £250,000,000 to raze the slums, we are told. But it would take less than one million to transform them. Meantime, in spite of reports galore, there are schools where nearly every child is physically defective—and not in one way, but in many!

MARGARET McMILLAN.

Friends—and Some Enemies—at the Leicester Gallery.

The new set of caricatures of politicians by Mr. Max Beerbohm may afford some gay moments to Suffragists who, in common with other folk, repair to the Leicester Gallery to gaze upon the delicate dissections of their enemies, or the apotheosis of their friends.

With an amazing intuition, which would almost suggest an uncanny faculty for invading momentarily the organism to be laid bare, Mr. Beerbohm exhibits the appearance of his victims as related to action, laying the finger of his genius rather upon the method of activity in face of suggested circumstance than upon the physical features which appear to be portrayed. By such means a subtle likeness is produced, as baffling as it is indubitable.

A number of these caricatures have been reproduced photographically, and presented in black and white by all the more

enterprising journals. Let not those who have glanced at them in the highly glazed pages of a weekly illustrated imagine for a moment that they have seen the cartoons of Max Beerbohm. Black and white is exactly what they are not. Every shade of grey is used in depicting the modern man, who (rather than woman) forms the subject of these drawings, and these greys are enhanced and reinforced by a dainty and fascinating colour-scheme which transforms the grotesque representation into a delightful and harmonious composition, incredibly pleasing and stimulating.

While all are so entertaining, it may not be thought unsuitable to describe here a few drawings which readers of THE COMMON CAUSE may be excused for finding particularly interesting.

9.—"Lord Morley of Blackburn: 'I often think, old friend, that there's one thing for which we ought to be very thankful. And that is—'"

"Lord Courtney of Penwith: 'That George Eliot was not spared to see us here, John?'"

"Lord Morley of Blackburn: 'Yes, Leonard.'"

This composition has an extraordinarily decorative effect, showing a golden yellow grille, or portcullis, upon a rose-coloured ground. The two Suffrage protagonists of the Upper House are perched, Lord Morley somewhat uneasily, upon this gorgeous summit. The caricaturist has handled them gently and allows us a glimpse of friendly faces.

13.—"Sir Edward Grey wondering whether, after all, he is so wise as he looks and sounds in the House of Commons."

A faint blue ground against which is posed a vast furry monster, a bear imponderable, and crowned with the two-headed eagle. Manfully struggling between the monstrous paws, a pale-pink tongue licking the back of his head, we discern the small and heroic figure of Sir Edward Grey; and tremble for our ere-while champion.

32.—"Mr. Asquith in office.

Come one, come all, this rock shall fly
From its firm base as soon as I."

The large pink face of the Premier shines from the cartoon amid somewhat gloomy surroundings. His eyes either see nothing, or are fixed upon the end of his admirable cigar. At his feet an open work on "statics" reflects in its binding the pink flesh-tones. Sinister figures surround him. A Lord (with a touch of red upon his coronet), chained, but bearing a whip, a mailed German figure with the menace of war, a Syndicalist, Sir Edward Carson as a Protestant stalwart, and a fair-haired but terrible Suffragist—unmoved, imperturbable, Mr. Asquith sits on.

Nevertheless, Mr. Max Beerbohm, A.M.G., which being interpreted signifies Asq*th m*st g*!

60.—"Lord Milner awaiting the fulfilment of his worst fears about the South African Constitution."

He stands upon the giddy verge of Britain, looking far over a pale blue sea towards the distant shore of Africa, where those he hopes to discover at variance fraternise conspicuously.

Even so have some of his ilk constantly expected that Suffragists would save the situation for them by annihilating each other in internecine strife.

66.—"The John Bull's Servants' Hall."

Punch, the footman, in purple livery, waits hesitatingly upon the obiter dicta of the butler (the Daily Telegraph), and the admirable sentiments and decorous reticences of the house-keeper (the Spectator).

67.—"And only just thirteen!"

The 20th Century, large and loose-limbed, garbed in a brown costume that would seem to indicate freedom from restraint, rushes intent and resistless down the grey sward. The elderly 19th Century, in decorous black, gazes horror-struck, but the old beau of the 18th Century, in his plum-coloured dress-coat has a better understanding of the situation.

The bizarre effect of pattern by means of which these large and monstrous faces and strangely distorted figures are brought into pleasing relation with the whole composition, and the continual charm and rhythm of the line, should be seen in the original cartoons to be properly appreciated.

M. LOWNDES.

Jaeger Fine Pure Wool Underwear is replaced if spoiled by shrinkage. Its soft texture makes it delightfully comfortable, and the quality is the best. Illustrated price list sent free. London:—126, Regent St., W.; 456, Strand, W.C.; 102, Kensington High St., W.; 30, Sloane St., S.W., 115, Victoria St., S.W.; 85 and 86, Cheapside, E.C.

Correspondence.

MADAM,— A NEW SCHEME.

May I ask, through the medium of THE COMMON CAUSE, whether any of the affiliated Societies would join in a scheme which we propose to try in Croydon?

It is to have large posters placed on hoardings about the district giving some short terse argument for Women's Suffrage in large letters, and to change these posters each month. A local printing firm, managed by women, has given us an estimate of 15s. a month for 25 posters, 50" x 40". If other Societies would also take these posters they could be printed in larger quantities at a cheaper rate.

The scheme will cost a good deal of money, but we think the result will be more effective, educative, and far-reaching than meetings at which Suffragists speak to those already converted. This scheme was suggested by an article "How to get the Vote" in *Woman's Platform* of March 3rd, and if any other Societies propose to adopt it, I should be glad if they would communicate with me.

W. M. HUDSON

(Hon. Sec. Croydon Suffrage Society).

34, The Arcade, High Street, Croydon.

MADAM,— THE LAST TRUMP CARD.

The Anti-Suffragists are constantly trying to draw us Constitutional Suffragists by demanding our wholesale condemnation of "Militancy"; is it not time we recognised these efforts for what they really are—viz., the last trump card of a defeated adversary—and refused to be "drawn" or to reiterate so often in the same terms our disapproval of those methods—a disapproval of which every one is perfectly well aware?

I submit that it would be more dignified to meet all such questions (either in the Press or at meetings) by inquiring whether our opponents are prepared to condemn, at least equally strongly, the legalised and deliberate violence of forcible feeding, or the unlegalised and frenzied violence used in ejecting questioners at public meetings? If the *personal* injury in the latter cases can possibly be condoned on the ground of "provocation," we are surely justified in refraining—on the same ground—from condemning those who have merely injured property.

BERTHA LOWE.

ANTI-VIVISECTION.

MADAM,—I note that in your paragraph on Miss Lindaf-Hageby's able conduct of her libel action you take it for granted that a large proportion of your readers will not share her views. I hope, however, that you are mistaken, and that the majority of convinced Suffragists are anti-vivisectionists. You, Madam, who in the last issue of COMMON CAUSE, claim that it "protests, and will continue to protest, against all forms of cruelty, and all abuse of power, whether committed by legislators, judges, or Suffragists," must at least feel the claim upon your columns of those who would plead the cause of those victims of scientific "research" who are less able to defend themselves than tortured children of whom we sometimes read, or the trapped prisoners of the White Slave traffic.

The question of Vivisection is before everything else a moral question, and the new doctrine of Vicarious Sacrifice set up by a certain medical school shocks the conscience of those who are not prepared to look to scientific experts for authoritative pronouncements on questions of right and wrong. While, then, on most political questions the women's vote may be distributed in different camps, great things are hoped of it by anti-vivisectionists in checking the legalised cruelty inflicted on animals. The new alliance of women Suffragists with the Labour Party, whose Parliamentary representatives are to a man anti-vivisectionists, is of happy augury in this respect. For the Acts of Parliament which protect the vivisector, and by which dogs and other animals are in some cases "contracted out" of the ordinary shelter afforded by any law against cruelty to animals, women are not now responsible; when they obtain the vote, they will share the responsibility with men.

It is most important then that those who have not studied the question of Vivisection should inform themselves as to what, in practice, it means. I would earnestly recommend to inquirers "A Sketch of the Vivisection Question," by J. Fraser Hughes (33, Charing Cross, Whitehall, S.W., price 1d.), and Dr. Perks's "Why I Condemn Vivisection," to be obtained gratis from "The Order of the Cross," Paignton.

EMILY COX, M.A.

Wellington Road, Fallowfield, Manchester.

[The columns of THE COMMON CAUSE can obviously not be opened to a correspondence on a subject like Vivisection, on

which Suffragists are deeply divided. But Miss Cox's letter makes a very fair deduction from an editorial note in the last issue, and urges the necessity of education on a very burning question, and we have therefore no hesitation in printing it.—Ed. C.C.]

MADAM,— FORGOTTEN STATUTES.

We have of late been surprised by finding a Radical Government forced to go back to a statute of Edward III. to find powers whereby to arrest women. I am not about to discuss their offence; but I would like to find some friendly Member willing to ask a question in the House: "Why, if the Government is willing to use forgotten statutes to *imprison women*, it is not also willing to revive unforgotten statutes to *enfranchise women*?"

Magna Charta granted "justice" to all, and a special legal ruling held that its clauses applied to women as to men. When Henry III. wanted money, he ordained that all who were liable to the subsidy should join in choosing a representative to send to his Council, to determine, along with other representatives, how much aid they would give the King, and that was the foundation of Parliament. Not less important was the further statute in Edward's reign, "that no taxes should be levied on any one without his own consent; and that those who took any goods from the King's subjects against their consent were to be excommunicated." (This statute is the basis of the Parliamentary dictum, "Taxation without representation is robbery.")

The Bill of Rights in the seventeenth century confirmed these privileges.

Why should all these fundamentally constitutional statutes (which have never been repealed) be ignored in the treatment of women, and another *accidental* one be exhumed from the dust of ages for a special purpose—one, also, which may have been repealed through the ages by inclusion?

If equal justice were but applied to women the storms and the troubles would cease, and there would be no need of old, repressive laws; but, if our law-givers go further on their tortuous path of unequal justice, they but further illustrate the need of women for their own enfranchisement. The cause contains within itself the effects it produces.

C. C. STOPES.

ECHOES FROM HOUGHTON-LE-SPRING.

We are permitted to publish the following letter addressed to Miss Margaret Robertson, the N.U. Organiser at the Houghton-le-Spring by-election:—

DEAR MISS ROBERTSON,—

Will you permit me to take this opportunity of thanking you very sincerely for the splendid co-operation that you and your friends rendered us during our recent fight in the Houghton Division. Its value was immense, and beyond all question the large number of votes that were polled you are entitled to a fair share of the credit. As you will remember, we have been together in previous contests (and I hope that we may be standing together in the fights of the future), but the recent contest has shown to the country at large that the Labour movement stands, beyond all question, for the women's movement, and, as opportunity serves, everything will be done to secure the aims and aspirations of your great organisation.

Kindly convey to your fellow-workers, including Mrs. Streeter, our very best thanks for all that was done in a most prolonged and memorable fight.

ARTHUR PETERS.

The Workers' Education Association.

The W.E.A. banqueted its Secretary, Mr. Mansbridge, last night, before his departure for Australia on holiday. Several of the speakers emphasised the importance of developing the higher education of working women, and the speeches only expressed what has been from the beginning characteristic of the Association's work. It has never admitted the assumption that women must only learn, the things that men are not interested in, such as domestic economy, nursing, and so on; but, true to its democratic character, has given this kind of teaching when it was asked for without a moment admitting that nothing else was required. Women have been admitted, and encouraged to ask admission, to all the classes open to men, and many of them have done historical and economic work of distinction.

Mr. A. L. Smith tried to extract something from Lord Haldane about his proposed education reforms—with complete lack of success. And both Mr. Smith and Mr. Mansbridge spoke of education as forming character and ideals rather than intellect. The Bishop of Oxford retorted with the assurance that knowledge—intellectual knowledge—was of value, for if alone could help us to know "rhetoric from truth." One was reminded of another speech of Dr. Gore's in which he said what should be burnt into the minds of women even more than men—"Knowledge will always trample upon ignorance."

The By-Elections.

I.—Whitechapel.

Candidates: **Sir Stuart Samuel, Bart., Liberal.**
Captain Monteagle Browne, Conservative.

Committee Rooms of the London Society: 170, Whitechapel Road, E.

Organisers: **Mrs. Foulkes, Miss Rinder,**
Whitechapel Station on the Underground.
Omnibuses (10 and 25) pass the Door.
Polling Day: April 30th.

As neither of the two Candidates standing are satisfactory on the Woman Suffrage Question, propaganda work only is being done.

The London Society has been watching events for many weeks in the course of its work in this constituency, and at the earliest moment advisable Mrs. Foulkes was able to report to the Committee that she had obtained the refusal of a set of rooms opening on to the street in one of the best positions in the main thoroughfare. Immediately on emerging from Whitechapel Station the familiar colours greet the eye a few hundred yards away, and all misgivings as to whether one really wants to help in this election are at an end. Of course, not only does one want to help, but the dear colours talk to us once again of the privilege it is to serve under them.

It is the same old story—a little roughness and rowdiness the first night or two, just enough to tune up the spirit of an experienced organiser, and then increasing friendliness and good humour everywhere.

As everyone knows, Whitechapel is a Jewish centre, nearly half the electorate being Jews. What Englishwoman, therefore welcoming, as she gladly does, all who are a credit to the country of their adoption—does not yet feel that such an election as this brings home in a special way the duty laid upon her to fight for that political freedom denied to her and to her fellow-countrywomen, but handed freely by our men to the men of other nations and languages. Indeed, it may well be expected that all generous-minded Jews, in Whitechapel and elsewhere, will freely recognise our just grievance, and will hold out a helping hand and use the voting powers—of which we are in no way concerned to deprive them—in the great cause of freedom, though it be the freedom of Englishwomen also.

The Yiddish leaflets, headed "This leaflet comes to you from the Whitechapel Branch of the London Society," are a delight. Indeed, even the English rejoice in them, as showing how "smart" and up to our work we are. "Fancy that! You don't say so! Well, I never!" greeted the casual offer of one from one of our workers. And we hear the Anti-Suffragists have followed our example.

Mrs. Foulkes and Miss Rinder want a great deal more help. This is to be a "Friends of Women's Suffrage" election. The N.U. Council enjoined us to make this an integral part of our work, and the London Society has always led the way with the "Friends" scheme. This is a grand opportunity for winning them, and even members who cannot be long from home can help, as the constituency almost adjoins the City. Experienced voluntary open-air speakers are needed, too (and a few beginners). Miss Rinder has had some heavy work in this department, and the best speaker's voice does not last for ever.

Donations, also, are necessary. The Treasurer is obliged to be out of London for a week or two, and we want to surprise her by telling her the whole expenses are assured by generous friends, leaving our present funds intact for the heavy campaign of the summer. £10 for free literature would bring great joy, for it is very trying to the soft-hearted worker to have to turn a blind eye when eager hands stretch out from all parts of the crowd. £20 for lorries and waggonettes would not come amiss. The waggonette holds three or four poster boards and lots of flags, and five speakers or workers, and saves a great deal of fatigue and difficulties about time and space that take up so much energy which ought to be spent on direct personal work. Lorries are necessary, also, for the outdoor meetings, though less mobile, and far less generally useful, than the little brake. £1 for free copies of COMMON CAUSE (last week's number was just the thing to give away), or 1s. or 2s. 6d. for general purposes, all, it is hoped, will flow in to the Hon. Mrs. Spencer Graves, 58, Victoria Street, S.W., and at once, so that the work may be "planned out" to match the gifts.

Upon us and our work in this election partly depends the report that our beloved President, Mrs. Fawcett, will be able to persist of the prospects of the movement in England when she goes to the International Suffrage Congress at Buda-Pesth two months hence.

A. H. W.

II.—Shrewsbury.

The Shrewsbury By-Election, which has resulted in the return of Mr. George Butler Lloyd, the Unionist candidate, was the scene of active propaganda work by members of the National Union. Writing on the eve of the election Mrs. Harley, the President of the Shrewsbury Society for W.S., says:

"Both Suffrage and Anti-Suffrage is going strong in Shrewsbury, but we are getting the best crowds for our out-door meetings. On April 18 Miss Watson spoke in the pouring rain for one and a half hours to a large crowd who refused to go away, and wanted her to go on—all were most interested. On April 19th we held meetings all day long in the principal parts of Shrewsbury. As the Anti-Suffragists had opened a shop in a very prominent part of the town, we felt that our usual shop was not adequate. So we got hold of an empty public house in a very populous part. It came into our hands at 2 p.m. Saturday, and by 4 p.m. we had all the large windows pasted up with posters, every sign of the "public" obliterated, and a large crowd watching our proceedings with the greatest interest. On the evening of the same day a number of callers came in and signed on as "Friends," and asked for leaflets, keeping our workers busy all the time. Then as to the out-door meetings—they were held on and off all the afternoon and evening. Mrs. Annett Robinson and Miss Cooke joined us, and helped Miss Watson with the speaking. In the evening we had an enormous crowd of men at our meeting held in the Market Square. There was a rowdy element in the crowd, and at times the men were noisy, but our speakers stuck to it thereby caused a feeling of admiration, and there were quiet intervals in which they listened attentively."

Campaign in East Fife.

Up to date (April 21st) sixteen meetings have already been arranged in our peaceful campaign in the Prime Minister's constituency. As we go over the countryside preparing the way for our speakers, we meet with much quiet sympathy even from these canny Fifers, when once convinced that we are non-militant. It is true that in two villages we have been warned by timorous ladies not to hold meetings. "The behaviour of the audience will be awful," we are told. But it is just in places like these that it is desirable to get a hearing, and we have no fear but that, by means of preliminary canvassing and talks with individuals, we shall find the people ready enough to receive our message. All our zeal and energy will be necessary, however, to convert the pious opinion of the Fifers into active support of the cause. "The self-sacrificing devotion of the few," as Mr. Keir Hardie says, "cannot make good the luke-warmness of the mass. That the working women want the vote is unquestioned, but only a small proportion of them feel keen enough to come out into the open to fight for it. It is this which must be changed."

In East Fife the women's industrial field is very small. In this brief campaign the men will have to be our chief point of attack. The linen manufacture has its seat in West Fife; in the East there are only a few mills and factories here and there. In the fields one may find women outworkers to a larger extent than apparently anywhere in England. And the herring shoals, as they swarm through the seas from the Lewis to Lowestoft, bring in their wake an army of fisher girls, whose business is the cleaning and gutting of the fish. For this moving army of workers, however, our campaign is timed too early. The sinews of war have been strengthened since last week by a kind gift of £3 from Mrs. Anstruther, Colinsburgh. Further donations, and the loan of or the wherewithal to hire a motor car—so indispensable in a county division—will be gratefully received by

ALICE CROMPTON.

Women's Supplement in "The New Statesman."

We have received the following communication from the Editor of *The New Statesman*—

"It is intended that special attention should be devoted in the columns of *The New Statesman* to women's subjects, more especially those relating to the employment of women, and to their economic status generally. Special articles on the openings which now exist for women brain-workers are to be published almost immediately; also special articles dealing with the position and progress of women's movements in other countries are in contemplation. These will be followed later with a special supplement dealing with the whole question of occupations for women, in all its aspects, with contributions from a number of persons having expert knowledge with regard to one or other particular branch."

In Parliament.

The outstanding features of this week's Parliament have been (1) the amount of time wasted in talk; (2) the debates on the Housing Question; and (3) the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge) Bill. Business has dragged, owing to the amount of time consumed over the "Provisional Collection of Taxes Bill," which had to be passed in any case, and on which little of value was said.

On Friday, April 18th, Sir Randolph Baker moved the Second Reading on the *Housing of the Working-Classes Bill*. As usual in debates on this subject the House was very empty; also, as usual, almost every speaker admitted the urgent nature of the problem. The mover pointed out that the movement which has taken great factories out of the towns into the country has made the rural housing problem more acute; while in the towns people were still housed "in miserable dens, the crevices of which are seething with disease and death." He quoted figures showing that infant mortality in "back-to-back" houses was 300 per 1,000, and in Hampstead only 70 per 1,000. The high rate is largely due to tuberculosis, a disease which we breed in slums and spend millions to cure in Sanatoria! Colonel Kyffin-Taylor gave most valuable and interesting details of the way in which Liverpool has tackled its housing question, and the extraordinary effect in reducing both disease and crime. During his speech the House was almost empty.

Mr. John Burns objected to everything and proposed nothing. The Bill passed its Second Reading and was sent to a Standing Committee.

On Tuesday, April 22nd, Lord Robert Cecil presented a petition signed by Mrs. Fawcett, Lady Selborne, Lady Frances Balfour, Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Forbes-Robertson, Miss Broadhurst, Lady de la Warr, Mrs. Haslam, Mrs. F. A. Steele, and others, that Suffragist women be allowed to appear at the bar of the House to plead their cause. Mr. Keir Hardie presented a similar petition from the Women's Co-operative Guild.

The *Prisoners (Temporary Discharge) Bill* was debated in Committee. The most damaging criticism from all sides of the House met with practically no defence. It was questioned whether forcible feeding was legal, on the grounds that it is "an assault" or "a surgical operation." It was again pointed out that arbitrary powers would be vested in the hands of the Home Secretary. It was urged that the Bill violated "Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights and a whole series of Habeas Corpus Acts." It was admitted (by all) that forcible feeding was horrible torture, and (by most) that the alternative proposed was just as horrible. No one, we suppose, will deny that in the carrying out of the Bill, if it becomes law, lives will be at stake and may be sacrificed. Yet with practically no attempt to defend the critical clauses, in a House nearly empty because it was dinner-time, with the Law Officers "mainly absent," the Bill has been driven through by the pressure of party discipline and the votes of Members absent from the debate who had no knowledge of what they were voting on.

The reason for this ill-considered haste was that if the Bill were to be made more explicit, and the powers of the Home Secretary defined more clearly, it would be delayed for a week. A week! Well, we pay these gentlemen for their time and we think the time should be given in so urgent a case as this. No wonder one Member (Sir A. Markham) declared with indignation, "This Bill is a mockery, because it will never be worth the paper it is written on. I can take some satisfaction to myself in knowing that the House of Commons is making itself ridiculous, as events will prove."

[Reflection in the Ladies' Gallery—"A poor satisfaction."]

Tax-Resistance Sales.

The Misses Sturge, of Bristol, Mrs. Henry Holiday, wife of the distinguished artist, Miss Beatrice Harraden, Mrs. Jessie Murray, and others, have refused to pay their taxes and have had their goods distrained upon in consequence. In each case protest meetings were held after the sale, and the reasons for refusal expounded.

The Duchess of Bedford has also refused to pay her taxes on the ground that, as a married woman, she is not liable, but her husband. In connection with the sale of Mr. Holiday's goods, Miss Holiday reports that the local officers admitted in the auction-room that the distraint was made on the husband and not on the wife, because in fact he alone was liable. Meanwhile we agree with Lord Haldane that "the Income Tax laws are full of anomalies," most of them at the expense of women and all to the advantage of the Treasury.

SUPPORT OUR ADVERTISERS and mention THE COMMON CAUSE when ordering goods.



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CAXTON HALL, WESTMINSTER.

ON

MONDAY, APRIL 28th, at 8 p.m.

To expose the Official Robbery of Married Women and to demand a just Amendment of the Income Tax Act in the new Finance Bill.

Chair: **Mrs. CECIL CHAPMAN.**

Speakers: **EARL RUSSELL, ISRAEL ZANGWILL, Esq., and Others.**

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Notes from Headquarters.

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Office: Parliament Chambers, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

New Societies.

Castle Douglas—Scottish Federation.
Whitchurch (Salop)—West Midlands.
Shipston-on-Stour—West Midlands.
Ackworth—Yorks, West Riding.
Brentwood—Eastern Counties.

Summer Schools.

The National Union has decided to hold the Summer School for Suffrage Workers at St. Hughes' Hall, Oxford, from August 10th to 24th. The charge for board and lodging and lectures will be 35s. per week. Additional personal expenses will be defrayed by the students. Arrangements will be in the hands of Miss Dunnell, Hon. Sec. of the Oxford, Berks and Bucks Federation, and we hope each week to be able to publish details of the scheme.

The N.U. is also prepared to organise a Summer School at St. Andrews, Scotland, from July 12th to 26th, if a sufficient number of applications from intending students are received. The school cannot be held without a minimum of 35 students. The charge for board and lodging will be the same as at Oxford—35s. per week. The names of those who wish to attend a Summer School at St. Andrews should be forwarded at once to the Secretary of the National Union, so that the necessary arrangements can be made if enough applications are received.

Friends of Women's Suffrage.

The Friends of Women's Suffrage Sub-Committee will be very grateful if Societies working the scheme will send in their quarterly reports on or before April 30th. An encouraging report has already been received from the Edinburgh Society, which now has 701 "Friends," organised with the thoroughness which is characteristic of all the Society's work.

I. B. O'MALLEY.

(Hon. Sec. to F.W.S. Sub-Committee.)

Treasurer's Appeal.

The time is again coming round when we must call upon all law-abiding Suffragists to show the strength of their belief in this great constitutional movement by sending us the funds with which to carry on the work that has been commenced.

Although every day brings you nearer to your goal, there is no doubt that you will have to face a long and arduous campaign, of which the end is not yet in sight. It is comforting to think that you have seen your cause advance day by day, and that you have never seen it go back. Whatever meanness has been practised by politicians, whatever power has been exercised against you by Governments, you have gone steadily onwards, making your way into the hearts of the people, and appealing far and wide for a nation's support.

Every day has seen the National Union grow in numbers, in efficiency, in experience, in influence and activity, and more and more money has been given to enable it to expand and advance. The past has set you a high standard. It rests with you to see that that standard is maintained. I know Suffragists will help as soon as they realise the extent to which money is needed in all the multifarious departments of the organisation. It is not for this or that policy that we appeal, but simply for money to help on the enfranchisement of women, and that with all possible speed. Your campaign is spread over the whole country, and every Suffragist is called on to do his or her part. There is no period of respite or repose, no halt and no truce, and everyone who believes in the sanctity of this struggle will, I feel sure, send us money *now*, and so lighten the task of the workers and free them from the weariness and overstrain that comes from labouring with insufficient means. Never yet have Suffragists failed to surpass themselves and to beat all previous records of devotion and generosity, and I feel sure that you are ready to do so again. All gifts will be welcome, especially those that come soon.

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59/6

Visiting Gown in rich Silk Crepon. Skirt pleated into the waist and caught in front to open over a panel. Bodice gives a slight coat effect in front with vest of finely embroidered Lawn and Valenciennes Lace. Wedgwood Blue Taffeta forms the Collar and Cuffs and bow above the waist, the gown is also arranged in other colourings. 6½ Gns. To measure 10/6 extra.

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Contributions to the General Fund.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged since November 1st, 1912	1,707	2	0
Received April 15th to 21st:—			
Subscriptions.			
Miss B. Clarke	0	2	6
Miss E. C. Harvey	1	0	0
Miss E. D. Coats	1	1	0
Mrs. Beilby	3	3	0
Miss Isa Donald	0	1	0
Miss L. E. Mason	0	1	0
Mrs. Bennett	0	5	0
Miss F. May F. Cooke	0	5	0
Donations.			
Miss S. Tapp	1	1	0
Miss Gillett (Press Department)	1	0	0
A Male Sympathiser	0	2	6
Collected in threepenny pieces	0	19	6
Miss Crookenden (Scholarship Fund)	5	0	0
Collected at meeting during Chorley by-election (per Miss E. F. McPherson)	1	12	9
Affiliation Fees.			
Dingwall W.S.S.	0	10	0
Waterfoot W.S.S.	0	5	0
	£1,723	11	3

Literature Department.

Sales of literature have shown some falling off during the holidays. This, no doubt, is partly due to the fact that few new publications have been issued lately. Several new and revised leaflets are in preparation, but Societies are reminded that to many of our new members our old pamphlets and leaflets are new, as well as excellent reading. Literature Secretaries are urged to keep themselves well supplied with these, so that every fresh member who is enrolled can be at the same time supplied with all possible information on Women's Suffrage. A great deal of useful work can also be accomplished in the intervals between meetings by a systematic distribution of literature.

"Free Church Suffrage Times."

We heartily congratulate the Free Church League for Women's Suffrage on the appearance of the first number of its organ, the *Free Church Suffrage Times*. Like other sections of the Suffrage movement the Free Church League is feeling the pressure of an expanding Cause and finds that "the simple inexpensive organisation" heretofore practicable is now quite inadequate. Hence the appearance of its organ to give public expression to the demand of the League "for the equal spiritual status and therefore for the equal moral responsibilities of both sexes." We wish the new enterprise every success.

"COMMON CAUSE" COMPETITION.

HAVE YOU ENTERED?

Rules of the Competition.

1. Societies who wish to enter for the competition must send in a formal entry and state the number of their members. All entries must be received on or before Monday, May 5th, and must be addressed to THE COMMON CAUSE Competition Secretary, c/o N.U.W.S.S., 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

2. The time allowed for the competition will be two months. During that period competing Societies will make every effort to obtain promises, in writing, from as many of their members as possible to subscribe to THE COMMON CAUSE for not less than twelve months. A member may promise to subscribe for several copies, in which case each subscription promised will count separately. Thus, if in a Society with 100 members 50 members promise to take two copies and the remaining members do not subscribe at all, the Society would still return 100 promises (i.e., at the rate of 100 per cent. of subscribers to THE COMMON CAUSE). Competing Societies will be free to organise the work of collecting promises in whichever way they think best.

3. The written promises must be collected and sent up in one single envelope from each competing Society, addressed to the Competition Secretary, c/o N.U.W.S.S., 14, Great Smith Street, S.W., and must reach the office not later than Monday, July 7th, the date on which the competition will close. The names of the winning Societies will be announced in THE COMMON CAUSE the following week.

All Societies are strongly urged to enter for THE COMMON CAUSE Competition.

The prize will take the form of a grant to the winning Society for special Suffrage work. Seeing how often our active Societies are hampered for want of funds, it is believed that this form of prize will be more acceptable than any other, and in the hope that all Societies, from the largest to the smallest, will enter for this competition, the following scale of prizes has been fixed:—

- A grant of £5 to the winning Society having less than 100 members.
- A grant of £10 to the winning Society having over 100 and under 500 members.
- A grant of £20 to the winning Society having over 500 members.

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Forthcoming Meetings.

ARRANGED BY THE NATIONAL UNION.

- APRIL 25. Mary's Room—Mrs. Swanwick, M.A.—Alsago—St. Mary's Room—Mrs. Swanwick, M.A.—Mr. Fenner Brockway (Editor, "Labour Leader")—Chair: Mr. T. M. Kelsall 7.30
Bristol—2, Park Avenue, Victoria Park—Mrs. Martin's Parlour—Meeting—Mrs. W. C. H. Cross—Miss Tanner 3.0
Bristol (East)—Women's Suffrage and Labour Campaign—Co-operative Hall, Greenbank—Chair: Councillor Whitefield—Speaker: Miss Margaret Robertson and others 8.0
Wokingham—Girls' Club Room—Meeting for Women—Speaker: Miss Dora Mason 6.0
APRIL 26. Manchester—Milton Hall, S. Salford and Hulme Association—White Sale—Opener: Lady Haworth 2.30
Gateshead—Ry Street—Jumble Sale 2.30
Bristol (East)—Women's Suffrage and Labour Campaign—Jarvis Street Council Schools—Chair: Councillor Thompson—Miss Margaret Robertson—Alderman F. Sheppard and others 8.0
Broadwater—The Shrubbery—Mrs. Chapman's "At Home"—Chair: Hon. Mrs. Bertrand Russell—Speaker: Miss Rosamund Smith—"Friends of Women's Suffrage" Scheme 8.0
APRIL 28. Lincoln—Shop Assistants' Union—Miss Norma Smith 8.0
Leicester—Corn Exchange—Suffrage Demonstration—Mr. J. Keir Hardie, M.P. 8.0
Rawtenstall—Co-operative Hall—Speakers: Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, M.A., Mr. J. H. Hudson (Labour Candidate for Eccles)—Chair: Mr. Geo. Whitlam (President, Rosendale Labour Council) 7.30
Didsbury—Didsbury Suffrage Club, Wilmslow Road (above Co-operative Stores)—Mrs. Hill and others 7.45
Hulme—Hulme Suffrage Club, York Street Temperance Hall 8.0
Croydon—34a, The Arcade—Miss Musselwhite—Children under the Poor Law 3.30
Huth—Girls' School—Public Meeting—Miss Dora Mason—Miss V. Eustace 8.0
Hindley (Wigan)—Public Hall—Chair: Mr. Cooper—Speakers: Mr. Stephen Walsh, M.P., Mrs. Muter Wilson, Mrs. Annot Robinson 7.30
APRIL 29. Middleton—Co-operative Hall Assembly Room, Long Street—Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, M.A.—Councillor T. Fox (Manchester)—Mr. W. S. Tont (Tadmerden)—Mr. A. Lealand and others—Chair: Councillor F. Monk 8.0
Lincoln—Mrs. Bennett's Drawing-room meeting—Miss L. Smith 3.30
" — Guildcourt—Meeting for Members, Teachers, Nurses—Miss Norma Smith 8.0
Dewsbury—Exchange Hall—Social Gathering—Miss L. O. Ford 7.30
West Bromwich—Liberal Lecture Hall—Mr. H. Baillie Weaver—Chair: Miss Kirby 8.0
Wokingham—Annual Meeting—Miss Dora Mason—Chair: Mrs. Robie Uniaek 8.0
Oldham—Music Room, Werneck Park—Miss Lucy Cox 7.30
APRIL 30. Bristol—90, Aubrey Road, Bedminster—Mrs. Windle's Parlour Meeting—Mrs. W. C. H. Cross—The Misses Chate 3.0
Redcar—Vinery Hall, First Annual Meeting and Election of Officers—Speaker: Fru Anker (of Norway)—All are welcomed.
Accrington—Town Hall—Public Meeting—Chair: The Mayor (Captain Harwood)—Speakers: Mrs. Swanwick, M.A., Councillor Egerton Wako 7.0
Basingstoke (W. Cambs.)—Speakers: Hon. Mrs. E. O. Fordham, Mr. W. M. Mirrless 8.0
Binfield—Parish Room—Public Meeting—Miss Dora Mason—Chair: Miss V. Eustace 8.0
Wellington—Town Hall—Councillor Margaret Ash-ton—Chair: Mr. G. H. Hollies, M.D. 8.0
Leeds—9, Park Lane—"At Home" 3.30
MAY 1. Lincoln—Women's Co-operative Guild, Co-operative Hall—Miss Norma Smith 7.30
Leamington—Bich's Music Rooms, Parade—Mrs. Brown—"My Experience Under the Poor Law" 3.0
Brighton—Boi-Bon Shop, 42, Preston Street—Miss N. O'Shea, "How the Laws Affect Women"—Chair: Miss Pickworth 8.0
MAY 2. Lincoln—Co-operative Hall—Friends of Women's Suffrage Meeting—Miss Norma Smith—Chair: Mr. Neville Noller 8.0
Croft (Ambleside)—Sale of Work in aid of Federation Funds 2.0-6.30
MAY 3. Croft (Ambleside)—Annual Meeting.

LONDON.

- APRIL 25. Islington—Miss Bisset Smith's, 57, Hillmarton Road, N.—Study Circle 8.0
Muswell Hill—St. Andrew's Church Hall, Alexandra Park Road—Lecture on Joan of Arc—Speaker, Mr. T. H. Davies, M.A. (some time Assistant Secretary to the Royal Welsh Church Commission, now of the Home Office)—Chair, Mrs. Roch 8.0
APRIL 26. Stepney—Trafalgar Square Evening School, White Horse Lane, Stepney—Debate—Speakers, Miss Mary Fielden, Captain Farber, Mr. Maurice Liverman 8.0

- APRIL 28. Islington—Mrs. Bartram's, Fernlea, Kelross Road, Highbury—Study Circle 8.0
Greenwich—The Concert Room, Borough Hall, Royal Hill—Public meeting—Chair, the Ven. Archdeacon Barrett—Speakers, Miss Sterling, The Rev. Llewellyn Smith 8.0
Kennington—Upper Kennington Lane Council School—Public meeting—Chair, Mrs. F. Briant, J.P., L.C.C.—Speakers, Miss M. Fielden, Miss E. M. Hewitt, Mr. Percy A. Ayles, the Rev. Edwin Grou, Mr. Gilbert T. Dale, F.R.G.S., Mr. Robert W. Bowers, P.L.G. 8.30
APRIL 29. North Paddington—101, Saltram Crescent, St. Peter's Park—Meeting for working women—Hostess, Mrs. Bull 3.0
Clapton—St. Matthew's Hall, Warwick Road—Public meeting—Chair, the Rev. O. Dawson—Speakers, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, L.L.D., the Rev. T. A. Lacey, M.A. 8.0
S. Kensington—Philbeach Hall, Philbeach Gardens—Entertainment—Lantern lecture by Mrs. Blount, "Travels in British E. Africa and Uganda"—Suffrage speech, Miss J. H. Thomson, M.A.—"A Chat with Mrs. Chicky," by the Actresses' Franchise League—Tickets, 2s. 6d. and 1s. 8.30
Deptford—273, Lewisham High Road—Meeting of Deptford Women's Liberal Association—Speaker, Miss C. Marshall 8.0
MAY 1. Fulham—247, Lillie Road—Co-operative Women's Guild meeting—Speaker, Miss Anna Martin, B.A. 8.0
MAY 4. Bermondsey—Oakley Place—Wesleyan Men's Own meeting—Speaker, Mrs. Stanbury (member of the Executive Committee of the N.U.W.S.S.) 3.15
MAY 5. Highgate—Spears Memorial Hall, Highgate Hill—Annual meeting—Mrs. Swanwick, paper on "Meredith's Women," and speech on Present Situation—Music, Mr. and Mrs. Hadrill 8.0
West St. Pancras—Park Chapel, Arlington Street (near Camden Town Tube Station)—Public meeting—Speaker, Mrs. Rackham, P.L.G. 8.0
SCOTLAND.
APRIL 25. Edinburgh—40, Shandwick Place—"At Home"—Speaker: Miss Muriel Matters 4.30
Earlsferry—German's Wynd—Miss Crompton, M.A. 6.0
Largo—Simpson Institute—Mrs. Macnool, L.R.C.P.S., Miss Crompton, M.A. 8.0
APRIL 26. Edinburgh—Duke Street, Leith—Public Meeting—Speakers: Miss Muriel Matters 8.0
" — Drawing-room Meeting—25, Regent Terrace (Mrs. MacLaren)—Speaker: Miss Muriel Matters 3.0
APRIL 28. Tayport—Woodyard, Spinning Mill—Miss Crompton, M.A. 1.30-2.30
Earlsferry—Town Hall—Chair: Provost Outhwaite—Miss Lumsden, L.L.D.—Miss Muriel Matters 8.15
APRIL 29. Cupar (Fife)—Market Place—Miss Muriel Matters 2.30
Leuchars—Outdoor—Miss Crompton, M.A. 7.0
Ladybank—Masonic Hall—Miss Lumsden, L.L.D.—Miss Muriel Matters 8.0
APRIL 30. Guardbridge—Mill Gates—Miss Crompton, M.A. 1.30
Cupar—Mrs. Ramsay's Drawing-room Meeting—Hope Park—Miss Lumsden, L.L.D.—Miss Muriel Matters 3.0
Wormit—The Hall—Miss Muriel Matters—Miss Crompton, M.A. 8.0
MAY 1. Newburgh—Linoleum Works—Miss Matters 1.30
Tayport—Temperance Hall—Miss Lumsden, L.L.D.—Miss Muriel Matters 8.0
MAY 2. Musselburgh—2, Bridge Street—Drawing-room Meeting (Mrs. Horsburgh)—Speaker: Miss Muriel Matters 3.0
MAY 3. Edinburgh—Jumble Sale—Buccleuch Street Hall 2.30
MEETINGS ADDRESSED BY MEMBERS OF THE UNION.
APRIL 29. Bristol—Sectional Conference of the Co-operative Societies—Co-operative Hall, Cobham—Mrs. W. C. H. Cross 7.0
MAY 1. Bristol (East)—Annual Meeting of the East Bristol N.U.W.S.S.—Bethesda Schools, Redfield—Mrs. H. Hicks, B.A. 7.30
The following meetings in the Houghton-le-Spring division have been arranged by the National Union:—
April 25—Joint Committee Meeting with Sunderland I.L.P. 7.30
April 26—I.L.P., New Sealham—Miss St. John 10.30
" — Houghton-le-Spring—Outdoor—Miss Sheard 6.0
April 28—Joint Suffrage and Labour Meeting—Silksworth—Miss St. John 7.30
April 30—B.W.T.A.—New Herrington—Miss Dring 7.30
" — Women's Meeting, Miners' Hall, Murton—Chair: Miss Dring; Speaker, Miss St. John 6.0
May 1—Joint Suffrage and Labour Meeting—Shipwrights' Hall, Hylton—Miss Beaver 7.30

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Coming Events.

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

MEN'S POLITICAL UNION FOR WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT, 13, Buckingham Street-Strand, W.C. Meeting Kingsway Hall, on Tuesday, April 29th, at 8 p.m., to Protest Against the Forcible Feeding of Mr. Hugh Franklin, and demand his instant release. Chair, Mr. H. W. Nevinsom. Speakers: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mr. Israel Zangwill, Mr. H. D. Harben, and others.

WOMEN'S TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE.—Public Meeting, Caxton Hall, Westminster, Monday, April 28th, at 8 p.m. Chair: Mrs. Cecil Chapman. Speakers: Earl Russell, Israel Zangwill, Esq., and others.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.—Public Meeting at Caxton Hall, Wednesday, April 30th, at 8.30 p.m. Speakers: Dr. G. B. Clark, Miss Anna Munro, and others. Admission Free.

PREPAID ADVERTISEMENTS.

Not exceeding 10 words: 1 insertion, 9d. 2 insertions, 1s. 3d. 3 insertions, 1s. 6d. 6 insertions, 2s. 9d. 13 insertions, 5s. 6d. Every additional ten words, 6d. extra per insertion. All advertisements should be addressed to The Manager, and all payments for Advertisements should be made to The Common Cause Publishing Co., Ltd., 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

GENERAL.

GOD'S WORD TO WOMEN has never been a word of disapproval and suppression. The Bible encourages the development of woman and stands for her perfect equality with man, in spite of the teachings to the contrary. Do you wish to equip yourself for meeting the arguments of those who attempt, with sacrilegious hands, to throw the Bible in the way of woman's progress? Do you wish to know WHERE and HOW they misrepresent and misrepresent it? Send 7d. (15 cents in stamps from America), for "101 Questions Answered," a Woman's Catechism, prepared purposely to solve your perplexities.—Katharine Bushnell, 10a, Drayton Park, Highbury, London, N.

MISS L. O. FORD will be very grateful if anyone will send her some nice books for a Women's Suffrage sale, before May 28th. By post to her at Adel Grange, Leeds. By rail to her at 81, Albion Street, Leeds.

TWO SUFFRAGE DIALOGUES, 3d. each. Comedy, 6d.—"S," Fordel, Glenfarg.

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FOR SALE.—Volumes I, II, and III, of "The Common Cause," price 8s. 6d. each, postage 8d. each. Bound in red, white, and green. Indispensable as a work of reference to every Suffrage and Anti-Suffragist speaker and writer. Apply, The Manager, "Common Cause," 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

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