

Florence Nightingale.

The Common Cause.

The Organ of the Women's Movement for Reform.

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ONE PENNY.



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FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Born May 12, 1820.

Died Aug. 13, 1910.

"Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail,
"Or knock the breast, no weakness, no contempt,
"Dispraise or blame, nothing but well and fair,
"And what may quiet us in a death so noble."

The News of the Week.

Death of a Great Englishwoman.

We give some account of Miss Florence Nightingale's life and work in another column. The extraordinary character of the work she undertook is too little appreciated; we are accustomed to regard her as a beneficent angel adored by the soldiers she tended and whose lives she saved. But Miss Nightingale did not save lives only by kindness. Only a woman with the highest powers of organisation could possibly have dealt with the state of affairs which she found at the Crimea, and for which the authorities on the spot had proved utterly inadequate. The unutterable wretchedness, the frightful death-rate amongst the sick and wounded, and the apparent impossibility of at once dealing with the fundamental conditions, and of coping with the unending stream of wounded and dying, had proved too much for the organisation and those in charge of it. It remained for a woman to bring order into chaos, and light into darkness; and this, let us remember, not merely by the exercise of what are considered the essentially womanly qualities of tenderness and sympathy, but by creating conditions in which it was possible for a "ministering angel" to be of some use. Miss Nightingale's record in the Crimea makes us wonder what other reforms women could carry through, if in a state of despair, and abject realisation of their own failure, the authorities were to put the full control into their hands.

It is scarcely necessary to say that Miss Nightingale was a Suffragist. Of late years she has lived in complete retirement, and no one has wished to drag her into a controversy from which she preferred to remain detached. The North of England Society for Women's Suffrage is proud to possess her signature to an address to Lord Beaconsfield, then Mr. Disraeli, thanking him for his favourable vote in the House of Commons, and begging him to remove the injustice to women householders and ratepayers in setting aside their claims to the Parliamentary Suffrage.

It is a curious coincidence that Miss Nightingale's death should occur at a time when a Bill for removing the disabilities of women householders and ratepayers is before Parliament, and that it should be in danger of being set aside by a Liberal Government.

We wish that Miss Nightingale could have lived to see the fruition of her early hopes. There are other honoured names on the same memorial—Harriet Martineau and Josephine Butler amongst them,—most of them, alas, dead. Are we going to allow the whole generation of pioneers to pass away before we have achieved the great reform which all desired and for which most of them worked either directly or indirectly?

Mr. George and Women's Suffrage.

Mr. George has taken advantage of the holidays to explain his position with regard to Women's Suffrage to the Women's Liberal Association assembled to hear him. He endeavoured in the course of his speech to divert the attention of his audience from his disreputable tactics with regard to the Conciliation Bill by an attack on Mrs. Fawcett, but succeeded only so far as to fix the attention of all who heard or read his words on the exceeding smallness of his own mind. He was, however, honest, with a cynical honesty which will make mistakes about his position in the future impossible, as to his enthusiasm for Women's Suffrage. He stated quite clearly that he regarded the question as one of much less importance than many others, including the Abolition of the Veto, Home Rule, and Disestablishment of the Welsh Church. He voted against the Conciliation Bill because it was not democratic, but *whatever the Bill, he would not put it in front of the settlement of the House of Lords question, or Welsh Disestablishment.*

The Chancellor of the Exchequer ended his speech with a promise:—"I will devote myself to the cause of Women's Suffrage with *as much energy as I can spare from the prosecution of other causes,* to which, after all, I frankly admit I am more committed."

Thank you,

Liberal Women on the Situation.

A letter from Mrs. Francis Acland has appeared in the Press this week, discussing the situation from the Liberal woman's point of view. Mrs. Acland pleads for "concentration on party lines." It is a little difficult to know what is meant by this, unless it is that we are to abandon a Bill which obtained a majority of 110 in the House of Commons, in favour of an Adult Suffrage Bill, such as that for which Mr. Geoffrey Howard secured a majority of 34. If, however, Mrs. Acland wishes to bring pressure to bear on the Government to make some declaration as to what they do mean to do, that is all to the good. The key to the situation, in the words of Mr. Snowden, is in the hands of the Liberal women, and if they would go on strike they could very swiftly bring the Liberal party to terms. There is much to be said for the plan suggested by Miss Eleanor Rathbone in our issue of last week—*i.e.*, that both Liberals and Conservatives should *pledge* themselves to work only for candidates who are "convinced and active supporters" of Women's Suffrage. But if the Women's Liberal Association and Liberal Women's Federation would strike as a body, women would be enfranchised to-morrow.

Married Women and the Municipal Vote.

The last date on which claims to the municipal vote may be sent in is August 20. We would urgently press upon all qualified married women to send in their claims, not only as parochial electors, but as county and borough electors also. The recent favourable decision of revising barristers in the case of Mrs. Dixon, of Birmingham (claiming the borough vote), and of Mrs. Mellquham, of Staverton, Glos. (claiming the county vote), interpreted the Act of 1907 as admitting the claims of married women. These decisions cannot now be set aside, and all qualified married women should send in their claims at once, remembering that, small as is the proportion of women to the whole number of voters, such power as they have is a sacred trust, to be fulfilled with a profound sense of their responsibility to poorer and more powerless women.

Anti-Suffragists and Dr. Leonard Williams.

We have always thought that a prolonged course of Anti-Suffrage arguments would convert any self-respecting woman to the Suffrage at last. We are therefore interested to find that even the "Anti-Suffrage Review" is a little staggered at Dr. Williams' estimate of woman's physical strength. A feeble protest is raised to the effect that women really *have* "a margin of strength" for "the rough-and-tumble of life": enough, we might suggest, to conduct an Anti-Suffrage campaign, run an Anti-Suffrage newspaper, write articles in the "Nineteenth Century," or—*or*—walk to a polling-station and cast a vote, perhaps!

Echoes from Another Great Fight for Freedom.

The centenary of the birth of Cavour was celebrated in Italy on August 10th. It is a name of good omen to us. Not without meaning are our colours of the N.U.—red, white, and green,—the colours of Italy, the last nation to win its freedom, and to win against apparently hopeless odds. It is an inspiration to all who are fighting for freedom to-day to remember how the battle was won by young Italy, in spite of strong foes, treacherous allies, and divided strength. It seems almost a miracle—it *was* a miracle of faith and love—that men who distrusted each other so bitterly, who were set with such determination on ends so diverse, as the leaders of the Risorgimento, should have succeeded after all in the one thing they were agreed in seeking, the national existence of Italy. But they did succeed, and largely through the devotion of Italian women, who showed so gloriously, not only what women can sacrifice and suffer, but what they can do in a great struggle. Such a miracle asks only such love and such devotion to crown with victory such another fight.



From a contemporary woodcut in the "Illustrated London News." Reproduced by kind permission of the "Manchester Guardian."

Florence Nightingale in the Military Hospital at Scutari.

" . . . And, as she passed, her shadow on the wall
Fell; and the sick turned round and kissed the place."
Something of Light and Life flowed forth, for them,
Ev'n from the dark of her averted face.

Oh Lady of the Lamp, the flame that cast
So bright a shade on earth, on earth lives yet,
Wherever to uplift the weak and sad,
A woman's heart, a woman's hands are set.

A. M. R.

Florence Nightingale.

No face so loved as that of Florence Nightingale can ever have been so little known to the public; no figure so celebrated lived more retired. And yet the news that the Lady with the Lamp is dead comes with such a sense of loss that it is like a personal bereavement. It is not enough to say that every woman in England was proud of her; every human being, capable of such a feeling, knew and revered Florence Nightingale. Rarely indeed have gifts so striking been combined in one person—the genius of a first-class organiser, the fiery enthusiasm of a prophet, the selfless devotion of a saint; such in sober reality were the gifts of this woman. From her childhood she was associated, through her parents, with great causes, and must have heard from her mother something of the crusade of Wilberforce against slavery. And from the first she displayed special interest in the work of nursing the sick, with which her name was to be so gloriously associated. Still unknown to the public, she was preparing herself for ten years for the great work she was to do.

On September 20th, 1854, was fought the battle of Alma, and immediately afterwards appeared in the "Times" those accounts of the frightful condition of our soldiers in the Crimea, that roused the consciences of those at home who had sent them. Everyone knows how Florence Nightingale's letter, offering to go out to Scutari, crossed that of Sidney Herbert asking her to go. There were "tons" of medical stores, he said, but of nurses hardly any. What was needed was an able and energetic organising of the resources already existent, and a staff of nurses to accompany Miss Nightingale to Scutari,

It is interesting to know that the staff finally organised included fourteen Anglican Sisters and ten Roman Catholic Sisters of Mercy, who worked with religious devotion under their very Protestant head. Religious devotion was indeed needed. The filthy condition of the hospitals, the enormous numbers of the sick, combined with the jealous obstructiveness of the official world to make a task which only heroic qualities could cope with. They were to be found in Florence Nightingale. She was capable not only of exquisite tenderness and devotion, but—when necessary—of high-handed action. The health and comfort of the soldiers was her business; and to secure these she shrank from no responsibility. She fitted up a kitchen and a laundry, she cleansed the hospitals, she seized by force medical stores which the inconceivable red-tapeism of "authorities" would rather have left to rot (much actually did rot) than permit to be issued without the usual formalities. And, withal, Miss Nightingale was not immersed in the business of organisation. She nursed the sick as devotedly as any of her staff—nay, it was always by the worst cases, the most intolerable to every sense, and especially by the dying, that she was found. And her mere presence, like the lamp which has become her symbol, brought light and hope to those she could not tend in person. "She could not do it to all," wrote a soldier; "we lay there by hundreds; but we could kiss her shadow as it fell, and lay our heads on the pillow again, content."

The mind is filled with amazement at the record of work done. Miss Nightingale, we are assured, "saved the British Army." The mortality at one time, she writes, was *greater than during the Great Plague in London.* Later the health of the men was "better than

that of those left in garrison at home." How did she endure the strain? Standing sometimes for twenty hours, giving out stores, and directing her assistants; spending sleepless nights of vigil by the sick; and all the while thinking out fresh plans, organising amusements for the convalescent and the recovered, setting up a money-order office for the convenience of the soldiers, and considering always the whole being of those for whom she toiled—not only their sick bodies.

Well, in a sense, she did not stand it. The strain upon her was such that she returned home an invalid, and though by a careful husbanding of her resources, she got through a great deal of work all her life, she was obliged to be careful to a degree which would have made most of us content to do nothing.

She returned to England in September, 1856, refusing the offer of the British Government to travel home on a warship, and doing all in her power to prevent any public recognition of her services. The Queen, the Army, the nation itself, all sought to do her homage; but though she could not repel the warm gratitude of her Sovereign, she turned all public acknowledgments into a means of continuing her work. £50,000 was raised immediately by public subscription. Miss Nightingale used it to found a training-school for nurses in connection with St. Thomas's Hospital—the first school of the kind in our country. In this she accomplished a work of even greater importance than that in the hospitals of Scutari, and one which is indeed her best memorial.

During the remainder of her long life, Florence Nightingale devoted herself to work of the same kind. Consulted by the Royal Commission appointed to consider the sanitary condition of our army, she wrote in reply a detailed criticism of affairs which covered the whole life of the British soldier; and later, in 1863, she wrote the comments on reports from foreign States on the same subject, which was published as a Blue-book, and resulted in wide-reaching reforms.

One curious episode marks the latter part of Miss Nightingale's career. She published in 1873 a slight criticism of George Eliot's "Middlemarch," under the title, "A Note of Interrogation." In this she asked

whether Dorothea Brooke, the "wasted St. Theresa," might not very well have found scope for her abilities in visiting the poor and the sick? It is a curious instance of the inability of even the noblest of us to have patience or sympathy with difficulties not ours. The work of nursing is not for all of us, and there are many women who have known the bitter sense of an imposed futility because their gifts did not happen to lie in the direction of ministering to the poor.

With this exception, however—and it is perhaps too slight to have been dwelt on so long—Florence Nightingale's original and commanding spirit made her sympathise with all movements which make for efficiency and responsibility in women or men, while over all lies that ineffable light which tenderness, love, and self-sacrifice cast over the world.

We have not dwelt on the bitter attacks, the misrepresentations, and the irredeemably vulgar slanders, for an outburst of which Florence Nightingale's departure for Scutari was the signal. She herself, one gathers, suffered as little from them as might be, seeing that her whole mind was given up to the work she had to do. Still, it would hardly have been human not to have felt the wounds, and perhaps something of her extreme shrinking from all public recognition may have been due to her knowledge of the attacks that had been made before her mission was crowned with success. Whether this were so or not, we cannot close without remembering how this great woman was misunderstood and slandered; not with bitterness, for why should we be bitter when she was not? But because we—women of to-day, fighting a difficult battle—may win from the thought, courage and inspiration. All who strive must know this bitterness. No one is excepted. To fight with the eyes of the world upon us in admiration is not given to the reformer. Even the praise of those we love, the sympathy of those nearest to us, is denied to many. It is part of the price. Other women, who won for us great things, have endured this. Should we ask or hope to escape it? Only let us see that the spirit of the woman whose bodily presence is taken from us to-day remains with us, and makes us too full of the work we have to do to cherish bitterness against those who misunderstand.

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On Receiving Advice.

There was never a time in the history of our movement when Suffragists had more need than now to weigh with the greatest care all proffered advice. It pours in upon us from all sides, and the nearer we come to success the louder become the conflicting cries of those who sincerely desire to help us, and those who—do not. It is a commonplace to say that we should look with suspicion on advice coming from our opponents, but though a commonplace, it is perpetually forgotten. Woman is the most advised of created beings, and since advice has mostly come to her in the way of virtual command, it is perhaps natural that she should be too apt to accept it with closed eyes and meekness. We Suffragists, however, in claiming the vote, have claimed also the right to judge for ourselves; with that, the responsibility of judging steadily and fairly, remembering that we are deciding how a great battle shall be fought on which hangs the fate of a vast mass of women—sweated, suffering, degraded, and debased—who cannot speak for themselves; and remembering nothing else. We are not to think how we can

Holiday Notice.

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sacrifice least—or most, how we can do something astonishing, or how we can avoid giving offence. These things are secondary to the great object in view; how we can with steadiness, nerve, and unswerving determination, force from the Government our great reform.

What sort of advice have we had? Two kinds. Firstly, we have been urged again and again to concentrate our whole force on those people who cannot give us what we ask. We are to "convert the women." All the women? Well, "the vast majority." The vast mass of sweated women, who have neither time, nor money, nor hope to give to any cause but that of keeping themselves and their children alive. The vast mass of working-women, who have no means of expressing their opinion—no time for public meetings, no money for societies, no influence to bring to bear on the press. The vast mass of rich and comfortable women, who "do not want votes for themselves," and "see no reason why other women should have the privilege."

Yes, we must convert them. We are doing it. But it can no longer be our first object, because though we converted them all, they could not give us the vote.

Secondly, we are offered a piece of advice yet more astonishing; the most entirely amazing, surely, that has ever been offered to persons presumably intelligent. Men proffering advice to men frequently, no doubt, urge them to adopt a course of action because it has on other occasions been crowned with success. The reasoning may not be strictly logical, but it is moving. It has remained for men advising women to urge upon them a course which has invariably ended in failure. Not once nor twice, but many times, have Suffragists received such advice; but never before, I think, has it been so clearly explained, so warmly pressed, as it was by Mr. George at Bodnant, last week.

Here the most startling examples of unsuccessful political agitation were held up to us by the enthusiastic orator, as patterns for our imitation. A great patience, a loyal and unwavering devotion to the Liberal Party has characterised (for example) the supporters of the movement for disestablishing the Welsh Church. For so long that its history is lost in oblivion, but at least for sixty or seventy years, this agitation has been going on. And yet it has not succeeded! What more could we wish? Another example? Another precedent more weighty? Mr. George can supply one. Turn your eyes upon the Irish Nationalist agitation. For one hundred years these gentlemen have toiled and suffered; for one hundred years they have followed their Liberal leaders into the division lobby. And yet, after a hundred years, they have not got Home Rule!

The parable of the importunate widow commends itself on the grounds of the widow's success. But Mr. George, with shining eyes and irrepressible cries of enthusiasm, glories in the fact that his pattern agitators have failed. With glee he counts up the years of their fruitless toil, and because they were fruitless, commends them to us.

The recommendation to pursue a policy which has failed does us a service. It suggests the boldly original idea of looking about for a policy which has succeeded. This is not far to seek. The Labour Party, which suffers from poverty (as women do), from the difficulty (which women know) of finding candidates who can afford to give up their work on the chance of success, and from the fact that its active adherents are but a small minority of the class they represent (as our active adherents are but a small minority of their sex), was almost omnipotent in the last Parliament, where Liberals adopted their measures, Peers passed them unmurmuring, and Conservatives sought wildly to run a little labour party of their own. If in the present Parliament they have counted for less, it is because they have not been so sturdily independent as of yore. What their objects are it is not for us, as Suffragists, to enquire. The question for us is: How did they acquire this supremacy?

The Labour Party, before it was a "party" at all, in the accepted sense, determined to be absolutely independent. Heedless of the shrieks of protest raised by the

other "party of progress," they set themselves to the apparently hopeless task of running candidates of their own. They—working-men, with only a weekly wage—fought their battle against the powerful organisations and huge financial resources of the Liberal and Conservative parties. They were ridiculed when they were not abused, and abused when they were not ridiculed; but they dictated legislation to the Liberal Government at last.

If this Government of to-day refuses our just demand, and maintains as true the glaring untruth that they cannot "give time" for our Bill, we have our work before us. The mere knowledge that we have decided on this policy and begun to carry it out, will strengthen the hands of the Conciliation Committee, when once more and for the last time its members press the Prime Minister for time to proceed with the Bill. Let us make our determination known, and there is nothing—no means that can be devised—which will more readily persuade him to accede to their just demands.

We have another precedent besides that of the Labour Party—a precedent full of good omen to us. The work of the great working-class organisation took many years, and we have waited long, too long, already. If necessary, we will give those years again—and it is one of the virtues of such a policy that it is constructive, and can be pursued without pause till it succeeds. But we believe the fight will be rather sharp and strenuous than long. Mrs. Josephine Butler ran two candidates against the Government on a "woman's question," and her reform was won.

The Debate on the Second Reading.

IV.—Hilaire Belloc.

"Men may have rounded Scraglio Point—they have not yet doubled Cape Turk."—George Meredith.

In Mr. Hilaire Belloc we meet, with some relief, the genuine, thorough-going, fundamental Anti-Suffragist. Here is no "friend," "with sobs and tears," assuring us, as he pauses to take breath in his attack—"I weep for you! I deeply sympathise!" Here is no brilliant dialectician relying on specious analogy and witty epigram to conceal fallacies of argument. Here is a man who boldly sweeps aside the tin-foil weapons of the Anti-Suffrage armoury—dismisses as "utmost nonsense" their most sacred articles of faith, and lays before us a conception of life and society, and of woman's place in it, alien, happily, to this country and century, but consistent and comprehensible. Briefly, Mr. Belloc's position is this. Woman, as wife and mother, indirectly moulds the State: save as wife and mother she has no *raison d'être*: it follows that whilst the wife and mother does not need direct political power, all other women are unworthy of it. A very satisfactory conclusion, doubtless, from the man's point of view, and charmingly Oriental; but, unfortunately for Mr. Belloc, there is a growing tendency amongst women to regard themselves, and to demand that they shall be regarded by men, as human beings, with a right "to live as well as to continue life." To regard them otherwise—to view them, as Mr. Belloc does, in their sex-relationship only—involves gross cruelty not merely to the 1½ million "superfluous women," but to every woman of the millions whom circumstances compel to battle for their existence. How does he describe these women—the women standing alone,—some million of whom would be enfranchised by the Women Occupiers' Franchise Bill? This is his chivalrous and courteous account of them. "The disappointed women," "the women who have not borne, or cannot, or will not bear children," "every woman who has quarrelled with her husband and is keeping a separate establishment; every woman who wishes to live her own life, whatever that may mean; every one of that sex who has a grievance against her Creator"; "and a large body of that other class, who number many thousands in every large city, to whom, without the slightest doubt, no civic influence whatever should be given."

Setting aside the fact that Mr. Belloc ignores the very existence of the widow and evinces basest ingratitude to the school teachers, hospital nurses, and other professional

and working women to whom he and his wife and children are doubtless as much indebted as other families in the State—setting aside this fact and for the moment accepting this category as complete, what conclusions are we to draw? First, that no woman who has not borne children (and remember that there are 1½ million who, so long as we are a monogamous country, never can!) has any claim to participate in citizen rights. Has she, one wonders, any right to exist at all? Indeed, one half expects that Mr. Belloc will proceed to recommend the exposure of female infants. Then he glances at the woman who "wishes to live her own life, whatever that may mean." Well, Mr. Belloc, it will be for the happiness of women, if not for the satisfaction of your masculine egoism, if this class grows to the diminution of the ranks of "disappointed women" and those "with a grievance against their Creator." But there is another class branded still more irrevocably by Mr. Belloc—those "thousands in every large city, to whom, without the slightest doubt, no civic influence whatever should be given." Immorality then should be a disqualification for the franchise—for women! A pleasant commentary this on Mr. Belloc's genial statement, greeted with laughter and applause, that "it is not true that in that very difficult, most dangerous, and also most salutary of human relations, the relations between the sexes, there is tyranny by the man over the woman. . . . It is for our own good, and by the providence of God, a little the other way." The glitter of romance fades when we see into what dark places we have been led, and watch the development, in all its inevitable ugliness, of the doctrine that a woman exists in and for her sex alone.

One is reminded of the specious argument of the gentleman in Meredith's *Ballad of Fair Ladies in Revolt* (a very just study throughout, by the way, of Mr. Belloc's state of mind):—

"But say, what seek you, madam? 'Tis enough
That you should have dominion o'er the springs
Domestic and man's heart: those ways, how rough,
How vile, outside the stately avenue,
Where you walk sheltered by your angel's wings,
Are happily unknown to you."

with the quivering reply:—

"We hear women's shrieks on them. We like your phrase—
Dominion domestic! And that roar,
"What seek you?" is of tyrants in all days.
Sir, get you something of our purity,
And we will of your strength: we ask no more.
That is the sum of what seek we."

But Mr. Belloc adduces weighty corroboration of his point of view. It is, he declares, the point of view of the populace, to which, as a democrat, he is compelled to bow. What does he mean by "the populace"? The forces of organised labour? By no means. On the contrary, the Labour Party, alone of all political parties, accepts women in true comradeship and consistently advocates the recognition of their full humanity. What, then, is Mr. Belloc's "populace," and where does he seek its opinion? Not, we imagine, at the gates of the factories or works, for we have been there ourselves, and we can vouch for the sympathy and respect of the working-man. We get a hint when he tells us that it is in their songs, their caricatures, and their jokes that we may discover that the populace dislike this proposal. We have it! We must go, then, if we are to find the really insuperable bar to this great reform, to the Music Hall: we must take in "Comic Cuts" and "Ally Sloper's Half Holiday." Here we shall listen to the great voice of humanity; here we shall learn what, in our modern social life, is really worthy of reverence. Admiring what we here find held up to admiration, deriding all which is here held up to derision, we shall at last have found an infallible guide along the thorny path of social progress. Did Mr. Belloc speak seriously? One can hardly think it of so brilliant a man, save that "wit that strives to speak the popular voice, puts on its nightcap and puts out its light."

With the sentiment of the Music Hall, then, to back him, Mr. Belloc stands forth as the opponent of the

Women's movement, and the champion of the doctrine of "the reality of sex." Too delicate to discuss the question either with a woman or before women, he can, even in an assembly of men, only indicate his point of view, leaving "Comic Cuts" and its like to do the rest. From such opposition we have nothing to fear. It is fast making its way, with the veil and the harem, towards the limbo of things alien and outworn. And we can feel no anger; we can only pity poor Mr. Belloc, whose little barque has gone ashore on the far side of Seraglio Point.
MARGARET ROBERTSON.

Why Women Need the Vote.

XV.—The Vision Beautiful.

Finally, what is the ultimate hope and aspiration which is stirring to the depths the minds of women all over the civilised world, and impelling them to the demand for a share in the direction and governance of human affairs? For this is the unmistakable meaning of what is vaguely termed the Woman's Movement, however various the particular forms it takes in different countries and under different stages of civilisation. Is it an ideal which can be transformed into a force for practical utility and human well-being? or is it merely the stuff which dreams are made of? Is this passionate altruism, which finds it impossible to acquiesce in the evil and misery which surround us, a guide to be trusted and obeyed, or a will o' the wisp luring us to destruction?

In the minds of many well-meaning and even high-thinking men, the answer would seem to be that it is both; a trustworthy guide up to a given point of progress, and from that point onward a dangerous illusion! The point of transformation, moreover, is invariably that at which we have arrived, and, like the foundation of the rainbow's arch, depends for location on the retina of the beholder.

How can women who have once awakened to the love of humanity, who have beheld the vision beautiful and dedicated themselves to the search for the Holy Grail, be content to model life on this halting hypothesis? They may admit that their ideals are improbable of realisation, that they will fail, as men have failed, to reform the world; and yet—and yet—

"The highest mark was never reached except
By what was aimed above it."

And the arrows we fit to our bow must be freely chosen, of the best and latest fashioning yet discovered, tipped and feathered by the collective wisdom of the ages. In the everlasting battle against suffering, cruelty, and sin, women, in common with men, have successively employed the weapons of ministrations, individual succour, organised effort for improved conditions of existence, regulated and discriminative charity. The results of these co-operative efforts have led by degrees to enlarged conceptions of the sphere of government and the duties of the community to its members. The more thoughtful and public-spirited women can see no sufficient reason why, at this particular point in the long and arduous "march of man," half the advancing army should be denied the weapons which by natural development have become the most suitable and effective for the present needs of the great campaign. On the other hand there are many, by temperament the less enterprising, who shrink from the increasing stress and strain of the fight, and would gladly be relegated to a less onerous sphere of duty. There is room and use for all; but unless all are accorded freedom to decide on what lines and by what methods they can best fulfil their purpose in the world, much waste of power must inevitably result. That one half of the human family should have the right to say to the other half, "This function alone shall be yours, and from other enterprises you shall be wholly excluded," is for the hand to say to the foot, "I have no need of thee."

Perhaps the most vital truth of modern politics is the growing conception of society as a living organism which can only continue to exist and develop if all its various parts are healthy and harmonious. Out of this con-

ception are emerging higher ideals of the relationships both of classes and of sex—ideals of "self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control," which have inspired poets and prophets; ideals of self-surrender and devotion which shall no longer, because of their one-sidedness, imply a coincident fostering of selfishness or tyranny; ideals of social solicitude and service which shall open up a far horizon to the most confined personal career; ideals of patriotism which shall rescue us from fear of racial degeneracy; ideals of comradeship which shall recognize "one equal temper of heroic hearts," in which shall be neither bond nor free.

These are visions hitherto tacitly assumed to inspire men only, or at least to reach women only *through men*. They were to live

"He for God only, she for God in him."

This long-accepted conception of man ministering at the altar of life, and of woman subserving him in his ministrations, is destined to be superseded by a nobler ideal of equal comradeship and free service. Division of labour there will ever be, but this must be determined by personal and natural fitness and inclination, not by the mandate of one sex over the other. Law, rule, and the governance of human life are not functions concerning one half only of the human family; and as woman continues to grow in learning, thought, and sense of

responsibility (as she has undoubtedly grown in the last century), she will cease to shrink, afraid, from the mark of her high calling, and

"Learn to walk high in sublimer dread,
Rather than crawl in safety."

Such, most dimly indicated, is the vision which is inspiring those who are struggling to uplift the status of womanhood. It is futile to remind them that the mass of humanity moves on a lower plane, bounded by a narrower horizon; they will answer with Galileo, "Nevertheless, it moves." If they are humble, they are not abject; though they fail, they will never accept failure; because each step on the ascending pathway is in itself trivial, they will not despise the firm foothold by which they climb, for thus only have heights ever been attained. A Revelation to men's minds—from Moses, Buddha, Plato, Christ; a Reformation of creed and conduct by a Luther or Savonarola; a Revolution for justice and liberty in modern England, France, or Italy—not one of these has changed the basic factors of human nature; yet few will deny that to the prophets and reformers whose souls conceived and whose hands performed these God-given tasks is due (not individually but collectively) whatever of coherent progress is traceable in human history.
C. C. OSLER.

FINIS.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

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

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

Hon. Secretaries:

MISS EDITH DIMOCK.
MISS BERTHA MASON (Parliamentary).

President:

MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Hon. Treasurer:

MISS BERTHA MASON (*Pro Tem.*).

Telegrams: "Voiceless, London."

Secretary: MISS T. G. WHITEHEAD, M.A.

Telephone: 1900 Victoria.

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

Mr. Brailsford's Letter.

I hope every secretary of every one of our affiliated societies will carefully read and note Mr. Brailsford's letter on page 290 of "The Common Cause" for August 11th *re* "the careful record" of all meetings held in support of the Conciliation Bill during the autumn, and resolutions passed thereat. It is most important that these records should be faithfully sent in to the National Union Office, and I earnestly beg that all local secretaries will assist us in our work of collecting the evidence we have undertaken to supply to the Conciliation Committee.

BERTHA MASON, Parliamentary Sec.

Treasurer's Notes.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

August 6th to August 13th, 1910	
Already acknowledged	£1,905 7 14
Subscriptions:—	
Miss R. E. McArthur	0 1 0
Miss Florence Fidler	0 5 0
Miss Clayden	0 2 0
	£1,905 15 14

MILLION SHILLING FUND.

	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	1,413	6
Miss F. Nelson Pringle (collecting card)	26	0
— Fullerton, Esq. (per Mrs. Auernach)	1	0
	1,440	6

There is little to remark upon this week, beyond expressing the earnest hope that now, in the time for garden parties and out-door meetings, the claims and needs of the National Union will be remembered by local societies and friends.
BERTHA MASON, Treasurer.

Federation Notes.

North-Western

"Well I thought I should have got rid of you up here," said the tourist in exasperation when he saw Keswick Market Place thronged with people, who eagerly listened to the

explanation of the Conciliation Bill. But the tourist was wrong. He had chosen a very bad spot if he wanted to get away from Women's Suffrage. We had a splendid meeting. Mr. Frank Marshall took the chair. Miss C. E. Marshall and I spoke. We were told we would get some organized opposition, and we got it, much to the amusement of ourselves and the audience. Miss C. E. Marshall answered all questions excellently, and our resolution was carried with a large majority.

The Keswick Society, for which I am working just now, has sent me to do some work in Maryport and Whitehaven. The ground has been well prepared here by Miss Marshall, who is always alluded to by the working people in Whitehaven as "that brave lass."

Both our colours and "The Common Cause" are well known, but—and there is always a "but" in organization work—the people are very poor, and all school teachers are away.

We had two very good open-air meetings in Whitehaven, and have great hopes of forming a local committee.

In Maryport I had an open-air meeting in pouring rain. A big collier held his umbrella over me, and the audience stood for nearly an hour in the pouring wet. Our hope is to form a local committee here as well.

Next week I am visiting smaller villages, and also go to Workington.

HELGA GILL.

We have received from Miss Catherine Marshall, hon. secretary to the N.W. Federation, the copy of a letter sent by her committee to the local Press. This letter, which is headed "Who is conciliated by the Conciliation Bill?" gives an admirable and concise explanation of the nature of the Committee, the terms of the Bill, and the grounds on which it might fairly be expected to "conciliate" all, of whatever political party, who admit the principle of Women's Suffrage at all.

The appearance of such a letter as this in the Press must be of the greatest service in clearing up the minds of the vague and the mistaken, and in explaining the present situation with regard to the Bill. If any other societies care to send something of the kind to their local newspapers, we have no doubt that Miss Marshall (Hawke End, Keswick) would gladly send a copy of the letter drawn up by her committee, on application, as a suggestion.

Work in North of Scotland.

This week we have been busy arranging for meetings in Fortrose and Inverness on the 16th, 17th, and 18th, and we have had meetings in Forres and Lossiemouth. Our meeting

at Forres was held on Thursday afternoon in the Mechanics' Institute, and Mrs. Critchley presided over a good attendance. Mrs. Critchley's maiden speech was quite a success. My speech was an explanation of the Conciliation Bill, and of the moral, educational, and industrial reforms in which women were interested. Our resolution "urging the granting of facilities this session for the Bill" was carried unanimously. Several members joined, who, with those we already possess, will form the Forres Society (which has affiliated to the National Union), of which Miss Hay will be hon. secretary.

We also hear from Beaulieu that sufficient members have been gained there to allow it to affiliate.

The two final meetings of the week, held on Friday afternoon and evening in the Public Hall, Lissiemouth, were a very great success, and we are greatly indebted to our Elgin and Lissiemouth members, and to Mrs. and Miss Forsyth, who kindly gave me hospitality, for working up these meetings. Mrs. Ramsay MacDonald presided at 3-30 p.m., and made a bright and interesting speech, dwelling specially on the point that it was dangerous to have so much domestic legislation passed as we have now without the direct opinion of women. After my speech to the usual resolution, seconded formally by Mrs. Forsyth, Lady Spicer, wife of Sir Albert Spicer, M.P., moved a vote of thanks, and expressed in a short speech her belief in and sympathy with the movement. The resolution was carried with two dissentients. In the evening Provost Watt presided over a crowded attendance, and, after I had spoken and answered various questions, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., spoke convincingly, trenchantly, and brilliantly. He spoke first on the general question. There was no such thing in the State as a line drawn between woman's activities and man's activities. As a commonsense politician he had to accept conditions as he found them, and the conditions were simply this—that all the arguments used against Women's Suffrage were hypothetical, unreal, imaginary. There was no real opposition now to Women's Suffrage. Opposition ceased to be real when each who imagined themselves responsible for it contradicted each other, and that had happened in the case of the opponents of Women's Suffrage. Discussing the Conciliation Bill, he said they were met with great problems of detail, but it was a very good sign that they were beginning to split on details, because it showed that the general propaganda work was over. Details must be so devised that the vote given to women would not incapacitate one or other of the great political parties from keeping office. The Conciliation Bill as it stood, in the opinion of some, went a long way towards giving a generation of office to one party in the State, but the amendment given notice of by Mr. Shackleton removed that objection. He was perfectly convinced that

that problem of detail could easily be solved. The House of Commons had decisively declared in favour of Women's Suffrage, and the Government must make itself responsible for the Bill. Criticising Mr. Lloyd George's speech of the previous day, he said that women were not going to wait for a settlement of the question till the House of Lords and Welsh Disestablishment were dealt with. Welsh Disestablishment had been steadily vanishing over the horizon since 1906. No Welsh member raised his finger to fight for it in the House, and Mr. Lloyd George was inviting women to wait till the Greek Kalends—which assuredly they or their supporters would not do. The House of Lords question might take years, and we would not wait for its settlement either—unless it were to be done in November. He considered that the Conciliation Committee made a constitutional and tactical blunder in endeavouring to have our Bill sent to a Grand Committee. A committee of the whole House was the correct procedure for so great a question, and time should be afforded. Both speeches were frequently applauded and much enjoyed, and votes of thanks brought an excellent and rousing meeting to a close.

HELEN FRASER.

Reports of Parliamentary Debates.

Reports of Parliamentary debates are published daily, and cost 3d. each. The Conciliation Bill debate (second reading) lasted over two days. Consequently the whole report costs 6d. Postage on each report of one day is 1½d. The publishers are Wyman and Sons, Ltd., 109, Fetter Lane, Fleet Street, E.C.

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

The Men's League is holding meetings in Hyde Park every Sunday at 2-30. The open-air secretary, Mr. T. Gugenheim (40, Museum Street, London, W.C.) would be glad to hear of women speakers who would give the Men's League help in this work. The Men's League for Opposing Women's Suffrage is also holding meetings in Hyde Park on Sundays at 6-30. Suffragists could do good work by attending these meetings, asking questions, and offering opposition.

Public Testimonial to Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy.

We have been asked to make it known that a committee has been formed for the purpose of giving expression to the gratitude felt by many men and women to Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, whose life-long devotion to the cause of women is known to all Suffragists. It was largely owing to her untiring efforts that the great Married Women's Property Acts and the Guardianship of Children Act (1886) were passed; while, as far back as 1865, Mrs. Elmy helped to found the original Manchester Women's Suffrage Society. We cordially welcome this proposal to honour Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, and all who wish to join in the testimonial which is to be offered should send donations to the hon. treasurer, Mrs. Martindale, Horsted Keynes, Sussex.

A Holiday Campaign.

My friend and I, both members of the N.U.W.S.S., have been spending a delightful holiday in the North of Ireland. As a result of wearing our colours we were soon marked out as the "Suffragettes," and the people in the hotel expressed a desire to hear the Suffrage discussed. At a picnic my friend, by request, gave a short speech on Women's Suffrage, and a resolution in favour of it was passed by a large majority. My friend made a speech in the hotel one evening, and a collection realised 3s. 6d. for the cause. Two visitors leaving the hotel left a bouquet, consisting of turnips, carrots, etc., to be presented to the "Suffragettes." We made good use of these, and decided to sell them and give the proceeds to the National Union. The visitors entered into the spirit of the sale, which realised 7s. After the sale a lively debate took place. We are therefore able to hand over to the National Union 10s. 6d. as the result of our holiday campaign. H. A. JOHNSON.

Ashton House, Manchester.

All interested in housing reform for women know of the pioneer work done in this matter by Mrs. Higgs, of Oldham; in fact, many people date their interest and any knowledge they may possess from the first publication of her heroic experiments as a tramp. A large and successful municipal women's lodging-house has existed for a long time in Glasgow, but England has been slow to follow, and the conditions of housing for the poorest women are a scandal to our society. A man can get lodgings for a "single man," but a woman, too often, is

actually refused lodging unless she brings a man with her or is willing to share any man's bed.

The Women's Local Government Association took the matter up some years ago, and their Manchester secretary, Mrs. Clark, with the help of the inspectors of the Sanitary Committee and the Watch Committee, made a tour of inspection of the cheap lodging-houses in the city; what she saw made her and others feel that they could not rest until they had secured better conditions for poor women. The Association collected information, and visited the Salvation Army shelter in Bristol and the Glasgow municipal lodging-house. In London they found no effort to meet, on any adequate scale, the needs of the very poor. The result of all these inquiries and of a conference was that the Sanitary Committees of Manchester and of Salford sent a deputation to the City Council, and the work was put in hand about two years ago.

Miss Margaret Ashton, who was elected to the Manchester City Council in autumn, 1908, has made the building and equipment of this lodging-house her particular interest and care, and it is fittingly to be called "Ashton House." It is to be opened on September 1, and to hold 220 beds, and being in one of the poorest districts in the city, close to the great market of Shudehill, there seems little doubt that it will be speedily filled.

A representative of "The Common Cause" has just been over it, and describes it thus:—

Ashton House, with its red bricks and green window frames, gives a touch of brightness to rather a dingy part of Corporation Street. It is a bright, attractive building from the outside, but its chief charms lie within.

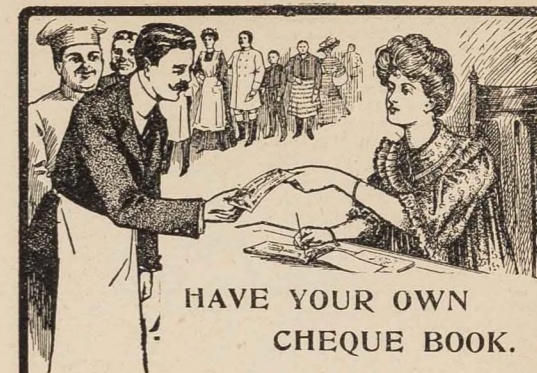
The first, second, and third floors are devoted to the sleeping accommodation. Here a wonderful improvement on most lodging-houses is seen. Instead of the usual dormitories each lodger has a private cubicle which she can lock. Each cubicle is just large enough to hold a single bed and a chair. Though small they are wonderfully airy, as each has a separate window. The cubicles are separated by fireproof partitions. The accommodation on each floor is exactly the same, but the price varies—4d., 5d., or 6d. a night—according to the floor on which the cubicle is situated. The lavatories are in the basement, but there is an emergency lavatory on every landing. An attendant will sleep on every landing to be at hand in case of sickness or other trouble. At the end of each corridor there is an emergency exit in case of fire. As soon as this door is opened an electric alarm is sounded in the attendants' rooms, which enables them to see on which corridor the fire has broken out.

The office, at which the women pay for their beds and receive the number of their rooms, is on the ground floor at the entrance. Near to it is a shop at which provisions may be bought; if the women prefer they can bring their provisions in with them. No alcohol will be allowed. The women can either cook their own food or have it cooked for them for a small payment.

The dining-room is not a very large room, but it is very bright, and, as the women will probably require their meals at different hours, it is likely to prove large enough. Connected with the dining-room by swing doors is a large recreation room. Both rooms are distempered in an artistic, restful green shade. The floors of the rooms and the corridors are to be covered with Italian mosaic—a kind of linoleum which is easily washed and polished.

The kitchen is near the dining-room, and contains two large cooking stoves and a huge kettle from which boiling water is always to be had. There is a special, well-fitted washing-up kitchen.

The basement contains lavatories, a wash-house, storing accommodation, and, to show nothing is forgotten, a boot-blackening room. The lavatory contains a liberal number of basins fitted with hot and cold water and half a dozen foot baths. Towels will be provided, but the women will provide their own soap. It is probable that a charge of 1d. will be made for a bath; this charge will include the use of towel and soap. The wash-house is fitted up with all the latest improvements. There



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are small changing rooms in which the women can take off such clothes as they want to wash; there are steam-pipes over each bowl to serve instead of boilers; mangles will be provided, and also the newest kind of racks for drying.

Each woman is entitled to two lockers—a small one for food and a larger one for clothing. For the key of these she pays 1d., which is refunded when she returns the key. For the sake of women who are living in the house or making a long stay there is a parcels room for larger luggage. For the use of this room the charge will be 1d. per month. For the convenience of hawkers there will be a locked yard in which they can place perishable goods.

There is a fumigating room in the basement. The building is fitted with electric light; there is also gas in case the supply fails.

Manchester has waited long for a women's lodging-house, but it now has one of which its citizens may justly feel proud.

George Eliot's "Armstrong."

It is interesting to trace the beginnings of the feminist movement in the writings and utterances of the leading literary women of the nineteenth century. George Eliot's works, for instance, are strongly permeated with the spirit which to-day finds expression in the demand for the Suffrage, although George Eliot herself failed to recognise the extreme importance to her sex of the Parliamentary vote. She was alive to all the evils for which we believe the enfranchisement of women would prove, if not a panacea, at any rate the most effective remedy available, but the idea of the vote was, in her day, too novel to meet with unqualified acceptance by her essentially conservative mind. In 1853 she writes to Mrs. Peter Taylor:—"Enfranchisement of women only makes creeping progress; and that is best, for woman does not yet deserve a much better lot than man gives her." Fourteen years later, to the same correspondent, she says: "I do sympathise with you most emphatically in the desire to see women socially elevated—educated equally with men and secured as far as possible along with every other breathing creature from suffering the exercise of any unrighteous

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power. That is a broader ground of sympathy than agreement as to the amount, and kind, of result that may be hoped for from a particular measure. But on this special point I am far from thinking myself an oracle, and, on the whole, I am inclined to hope for much good from the serious presentation of women's claim before Parliament."

As Mr. Cross points out in his summary of his wife's life and character: "She was keenly anxious to redress injustices to women and to raise their general status in the community," but she thought "this could best be effected by women improving their work—ceasing to be amateurs." In 1856 she interested herself in the women's petition that they should have legal right to their own earnings (how incredible it seems that little more than half a century ago the position of English married women was one of such slavery that even money earned by their own exertions did not belong to them!) and in a letter to Miss Sara Hennell writes: "I am glad you have taken up the cause, for I do think that with proper provisos and safeguards the proposed law would help to raise the position and character of women. It is one round of a long ladder stretching far beyond our lives." These last words have a prophetic ring, and suggest that though George Eliot considered it best that enfranchisement of women should make but creeping progress, she regarded its ultimate triumph as not merely inevitable but right.

While emphasising her opinion that no amount of intellectual ability should absolve a woman from ordinary household duties, Mr. Cross quotes the following significant passage from Daniel Deronda: "You may try, but you can never imagine what it is to have a man's force of genius in you and yet to suffer the slavery of being a girl." "This is a point of view," he adds, "that must be distinctly recognised by anyone attempting to follow the development of George Eliot's character, but," he continues, "it will always be corrected by the other point of view which she has made so prominent in all her own writing: the soothing, strengthening, sacred influences of the home life, the home loves, the home duties." No doubt these antithetic points of view have been potent factors in the lives of most women of genius, especially in an age when any achievement outside the conventional limits set to woman's sphere demanded an apology. It is, however, difficult to reconcile Mr. Cross's description of the "soothing, strengthening, and sacred influences" of home duties with George Eliot's own references to the trials of jelly-making and other "malheurs de cuisine," and her confession that she has not always gone through them as cheerfully as befitted the character of a Christian! Elsewhere she writes to her friend Miss Lewis: "I can hardly repress a sort of indignation towards second causes. That your time and energies should be expended in ministering to the petty interests of those far beneath you in all that is really elevating, is about as *bienséant* as that I should set fire to a goodly volume to light a match by!" But no doubt a certain amount of uncongenial work is excellent discipline for both men and women, and if jelly-making and kindred occupations are necessary to conserve the essentials of womanliness, then better too much of them than too little.

There is, however, another side of the question: Is the woman to whom God has entrusted a great natural gift justified in sacrificing it in order that she may fulfil the ordinary destiny and duties of womanhood? This problem is presented to us with great force in George Eliot's dramatic poem, "Armgarth." The heroine, who gives her name to the poem, is described as

"An ordinary girl; a plain, brown girl."

But she is raised above the mass of women by the possession of a magnificent voice. Although her character was conceived in mid-Victorian times, Armgarth is a type of the modern woman, who refuses to "crush herself within a mould of theory called nature," and demands "room to breathe and grow unstunted." Moreover, she insists that as an artist she is bound "to bear the burden of her rank." No brilliant marriage shall tempt her to betray this trust; she will not resign her crown as queen of song, even though it is in some respects a crown of thorns, for the life of ease and wealth, hedged round with devotion, which is offered her by her lover, the Graf," in "a woman's lot, more brilliant, as some hold, than any singer's."

How "unwomanly" will be the comment of most people, especially of the male sex, whose definition of womanliness is still carefully contrived to exclude all qualities that do not tend to the subservience of women. Implicitly, if not explicitly, they still hold, and are influenced by, the conviction which George Eliot puts into the mouth of the Graf:

"Men rise the higher as their task is high,
The task being well achieved. A woman's rank
Lies in the fulness of her womanhood;
Therein alone she is royal."

This popular fallacy Armgarth combats, and wins our admiration by her brave resistance to the Graf's specious reasoning and adroit arguments, which come with such additional force from a lover's lips and find an advocate even in her own heart. She denies that all avenues to greatness are closed to women save those of the domestic life, and points out that in her own case the womanly instincts are subordinate to those of the artist-nature. *She is an artist, and must bear the burden of her rank.* This gives the key-note to

her character; the ground on which she dares to repudiate the oft-taught gospel:—

"Woman, thou shalt not desire
To do aught best save pure subservice!
Nature has willed it so." "O blessed
Nature! (she cries). Let her be arbitress;
She gave me voice
Such as she only gives a woman child,
Best of its kind; gave me ambition, too,
That sense transcendent which can taste the joy
Of swaying multitudes, of being adored
For such achievement, needed excellence
As man's best art must wait for or be dumb.
Men did not say, when I had sung last night,
'Twas good, nay, wonderful, considering
She is a woman!—and then add,
'Tenor or baritone had sung her songs
Better, of course; she's but a woman spoiled.'"

It is an alluring picture that the Graf paints of the happier glory of a Queen of Home—"holding her art as attribute to that dear sovereignty—concentrating her power in home delights which penetrate and purify the world." But Armgarth thrusts it from her:—

"What, leave the opera with my part ill-sung,
While I was warbling in a drawing-room!
Sing in the chimney corner to inspire
My husband reading news! Let the world hear
My music only in his speech less stammering than most
honourable men's!"

No! tell me that my song is poor, my art
The piteous feat of weakness aping strength—
That were fit proem to your argument.
Till then I am an artist by my birth
By the same warrant that I am a woman;
Nay, in the added rarer gift I see
Supreme vocation; if a conflict comes
Perish—no, not the woman, but the joys
That men make narrow by their narrowness."

Beneath the hyperbolic language, the passionate utterance of a heart torn by conflicting emotions, yet dominated by one supreme conviction, we have here the expression of a great truth—a truth which applies equally to men and women, though it is as persistently denied in the one case as it is freely acknowledged in the other. The man who possesses great gifts is expected to put them to great uses; no one questions the obligation of the male artist to bear the burden of his rank. In the life of Burne-Jones we read that he called that man an atheist who, "having it in him to do something to help the world, deliberately does less than he might by choosing an uncongenial medium in which to work." But where women of genius are concerned the superstition still lingers that they are guilty of a sin against their womanhood if they presume to work in any medium, however congenial, which ancient custom has not consecrated to their sex. It is not recognised as waste, but is considered natural and right that powers which might sway multitudes and be transformed to joy of many, should serve only to inspire a husband reading news. It is not denounced as suicide, but it is extolled as salvation if a woman of great gifts and aspirations sinks all in a brilliant marriage.

Armgarth's subsequent history—her loss of the voice which served as channel to her soul, her loss of the lover who cared for her only as "a wife with glory possible absorbed into her husband's actual," her first, bitter, overwhelming sense "of high hopes shrunk to endurance, stunted aims, like broken lances, ground to eating knives"—none of these things affect the lesson which Armgarth, crowned and applauded, inculcates—the duty of the artist to bear the burden of her rank. Nor must we let our judgment be confused by George Eliot's evident anxiety to point a more conventional moral by emphasising Armgarth's selfish absorption in her profession until the shock of failure sets free her sympathies. In spite of youthful egoism and ambition, Armgarth's sacrifice to art was none the less complete because subsequent events proved it unavailing; her soul none the less an artist's soul because struck with sudden dumbness.

"All I could never be,
All men ignored in me
That I was worth to God
Whose wheel the pitcher shaped."

JUSTITIA.

Foreign News.

UNITED STATES. Straw Votes of Women.

Of late, the growing interest in Women's Suffrage has led scores of newspapers all over the country to take "straw" votes of their women readers on the question. So far as we have seen, in all but two or three cases the vote has been in favour of Suffrage, usually by very heavy majorities. The Scripps MacRae League of newspapers lately took such a vote in eighteen cities. In all the result was in favour. In San Francisco and Los Angeles it was in favour more than 9 to 1; in Berkeley, Cal., 53 to 1; in Des Moines, Iowa, 20 to 1; in Louisville, Ky., more than 3 to 1; in Oklahoma City,

more than 28 to 1; in Minneapolis, 18 to 1; and so on. The "Seattle Star" lately took such a vote. It stood: Yes, 2,218; No, 61. In Akron, Ohio, only two women voted no; in the large city of Omaha, Neb., only nine.

Yet if equal Suffrage should be voted down next November in any of the four States where amendments are now pending, we shall be told that the women defeated it. Could any assertion be more utterly fatuous?

A. S. B., Boston Woman's Journal.

The Suffragists of Brooklyn have shown an inventive spirit in organising a scheme for Suffrage propaganda which we over here might do well to follow. It is very simple. Thirty thousand paper bags, capable of holding a pound of coffee, flour, etc., were ordered, with the following inscription:—

Woman Suffrage Party.

WANTED: Every woman in Brooklyn to join the Woman Suffrage Party, and help us to get votes for women. We want to elect wise and honest officials, who will give us lower taxes, less rent, a clean and happy city, and full time in school for every child. Get a postcard, write on it "I believe in Women's Suffrage," sign your name and address, and mail it to Mrs. Robert H. Eider, 80, Willow Street., Brooklyn. You will then be invited to the next meeting in your district. No money dues.

These were given to those of the smaller grocers who were willing to use them. Their distribution was then automatic, and the bags reached just that class of women which is so difficult to reach by the ordinary means. Many grocers have shown great willingness to help the project, and have asked for the bags. If the scheme proves successful other small tradesmen will be drawn in. The leading Brooklyn paper helped by giving an account of the plan in its columns. Will not some enterprising branch try the scheme here these holidays?

We quote the following paragraph from the "Woman's Journal" at length, as it seems to us extremely significant of the state of affairs in U.S.A., and a difficult thing for the Antis to explain away.

No women were allowed to take the examinations which have just been held in all the States and Territories, under the U.S. Civil Service Commission, to make those who pass eligible for positions as stenographers and typists in the service of the U.S. Government. The reasons alleged were that men are "more amenable to discipline" (1) and that they are "more easily transferred to places where their services are needed, and can more readily be drafted into other kinds of work." The business houses of the United States have not found it necessary to declare a wholesale boycott against women stenographers and typists. The vast majority of them prefer to employ women for such work. But business firms choose their help upon strictly business principles, without reference to politics. Some little time ago a city in the Middle West made a clean sweep of the several hundred women employed as stenographers, typists, etc., in the offices of all the municipal departments. The reason in that case was frankly political; the places were wanted for voters. The heads of departments at Washington are less frank, but the reasons for this wholesale discrimination against women are in all probability the same. It is vain for the anti-Suffragists to protest that the lack of the ballot is no disadvantage to a woman who has her living to earn. Here is an object lesson so plain that no woman—at any rate, no stenographer or typist—can fail to read it.

FRANCE.

Two weeks ago we reported that the French were trying to combat depopulation by making legal "la Recherche de la Paternité." Here is another scheme put forward in all seriousness by a few deputies. We quote briefly:—

1. Every bachelor having attained the age of twenty-five will have to undergo compulsory military service.
2. No bachelor over twenty-five, except soldiers and sailors, can retain a State appointment. Widowers or divorced men count as married.
3. Every father of more than three children will receive a bonus for every additional child.

Moreover, a father of more than three children will have privileges in his career. The whole Bill is framed entirely from the point of view of the father. The reasoning is simple: Augment the number of marriages, and thus increase the number of children.

Some deputies, more clear sighted, have pointed out that the most important thing is to safeguard the mother—to make it possible for her to bear and rear healthy children, to make it a pleasure and not merely a burden. The Director of Public Assistance lately declared that 50,000 children perished annually before the age of two years for want of proper care and attention. Save these children first, say the wiser heads, before you try artificial remedies by means of absurd legislation.

The French W.S.A. has been collecting opinions of various eminent men on the Women Suffrage question, and "La Revue" has published their replies. A large number of men have answered, and a great proportion of the replies are favourable. The July number contains the last answers.

A Book for Working Women.

In view of the canvass of women municipal votes undertaken by the N.U.W.S.S., our readers will welcome the appearance of a booklet by Lady Chance, in which the reasons why such women need the vote are set forth, with a special view to the working-class woman who forms so large a proportion of the municipal electorate. The Godalming Society has sent a copy to all its branches, and this example might well be followed. The little book costs 1d. (or 6s. a hundred), and those who wish for copies should write to Lady Chance, Orchards, near Godalming, Surrey.

Remarkable Anti-Suffrage Arguments.

It is curious what arguments Anti-Suffragists invent. In the current number of the *Nineteenth Century* Mrs. Frederic Harrison gives a proof of female incapacity for politics. Queen Elizabeth hesitated about signing Mary Queen of Scots' death warrant, though the latter had attempted her life. Is it not pretty certain that a king like Charles II. or William IV. would never have signed that death warrant at all? There is, indeed, a case in history when the mildness of a man in similar circumstances proved his ruin. The case has a special interest for Northern Suffragists, as the Dean of Manchester some time ago held up Lady Margaret, mother of Henry VII., as a model to school girls. Lady Margaret as a political intriguer put the fiercest Suffragettes in the shade. Guilty of many treasons, Richard III., who scrupled not to murder his nephews, only ordered the lady to be imprisoned in her husband's (Lord Stanley's) house. As a result her intrigues went on until they ended in Bosworth Field, Richard's death, and Henry VII.'s accession to the crown. Mrs. Frederic Harrison should argue that because Richard III. did not chop off Margaret of Salisbury's head no men should vote. One more point: Mary Tudor, Elizabeth's sister, burned Archbishop Cranmer against the advice of her husband and councillors. This stern action on Mrs. Frederic Harrison's theory is a proof of women's fitness for the vote.

Reviews.

LES DAMES DU PALAIS. Colette Yver. (Calmann Levy, Paris.)

"Les Dames du Palais" is one of those stories which would be read with great interest in England if it were translated. The ladies referred to are occupied in the Palais de Justice in Paris as advocates. In our own country the women factory inspectors are the only women who take a case into the courts, and we have not as yet advanced so far as our French contemporaries.

The novel opens with the instance of Henrietta Marcadiou, a lady lawyer, herself the daughter of a legal luminary, who has become proficient as a pleader. André Velines, a clever young advocate, falls in love with her, and they marry. She does not give up her profession, and they live together near the Palais de Justice. He has a serious illness, through which she nurses him very devotedly. At this point in the tale an additional interest comes in with Suzanne Marty, a wronged wife, who has divorced her husband, and retained the guardianship of her little boy Marcel, who is idolised by both parents. M. Alembert appeals against the verdict, and Maître Fabrézan Castignac appears on his behalf, whilst Henriette pleads for Suzanne Marty. She is very eloquent on Suzanne's behalf, and argues that she is more likely to bring up the child well, as her character is unstained. She wins the case, but there are further proceedings. Henriette cannot appear as she is about to become a mother, and hands the case over to her husband. He fails, and the verdict is reversed. This is a bitter disappointment, and he falls into a mood of discontent, and becomes cold to Henriette. Her absorption in her legal work has never been to his taste, and now he finds himself spoken of as the husband of Madame Velines. He gives way to sex jealousy, and his manliness forsakes him for the time being. He ceases to make headway in his profession, but his wife loves him as well as ever. Still, as time passes she becomes angered against him, and when at Christmas he goes to Rouen she decides to separate from him, and returns to her old home, taking her little girl with her.

At this juncture M. Fabrézan Castignac intervenes. He begs Henriette to effect a reconciliation between Suzanne and M. Alembert, and learns incidentally that she is leaving her own husband. He induces her to return to the flat before André arrives from Rouen, and to persuade Suzanne Marty to go back to her husband. André returns, and having spent a dull time at Rouen is glad to be at home again. Before long he becomes aware of the real facts, and is angry and puzzled. Henriette sees that she is face to face with a dilemma. On the one hand she may pursue her career, on the other she may make allowance for her husband's irrational jealousy and become his secretary and colleague. Love of André and her baby lead her to choose the less ambitious alternative. She appears in the courts with her husband in a striking case, thus silencing gossip. He has

resumed his ambitions, and the verdict goes in his client's favour. The book ends on a note of content.

As a whole the story is very human and interesting. The masculine side of matters is as well shown as the feminine. The character of André is French, but he is certainly typical of the clever man of any nationality, who in the future, more frequently than in the past, may find that his wife's talents are quite equal to his own. There is no sufficient reason why he should give way to extremes of despondency when he loses Suzanne Marty's case on appeal. That is certainly a weak point in the tale, but as was remarked to us by a male critic, "Men are made like that." It is to be hoped not for their own sake if the suffering of their wives and themselves is to be avoided! However, he represents the average man, and in these transition times it is perhaps too soon to expect very much from such a one. The complete meaning of the womanly request for a "fair field and no favour" is but imperfectly understood as yet. It is easy enough to allow no favour—a passive line of conduct will ensure as much; but the fair field is a more difficult matter, and requires that the old fiend, jealousy, which has stood between the sexes for more centuries than can be counted, shall be set at naught.

It is an unlooked-for ending to a feminist novel—the wife's voluntary choice of a place below her husband. If such a thing were possible it might allay anti-feminist fears, since Henriette is very woman, in love with her husband, and the mother of her child in the best sense of the words. The extreme unsatisfactoriness of divorce is very plainly shown and emphasised. "Les Dames du Palais" is a notable novel, which faces the difficulties of modern life and suggests one solution of them. For the rest it brings out a controversial interest which needs to be taken into account.

FRANCES E. ASHWELL COOKE.

The *Englishwoman* of this month contains the first of a series of articles on "Women's Wages and the Vote," by M. A. Hamilton, which will be profoundly interesting to all Suffragists. We hope that statements on so controversial a subject will be substantiated as far as possible in a magazine article. The assertion, e.g., that women's wages have risen enormously since 1833 is one which would be challenged by many experts.

A criticism of the Minority Report gives the point of view of the expert, amazed, as always, that he is not accepted as final judge of a system for whose administration he has been responsible for so long that it would be strange indeed if he did not think it superior to any other that is suggested. Readers should note the attitude of the Minority towards married women's work—an attitude which implies what is hardly less than slavery for the poor widow with a family to bring up. The number also contains a most interesting article on "An Indian Poetess," by Miss L. F. Waring. She quotes largely and happily from her original, and speaks of the poetess's intense interest in the development of modern India. If we are not mistaken, one of the most gifted of the new school of Indian painters has executed an exquisite drawing of a "suttee" in illustration of the lines quoted in part by Miss Waring:—

Life of my life, Death's cruel sword
Hath severed us like a broken wood—
Severed us two, who are but one;
Shall the flesh survive when the soul is gone?

Correspondence.

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

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

LIBERAL WOMEN AND THE VOTE.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—An appeal is made by a correspondent in this week's "Common Cause," urging upon Liberal women the necessity for a "general strike" as being the bold course for the moment. Boldness, I fully admit, is greatly needed from Liberal women at this moment, but I venture to suggest a line of action which would be equally bold with that suggested, more Liberal, and more effective.

Let me first touch upon one aspect of the course suggested—the strike. No one seems ever to contemplate that Primrose dames or the Women's Unionist and Tariff Reform Association should go on strike even against the most Anti-Suffragist Conservative. They are to work while we abstain. Therefore, for a Liberal woman to subtract her unit of work from the total force of the Liberal cause is tantamount to adding that quantity of work (great or small) to the Conservative cause, the losing party (be it noted) being that which boasts in the present House of Commons about twice the Suffrage strength of the gaining party. "That may be," say keen Suffragists, "but you would have taught your party a lesson." Well, possibly we shall have to come to that, but meanwhile there is another method, to my mind a bolder method, which we ought as Liberals and Suffragists to try first.

We have in the past worked with divided minds for Suffrage Bills, supposed to be non-party—Bills which one and all (even the Women Occupiers' Bill) would select for admission to the franchise mainly those women who, from reasons of isolation, old age, or property would be inclined to vote against democracy. We have never as yet tried the finer plan of working whole-heartedly and fearlessly for a really democratic Suffrage measure. We have, indeed, at the bidding of fancied expediency, kept our democratic views of franchise rights rather in the background in the general political fray.

Surely we can now see the futility for practical purposes of non-party measures, and that the need of the moment is for concentration, not dissipation, of party energies for driving on the Woman's Suffrage cause. Surely we must realise now what keeps the Liberal party from tackling the Women's Suffrage question. It is that the only consistently democratic method of doing so would be by a measure basing the franchise on male and female citizenship, abandoning our absurd property and rent-paying basis. For that the country is not prepared. And why not prepared? Ours is the blame. We have been content to convert men to vague general Suffragism; we have overlooked the fact that the man who still desires to keep his own wife in political inferiority to himself is (however politely he may disclaim it) essentially an Anti-Suffragist. Hence the Suffrage movement still lacks driving force among men.

Moreover, we must not (if we determine to work for a party Bill) neglect to search our own minds and oust from them all trace of acquiescence in the theory that one set of citizens have the right to shut out any other set from the benefits of self-government. If any Liberal woman desires a vote for herself but dreads one for her cook, she is failing the Women's Suffrage cause not by being too loyal to Liberalism, but by a secret disloyalty to the cardinal principles of democracy.

The essential force of the Women's Suffrage movement is belief in self-Government. To which party are we to look for that? Liberal women should be in no doubt of the answer. We must look to our own party; but we must look with more faith; and we must show them that they can look to us for support and hard work for a really democratic Suffrage Bill.

The Liberal party greatly desire a lead from Liberal women in this respect. To give them instead a slap in the face would merely tell against all the causes we as democrats have at heart, including first and foremost Women's Suffrage.—Yours,
ELIZABETH AGLAND.

5, Cheyne Place, S.W., August 7, 1910.

[It is good hearing for Suffragists that the women Liberals are to work harder for the enfranchisement of women. We say: Work as you like, work according to your instructions, only work! And make each rebuff the jumping point for a fresh and more urgent demand. Women Liberals have too long left the agitation to others. If they do not like the methods of the Suffrage Societies, let them prove their own better. We don't care who takes merit for getting the vote for women; only let them get it.—Ed. "C.C."]

MOTHERHOOD AND WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—The lunacy returns just issued show that the greatest percentage of cases is contributed by women mentally affected at child birth, and that another large percentage is supplied by women at a later period in life when the nervous system is again placed under excessive strain.

This grave condition calls for immediate attention. For generations the working-women of this country have been compelled to accept in childbirth the services of women wholly unqualified, or else go without any assistance whatever. Intense anxiety and nerve-wrecking fear have under these circumstances come to be intimately associated with the most sensitive period of a woman's life, and, as a natural consequence, we have an appalling average of lunacy among the mothers of the nation.

It would be sadly interesting to have expert evidence as to how this shocking average is helped by the excessive toil entailed by our unjust economic conditions on many mothers immediately preceding and immediately following childbirth, and also by the terrors of wife-beating, so prevalent under the administration of laws which treat women as inferiors and ignore their point of view.

Under the new order of things only certificated midwives are allowed to practise, and it will be thirty years before the supply, according to present arrangements, can equal the demand. Infant mortality and a dread of maternity are necessarily fostered by these circumstances.

During these thirty years thousands more women will annually be sent to that mental chaos which is worse than death.

The State will be robbed of their services and burdened with their support, and their fore-doomed, enfeebled offspring will constitute a national weakness and danger—all, all because such men as Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill are permitted to block the enfranchisement of women, which would open the only sure road to reform of these deplorable conditions.—Yours,
AGNES MURPHY.

17, Clanricarde Gardens, Hyde Park W,
London, August 12th, 1910.



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SEX WAR.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—In an article on "Sex War" Mr. J. Y. Kennedy says there can be no sex war; there is no sex war. I wish I could believe him. To my mind there always is—and has been—a latent, smouldering antagonism (as well as attraction) between the sexes, and it is precisely this—with other evils—that we Suffragists long to kill and to do away with. Until men and women are equal (not alike—equal) this feeling will smoulder. And at present it is to anyone living in an Anti-Suffrage neighbourhood most painfully in evidence. The men are angry, many of them, and because angry, stupid and stubborn. We must be patient and gentle, thus wearing down their annoyance and stopping the "Civil (and uncivil) War," which is so often obvious at even country dinner parties and still more so in homes where the masculine (I use the word in its most primitive, least splendid sense) prevails. It is because one fears "war" (in other words, disagreement and friction) that Suffragists need to be so very cool, quiet, courteous, logical, and composed.—Yours,
MABEL KITCAT.

Warling Dean, Esher, Surrey, August 12th, 1910.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—May I suggest that Suffragists on the sick-list like myself (though I hope there aren't many) may find a collecting box a still possible way of helping the cause?

A few weeks in bed quite often means that you see more friends, and different ones, than you would if you were up and about, and the extraction of a penny (more if possible) from each one should not be beyond the powers of the weakest of us.—Yours,
AUGUST 12th, 1910.
INVICTA.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS BRANCH OF MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—Our Society has been accorded overmuch credit for the establishment of a branch of the Men's League. We have worked hard for it on the basis of canvassing the signatories of our voters' petition, but it is not yet an accomplished fact. Inquiries on the subject which are addressed to me I have forwarded to the office of the Men's League, 40, Museum Street, London, W.C., where they receive prompt attention.—Yours faithfully,
GERTRUDE E. MOSELY, Hon. Sec. T.W.W.S.S.

SUFFRAGE OR PARTY.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—I cannot help feeling that Miss Hooper's letter inserted in your issue this week must be already repented of by the writer.

The statement that the National Union "has always deferred to the Liberal Party" is not only totally uncalled for, but is a distinct slur upon the honesty and sincerity of all our members and all our Societies, and I cannot see what Miss Hooper hopes to gain by such a grave misstatement.

At one of the earliest by-elections fought by the National Union and by militants the Liberal candidate was opposed by the N.U. with a zest and fervour that I am assured he has not yet forgotten, and if Miss Hooper will take the trouble to ascertain the statements and pledges of candidates in the by-elections in which we have taken part, and our Executive's decisions, she will admit that the decision has always been the just and fair one, in accordance with our policy.

What does Miss Hooper mean by effective help? It seems amazing to have anyone combat the policy of the N.U., its wisdom and its efficiency in securing pledges, when the recent vote on the Conciliation Bill, with its splendid majority of 110, has been a triumphant vindication of the wisdom and political sagacity of our policy. "Our reward" so far is excellent. A majority of 110, and the most serious debate ever voiced in the House on Women's Suffrage.

What does Miss Hooper mean by her cryptic utterance that "we know or shall know in the autumn what the value of the Liberal support is." We know, as everyone does, who voted for us on the second reading and who opposed us, and in what proportion the various party men did so, and these figures Miss Hooper might study. We also know that all future progress depends on the pressure our friends can exert in the House and we in the country—on our Unionist, Liberal, Labour, and Nationalist support, not on our Liberal support only, which alone could put no Bill through the present House of Commons.

As for the questions needing "tightening up," may I point out as an interviewer of many candidates and a practical worker that it is precisely because our questions are very much "tightened up" that we have so few opportunities of supporting candidates, and so far, we have not supported "a Lloyd George or a Winston Churchill." On the contrary, every man ever supported by us was found in the right Lobby.—Yours,
HELEN FRASER.

19, Old Edinburgh Road, Inverness, August 13th, 1910.

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