

THE COMMON CAUSE, SEPTEMBER 7, 1911.

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The Common Cause,

The Organ of the National Union of

Women's Suffrage

Societies.

Vol. III. No. 126.

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a Newspaper.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1911.

ONE PENNY.



From the portrait by J. J. Shannon.

Mrs. HENRY SIDGWICK. (See page 874.)

Notes and Comments.

Labour Unrest.

Unrest in the labour world goes on, and is likely to go on. The brassworkers of Birmingham are agitating for better wages and conditions. It is sinister that while the men ask that the conditions of their work should be improved, they ask that "female labour should be abolished." London barmen are also forming a Union and we earnestly hope that Mr. Mallon will use his influence to get the barmaids organized so as to join with the men in improving their position. We have not forgotten the attempt to abolish them too.

Broughton Flax Mills.

In Salford the men and women of the Broughton Flax Mills are out for better and securer pay. Here some of the labourers struck for 20s. minimum wage and the remaining men (about 200 in all) struck in sympathy. This threw out of work some 600 women, and the Manchester and Salford Women's Trade Union Council having intervened, it was found that these women were earning from 11s. at most to 4s. 9d. at least, wages we usually associate with the more unskilled women's trades. The women have all joined the new union and are demanding a rise of 2s. and the abolition of the "bonus" system which acts very unfairly. It is interesting to note that, although the strike of the men threw 600 women out of employment for no quarrel of theirs, the women have heartily backed the men and declare their intention of all standing together. The incident may prove a blessing in disguise, since it will have served to draw the women into a Union and to make the men feel the solidarity of labour, whether men's or women's. Therefore we hope the workpeople will succeed and suggest that any help in the form of subscriptions should be sent to Mrs. Aldridge, 9, Albert Square, Manchester.

The Kindly Warmth.

When people talk about "strike fever" as if it were a pernicious form of imitiveness, we wonder if it has ever occurred to them that one of the reasons strikes occur in summer is that it is possible to support life on less in hot, dry weather than in winter. Cold, wet, starvation would have exhausted the small reserves of the sweated workers. Clothes and coal and lodging, and even food cost less in warm weather. It is not easy for those who never miss any of these things to realize what they mean.

Leaders of the Bermondsey Strikers.

In the report sent us of the Bermondsey strikes we regret that Dr. Ethel Williams' name was accidentally substituted for that of Dr. Ethel Bentham. Also, in the picture of the strikers which we were allowed to reproduce in our issue of August 24th by courtesy of the "Manchester Guardian," we copied the statement that the speaker was Miss Macarthur; it seems she was Dr. Marion Phillips, Organizing Secretary of the Women's Trade Union League.

Taxing Non-electors.

Mr. Arthur Fell, M.P. for Yarmouth, has a curious letter to the "Times" of September 2nd. In it he protests against the necessity of receiving his salary as a Member of Parliament and remarks "it represents, I calculate, a tax of about 8d. on each of the electors in my constituency." Now if it really did this, we should have no objection at all. But the fact is that non-electors as well as electors are taxed to raise this quarter of a million. Mr. Fell is going to pay over the money to the hospitals in his borough, so we shall be compulsorily adding to our sick insurance!

A Forlorn Hope.

A letter from Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington to our contemporary "Votes for Women," shews what a long time the Antis have been in scraping up the 124 Members who signed the memorial, which we printed last week. For Mr. Moreton Frewen occurs in the list and he has been replaced by Mr. T. M. Healy, a well known Suffragist. It is amusing to note a score of so-called Liberals in this list and we wonder whether they really hope to move Mr. Asquith by an appeal for a Referendum on Women's Suffrage. We print on page 375 a few of the declarations by members of the Government upon the question of the Referendum.

The Labour Party and Women's Suffrage.

The "Times" of September 1 had quotations from a correspondence between Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and Mr. C. H. Norman. In the course of a letter by the former he says: "The Labour Party, as a party, has not been active regarding Women's Suffrage." This is true, more's the pity. But the members of the Labour Party are, almost to a man, good friends to the enfranchisement of women and we have faith that almost every day that passes must make them feel what a destructive error it is to attempt to keep separate the interests of men and women. We hope the time will come when men's organized labour will act in a more enlightened manner towards women than it has in the past.

The Savage Fear of Women.

There was a witty article in last week's issue of the "Nation," with some speculations concerning the savage theories of the Soul. "For two sections of mankind in particular," says the writer, "the perusal of Dr. Frazer's 'Golden Bough' is calculated to inspire the humane reader with boundless pity—for kings and for women." And he concludes, "It was probably not jealousy (nor even chivalry) which led to the original seclusion and subjection of women, but a rule of prudence founded on the amazing anxiety of early man to keep his soul unspotted and secure. If kings knew their business they would join with women, their fellow-victims of superstition, in a concerted movement to destroy the last vestiges of superstition. The chapter is nearly closed, and Lord Cromer, the last exponent of the savage fear of women, will join with Lord Rosebery, the last pillar of monarchy, to lament among the ruin of taboos and harems 'the end of all things,' and the final peril of the soul."

Wages in the Lace Trade.

The "Gazette" states that in accordance with the Regulations of the Trade Boards Act, 1909, the Trade Board for that branch of the lace finishing trade which is engaged in machine-made lace and net finishing, other than the finishing of the product of plain net machines, have given notice that they have fixed a minimum time rate of 2½d. an hour covering all processes, and also general minimum piece-rates for certain processes.

The Mayor of Oldham.

At Oldham the tramcars had been stopped for five days. Mrs. Lees, the Mayor, worked very hard to secure agreement, and at last, at 10-30 on August 22nd, the dispute was settled, and the Mayor drove the first car through the city, being received everywhere with cheers. Another sensible thing Oldham has been doing is to agree to limit the use of posters at election times, and to refrain from bringing voters to the poll in vehicles.

Death of Miss Jane Watts.

On September 2nd there died at Burnage a lady who was one of the first women poor law guardians of the Chorlton Union (Manchester). Miss Watts was a woman with a deep and religious sense of civic duty and held her place without interruption from her first election in March 1890 unto the present day.

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

It is said that Mr. Asquith, when asked to write down his favourite motto in someone's album, wrote

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION IS TYRANNY.

It was because King George III. and his Ministers forgot this fundamental principle in the British Constitution that our colonists over seas went to war with the Mother Country in the 18th century, and those great territories, now the United States of America, were

LOST FOR EVER

to the British nation. And just as our kinsfolk on the far side of the Atlantic demanded direct representation, so our grandfathers in the early thirties of the 19th century claimed for the householders in burghs the

RIGHT TO VOTE.

and the first Reform Bill was passed in 1832. Thirty-four years later the burgh ratepayers and lodgers, feeling their interests insufficiently protected, urged the extension of the franchise to them, and accordingly in 1866 a new Reform Bill was passed. Then the agricultural labourer, too, began to clamour for the vote, and secured it in 1884, so that by this time

NO CLASS OF MEN

is without representation in Parliament.

How important men feel representation to be has been shown quite recently by the strength of feeling amongst working men about

THE OSBORNE JUDGMENT,

by which difficulties were placed in the way of working men being represented by those of their own class. As has just been said by a Parliamentary candidate "it is indefensible that the representatives of labour should be obliged to keep out of Parliament by the strangulation of their financial resources." To enable poor men to sit in Parliament, to represent other men,

PAYMENT OF MEMBERS

has just been introduced, and to the funds for this purpose women have to contribute, though no representation accrues to them thereby.

Again, the enormous importance of the right of representation has been demonstrated, in a manner felt by us all, in the recent

RAILWAY STRIKE,

of which the prime cause was the refusal of the Railway Companies to meet the representatives of the men, and to recognise their right to act corporately through these representatives.

Some people think that women do not need representation, and that men are willing enough to seek the help and advice and opinions of women when they make the laws. Such folk should come into the field at an election and see for themselves whether it is easy to get consideration for the

DESIRES OF NON-VOTERS.

Last year there were two General Elections. This year there have been sixteen by-elections and a 17th is impending. In all these contests it has been very hard to get candidates to answer women's letters, and to receive deputations from women. At many public meetings questions might be put only "by electors of this constituency." Consequently no woman could even ask a candidate his opinion about matters which might concern her and her sisters far more vitally than they concerned any man. It is by no means so useful to obtain private interviews with candidates, for in that case the future member is not bound, as he is to men, by a public pledge given before his constituents.

WITHOUT REPRESENTATION

the opinions of women about their own affairs are often overlooked. Last month there was a striking instance of this. The annual conference of the Scottish Miners' Federation, composed of men only, passed a resolution in favour of absolutely forbidding women to work at the pitheads after 1st January, 1912 (the prohibition not to apply to those working at present). No woman, apparently, was consulted in the matter, but men took it upon themselves to close upon all women the doors of a decent and healthy trade.

No set of

MEN WITH VOTES

would possibly submit to having their freedom of choice in earning a livelihood thus snatched from them, but

UNREPRESENTED WOMEN

will have a hard fight to maintain their right to work at an honest and harmless industry.

THE WEEK'S MOTTO.

"While Europe's eye is fixed on mighty things,
The fate of Empires and the fall of Kings;
While quacks of State must each produce his plan,
And even children lisp the RIGHTS OF MAN,
Amid this mighty fuss, just let me mention
The RIGHTS OF WOMEN merit some attention."

Robert Burns.

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

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

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Feminine Instinct.

There is an immense amount of loose thinking and still looser talk about Woman's Intuition, Feminine Instinct, and so forth. It is popularly supposed (and most scientific men when they talk or think of women are in their popular, not their scientific mood) that women apprehend the world by processes which differ entirely from the processes by which men apprehend the world; it is popularly supposed that women have keener intuitions than men, that they arrive at knowledge without reasoning and without analysis, by direct apprehension; it is further a popular imagining that women have a maternal instinct which, like that of the bee or the bird, enables them to prepare a suitable environment for their young without instruction or aid, and also without the necessity on their part of the exercise of the reasoning faculty and without any mental or manual training. In the crowded slum, with the gin palace at the corner, with fetid drains, with canned salmon instead of milk, with noise and gas and overcrowding, with 6s. or 8s. a week upon which to feed a family of six or eight, a woman's instinct is to pull the family through. A man—poor fellow—may be obliged to examine things, to experiment and combine, to learn what others have done, and add to that what he has himself experienced, to spend years of his life and pounds of his father's money and of the taxes raised by the State in learning how to do some little bit of a useful thing; but woman, that superior and glorious creature, knows all these difficult things by intuition, directly, certainly. It is not necessary to teach her her job; why waste money? It is not necessary for her to work her brain; she is cocksure without.

When the writer was a small child she believed in the efficacy of the wishing bone, and her favourite wish used to be that she might "know everything about every-

thing"; it was not, one regrets to say, a lofty desire for enlightenment, it was, rather, a crude wish to floor any questioner and figure generally as a prodigy of information. But it was, when one comes to think of it, a truly womanly aspiration. For this is what the womanly woman is supposed to know without teaching. That women possessed peculiar knowledge, untaught, unlearned, intuitional—knowledge alternately adored and derided—was a belief created by the egotism of man, who willingly thought of woman as a mystery because it saved him the trouble of thinking of her as a human being, and exploited by the cunning of woman, who was quite willing to admit inspiration if the admission would get her her own way. The prevalence of belief in witches, sybils, mystery-mongers of all sorts, was a sign of this egotism and this cunning.

We are not denying the value of intuitional knowledge. It is clear gain to reduce the number of mental processes that go to make knowledge. If you can fly, why crawl? If women really possessed a faculty by which they knew directly all that men have to learn indirectly, they would be immeasurably superior to men not only morally (as so many men seem willing to admit they are) but mentally. We do not believe that women possess any such faculty, and we think that the half belief in it which still exists is wholly injurious, first by leading men still to neglect and under-rate the necessity for expenditure upon the education and training of women, especially in what are called womanly functions, and secondly by tempting women to idleness and inefficiency. It is, of course, especially in those departments of work which are recognised as particularly those of women that the neglect goes on, because men cannot help recognising that women's instinct does not show them how to keep accounts or to use a screwdriver; therefore women's work is still so very far from being done as well as it might be.

It is possible that, in savage tribes, there may be some traces of maternal instinct strictly so-called. But it would puzzle anyone, we think, to shew even a trace of anything in the non-voluntary actions of modern European women analogous to the building of a bird's nest or the sitting of a hen, or the preparations a wasp makes for the feeding of the larva to come.

The existence in women of special intuitions which do not exist in men is a rather more difficult point to argue, but the strong temptation that there is for women to suppose the existence of such intuitions should make them very suspect, to them at any rate. Mental indolence is the commonest of all vices. It would be so pleasant to know without the trouble of thinking. If we can bluff and play upon an old superstition, and so get our own way with little trouble, it is a sore temptation, especially if we are uncritical and our sense of honour is not very nice. Besides, we never are really quite so cocksure as when we are ignorant.

But when we have allowed for all these temptations, there is a residuum of evidence which may probably be explained in this way. It seems likely that women's minds are nimbler than men's; women think more rapidly, and therefore it seems to a man (and even to a woman herself) as if sometimes there were no intermediate steps between sensation and judgment, nay even, vclition. Perception, conception, ratiocination, are not recognised; the steps are so rapidly made that they seem to disappear. What we want is a series of instantaneous mind-photographs to shew us steps in our mental processes which, like the attitudes in a galloping horse, we never knew until the camera revealed them. Then again, women's lives and necessities and, perhaps, too, their temperaments lead them to distribute their attention somewhat differently from men, and the power both of concentration and inhibition possessed by the will in directing attention is one of the most tremendous and wonderful of the powers which we are just beginning to understand. Women's intuitive knowledge is largely supposed to shew itself in their dealings with human beings. The odds are that this knowledge is, like most knowledge, the result of observation and experiment, and is to be met with more highly developed in

women because they have more motive to acquire it. If it be true that women are by nature more "receptive" than men, and we think there may be very good physical basis for this psychical condition, this would make women far better observers of character, since they would not, like men, be importing their own, but would be, like a sensitive plate, recording others.

A distinguished naturalist has made the illuminating declaration: "You must have the bird in your heart before you can hear it on the bush." What you care for you know; what you know, you recognise and can reason about with rapidity and accuracy. To a woman, travelling on the footplate of an engine, the engine-driver's keen sense of what his machine needed would seem intuitive. To one unversed in sailing, the fineness of a skilled yachtsman's touch and eye would seem so, too. It is possible that a woman's knowledge of her husband's temper or her baby's thoughts is no more intuitive than these.

The Municipal Lodging-house for Women.

It is a truism that prevention is better than cure, but in matters of practical social administration, we are only just now beginning to apply this idea. Children's courts are preventing the manufacture of prison habitues; infant health societies are preventing the making of a race of citizens physically handicapped; municipal health visitors are preventing irremediable suffering and sin such as are the fruit of ignorance. The city is waking to the fact that much of its enormous expenditure on crime and poverty can be avoided by thoughtful education, and by working at the root causes of those costly evils. This is the vindication of the municipality embarking on such an enterprise as a lodging-house for women, supported from the rates; that the lowest degradation of the city must be cleaned away by wise prevention of its manufacture, and by a parental care and lifting-up of those who are still only on the margin of the lowest morass.

But the question will be asked, do women need such provision of lodging as is represented by the municipal lodging-house. Are not women always in their homes, or in cheap lodgings if they are otherwise homeless? A few years ago this question would have had to be answered more or less empirically. Now, however, the Report of the Commission on Vagrancy, and the personal investigations of Mrs. Higgs and Olive Christian Malvery, have made a large and reliable collection of facts which prove that there is a large population of migratory women who must use the tramp ward, or the common lodging-house bed, if there be no other lodging cheap enough for them. The tramp ward returns certainly do not show that there are a very large proportion of women tramps. On January 1st, 1908, out of 10,436 vagrants received into the casual wards, only 986 were found to be women, and 178 children. So that the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission would seem to be right in stating that "the number of women in the casual wards is infinitesimal." But we know now that there are a great number of casual vagrant women, and we wonder where they find accommodation. The Majority Report says, "The number of women and children to be found sleeping in casual wards is small compared with the number seen upon the roads. The inference, therefore is that the women and children sleep elsewhere, and this theory is confirmed by the counts which from time to time have been made of the population as a whole."

The plain truth is that "the correlative of the male wanderer is the female prostitute, and there has risen a vast female problem with which our increasing homes and refuges and shelters are unable to cope." The policy of the poor law, too, is, by its nature, deterrent, and those who will read Mrs. Higgs' experiences as a tramp will see that the administration of some tramp wards is utterly vicious and disgusting, while the well administered wards are so deterrent in intention that a woman will do anything rather than take refuge there.

What is the common lodging-house alternative like? To begin with it is generally utterly inadequate in quantity. Such houses as there are in many cities, if systematically inspected, are nevertheless frequented by persons of no character, so that the moral atmosphere is fatal to a woman who wishes to remain decent. In one town the only common lodging-house to be found is on licensed premises, dangerous to a man, but ten times more dangerous to a woman. In another town it was found that "the bedroom window of the servant girl communicated by a window with a room in which six sailors sleep." The beds for "couples" are too often not occupied by man and wife. Sometimes single men and women occupy the same room as married couples; the sanitary accommodation is too loathsome to describe. The writer visited some of the Glasgow common lodging-houses and found them kept by men, with women and little children sitting in a reeking atmosphere, drunken men lying among their feet on the floor. In the bedrooms adjoining were drunken people lying about in filthy heaps. A woman would pay 4d. a night for such a lodging. Mrs. Higgs found herself in a common lodging for women, kept by the proprietor of the men's lodging-house next door, and the two connected by a door. The inference is obvious.

These, then, are the means by which the many women who are on the roads, or in ill-paid factory work, or who need temporary safe lodging, are converted into prostitutes, the greatest problem to our police. How does the municipal lodging-house solve their problem, and help to cleanse the city's life? It provides these women with a safe lodging, which may be either temporary or permanent. They are customers at an hotel and not objects of charity. The safe lodging is within their means.

Yet many communities hesitate to face the expenditure, partly because they do not connect cause and effect, partly because the right kind of accommodation can hardly be supplied to the poor working woman, except at cost price, partly because such a lodging is exceptionally difficult of administration. Nevertheless, to help the homeless woman is not only a duty of the community; it is suicidal to do otherwise.

In fearing the cost county councils have been misled by too extravagant estimates. Glasgow has a municipal women's lodging-house which pays from 4 to 5 per cent. on its first cost. It was opened in 1872, to hold 125 women. It has been twice enlarged and now holds 248. The matron says that many women have made it their permanent home for years. There were women and children sitting contentedly in the big central day-room, which offered a complete contrast to the vicious atmosphere of the common lodging-houses visited the same morning. A woman is allowed there without question, so long as she is quiet and well behaved, and occupies her bed at night. Notting-ham had a small municipal lodging-house, which is temporarily closed, as the medical officer of health reports, because "it gradually became little more than a place of rest and temporary retreat for prostitutes. . . . This degradation had slowly come about and probably had its inception in a police instruction that young girls found drunk on the streets at night should be taken there rather than to the police cells. . . . The simplest way of purging its evil reputation was to close it altogether and open it again, after a considerable interval, under entirely different auspices." The house was a very simple, homely place, and but for its unfortunate degradation owing to the rather peculiar moral condition, would be and will be, a great boon to the city. Reading, Liverpool and Bolton have all made efforts to obtain municipal lodging-houses. Manchester has recently opened a magnificent house, to hold 220.

This hostel has not yet had in it more than 100 lodgers at one time, but tradition takes long to make among women, and the idea of so gregarious an institution is very foreign to a woman. Perhaps smaller hostels are better for this reason, but experience will answer many questions of this kind.

Women are realising their unity in so many ways, thanks to the suffrage movement, with its widening and

uplifting message, and nowhere is this seen more clearly than in this agitation for safe lodging for every woman, set afoot by women. The care of the homeless woman is a womanly care, therefore has Miss Ashton toiled in season and out of season until the citizens of Manchester remembered the needs of the women as well as of the men. Municipal hostels for women will be far nearer realisation in every city when there is a woman among their councils who will, when the needs of men are discussed, say gently but persistently, "And the women?"

KATE LYTH LOFTHOUSE.

Mrs. Henry Sidgwick.

In the list of those on whom the University of St. Andrews proposes to confer Honorary Degrees this month there appears the name of Mrs. Henry Sidgwick, late Principal of Newnham College, and by no one surely has this honour been more fully earned.

Mrs. Sidgwick's work for women's education has already covered 35 years. It was in 1875 that Miss Balfour, as she then was, came to Cambridge to reside in Newnham Hall to learn what was being done there, and she very shortly became a member of its Council and treasurer to the college, an office which she still holds. Not long afterwards she married Mr., afterwards Professor Henry Sidgwick, himself the leading spirit in the movement for University Education at Cambridge, and made her home there. When in 1880 a new building was added to Newnham College, Mrs. Sidgwick undertook the duties of Vice-Principal there, and she and Mr. Sidgwick gave up their home and came to live in the college for two years. In 1892 she succeeded Miss Clough as Principal, and when she resigned this position last year she was elected President of the Council.

These thirty-five years of strenuous work devoted to the building-up of a woman's college have been lived in a narrow spirit of zeal for one institution alone, but consciously as part of a whole, a contribution to the great general effort to gain for women the means of developing their faculties and to enable them to serve their world as best they may. To give a few instances only, she was a member of the Royal Commission on Education which sat under the presidency of Mr. James Bryce from 1893 onwards, a member of the Consultative Committee to the Board of Education and of the Education Committee of the Cambridgeshire County Council.

Nor has her work been educational only. She has a strong scientific bent, and her knowledge of mathematics and physics was sufficient to enable her to work for a time under Lord Rayleigh when he held the Professorship of Physics at Cambridge. Later she and Professor Sidgwick gave their attention to Psychical Research, and for many years she has done highly important work in this subject in which her trained scientific mind, critical temper, and keen observation have been invaluable. After Professor Sidgwick's death, Mrs. Sidgwick published a memoir of him written in conjunction with Mr. Arthur Sidgwick, and also edited and brought out several volumes of his unpublished lectures and collected essays.

The value of the work which she has done is increased tenfold by the impress left upon it of the rare qualities which distinguish Mrs. Sidgwick, her clear and candid outlook, her high intellectual standard, and above all her unswerving singleness of aim.

"Woman and Labour" from an Irish Point of View.

Men and Women have waited too long for the Great Book of the Woman's Movement. Too long have they asked "What does it all mean?" and lacked the sane, reasoned, and noble answer contained in the pages of Olive Schreiner's "Woman and Labour."

To the Irish reader, this splendid and most catholic survey of the Woman's Movement as a whole must give much cause for thankfulness, pride, encouragement, and

hope. It has been said, and not long since there was much truth in the statement, that Irish women in the bulk, do not care as keenly as do their English sisters for the enfranchisement of women because—they have never felt the need of the vote. Through circumstances of much economic interest to the student of social conditions, and quite independently of themselves, the women of Ireland have been preserved in natural and simple, because comparatively primitive, conditions. They have thus escaped the disastrous effects of over-civilisation, and its attendant parasitism.

In olden days Irish women were ever the comrades of their men-folk. We owe it to the notable researches of Professor Kuno Meyer, who has devoted his life and fine intellect to the translation and discovery of old Irish records and poetry, that we can to-day clearly picture the conditions of early Irish womanhood. In his translation of the *Cain* of St. Adaman (circa 650) we read:—

"The work which the gentlewoman had to do was to go to battle and battle field, encounter and camping, fighting and hosting, wounding and slaying. On one side of her she would carry her bag of provisions, on the other her babe. Her wooden pole upon her back. Thirty feet long it was, and had on one end an iron hook, which she would thrust into the tresses of some woman of the opposite battalion."

Christianity emancipated women, for we are told that "The first law made in Heaven and on earth for women is Adaman's Law." The making of it, as told in the old record, is worth quoting.

"This was the beginning of the story. Once Adaman and his mother were wending their way by Ath Drochait (Drogheda) in the South of Bregia. "Come on my back, dear mother," saith he. "I shall not go," saith she. "What is this? What ails you?" saith he. "Because you are not a dutiful son," saith she. Then the Saint rehearsed his dutifulness at length, after which his mother said, "Even so. Your dutifulness is good; however, that is not the duty that I desire, but that you should free women for me from encounter, from camping, from fighting, from hosting, from wounding, from slaying, from the bondage of the cauldron." "Then she went upon her son's back until they chanced to come upon a battlefield. Such was the thickness of the slaughter that the soles of one woman would touch the neck of another. Though they beheld the battlefield they saw nothing more touching or pitiful than the head of a woman in one place, and the body in another, and her little babe upon the breasts of the corpse, a stream of milk upon one of its cheeks, and a stream of blood upon the other."

The story goes on to tell how Adaman, at his mother's bidding, restored the dead woman, "Well now, Adaman," she said, "To thee it is given to free the Women of the Western World. Neither food nor drink shall go into thy mouth until women have been freed by thee." He thought it a hard saying "If my eyes see food, I shall stretch forth my hands for it," he said, "And so it came that his mother not only chained him 'at the Bridge of Swilly' with a stone in his mouth, for eight months, but buried him in a stone chest at Raphoe for four years! "And not many mothers would do so to their sons" adds the record. At last angels came, and bade him arise. "I will not arise," said Adaman, "until women are freed for me." And the angel answered, "By reason of your suffrance you shall have all that you ask of God."

The result was St. Adaman's Law, or *Cain* for Women, promulgated upon the Hill of Tara from the Rath of the Synods, which may be studied in *Anecdota Ozoniensis* (Mediæval and Modern Series, Part XII.) at length. It was not enacted without opposition, for Loingsech Breban cried, "Put the deaf and dumb one to the sword who asserts anything but that women shall be in everlasting bondage to the brink of Doom." But enacted it was, and heavy were the penalties against a man who would "kill a woman with his right hand or left, by a kick or by his tongue."

St. Adaman's *Cain* placed the women of Ireland in a position envied even to the present time. Modern conditions in Ireland have—very largely—tended to leave women still men's companions and comrades in toil. Irish women—little as many of them (who, as George Bernard Shaw puts it, have "never been outside their own house to see what it is like") realize the fact—have small cause to envy their sisters in those countries where they are in the grip of complicated industrial problems. Life in rural Ireland lacks much, but it is at least free from the competitive strife of England, and the United States. This strife is only to be found in the big industrial centres of Ulster to any considerable degree.

Instead of envying, rather should Irishwomen endeavour, each one, in as far as it lies in the power of each, to make a continuance of life under simple and rural conditions not only economically possible, but welcome to an increasing number of healthy and busy mothers and daughters to-day, and in the days to come. This is their duty no less than their privilege. That they are not unmindful of this duty, the objects of the recently formed "United Irishwomen," the efforts of the National Women's Health Association, and of the Women of the Gaelic League, bear abundant testimony.

It is increasingly true that the more earnestly women engage in social work for women, the more they realize the truth of Mrs. Fawcett's simile, that "they are pulling a bell-handle that has no bell at the other end." If, in the endeavour to accomplish their duties towards their sisters, and towards the race, they find—as find they must—that it is necessary to demand larger, wider, more effectual powers, or development, whether it be by means of the Franchise—"poor little gargoyle" of the "great Gothic Cathedral" though this may be—or by means of further admission on to public bodies, or into professions, or by means of better education, or any other means, Irishwomen must be the last to flinch, or to hold back. They have too noble traditions.

Nor do Irishwomen, when once they realize "what it all means" flinch, or hold back. All over the world to-day women of Irish blood are in the van of the great Woman's Movement. Why? Because they are the descendants of Free Women, and of loyal, honoured comrades. But there are too many women living their quiet, simple, rural lives near nature's heart who do not in the least realize "what it all means." They have none of them ever seen a "Suffragette." They have never heard a Suffragist. They have only heard of them—a very different matter. It is these women who need to be reached if not by this somewhat highly-priced, if worthy book, at least by the great principles which it has been written to show forth. It is not an easy task from one point of view, for the conditions of women—as has been implied—are very different in Ireland from those in England. From the other point of view we see the natural, mental, and moral advantages of Irish women as a whole.

For wisdom, for confidence, for encouragement, for lasting hope in their work for the Great Cause of Woman and the Race—whatever exact form their work, or their demand, may take for the time—women of all nationalities will come to this great book of Olive Schreiner's. None will come in vain, nor will go empty away.

L. M. McCRAITH.

The Government and the Referendum.

We think it well at this time to remind our readers of the views which Members of the Government expressed during the last General Election, and later, on the question of the Referendum, and we therefore reprint some quotations:—

"I repeat what I said last year and said many times during the election. I am not going to rule out the Referendum as under conceivable conditions a possible and practical expedient of dealing with some exceptional case. But the proposals recently put forward are that

the Referendum is to be the normal part of our regular Constitutional machinery. Yes, there have been deliverances of the Leader of the hon. member's party to this effect. It was first put forward, as I understood, as a possible solution of deadlocks between the two Houses of Parliament. It very soon developed into a scheme which was to be applied not only to deadlocks—in which case I may remark that it would be obviously only exercised against Liberal Legislation,—but it was developed so as to embrace any measure and be applicable to any measure of reform, even including an exceptional Budget, in regard to which there was ground, to be ascertained by some as yet wholly undefined process, for believing that, though passed by Parliament, it was not in accordance with the popular will. I do not know whether that adequately or fairly represents the present development of this scheme, but if I am right, a scheme of this sort might work well enough, though I believe there is great difference of opinion about that, in a small country like Switzerland, where the Ministry act as the clerks and the Legislature as the registrars of the electorate of the country. But to try to apply it to conditions like ours is infinitely more revolutionary than anything contained in this Bill. It would do nothing more or less than undermine and overthrow the whole structure of representative government. I am not exaggerating when I say that it would reduce our General Election to a sham parade, and degrade the House of Commons to the level of a talking club."

Mr. Asquith (House of Commons.)

"You are throwing away, if ever you adopt that proposal—which I know you will not, and the Tories themselves are beginning to be shy of it—you would be throwing away the whole of the fruits of the experience and wisdom of generation after generation; you would be striking a blow at the very foundations of representative government; you would be degrading the House of Commons. . . . It would be a leap in the dark, a leap out of the dark into the dark."

Mr. Asquith (Glossop, Dec. 14, 1910.)

"Above all, how are you going to protect the elector against the organised influence and pressure of wealth, which would be more powerful, mind you, in the case of the Referendum, where there would not be the same sense of general interest and mutual protection as there is at the time of a general election. . . . I assure you, and I am speaking for many of my political associates, that I would not remain a member of an Assembly whose functions were mutilated and truncated in that fashion."

Mr. Asquith (Stowmarket, Dec. 12, 1910.)

"It is a wholly pointless retort to ask those who, like ourselves, object altogether to the importation of the Referendum into our Constitutional procedure, who believe it to be an inadequate and elusive substitute for Parliamentary government, to ask us whether we will enter into a bargain. . . . On the whole, the Referendum has proved in practice a most disappointing and unsatisfactory way of ascertaining public opinion. . . . a very small percentage of the electors will take the trouble to record their votes. . . . Once engrafted the Referendum on our Constitution as part and parcel of its normal working machinery and you impair, and in time you will destroy, the whole sense of responsibility both of Ministers and of Members of the House of Commons, which is the salt and the salvation of our political life."

Mr. Asquith (Wolverhampton, Dec. 1.)

"I have already admitted in the fullest and frankest way youthful errors of my own, when I thought, now many years ago, that we might find in some qualified adoption of that principle a solution of our constitutional difficulty."

Mr. Asquith (House of Commons, April 27, 1911.)

"Believe me, the general adoption of a system of Referendum would not be a satisfactory method of conducting the government of the British Empire. . . . I think it would be unfair to great local minorities which have a special point of view in which they are

PASSIONATELY INTERESTED, to be brushed aside by the ABSTENTION OR INDIFFERENCE of the large majority of other parts of the United Kingdom. . . . Is it not all a dodge to perpetuate the old injustice under the new disguise? A trick in order to gain time to load the dice again? A fair pretence to strike a fatal blow?"

Mr. Churchill (Bradford, Nov. 26, 1910.)

"We do not approve of the policy of a Referendum. WE THINK IT A BAD AND VICIOUS SYSTEM for a country to adopt at the stage, at any rate, to which Great Britain has attained. We know it is wholly out of harmony with British institutions. We think it would be fatal to Ministerial responsibility."

Mr. Churchill (Chester, Dec. 4, 1910.)

"The whole operation of the Referendum would be ABSOLUTELY ONE-SIDED."

Mr. Churchill (Dundee, Dec. 2.)

"They mean to have a referendum. . . . How are you to instruct them (the voters)? Who is to undertake the task? Who is to bear the expense? How long is it going to take? How are you going to the poll?"

It simply means that you would be crushing democracy with a weight of gold. . . . That is not a method of extending justice; it is a COSTLY METHOD OF DENYING JUSTICE, and that is why we cannot assent to it. . . . Sympathy is essential to legislation, and SYMPATHY WITHOUT KNOWLEDGE is impossible."

Mr. Lloyd George (Edinburgh, Nov. 26.)

"The Referendum would mean government by plebiscite INSTEAD OF GOVERNMENT BY REPRESENTATION. He did not think there had ever been a case of a foundling of foreign extraction picked up on a doorstep that had been clasped with greater avidity to the bosom of anybody than the Referendum had been by Mr. Balfour and his friends."

Lord Crewe (Devonport, Nov. 30.)

"THE LONG PURSE would have all the advantage. . . . To incorporate the Referendum as an integral part of our Constitution in any form in which I have seen it advocated would be a BLOW TO REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT of the most serious kind. The electors of this country are busy men. They cannot study each of our complicated controversies in detail. It is enough if they choose men whom they trust, whose point of view

they agree with in general, and commit to them for a limited time the control of legislation and policy."

Lord Loreburn (Letter to Mr. Dickie, Dec. 3, 1910.)

"The Referendum is a new-fangled, costly, and irritating plebiscite DESIGNED TO GIVE POWER TO WEALTH, and crush by expenditure the wishes of the least well-to-do."

Mr. Lewis Harcourt (Letter quoted in Press Dec. 5, 1910.)

"If the thing was to be done by sending out a circular, all he could say was that in the not unintelligent constituency he represented many of the electors would refuse to vote because they would have no assurance that the question was adequately before them. The way of ascertaining the will of the people was through representative institutions. If the party opposite were going to break into the historical and constitutional system of this country in this way, they were purposing a departure reaching far further than anything embodied in the Bill, and with consequences greater than they realised. Human institutions were not perfect, and representative institutions were no more free from defects than others; but he thought they were not wise in trying to tamper with what had worked so well."

Mr. Haldane (House of Commons, Feb. 27, 1911.)

Text of the Bill.

The Bill popularly known as the "Conciliation Bill," which was introduced by Sir George Kemp and passed its Second Reading on May 5th 1911 by a majority of 167 (only 88 voting against), reads as follows:

A BILL TO CONFER THE PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE ON WOMEN.

- Be it enacted, etc.:
1. Every woman possessed of a household qualification within the meaning of the Representation of the People Act (1884) shall be entitled to be registered as a voter, and when registered to vote for the County or Borough in which the qualifying premises are situate.
 2. For the purpose of this Act, a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being registered as a voter, provided that a husband and wife shall not both be registered as voters in the same Parliamentary Borough or County Division.
 3. This Act may be cited as The Representation of the People Act, 1911.

It will be seen that this Bill would not give the vote to all women, nor to women "on the same terms as men," but only to women householders, whether married or unmarried.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

OBJECT: To obtain the Parliamentary franchise for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men.
METHODS: (a) The promotion of the claim of women to the Parliamentary vote by united action in Parliament and by all constitutional methods of agitation in this country. (b) The organisation of Women's Suffrage Societies on a non-party basis.

Hon. Secretaries: Miss K. D. COURTNEY. President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D. Secretary: Miss GERALDINE COOKE. Hon. Treasurer: Miss EDITH PALLISER (Parliamentary). Hon. Secretary to Press Committee: Mrs. AUERBACH. Telegrams: "Voiceless, London." Hon. Sec. to Literature Committee: Miss I. B. O'MALLEY. Telephone: 1960 Victoria. Offices: Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Treasurer's Notes.

I am very grateful (and so also is the Finance Committee) to the members of the N.E. Federation for the determined effort they have made to raise money for the purpose of contributing to the salary of their Federation Organiser. Thanks to their exertions, the N.E. Federation will now be able to count on the services of an organiser for the greater part of the year. I hope that in time they will be able to be entirely self-supporting in the matter of organisers. It is an immense advantage to a Federation to be able to retain the same organiser for a prolonged period, as a knowledge of local conditions will greatly facilitate her work, and I cannot too often urge our younger Federations to make it their primary object to contribute to our funds at least some proportion of the expenses or salary of an organiser. They will find that the sacrifices they make will be amply rewarded by all that their Federation will gain in strength and activity and in power to promote the progress and success of our Cause.

HELENA AUERBACH.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO GENERAL FUND. AUGUST 24th TO AUGUST 31st, 1911.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged since Nov. 1st, 1910	1,659	8	4½
Subscriptions—			
Miss K. Costelloe	1	0	0
Miss Bennett	0	1	0
Mrs. Kinch	0	1	0
Miss T. Gosse	0	5	0
Miss G. L. Falconer	0	2	0
Mrs. Bazeley	0	2	0
Miss K. Ellis	0	2	6
Donations—			
Mrs. E. G. Turner	0	5	0
Miss Slater, towards expenses of organiser, S.W. Federation	2	2	0
Miss Jevons, for salary of organiser, N.E. Federation	2	2	0
Mrs. Cudworth	1	1	0
Miss T. Gosse	0	15	0
	£1,667	6	10½

ANNUAL RECEIPTS OF SOCIETIES.

	£	s.	d.
New Forest W.S.S.	28	5	3
Huddersfield W.S.S.	30	12	9
Cardiff and District W.S.S.	293	0	9

Erratum: The contribution from N. Mein, Esq., acknowledged in our issue of August 24th, should have been "for salary of organiser for N.E. Federation."

"The Common Cause."

MRS. DARLINGTON IN SCARBOROUGH.

Owing to the railway strike it was quite impossible for me to go to Scarborough on August 21st as arranged. The first day the railway company would book was Thursday, August 24th. I called on Mrs. Catt on the 25th at 10 a.m. and met the committee at 12 noon. Owing to the garden fête to be held on the 28th and 29th, no one could give any help. I tried to engage a sailing yacht to carry the strip posters along the foreshore. I interviewed several people in authority, and finally the Town Clerk, who said that, though he was an ardent suffragist, he would be the first person to take proceedings against us. There are only two billposters in Scarborough and neither of them could give space for the posters. The only thing to be done was to work up the news-agents, hotels, and boarding-houses, of which a list is appended. On Monday I went to the garden fête and sold "The Common Cause" for the Society. The paper was well advertised there, and there were others to sell so I continued to work in the town. Miss Stevens helped to sell on Wednesday morning, we sold 31 copies. The remainder of the stock I had with me, about 150, I gave away. It was disappointing having no helpers, but the committee let me have the use of their office, which was most convenient for work in the town. It would be a good thing if meetings could be held in conjunction with the "Common Cause" weeks, it would not add very greatly to the labour and I feel sure it would be well worth trying. I returned to Manchester on September 1st. Mrs. Catt and the Committee have promised to distribute the papers. I am greatly indebted to Mr. and Mrs. Welkes for their kind hospitality from Thursday to Monday. I then took a bedroom in the town.

LIST OF NEWSAGENTS.

Central News Agency—Huntriss Row. Card.
The Postcard Shop—Huntriss Row. Poster.
Miss Lightfoot and Co.—Stall in Grand Hotel. Card.
Mr. G. Wray—78, Newbwick. Card.
Mr. Harding—7 and 9, St. Thomas Street. Poster.
Mr. Walker—Victoria Road.
Mrs. Russell—146, Victoria Road. Poster.
Mr. Benson—19, Castle Road. Poster and Card.
Mr. Benson—28, Castle Road. Poster and Card.
Miss Major—7, Castle Road. Poster and Card.
Mr. Wray—54a, North Marine Road. Card.
Mr. J. W. Priest—20, North Marine Road. Poster.
Mr. W. Harrison—2, North Marine Road. Poster.
Mr. Gay—73, Castle Road. Card and Poster.
Dalton's Book Shop—69, Newborough.
Seventeen hotels and boarding-houses consented to place a copy.

By-election.

KILMARNOCK BURGHS.

Mr. W. G. C. Gladstone, grandson of the famous statesman, has been chosen as candidate by the Liberals. He begins his campaign on 4th September on which date we, too, shall be in the field. The Unionist and the rumoured Labour candidate are not yet selected. Mr. Gladstone has already delivered an address in which he declared that he is in favour of one man one vote. It seemed to him "that the working man in proportion to his income paid as much as the laird for the upkeep of the State, and he did not see why he was not entitled on that ground to equal representation." We must ask him his views as to tax-paying women.

The five burghs are Dumbarton (North of the Clyde), and Kilmarnock, Renfrew, Rutherglen and Port-Glasgow (South of the Clyde). It is essential to have at least one responsible worker stationed in each burgh with a flying squadron of speakers and helpers. Offers of aid should be sent to me, c/o Dr. Nannetti, The Wards, Kilmarnock.

It is hoped that deputations of electors will be enlisted to interview the candidates on the subject of our Bill. Some of our warmest friends, Mr. J. H. Whitehouse and Mr. Duncan Millar, and some of our bitterest foes, Mr. Pringle and Mr. Mackinder are in the neighbouring constituencies of Lanark and Glasgow. We hope to secure mention of our cause on the platforms of the candidates' meetings.

ALICE CROMPTON.

Organisation.

Work in the South-West.

TUB THUMPING IN CORNWALL.

You feel such a fool when you mount the sugar box in the empty village street and address two small boys and a girl as "Ladies and gentlemen," but the dear little folks, with the beautiful courtesy of childhood, enter into the spirit of the pretence and array themselves before you with the manner of first arrivals among a thousand. A white apron flickers at a distant cottage door, you aim your voice at the apron and painfully explain the non-militant policy—which explanation, however needful, brings disillusionment, we know, to the hearts that beat expectant beneath blue jerseys of the smallest size; yet we see no swerving in the grave,

judicial attitude of the boys or the gentle condescension of the girls.

That apron has disappeared, but the owner presently issues in bonnet and Sunday gloves. Slowly the audience grows. The hobbledehoes pretend to swagger past but slip behind the women and stay to listen. A workman fills his pipe and smokes it just within hearing. Someone leans from a window, doorways are filled, the children are backed by larger figures, and you are free to step, quaking, from the tub and call upon the speaker.

Now the real thing begins. The women nudge each other with frank appreciation, the men's pipes go out, the crowd has forgotten itself. It is no longer concerned whether Mrs. Overthway will imagine it has suffragette sympathies, it is picturing the women forging chains at Cradley Heath. The elders are moved, but the children's attitude is the same to the end. Rain falls; there rises a mushroom crop of umbrellas, but the children still stand in the open. The rain-drops sleek their hair into elf locks, and take the starch out of the pinafores, but they listen with the same grave courtesy to the last words of the speaker as to the first. Save only when, referring to "The Common Cause," the speaker appraised the cartoon as being alone worth the penny—then indeed the flicker of unbelief showed in their faces, saying plainly, "Not my penny, thank you!" Herein they differed from their parents, for it was the cartoon of the pit brow girl that cleared our stock.

Such, with local variations, is the average experience of the holiday campaign in Cornwall. Redruth was somewhat exceptional. Redruth is the home of prejudice. Redruth threw rotten eggs at Wesley, and though it gave the Suffragists a quiet hearing, it seemed to hug its prejudice. "We are not interested," said Redruth and sometimes it is wise to let sleeping minds sleep.

But the village of St. Day breathed a different mental atmosphere, and though the meeting was very small it gave more of the feeling of success than Redruth's larger numbers. It was an impromptu affair in the rain, gathered by leaving word at the houses and by some amateur town crying.

If the sugar box experience is inadequate to produce the sensation mentioned above, commend me to a shop-bell dismounted from a door and carried jingling through a village. Further provide yourself with a large red and green waterproof bag of papers slung over one shoulder and an open umbrella, and the thing is perfect. But when the villagers hesitate to come out in the rain, what shall the poor suffragist do? To "One and All," as the Cornish motto says, the gospel must be preached.

We shall cherish a kindly memory of the Potato Court of St. Day, with its little band of the faithful, undismayed by uncomfortable weather or by the cows driven home through our meeting place.

MAUD SLATER.

MISS HATTY BAKER'S TOUR.

Miss Baker has had some excellent open-air meetings at Newquay both on the beach and in the Market Street. The large crowds which assembled seemed keenly interested and many copies of "The Common Cause" were sold. On Saturday evening a meeting was held in the Market Place, Launceston. Many of the farmers in for the day were attracted to the meeting which was a very crowded one. "Common Causes" were in great demand, and 27 were sold immediately.

Miss Baker relates an amusing incident which occurred after one of her meetings. A small boy of about ten years of age swaggered up to her and said "Aw! personally I have no objection to women having votes, but it must be only on the same terms as men, the same terms as men!"

Two meetings are to be held in Tavistock on Wednesday, September 6th and the rest of the week Miss Baker will spend in Plymouth.

Holiday Work.

MIDLAND CARAVAN TOUR.

We travelled as quickly as the horses could take us through Leicestershire into Northamptonshire, and were joined at Lutterworth by Mrs. Abercrombie, a member of the Rugby Society, who remained with us till August 25th. She gave us much assistance with the commissariat and distributed literature at meetings. We are very grateful to her for sparing a few days during a busy and anxious time to assist the work in the villages. We reached Welford on Tuesday evening, August 29th, but too late to hold a meeting, and here we realized that we were in the heart of the hunting country. For the first time we experienced great difficulty in obtaining a pitch owing to the fields being occupied by horses. Mr. Cautle, however, most kindly gave us a free pitch about a mile and a half outside Welford, and the next morning we went on to Guilsborough, and arrived in time to advertise a meeting for seven o'clock. The horse was again decorated in his "war paint." This novel method of advertising has proved most successful, and a very good crowd assembled on the village green. The audience showed their appreciation of the justice of our claim, many questions were asked, and a very hearty vote of thanks was proposed by the schoolmaster and carried unanimously. On Thursday we went to Long Buckby, a place of some importance in the

neighbourhood. Here we found the market-place filled with shows and roundabouts for the fair which was proceeding. The Rev. C. W. and Mrs. Roberts came over from Crick, and Mrs. Gerard Dowson also joined us. In spite of the proximity of the fair we had a very good meeting. Mrs. Roberts, who came to stay with us, took the chair, and the speakers were Miss Bury, the Rev. Roberts, and Miss Helga Gill. The latter never fails to enlist attention and excite interest, and at the end of the meeting the suffragists were quickly surrounded by groups of eager questioners, men and women. On Friday we went on to Harlestone, a most charming and picturesque village. Here we received a most kindly welcome owing to one of our party being the great-niece of the late Rector, Canon Bury. Every house was visited, and in the evening a capital meeting was held near the blacksmith's shop, the speakers being Mrs. Roberts (chairman), Mrs. Gerard Dowson, Miss Bury, Miss Helga Gill. The audience was most sympathetic and listened with much interest for 1½ hours, and many "Common Causes" were sold. At the end a vote of thanks proposed by our host, Mr. York, was carried with acclamation, and we were earnestly invited to come again. Saturday and Sunday we spent at Harpole, where we had the misfortune to coincide with the periodical visit of a crockery salesman who spread his wares on the village green just where our meeting was to be held. However, he courteously allowed us to have first innings, but the distraction was too much for some of the farm lads, who by their chatter somewhat spoiled the success of the meeting, and roused the indignation of all the women who were present. It is impossible to over-estimate the value of these caravan tours through the villages. The method of travel and mode of life appeal to country folk. The villagers regard us as their guests, they are delighted to hear of the suffrage movement at first hand, and have very few prejudices to overcome. The success of the tour in Northants is mainly due to the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Roberts who assisted in arranging the route. We are not going into South Northants, as the member there is in favour. Miss Helga Gill's unfailing kindness and good management have made this tour enjoyable to all, and she has helped many a new speaker in her difficulties.

MARY BURY.

THE TOUR IN THE LOUTH DIVISION.

Our tour finished at Market Rasen on August 31st. On the 28th we left Louth, where Miss Margaret Hopwood kindly undertook to start a local society, and while I went on by train to Rasen, Miss Fawcett and Miss Franklin bicycled over the Wolds, leaving much literature at villages and hamlets on the road. On Tuesday we had a meeting in the Market Place, with the consent of the stall-holders. A fish-box served as platform, and our red, white and green pennon soon drew a crowd of farmers and others who gave us an attentive hearing for about an hour. The demand for literature was very keen and expressions of agreement frequent. The rest of the day was devoted to arranging for an indoor meeting on Thursday, bills were printed and we followed our usual method of house-to-house canvassing. The response was eager, especially from the cottages. The whole impression was a pleasant one of well-kept comfortable homes and neat intelligent housewives. We almost always found that the principle of women's suffrage was understood and approved, opponents were rare, but usually support was strictly limited to "votes for householders," instances being frequently cited of this or that widow, known to the speaker, who carried on a business, paid rates and taxes and who ought to have the Parliamentary vote. Miss Franklin was obliged to leave us in order to travel to Sweden for the International Congress of Women. We missed her energetic help very much.

On Wednesday Miss Fawcett and I cycled over to Bardney to fulfil our engagement to speak at an indoor evening meeting. We were most hospitably entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Blanshard and Mr. and Mrs. Varlow, who are leading Liberals and respected by all their neighbours of both parties. The meeting was held in the Wesleyan School, Mr. J. B. Blanshard, J.P., in the chair. Miss Hicks and Miss Harrison and others came over from Lincoln and had seats on the platform. Several of the neighbouring clergy were present, and a party motored over from Woodhall Spa. The attendance was large and the audience very sympathetic. Miss Wallis, a very active Liberal worker, came over from Willingham to speak. Miss Fawcett and I also spoke. The resolution, calling upon the member to support the Conciliation Bill, was put by the chairman, carried (with three dissentients) and forwarded to Mr. Timothy Davies. Four of the local Liberal workers announced their intention of informing their member that they would no longer work for him unless he promised to support the Conciliation Bill. We felt that the success of this meeting was largely due to the kind support of Mr. Blanshard, who, while avowing himself an Adult Suffragist, supports the Conciliation Bill as the only Women's Suffrage Bill possible at present.

On Thursday the 31st we returned to Market Rasen and held our final meeting in the Town Hall, which was packed to overflowing, many being obliged to stand, and others unable to gain admission. We were again very fortunate in securing as chairman Mr. A. A. Padley, one of the leading

and most popular citizens. Although it was an extremely busy week for him, with an important rifle-shooting competition, tennis tournament, town dance, and other engagements, he kindly found time for our meeting, and thereby ensured a good attendance and orderly behaviour.

We also had on the platform Mr. Cooper, chairman of the Urban District Council, and the Rev. T. T. Shaw, who respectively moved and seconded the vote of thanks to the chair. The resolution, as at Bardney, was put from the chair, and carried *nem. con.* and forwarded to the Member for the Division.

This meeting concluded our tour. Altogether we have held nine outdoor meetings and three large indoor meetings, besides an extensive house-to-house canvass and distribution of literature. We hope that local workers will follow this up and obtain a large number of members.

M. SHEEPSHANKS.

Foreign News.

JAPAN.

Some months ago two books appeared in Japan with the same title, "Problems of Women." These books were written by two Japanese scholars, whose views are entirely opposed.

One of the writers, Dr. Uesugi, maintains that "marriage is the chief aim and end of woman," and declares himself an absolute opponent of women's emancipation. Many might be found to agree with him if the emancipation of women was to be followed by some of the disasters he fears. . . . the so-called emancipation movement of woman, which stands for 'free love' and takes mankind nearer to the beast. Morality is to be destroyed, conjugal relations are to be shattered, home and state are about to be ruined, and the people are about to be misled into this false sensualism." Dr. Uesugi sees much in the condition of Japanese women that needs improvement, but he does not show very clearly how these evils are to be remedied. He enumerates the existing evils and attributes them to the fact that "men in this country do not know how to respect women and women do not know how to conduct themselves to be worthy of respect. The personality of woman is downtrodden; she is treated as a chattel and she is satisfied with it. This is the root of all moral degradation. . . . Each (i.e., man and woman) must come to treat the other with equal rights and respect." All this is excellent but surely illogical from an anti-suffragist. We have always held that through her emancipation woman will gain self-respect and consequently will demand respect and equal treatment from men.

The other author, Mr. Kawada, Professor in the Kyoto University, is a firm believer in the emancipation of women. His "Problems of Women" has, according to Press reports, been suppressed by the suggestion of the Department of Education, but he publishes a summary of his views in the *Taiyo*. He writes:—"How on earth can women have borne the absurd and contemptuous treatment they have been accorded at the hands of men for so many centuries? . . . There is no doubt that in the beginning it was physical force that brought about this subjection, but the moral force of long usage inured girls to this kind of thing, and they came to see that subjection was their lot in life." He deals with the physical force argument and the old idea that women were inferior to men, and meant to live in subjection to them. "The plain truth is that man and woman are created for different missions, but neither is to become the lord over the other." He deals with the marriage question and points out that Dr. Uesugi and others confuse free choice in marriage with free love. "Marriage is optional with a man, and so it must be with a woman." He thinks the Western family system of equality and freedom will eventually win the day in Japan. In conclusion he appeals to the State not to stand in the way of the emancipation of women. "It is neither an innovation nor a revolution. It is not to be attended with troublesome questions such as followed the emancipation of slaves or serfs. It is not the work of the State; rather the State should refrain from checking the natural course of human thought in its natural and logical progress."

Reviews.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON LODGING HOUSE ACCOMMODATION FOR WOMEN, held in the Guildhall, London, Wednesday, May 17th 1911. (P. S. King and Son, 6d. net, 7d. post free.)

The National Association for Women's Lodging Homes has issued a report of the conference which created so much interest last May, and though it is not a full report, it is immensely suggestive and useful and we recommend all our readers to study it. Those interested in the Association should write for information to the Secretary, c/o British Institute of Social Service, 4, Tavistock Square, W.C.

The complete works of Emily Brontë in two volumes. Vol. I. Poetry. Edited by Clement Shorter, with introductory essay by W. Robertson Nicoll (Hodder and Stoughton, pp. 333, 6/- net).

There is scarcely a commonplace uttered about the peculiar quality of women's work which is not turned to merited derision by the work of Emily Brontë. Imitativeness, ornament, fancy and prettiness are not to be found. Stark and very melancholy truth instead. One reviewer recently regretted that there was not more variety in her poems, that they were so prevalently gloomy; light relief would have been welcome. Emily Brontë spent a large part of her physical life in hard household work and in her relations with her family showed a cheerful and heroic spirit. In her verse there appears an intimate despair which makes the stoical reticence of her social life even more marvellous.

Criticism still shows signs of being a little shocked that Emily Brontë did not conform to the conventional notion of a poetess and of thinking such boldness and honesty "unbecoming in a female." The unpublished poems which form about one-third of this volume and the privately printed poems, nearly another third, show the same qualities as those we had known and treasured so long. Many are obscure from their association with the strange romances which Emily was always ruminating; others are rendered unnecessarily obscure by bad punctuation, misprints or the omission of inverted commas; but among these latest published verses there are some worthy of being side by side with "The Old Stoic" and "The Philosopher." Five devotional poems in this section show the more powerful wing of Emily's verse soaring easily into regions attempted by Anne, yet one feels infinitely more characteristic the passion of a poem like that beginning "There was a time when my cheek burned"—the last verse so full of Emily's desperate acceptance:—

"My soul still chokes at every tone
Of selfish and self-clouded error;
My breast still braves the world alone,
Steeled as it ever was to terror.
Only I know howe'er I frown,
The same world will go rolling on."

Not poetical poetry; downright and artless and harsh, but racy like none but Emily's.

In the grimness with which she faces what she believes to be true we are reminded of the girl who quietly pressed the hot iron to her wrist and troubled no one with the reason why. One of the most terrible utterances of what she was forced to believe is the poem beginning "Shed no tears o'er that tomb." The courage which could fashion into verse such a faith appals a gentler nature. It is for actual sin of commission that Emily conceives that eternal retribution which Henley imagined for the poor fool "that might, yet would not, dared not"—Here are the last verses:—

"But he who slumbers there
His bark will strive no more
Across the waters of despair
To reach that glorious shore.
The time of grace is past,
And mercy, scorned and tried,
Forsakes to utter wrath at last
The soul so steeled by pride.
That wrath will never spare,
Will never pity know;
Will mock its victim's maddened prayer,
Will triumph in his woe.
Shut from his Maker's smile,
The accursed man shall be;
For mercy reigns a little while,
But hate eternally."

Well might a creature say, who could unflinchingly accept so hideous a belief, "No coward soul is mine!"

We find the preoccupation with death and after death constant throughout the later as the earlier poems: in her last and best known poem she speaks of herself as "surely anchored on the steadfast rock of immortality," but again and again in other verse occurs the doubt whether sleep or annihilation is not the utmost goal of her desire and nowhere rings the cry more agonized and piercing than in the last stanzas of "The Philosopher":—

"And even for that spirit, seer,
I've watched and sought my lifetime long;
Sought him in Heav'n, Hell, Earth and Air,
An endless search and always wrong.
Had I but seen his glorious eye
Once light the clouds that 'wilder me,
I ne'er had raised this coward cry
To cease to think, and cease to be;

I ne'er had called oblivion blest,
Nor, stretching eager hands to death,
Implored to change for senseless rest
This sentient soul, this living breath.
Oh, let me die—that power and will
Their cruel strife may close,
And conquered good and conquering ill
Be lost in one repose!"

THE CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH

Is in complete sympathy with women in their struggle for political, social, and industrial liberty;

It stands alone in religious journalism in the strong line it has taken in supporting the suffrage agitation.

It gives special attention every week to women's affairs, from the feminist standpoint, in a personal column, "From the Turret."

Among the Contributors are:—

Rev. R. J. CAMPBELL, M.A.; Rev. K. C. ANDERSON, D.D., Dundee; Rev. Prof. T. K. CHEYNE, F.B.A., D.D., Oxford; Rev. Prof. DUFF, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Bradford; Prof. L. P. JACKS, M.A. (Editor of *Hibbert Journal*), Oxford; Very Rev. G. W. KITCHIN, D.D., Dean of Durham; Rev. E. W. LEWIS, M.A., B.D.; Miss MARGARET McMILLAN; Rev. W. E. ORCHARD, D.D.; Mr. PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P., and Mrs. SNOWDEN; Rev. J. M. LLOYD THOMAS, Nottingham; Mr. and Mrs. SIDNEY WEBB; Rev. T. RHONDDA WILLIAMS, Brighton.

THE CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH

Editor, MR. ALBERT DAWSON. Every Wednesday, 1d.
133, SALISBURY SQUARE, FLEET STREET, E.C.

West Heath School, Hampstead.

[ESTABLISHED 1897.]

A SCHOOL where Boys and Girls are educated together, and where they learn the respect for each other and gain the wholesome and natural knowledge of one another which is a foundation for all that is best in the mutual relations of men and women.

Children are received from the ages of six to eighteen; thus obviating the disastrous break at thirteen or fourteen years of age, in the continuity of their intellectual work, which is a necessity (for moral reasons) in schools where boys and girls are educated separately.

At West Heath School the Boys and Girls share each other's pursuits, whether in work, games or leisure (with certain obvious exceptions). They have, in fact, in this respect the freedom of a large family, in conjunction with the help due to the supervision of a staff of experienced educationists.

At the same time, the even proportion in the staff of men and women gives ample opportunity for the association of boys with men and girls with women, which must be an inherent characteristic of any true system of co-education. Where boys and girls are thus brought up, false ideas as to predominance find no acceptance, and a standard, honest in being alike for all, is upheld.

Particulars can be had from the Principal.

Reference is allowed to the
REV. CANON SCOTT HOLLAND, D.D., Christ Church,
Oxford, and
MISS JANE WALKER, M.D., 122, Harley Street, W.

Votes for Women!

A HOLIDAY RHYME FOR A HOLIDAY STRIKE.

Oh! the days of Merrie England are very far away,
Now Strikers strike, and troops turn out, and Mobs begin to
play,
And each of us may have his throat cut every other day.
Oh! the days of Merrie England are buried in the past;
And there's no doubt the Socialist Rule has come; and it
will last.
For nobody can get about, save in a Motor Car
At six pound ten, this really means a state of Civil War.
And what the end of it may be there's none of us can guess,
But if I were the Government, and if I were the Press,
I'd stop the whole thing in moment, I would!—and kindly
note—
I'd do it thus;—I'd give to all the Women "double vote."
The Men can't rule the country; they want to play at golf,
At croquet, or with tennis balls, and they are always off
From Government to Putting Greens and so it's clearly time
What men can't do, we Women must.

(Yes! that's a Suffrage Rhyme!)

MABEL KITCAT.

[N.B. The Editor disclaims responsibility for the above sentiments and especially for the last line.]

Letters to the Editor.

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

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

MISS VON PETZOLD.

As I have recently attended the Waverley Road Free Christian Church in Small Heath, Birmingham, of which our only woman minister in England, the Rev. Gertrude von Petzold, M.A., is pastor, I am able to state that there is no truth in the report as to her acceptance of a pastorate in Switzerland. This report has recently appeared in "The Common Cause," as well as other papers. Her visit to Switzerland was, I understand, undertaken chiefly with the object of advancing to some practical result the discussion now taking place in the Swiss churches as to the admittance of women to the ministry.

T. K. SENECA.

6, Station Crescent, Oxford. 29th August, 1911.

[We did not state that Miss von Petzold had "accepted a pastorate" in Switzerland. We repeated the statement, which had appeared in many papers, that she "wished to be appointed." We should be glad to hear if this is not so.—Ed. "C.C."]

ANOTHER LIE NAILED.

Wherever there is especial activity in behalf of Women's Suffrage there is sure to be put in circulation some falsehood about Colorado. If it is not anonymous, as it usually is, its author is either employed to do just that bit of dirty work or is moved by some personal grievance to magnify whatever might tend to that view, while ignoring the great preponderance of evidence in the other direction. It is indisputable that in all the years that women have voted in some parts of the United States there has never been an influential or reliable voice from those localities raised against it.

On October 10 the question of whether the women of California may be allowed to vote will be submitted to the men of that State. To oppose this a statement from E. C. Lindmann has been published in a Los Angeles paper. Mr. Lindmann claimed to have been a member of the Faculty of the University of Colorado, and naturally, therefore, his assertion that, since women had voted their family life had decreased and womanhood had been debased, seemed to have some value.

The leading men and women of Colorado have continually in the most forcible manner borne witness to the contrary, and the women might well rest their case for ever on this array of unimpeachable testimony. But in view of the situation in California the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Colorado thought this called for a specific denial. They, of all women, may be assumed to be particularly zealous for the character of woman and the safety of the State. They have investigated the matter, and over the signatures of all the officers of the State Union say that Mr. Lindmann was never connected with the University, and is practically unknown in Colorado. Their protest closes with this statement, which should quiet the fears of any who have no confidence that women's morals will survive the removal of their legal disabilities. They say:—

"An honest investigation will find home life in Colorado as sacred, childhood better protected, civic conditions as good, and women as honored as in other States; and nothing so feared by corruptionists as the vote and influence of women."

Thus it has ever transpired that when there has been one feeble voice against the way women have used their vote,

there has been a strong chorus to speak in its praise. Yet the feeble falsehood is made much of by the Press, and it is not always easy to get the facts before the public, so I send you this item.

CLARA BEWICK COLBY.

13, Brunswick Square, W.C.

DEPUTATIONS.

May I correct an error that appears in a note on page 365 of the last number of "The Common Cause"?

As I did not speak at the deputation to Mr. Lloyd George on the 23rd of June, Mr. Lloyd George did not make any observations upon what I said. The time allotted was too short to permit all the representatives instructed to speak to do so, and I was one of several who were thus crowded out.

Since the subject of this deputation has again come up in your pages, I take the opportunity to suggest that certain Ministers are doing unwisely in departing from the form that used always to be observed in the reception of deputations. The recipient or recipients until recently listened in silence to those who constituted the deputation, never interrupting except by a very occasional question when some statement was not quite clear. When the members of the deputation had finished, the recipient or recipients replied, and sometimes a question would be put from the deputation in its turn. I venture to submit that this course was well calculated for enabling Ministers to understand the views and wishes of those who waited upon them, and that it preserved the dignity both of the deputation and of the Minister. Recently I have seen, on several occasions, the members of a deputation interrupted, contradicted, argued with, and, I may almost say, scolded by the gentleman officially receiving them. I remember one occasion (not that of last June) when the recipient did far more talking than the deputation, and when, indeed, the members of the deputation could only get heard at all by interrupting that gentleman in their turn.

A deputation ought to be a serious function in which persons chosen to speak for many others lay before responsible officials views of some importance to a certain number of citizens. The members of the deputation are in their lesser degree fulfilling temporarily precisely the same sort of duty as the official himself, and have a claim to be treated with equal respect. That such a function should degenerate into a dialogue in which a Minister shows a desire to "score" is unseemly in the highest degree. Moreover, since the persons chosen to speak on such occasions are generally experts in regard to their particular subjects, a Minister who contradicts them runs the risk of being shown to know less than they do. The "correct" behaviour of a Minister who desires to discourage a deputation is sanctioned by long-established precedent. He should listen with eyes either downcast or turned to the farthest edge of the ceiling; he should preserve an unmoved countenance of civil boredom, and twiddle in his fingers a pen or pencil. His whole aspect should tacitly proclaim that he has heard all this thousands of times before. His reply should be polite and complimentary as to the persons speaking, non-committal, or indefinite as to the proposals laid before him, and the words "most attentive and earliest consideration of the Government" should appear in his peroration.

The deputation will then go away saddened, cynical, perhaps a little snubbed, but it will not be exasperated by feeling that its points have not been heard, or that its personality has been considered insignificant. Still less will it be able, either then or later, to point out that the official doesn't know his own business.

CLEMENTINA BLACK.

[We regret the mistake that was made in our note. Miss Black was present and we were aware that she had searched the census in vain for the information which Mr. Lloyd George suggested it contained, but she did not on that occasion say so. Mr. George's remark was addressed to Miss Macarthur.—Ed. "C.C."]

THE CATTISHNESS OF CATS.

No lover of truth and honesty can read the review of Mr. Brailsford's "Adventures in Prose" appearing in your columns and remain silent. That your reviewer should not have the manliness to sign his name, but should conceal his identity under the somewhat trite A. M. R.—an obvious abbreviation for "A Masculine Reviewer"—does not surprise me, nor that, being a masculine reviewer, he should consider a juror (archtype of the "average man") more worthy of reverent study than that being whom the ancient kings of Egypt were not ashamed to worship. Such facts as these do not surprise me, they do not even interest me. I take up my pen not because of them, but because your "M. R." your male reviewer, stoops so low as to vilify, openly to malign, a thing merely because he fears and dislikes it.

He has perhaps known intimately two, or at the most, three, cats in his life, and from these, with that arrogance of which he accuses his victim, he generalises. Because he has met a handsome cat—that is, doubtless, a cat with long and silky fur of a bluish-smoke colour, and small intelligence, he jumps to the conclusion that all cats are such, and that on this they base their claim to the allegiance of the human race. Again, because out of the three cats of his acquaint-

ance, one, with mistaken zeal, has erstwhile caught a mouse and brought it to the smoking room to lay at his feet, hoping thereby to win his kindly notice, he hastily assumes that all cats catch mice and from this false premise, he falsely deduces that cat lovers like mice to be caught, and like them laid at their feet. What, I ask you, madam, does your reviewer, rolling home in his well-appointed Daimler, with a fragrant Havana between his teeth, know of the creature he so cruelly maligns? When has he, hurrying along in the growing dusk, seen that dark something flit by, now under the hurrying feet, now ten yards in front, anon softly rubbing against the railings or craning up full of grateful affection, to the caressing hand, eye flashing, thin gaunt body stiff with happiness, but with little of beauty in the physical sense, or of arrogance? Unless perchance your reviewer confuses arrogance with strength of will? I grant you the gaunt black object will live henceforth in the home of its new found friend—that is understood, a foregone conclusion. Cast forth, it will undoubtedly return, and until seventy times seven, but quietly and courteously, not with arrogance. I hear an ejaculation, "How selfish!" Not so, but with trust altruism—"the greatest happiness of the greatest number"—a happy cat, true, but also a happy cat lover and a happy policeman. For do you suppose the policeman on the cat's beat has liked to see it day by day with only the saucer of milk he can beg for it from the corner dairy? His heart has been riven by the sight of it so thin and wan, knowing that nature intended it to make some home complete. But what does your reviewer know of Home? His words betray him a crusted bachelor. What to him the hearth, the hearth rug, the flickering firelight, the lamp, the tea, the muffin, and, above all, the saucerless cup, happy token that on the hearth lies and laps the pivot of it all? I challenge him to prove his words, to show the cat lover abject rather than the cat hater contemptible—for whether is it more abject to tremble before a hated tyrant, or to give glad and willing obedience to one whose innate quality commands a ready service? As for the "majority" on his side, let him take it. I yield him the ignorant and untaught, let him glory in his hooligans, let him summon his coward crowd to applaud while he ties on the tin tray to the tail, but leave to us our cheerful housemaids, our clever cooks, our statesmen, our men of letters, our gentle spinsters, who all love Tom and whom Tom loves.

I look to you, Madam, to insert this brief note in a prominent place in your next issue, and yet my heart misgives me—the bias of your pages is too obvious, your perverse and obstinate policy of anti-cattism, your notorious prejudice against the whole feline race, your ignorant and acid abuse of cats and cat lovers of which I could quote instances from every column—these things make me despair of the innocent dumb things receiving justice at your hands, but at the least I beg you to communicate my views to your reviewer, if haply I may touch his hard heart and he may pause in his mad career lest even the dumb creature itself find voice to rebuke his madness.

AN HONEST WELL WISHER.

MEN'S "JUSTICE" TO WOMEN.

The inequality of the punishments meted out to men and women for similar offences is clearly shown in the reports of cases of cruelty to children. A man (at Salford) who deserted his wife and two young children for three years was sent to prison for a month; a man at Richmond was sentenced to fourteen days' hard labour for an "unjustifiable" assault on his niece of eight; another man having violently assaulted his son and so hit him on the ear that the doctor said it might later have serious results to health and life, having been locked up for "a day or two" was sentenced to one day's imprisonment and 10s. fine; while yet another man, having knocked his wife about to such an extent that her baby was born with two black eyes and a bruised head, who while in work only gave his wife from 1s. to 3s. a week for seven people, and constantly kicked his son violently was sentenced to two months in the second division; while in the case of a woman who neglected her rooms and three children, so that they were filthy and verminous, but nothing organically wrong with them, the magistrate sent her to six months' hard labour.

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Till we have women on juries and perhaps women assessors with the magistrates on the bench these injustices will continue to be perpetrated.

M. A. E. MILTON.

Farnham.

Work of Societies in the Union.

SURREY, SUSSEX, AND HANTS. FEDERATION.

Two open-air meetings were held at GODALMING on August 12th and 26th. The first was addressed by Miss Norah O'Shea, secretary of the Portsmouth Society; the second by Mr. John Simpson and another member of the Men's League. The audience, though not large, was interested. Two more outdoor meetings are arranged in that town for September.

The Federation held its first annual meeting on July 19th, having completed its first year of existence on June 2nd. It now includes twenty-seven societies, some of which have branches, while the Portsmouth Society has extended its area to Cosham, Havant, and Gosport. If all the branches and centres were self-supporting, there would be thirty-eight societies in the Federation. It has also formed three societies that have not yet federated, and is now forming four more, besides paving the way for new ones in South Hants. The area thus covered includes nine constituencies, and contains three independent National Union Societies, and some branches of the London Society.

In Surrey there are ten societies to three constituencies, in Sussex eight to six constituencies, and in neither county is there a constituency without a society. In Hampshire there are six Parliamentary divisions, with societies in only two of them; in one of them—Andover—no work has been done. Thus, in spite of great progress, much still remains to be accomplished.

Joint meetings and demonstrations have taken place during the year at Brighton, Portsmouth, and Guildford, and Haslemere entertained the Provincial Council in April.

Before the Council election the delegates to the Council from the Federation met, and heard addresses on the political situation and tax resistance from Mrs. Heitland and Mrs. Auerbach.

The first organiser, Miss Barbara Duncan, won universal appreciation by her hard work, her capacity, her tact, and her excellent record of achievement, and it was with very great regret that the news of her resignation was received, on account of her approaching marriage. As Mrs. Duncan Harris she is still working privately in our midst. She was officially replaced in February for six weeks by Mrs. Cooper, a cotton-mill worker, whose personal experience and knowledge of factory life were valuable assets. Mrs. Renton organised most successfully from May right into the summer, and on June 6th we engaged Mrs. Dempster permanently as our organiser, having started a fund to cover all her expenses, independent of the help of the National Union. Our sincere gratitude is due to Miss Bateson, Miss Merrifield, Miss Basden, Miss Pickworth, Miss Verrall, Miss Wright, Miss Edwards, Mrs. Laythorn, Miss Norah O'Shea, Miss Bevan, Miss E. Atkinson, Miss Milton, Miss Aston and Miss Baker for voluntary organising work, though some of these ladies are not on our list of voluntary organisers.

A Parliamentary Sub-committee has been formed for election work and the support of Women's Suffrage Bills. It is hoped that societies in the same constituency will also co-operate for Parliamentary work; a joint committee has been suggested. There are already divisional secretaries, to whom our thanks are due for tabulating information ready for elections. There have been no contested by-elections in the Federation. In December, 1910, we issued an election address, also posters giving the opinions of prominent members of each political party on women's enfranchisement.

Miss N. S. B. Atkinson has just become Press secretary. Till now it has been left to our societies to deal with the Press individually.

Five of our M.P.'s have received deputations—Lord Charles Beresford, Mr. Slater, Mr. Campion, Mr. Macmaster, and Mr. Cautley. Mr. Tryon and Mr. Rice received representatives from Brighton at the House.

Over 900 posters were distributed over our area advertising the Trafalgar Square Demonstration. The Convention was signed by twenty-six of our societies, and we have received a copy of it from the Executive Committee. Our section in the procession of June 17th contained 677 members. Our banner had been very kindly presented by Mrs. Auerbach, and we had another stating that the Cuckfield Urban District Council "Pray for Women's Suffrage." In this connection we have done much work among local governing bodies and their electors, chiefly the women voters. One Town Council and two Urban District Councils have passed resolutions demanding facilities for the Conciliation Bill.

The Federation balance-sheet for the first year showed a balance in hand of £16 14s. 4d.

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SCOTTISH FEDERATION.

August has been a busy month at the Federation office, where Miss Crompton has been in charge. In spite of it being generally stated that in August "everyone is away," there have been visitors almost daily, and a lively interest has thus been maintained in the Federation work, and some literature sold.

A very considerable amount of correspondence has been contributed to "The Scotsman," "Glasgow Herald," and the "Manchester Guardian" by Miss Crompton, regarding the pit-brow girls, on whose behalf also Miss Macmillan and Miss Crompton addressed the Scottish Miners' Conference in Edinburgh.

The Scottish members of Parliament have all been circled in protest against payment of members from funds which are partly contributed by voteless women.

Within the last week of August plans for the approaching by-election in the Kilmarnock Burgh have been formulated—the societies in the district and neighbouring societies have been set in action, the Press communicated with, and arrangements are being made for Miss Crompton's work in the Burghs.

A capital open-air meeting, arranged by Mrs. Anstruther and Mrs. Finlay, for the St. Andrews Society, took place in Elie, when an address was given by the English organiser, Miss Sheepshanks. The Federation gives a very hearty welcome to the announcement that Mrs. Finlay, St. Andrews, has undertaken the Press secretaryship.

A garden party was held on August 17th at Daisybank, Kirkwall, the residence of the secretary, when Miss Courtenay, London—niece of Mrs. Baikie, the president—gave a most interesting account of the Suffrage procession in London on June 17th, when she carried the banner of the Orcaid Society. Many Suffragists from other parts of the country were present; among these Mrs. and Miss Stirling, from the Haddington Society; and the vote of thanks to Miss Courtenay was proposed by a medical officer of health from the North of England, who in the course of his remarks stated that his work had led him to see the undoubted benefit of the women's vote in matters of health and education, as well as in other matters; he was also of the opinion that women would be more directly interested in measures, apart from party, than men. A most enjoyable afternoon was spent.

Other societies are busy preparing for sales to raise funds—cake, candy, jumble, etc.; one society is planning a dance, and all are hoping for a successful issue.

WEST MIDLAND FEDERATION.

The chief work in our Federation during the holiday month of August has been the caravan tour, and although there have been, week by week, bright, amusing accounts of the work done by the caravanners, which showed how successful the tour was even beyond our expectations, still it remains for the monthly report to summarise the result of the work and to thank all those who helped to make it a success. First and foremost a word of thanks to the contributors to our special fund, for without the sines of war which they supplied we could not have taken the field. The treasurer (Mrs. Harley, Condover House, Shrewsbury) has, alas! to own to a deficit, and she pleads for further donations, however small. A caravan tour is costly, but the propaganda work is valuable beyond words, and well worth the cost. The penetrating into the small villages where Women's Suffrage is practically unknown, the keen interest evinced by the villagers as they run out of their houses to see the van go by, the house-to-house visiting before meetings—all combine to make a deep impression not only upon the women but also upon the men voters. Two workmen passing our encampment in the early hours of the morning were heard discussing the meeting of the night before; one of them remarked, "Well, there must be something in it to make them do this sort of thing." Secondly, most hearty thanks are due to Mrs. Aubrey Dowson, on whose able shoulders the planning of the tour fell. She brought her wonderful powers of organisation to bear upon the excellent arrangements made for the comfort of the caravanners, and also willingly lent all that was required, even to her pony cart and bicycle.

Here is a list of lenders whom we specially want to thank:—Mrs. Dowson, Ratcliffe-on-Trent; Miss Maud Dowson, Melton Mowbray; Mr. Grundy, Withington, Manchester; Mr. Oscar Dowson, Gerrard's Cross; Mrs. Pearce, Solihull. Special thanks are also due to Mrs. Patterson, Acton Hill, Stafford; to Miss Mildred Martineau; to Miss Yates; and to the Rev. and Mrs. Guy, of Claverley.

Finally, we want to record our appreciation of the work done by our organiser, Miss Gill. Her tact and cheery good temper were the admiration of all her fellow-workers, and her bright, clever speeches won the heart of even the roughest element at our open-air meetings. We owe the success of our campaign in a great measure to her.

COVENTRY.—On August 2nd a very successful garden party was held at Allesley House, by the kind invitation of Mrs. Hiffe. The speakers were Mrs. Reid and Mrs. Ring, of Birmingham. Both addresses were much appreciated, and several questions asked.

Miss Morrison, the present organiser for this Federation, began work in Stafford on September 1st. She will be most thankful to hear of any sympathisers in the town or neighbourhood. Until Miss Morrison's permanent address is known, will those who are willing to help her in any way correspond with Miss Coyle, Cullen House, Solihull?

WEST LANCASHIRE, WEST CHESHIRE, AND NORTH WALES FEDERATION.

The SEAFORTH Society celebrated its first birthday on July 6th, when Mrs. Norman Thomas kindly gave an "At Home" to commemorate the completion of a year's work. The Rev. A. A. Lee took the chair, and reminded the audience of the debt of gratitude which the Society owed to its first president, Mrs. Solly, whose keen interest had done so much towards helping its initial steps.

Miss Waring, in a very attractive speech, gave an account of the great procession, and was followed by Miss Cripps, who gave a short but pithy address. Tea and conversation followed, and several new members joined. It is hoped that other ladies will give similar gatherings, and so promote the Cause.

The LLANDUDNO Society held a garden meeting on July 5th, which was very well attended. Tea was served first, after which Mrs. James Marks, who took the chair, gave an account of her pro-

cession experiences. Miss Florence Wright, Dr. Guest, and Mrs. Haslam also spoke about the procession. Mr. Haslam followed with a capital address, which was printed in full by the local papers and which aroused considerable interest. Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. and Mrs. Haslam for their speeches, and to Miss Raw and Miss Bennett for their kindness in lending the grounds. The meeting was brought to an end by a spirited recitation from Mrs. Haslam.

WARRINGTON.—Miss Waring and Miss Truda Crossfield spoke on Women's Suffrage in general and Josephine Butler in particular at the Thewlis Street Mission on July 3rd. Mrs. Moore, the secretary, supported them, and invited them to return in the autumn.

Other Societies.

ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

The Actresses' Franchise League are already busy with plans for the annual matinee which will take place the last week in October. A most interesting and varied programme is in course of preparation, concerning which information can be obtained at the offices of the League in the course of a few days.

A most urgent appeal is made to members to send in their touring lists whenever possible. Many requests for help have been received from provincial Suffrage Societies, which cannot be dealt with until the whereabouts of members are better known.

THE CATHOLIC WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.

Members are asked to make it known that a meeting is to be held on September 11th, at 4, Priory Road, Kew, by kind permission of Miss Grandy, 1, Pevensey Road, St. Leonards; and those wishing to attend are asked to communicate with Miss Willis, Mount Lodge, The Mount, St. Leonards, who is making all arrangements.

Miss Monica Whately is still staying in Devonshire, and would be very pleased for anyone to write or call on her at Sunny Side, York Road, Babbicombe, S. Devon, for information about this Society.

Badges may be had, price 2d.; also pamphlets, "The Views of the late Cardinals Moran and Vaughan on Woman Suffrage," pub. N.U.W.S.S., price 1d.

THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

A garden meeting will be held on Saturday, September 16th (3 to 8 p.m.), at 4, Priory Road, Kew, by kind permission of Miss Hartley. This is a special effort, organised by Mrs. Clayton, hon. secretary of Kew and Richmond branch, to help the general fund. Members are asked to send contributions of saleable articles to Mrs. Clayton, Glengariff, Kew Road, Richmond.

Arrangements are well forward for Church Congress campaign at Stoke-on-Trent. Lord Lytton and the Bishop of Lincoln have promised to speak. A full list of speakers will be given next week. Suffragists in the neighbourhood of Stoke are earnestly asked to help in this campaign, and should communicate with Mrs. Hinscliff. Offers of hospitality will be most acceptable.



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Manchester Society for Women's Suffrage.

An Open-Air Demonstration

will be held in

Stevenson Square,

on

Saturday, Sept. 16, at 4 p.m.

Speakers:— 3 Platforms.

Miss Margaret Ashton, M.A.

Miss Emily Cox

and

Miss Aldridge

Manchester & Salford

Women's Trades Union

Council.

Miss Margaret Robertson, B.A.

Miss Annot Robinson, & others.

THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

During our last week of work in Lowestoft open-air meetings were held at the Triangle and at Pakefield. On Wednesday, the 30th, a highly successful meeting was held at the East Anglian Hall, Milton Road. The Mayor of Lowestoft was in the chair and speeches were given by Mrs. Clarkson Swann, Miss Rose Lightman, and Miss Helen Ogston, B.Sc. As a result of our stay it is hoped that the Borough Council will receive a deputation of women ratepayers and consider the sending of a petition to Parliament.

The campaign started in the spring has now re-opened in Mid-Norfolk, and we hope to have a series of drawing-room, garden, and open-air meetings in Dereham and district.

Should any sympathisers in the district feel inclined to help us, will they kindly communicate with our organiser, Miss Katharine Parry Frye, 65, Commercial Road, Dereham?

Forthcoming Meetings.

SEPTEMBER 7.	Stockfield-on-Tyne—Mrs. Waldie Cairn's Meeting—Mrs. Howson.	5.0
SEPTEMBER 8.	Plymouth—Chambers—Miss Hatty Baker.	8.0
SEPTEMBER 8.	Sutton Coldfield—Miss Earl's Meeting—Miss A. D. Matthews.	3.50
SEPTEMBER 9.	Sunderland—West Park—United Demonstration in Support of Conciliation Bill.	3.15
SEPTEMBER 13.	Bristol—St. Ulrich, Downs Park West—Working Party.	3.0
SEPTEMBER 13.	Farnham—Badshot Lea—Men's Club—Malcolm Mitchell, Esq., C. Weatherby, Esq. (chair).	8.0
SEPTEMBER 16.	Manchester—Stevenson Square—Open-air Demonstration.	4.0
SEPTEMBER 18.	Manchester Federation—Barnes Green, Moston—Miss M. Robertson.	7.30
SEPTEMBER 18.	Llangollen—The Pavilion—Miss Rathbone.	8.30
SEPTEMBER 20.	Manchester Federation—Holy Trinity Schools, Moston—Miss M. Robertson.	3.0
SEPTEMBER 21.	Bristol—3, Berkeley Square—Working Party.	8.0
SEPTEMBER 21.	Nottingham—Felixstowe, the Park—Garden Fête and Sale—Mrs. Despard.	3.0
SEPTEMBER 25—29 (inclusive).	Romiley and Bredbury—Special Open-air Meetings—Mrs. Aldersley.	6.0

SCOTLAND.

September 18: Falkirk, Christian Institute Hall, Dr. Elsie Inglis, Mrs. H. M. Ross (chair).

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THE Scarborough Committee wish to thank all those who contributed to the success of their fête by sending contributions.

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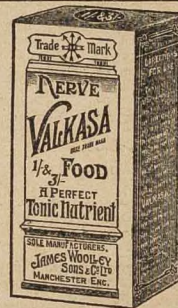
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