

# The Common Cause,

The Organ of the National Union of

# Women's Suffrage

Societies.

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ONE PENNY.



*Photograph by Mr. Emery Walker.*

**PORTRAIT OF MR. AND MRS. FAWCETT,**

**BY FORD MADDOX BROWN.**

**In the National Portrait Gallery.**



## Notes and Comments.

## Sweden and Women's Suffrage.

The news of the week to Suffragists is undoubtedly the announcement by the Swedish government of a measure to be introduced in the forthcoming session in that country to establish Adult Suffrage for both sexes, and remove the disabilities by which women are debarred from standing for election. The proposal is made on the ground that the removal of the property qualification should properly be followed by the removal of the sex disqualification, which proves that Swedish legislators are at any rate more logical than some of their kind. The fact that in Sweden, as in Norway, there are considerably more women than men is no obstacle to the proposal for their enfranchisement; the "feminine influence in Imperial matters" bogey is powerless, and the spectre of a preponderating female vote has no terrors. The interest of this is further enhanced by the fact that Sweden has an actual example of the working of Women's Suffrage under her very eyes in Norway, and her determination to go several better than her neighbour is a significant reply to the dire prophecies of the fatal results to be expected from our freedom to express an opinion. The same phenomenon has been observed in Australia, where the various states which have successively admitted women to the franchise had every opportunity of taking stock of results before acting. It is happening in the United States, where Women's Suffrage is spreading, largely on account of its results, from west to east. Perhaps some of our Imperial-minded Anti-Suffragist friends, for whose consideration the Colonies and the United States are too remote, may be more easily soothed by the fresh example of Sweden, so much nearer home.

## The Referendum.

Some of the papers which were so busy last week with the Referendum and Women's Suffrage have found fresh pasture this week in Ulster, and Mr. Winston Churchill's visit to it. The *Westminster* has continued to try and justify the particular political method, which Mr. Lloyd George once called "an expensive means of denying justice," but its attempt at answering Mr. Balfour has been very inconclusive. Mr. Snowden in the *Christian Commonwealth* and the leading articles in the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Daily News*, and the *Nation*, have made it plain that Liberals could not dally with a Referendum without bringing on themselves the strong condemnation of all the most progressive spirits in their own party and out of it.

## An Integral Part of the Bill.

It is noteworthy that the newspapers which talk so lately about the introduction of a method which would mean a change in our whole system of government, do not allude to the obvious practical difficulties in the way.

In reply to a question as to the Referendum, asked by Captain Faber in July, Mr. Asquith replied that such a proposal would involve legislation, which the Government did not at present contemplate. Does the Government now contemplate such legislation, and if so, is it part of the scheme of the *Westminster Gazette* that at the outset of the forthcoming session a Bill shall be introduced providing for a Referendum?

The *Westminster* talks of the present electorate, but does it propose that plural voting shall obtain for a Referendum, and if not, how does it propose to abolish it? How does it intend to provide for the prevention of corrupt practices? What line would it follow if the Lords threw out the Referendum Bill? In such a case the whole Reform Bill would be hung up, for it is obvious that a Bill cannot become law while one of its amendments, which the Government is pledged to regard as an integral part of the Bill, is still *sub judice*.

Many other similar questions might be raised; the fact remains that we have no Referendum, and that to establish a Referendum would require some complicated legislation.

## The "Daily News."

We should like to call special attention to the admirable leading article in the *Daily News* on Tuesday, January 23rd. It points out that the House of Commons could not insist on a Referendum without putting itself and the Cabinet into an impossible condition, and throwing the whole electorate into "the blindest confusion."

Apart altogether from the suffrage question, we have to face the fact that hardly a year ago, when Mr. Balfour committed his party to the principle of the Referendum, the Government and the Liberal Party went solid against it. The principle, as we know, was almost immediately thrown over by the Opposition, and only last month, when the Insurance

Bill was before the Peers, Lord Lansdowne gave it from his side the *coup de grâce* when he showed that a Referendum on even so strikingly non-partisan a measure as that was out of the question as a practical expedient in this country.

The plain truth is that the sense of the electorate is thoroughly with the view laid down with his customary emphasis by the Prime Minister last year, namely, that it would be a monstrous thing if the representatives of the people were to wash their hands of responsibility when serious divisions had to be taken, and to throw back upon the people the burden of deciding for themselves. . . . Nothing has happened since November 17th, when the Prime Minister repeated in precise terms his pledge with respect to the grant of facilities, or since December 14th, when, in reply to the anti-suffrage deputation, he pointed out with crushing force that in no conceivable circumstances could a referendum to any electorate provide a solution of the question of votes for women. The Government, that is to say, cannot go back on its pledges; the House of Commons cannot escape its responsibility, nor can the mass of Liberals be asked, as a matter of party expediency, to accept a constitutional practice which they have hardly finished denouncing as the direct negation of the representative system.

The *Daily News* concludes that it is quite clear that the Government's offer must stand, and the question have a clear course in Parliament.

## Stand by the Women.

The I.L.P.'s Political Equality Campaign is reported week by week in the pages of the *Labour Leader*; its distinctive note is the demand for justice to women. A series of articles by Mr. James Wylles, London divisional organiser, dwell on this fact, and on the reasons for it, in language that goes home to the heart of Suffragists, and which show how the I.L.P.'s claim is indeed a claim on behalf of both sexes.

## Our Portrait.

We publish this week a reproduction of the beautiful portrait of Mr. and Mrs. Fawcett, which was bequeathed to the National Portrait Gallery by Sir Charles Dilke, and has only recently been put in its place.

Many of those who see the picture will wish to read or read again the life of Henry Fawcett by Leslie Stephen, which was first published in 1885. It is one of those records of heroism which do more to help humanity on its way than volumes of legislation. Everyone will remember that Mr. Fawcett was accidentally blinded when he was twenty-five, and that his magnificent and indomitable courage turned this loss into a source of strength in his labours for the public good. He was only a little over fifty when he died, and he had already achieved more than is accomplished by most of those who see in long and unhampered lives.

It is interesting to recall that he sympathised deeply with Mrs. Fawcett in her labours for Women's Suffrage, and that he strongly opposed legislative restrictions on women's work, on the ground that such restrictions could not work fairly while women were not enfranchised.

"His sense of justice revolted against the virtual condemnation of a large number of women in every class to inability to use their faculties freely, and he held that their political disabilities were one more obstacle to freer and more varied activity." His biographer tells us that the leading note of his character was chivalry, and adds:—"Chivalry of feeling, as I understand the word, means a refinement of the sense of justice—an instinctive capacity for sympathising with everyone who is a victim of oppression in any of its forms; and this was the chief constituent of the character which we all came to recognise."

This is the kind of chivalry which we need in the world, and can any of those who are struggling for reform wish for any better thing than that it should be said of them, as it was said of Henry Fawcett, "He was always upon the generous side."

## Mrs. Fawcett.

We believe that Mrs. Fawcett is the only living person whose portrait has been added to the national collection. It is a great happiness to members of the National Union that it is there, and the knowledge that the long years since it was painted have been filled with toil for the cause of women, will be an inspiration for their own struggles. Eleventh-hour labourers will think it shame to falter when they remember how long one leader has worked, and how her work does not grow lighter but heavier as the crisis of the struggle approaches. We may perhaps take for our motto this week the words from Dante's "Purgatorio," which she quotes herself on the flyleaf over her sketches of eminent women:—

"Non aver tema disse il mio signore  
Fatti sicur chè noi siamo a buon punto:  
Non stringer, ma rallarga ogni vigore,"

which may be roughly translated:—

"Fear not, said my lord, be assured that we have come to a happy pass: do not restrain, but put forth thy strength."

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

## WHY WE ARE IN A HURRY.

When I am talking to men about Women's Suffrage, even those who are friendly often say: "But why are you in such a hurry? It is bound to come soon."

Well, we believe it is bound to come soon, but it will not come without hard work, and it is precisely because so many of us have worked so hard for it for so long that we want to see our efforts crowned with success.

## WE KNOW THAT THIS YEAR PROVIDES A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY.

We have been told by many who have a wide experience in Parliamentary matters, that if we fail this year (which we are not going to do), the question will be put back for a long time. Our position now is stronger than it has ever been, and we do not want all the energy, time, and money which have been used in reaching that position to be wasted.

## WE DO NOT WANT TO BEGIN ALL OVER AGAIN,

as we might have to do if we failed to secure the passage of a Bill giving votes to women during this session of this Parliament. That would be wasting time, energy, and money that might with advantage be used in helping to solve other problems which are pressing for solution. It would be waste because it ought not to be necessary; we believe that the question is fully ripe for settlement, and

## WE WANT TO GET IT SETTLED AS SOON AS WE CAN. WE ARE IN A HURRY

because many of the workers in the Suffrage movement are eager to work for other objects, such as

## TEMPERANCE—BETTER HOUSING—THE REFORM OF THE POOR-LAW—THE ABOLITION OF SWEATING and the WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC, &amp;c.

but they believe that *until they get the vote they have not the necessary weapon* with which to strike at the roots of social evils.

Now, all these questions are themselves of the greatest importance to the whole community. No one will deny the necessity of tackling them without delay; it is a necessity which stares in the face all those who take any interest whatever in the welfare of their country; and we believe they can never be satisfactorily settled until women's opinions as well as men's are taken into consideration. Is there any wonder, then, that we are in a hurry?

Also we want to be able

## TO DEFEND OUR INTERESTS IN ANY FUTURE LEGISLATION

that may be brought forward. We know that politics at the present time are inclined to deal more and more with matters affecting every man and woman in the home and in the workshop and factory, and we do not think it right that matters which affect women so nearly should be settled for them without their consent.

We are in a hurry because

## WE WANT TO SEE THE HOMES OF THE POOR MADE BETTER,

so that the next and succeeding generations may grow up into better citizens; because

## WE WANT TO SEE A REDUCTION IN THE RATE OF INFANT MORTALITY,

and to see the children growing up physically and mentally more fit than so many of them do to-day, for only so can good citizens be produced; because

## WE WANT WOMAN'S WORK IN THE WORLD TO BE BETTER RECOGNISED.

At present women are hedged round with all sorts of unnatural barriers which prevent them from extending their work in many directions where it might be useful, and which sometimes prevent them from doing the work they have undertaken in the best way and under the most favourable conditions possible. This is unjust to the woman, and unjust to the race and the country to which she belongs.

## WE WANT TO SEE THE WAGE-EARNING POWER OF WOMEN RAISED,

so as to put a stop to the under-selling of men in the labour market with all its attendant evils. It is clear that if a man earning enough to support a wife and family is discharged from his employment, and told to send his wife to do the work at half the wages, it is not a benefit to either of them, or to their home; and we are told that it is on the preservation of the home that the greatness of the nation rests.

We know that this kind of thing is going on continually, and

## WE ARE IN A HURRY TO TAKE OUR SHARE

in stopping the spread of the evil before it is too late.

Lastly we feel that

## THE REPUTATION OF GREAT BRITAIN IS AT STAKE.

She has always been in the forefront of all movements making for freedom. Is she to lose that position when the freedom of more than half her subjects is concerned? We see other nations in various parts of the world one after another giving votes to women. We have given votes to the negroes in South Africa, and it even seems probable that the women of China will be given the vote before long.

## ARE WE TO LAG BEHIND THEM?

Is not the love of home and country just as strong in the hearts of British women as in those of the women of other nations or the negroes of South Africa?

If you believe this, as we do, will you not help us by doing everything in your power to make the Government and Members of Parliament realise the urgency of our demand?



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

NOTICE.—This paper should be obtainable at newsagents and book-stalls by mid-day on Thursday. If people have any difficulty in getting it locally they should write to the Manager, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C., giving the name and address of the newsagent or bookstall from which they wish to be supplied.

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### "But for You."

"It may be by yon smoke concealed,  
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,  
And but for you possess the field."

Suffragists have always known that the silly assertions and still sillier appeals to ignorance that form the bulk of most Anti-Suffrage "argument" by no means represent the strength of the forces we have to meet. We have always known that the forces of selfishness, cruelty, and impurity were great, and were against us; we have only regretted that they work underground, and so deceive our more generous and high-minded opponents, who know not with whom they are allied.

But surely the cynical character of the present opposition must open the eyes of many. It must be difficult indeed for anyone to believe that the last move has been dictated by anything but a desperate hope that if the Woman Suffrage movement can be delayed it may be destroyed, either by the uncontrollable exasperation of its supporters, or by their exhaustion. Some already have found their anger uncontrollable under the series of "exceptional" insults which women have met with these last years; but the need of the hour is rather steadiness and nerve in the face of insult and chicanery; increasing enthusiasm as a reply to the desire to wear us down.

That the disfranchised will always be the insulted is a fact which has been burnt into us. Every fresh proof of it arouses an indignation which must become an overwhelming and concentrated force. The Prime Minister has done his best to divide us; he has even partially succeeded. But the great mass of Suffrage opinion remains coherent and more determined than before. Some of his followers are now trying what delay will do, and in the attempt are turning to a revolutionary expedient, which before it can be applied must first be brought into existence by an Act of Parliament which would split the Liberal Party from top to bottom.

There is no great need for alarm, we fancy, about the Referendum, but much need for wisdom. Once more we must remember the *underground* forces against us. Those who object to Women's Suffrage because they also object to all we hope from it—the loftier standard of morals, the greater independence of women, the gain to temperance, and so forth—will not be convinced by argument; and they will leave no stone unturned to make use of the ignorance of others. We also must leave no stone unturned to enlighten them. The fullest knowledge must be brought before Members of Parliament, that they may not be misled by the discreditable manoeuvres of our enemies, nor be ignorant of the difficulties we have to face, the hard position of a non-party measure, and the arguments which may be adduced for or against certain forms of Bill or amendment. All the feeling in the constituencies, which has been created by work

in the past, must now be focussed and brought to bear on the representative of each constituency.

There is work outside, too, that must not be neglected. Long experience of political work has taught us that no amount of political influence will move the House of Commons—still less the Government—unless it represents a strong feeling in the country. This feeling we have evoked, but now must strengthen. We all forget, only too readily, the grievances we do not see, and electors are no exception to the rule. If we relax—nay, if we do not increase our efforts now, they will suppose that we do not suffer, and no remedy is required.

I appeal then to all—is it not possible for us at this hour to give more and work harder yet? To all who suffer in a great cause there comes at times a sense of futility. When the first enthusiasm has died away—and perhaps it dies with the speech or the moment that evoked it—there comes the depressing sense that we have very little to give, and it is very hard to give it. Our sacrifice is hardly, after all, worth offering. We can only, it may be, give so little time, so little money, do only the merest drudgery of the work; distribute bills, write letters, or run errands. Or if we have the time, money, or some special gift of organisation or public speaking, not less to us comes the depressing wonder—is what we give worth giving after all? The cause is great indeed, but we are not. If we have been idle, superficial, unjust or cowardly in the past, we do not change in an hour. Our sins, negligences, and ignorances are hard upon us now, and seem sometimes to baffle our best efforts. We strike—

"This way and that,  
And wonder at ourselves like men betrayed."

Is it worth while to give what it costs us so much to offer—which if we need not offer would make our lives so easy; and after all is not good enough to make any difference to the cause?

It is little, even with the best of us; but perhaps at this hour the cause is being held back for lack of that little. We cannot measure the need, but we know that all is needed; the "all" that includes every individual piece of work; the spirit that cannot rest satisfied till all is done, even though much be done imperfectly. It is the spirit in which victories are won—the readiness

"To dig latrines at the camp-base; to fight in the front and fall;  
Or be chucked away alone in the dark, by mistake, for nothing at all."  
Or with us to sway a great meeting, to interview Prime Ministers, or to stand at a street corner giving away hand-bills, and watch them dropped one by one into the mud. The spirit that took the giver there, and keeps her there, this it is that moves the world, and all the rest is only one way or another of the spirit's expression.

Let us leave clear way for it now, not caring at all what we are asked to do, or find to do, or even how imperfectly we do it, so long as it is in that spirit it is done. By every effort we make now we shorten the time of struggle, we shorten the hours of suffering for our sisters, and advance one step the nearer to our far-off ideal for the race. No offering we can give is too great, or too small, for a share in such a victory as that.

A. MAUDE ROYDEN.

### A Soldier's Battle.

One of the officers of the National Union recently used this phrase in describing one aspect of our present Women's Suffrage campaign, and it has a fine ring about it, especially for those who have been reading some of the party newspapers of the last few weeks. Several journalists are beginning to realise that Women's Suffrage is getting dangerous. They feel a little like the naturalist's landlady, whose lodger presented her with a fluffy, kittenish little creature, observing that it was "A pet, madam, of the *cat* species." But it inconsiderately grew into a panther, not inclined to curl round and go to sleep after it had its saucer of milk. And so it is. Certain journalists had hoped that, with tact, an occasional mew was all there was to fear. And now, behold the creature is growing up and is fierce and strong. We suffragists are strong, but we must become a little stronger.

We have leaders watching each political move with sleepless vigilance, and each of us will do well to follow their example, for our enemies are astute. But nothing of this is of the essence of our movement. By a happy paradox in the nature of things the noblest part in our warfare falls, not to a picked few alone, but to those who are apt to consider themselves unimportant. Those who feel unimportant must train their imagination. Let them do this deliberately, let them visualise the greatness of the woman's movement, let them feel that our age will be marked in history, and then let them ask themselves what their own significance in it all is. To each who does this, modestly but

with sincerity, will come an arresting revelation of their own profound importance!

There are two kinds of Suffragists (there are more, but that is another story). There are those who frequently question:—"Why does not the XYZ Society (or whatever association they honour with their membership) do more? And there are those others whose support is the constant strength and refreshment of our leaders. Those who, in the General Election of 1910, were at the polling booths in the sleet and rain at 8 a.m. and perhaps hardly left till 8 p.m., for, they argued, "The National Union must do its share, and Mrs. Jones has her baby to look after, and Miss Smith is not very strong, and cannot do much, so I must do all I can." Some of them are still suffering in health from what they did then, but they are the salt of our movement. Of the other kind, the "Why does not the XYZ do more?" type, some few are hard workers themselves, and their criticism is of value, but some are like a certain lady whose voice is generally raised at a time of great stress. "Really I must say I think the society should do something, should inaugurate some scheme. Now I have thought out an excellent plan. I consider that THE COMMON CAUSE should be sold outside every station and theatre, and at the doors whenever a political or philanthropic meeting is held." (To her, with weary politeness.) "Ah, yes, what an admirable thought; perhaps someday we shall be able to do it." "Someday! (spiritedly) What I say is, don't put a thing like that off, do it at once!" "Well, there is something in what you say—which stations can you undertake?" "Me? Well, I am afraid, much as I should like to, I can't do very much; you see I always catch a cold in the head if I stand about. But it ought to be done, and I am surprised that the society has not done it."

Then, again, there is a Suffrage shop opened in a town, the pride and joy of the local organiser. She gets a list of helpers and portions them out. To A she gives two hours on Monday, to B Tuesday, to C Wednesday, and so on. "Well, Miss A, how did you get on? Did many people come?" "No, I am sorry to say, very few. One bought a post-card, and a drunken man came in to tell me to go home and nurse the baby." "I am sorry, I hope you were not bored?" "Oh, no, someone must do it, and besides—I wanted to tell you—hundreds of girls go past from their work. I will go on doing my Monday, but I mean to come several other days, and follow up these girls and find out if they would like a meeting, and if so whether indoors or out, and what time." "What about your Tuesday, Mrs. B?" "Oh, Miss X, I was just going to write and tell you, I think it is a scandalous waste of the society's money to open a shop in such a place, and I for one certainly cannot be expected to go. I have many other duties far too important; not a creature came in, and, in fact, many who went by were not at all the class of person likely to be of use to us. You had better tell your committee, etc." Poor Miss X decides to spy out the land on Wednesday, and there she finds happy Miss C (who never can address an envelope correctly when she helps in the office) quite in her element just inside the door, with two intelligent-looking men in earnest argument. "Well, good-bye, you will find me here next Wednesday, so mind you bring those three mates of yours along you tell me want converting."

And Miss X, with all the anxieties of an impending election upon her, goes off wonderfully brightened up, and thinking "Miss C will be the very one to organise the canvassers, she seems to get on so well with people, and not to mind things."

Yes, it is a soldier's battle, and not quite the old War Office sort of soldier, who can't pipeclay his belt unless an officer tells him how. We are an army, but a democracy, too, and upon each of us rests the responsibility not only for our policy, but also for the efficiency of our work. For two things are needed—(1) A fiery spirit, burning bright through all gloom, and kindling the timid and the lazy. (2) We want efficiency, and only when people discipline and train themselves can there be efficiency. At the Albert Hall next month we shall be singing Suffrage songs. One song is called "What women mean to do." Let each of us as we sing think not only of great meetings, but also of leaflets and COMMON CAUSES, and Suffrage shops and canvassing, and of corresponding in our local Press, and of "a number of things," and as we sing and think of these, think also of the fateful words: "They fought . . . and I was not there."

### Processions.

Processions are a very ancient means of expressing human needs. From the time when people first learned to do things in common, they began to walk in procession to appease angry deities or rouse indifferent ones, or to express their own mourning or thankfulness. In all old religions processions are an

important part of the usual ritual, and the appeal at first made only to God gradually came to be made to fellow creatures too, the lookers-on were asked to join in the mourning, or the triumph or the appeal, or if they could not join at least to take note that it was being made. Processions are the pageantry of feeling, and they make a demand on those who see them to share the feeling and the common action that results from it. As such they are naturally rather dreaded by opponents of that action, and it is only in comparatively free countries that political processions can be tolerated by those in power. In England, where public opinion is on the whole in favour of allowing people to express what they feel, provided that it does not outrage the sentiment of the majority, the value of processions as a means of political demonstration has been more and more understood in recent years. We have had every kind, from the gorgeous demonstration of Imperial power made at the Diamond Jubilee, to the melancholy processions of unemployed, which have saddened our streets through several winters, and reminded us of the social miseries we are many of us too ready to forget. But no political movement has produced so many processions or such large ones or such beautiful ones as the demand for Women's Suffrage. Six or seven years ago it still seemed a strange thing for women to march publicly through the streets. When the National Union organised the first Women's Suffrage procession in London many of those who took part in it did so with some qualms. It was very muddy and wet then, as it is now (our climate has never really encouraged processions), but most of us felt that the strangeness of marching in ranks along the middle of the road, and being stared at and sometimes jeered at by the crowd, was a considerably worse trial than the mud.

All that is long past. We have had many sharper trials since. Most of us have become hardened to stares and even to jeers, and the latter are now exceptional, for the crowds have, for the most part, learned to understand that we are making a serious appeal for justice. The sense of fellowship which is the great joy of suffrage work is at no time more present with us than when we march through the muddy or the dusty streets together carrying the banners, which mean as much to us as regimental colours do to men who have defended them in action, and following the leaders who have shown us the way in this as in other things. This sense of fellowship makes processions almost a joy to some of us, and we are glad that the Surrey suburbs procession will give us another opportunity of walking behind Mrs. Fawcett next week. But each fresh demonstration that we have to make recalls to us how long the justice which we demand is overdue. Is it fair that one who has served the cause as long as Miss Emily Davies should still have to walk miles through wet streets in midwinter to convince the men of the country that she wants a vote? Can the people really believe that we have not a great many other things on which we should like to spend our time during these dark January days, or

"When June on her green progress goes  
Through arched and bannered woodlands?"

Surely those who have not yet joined actively in our appeal for justice will come and do so now, that we may not have to walk in many more processions, but only in a triumphal march, when the vote is won. Let all those Londoners who believe in the justice of Women's Suffrage but who have not yet done anything to help come to Richmond on the 27th and make this procession their first bit of active suffrage work.

I. B. O'M.

### An Italian Grandmother.

She was regarded now as merely a mechanism, like a child's mechanical toy, which worked as childishly, too, for she was old enough to have seen two generations pass away and part even of a third. No one living remembered the time when she was born, and she could babble of scenes which seemed as unreal as history buried in books.

She was dreaded, too, in a way, as a dead thing, as a creature already in another world, out of relation to this. Yet, in spite of it, she went on her way, as simply, as humanly as before; sometimes, too, from her isolation launching into the world a little boat bearing a gift of pure sweetness. As she grew older and her station in life improved—as far as material concerns go—with marriage, and again with her son's success in business, the circle of her acquaintance drew in more tightly round her. In her peasant-girlhood she had been free to know anyone; in her marriage her husband's family (with whom, according to the patriarchal custom, she was brought to live), and a few of his friends were all her world; in her son's household she went by secret ways, and knew almost none from outside the



home. She suffered from the restriction, and often wondered about it wistfully, but she let the wind of these protests blow only in her heart.

One thing alone made her unhappy for long, and that was to have no work. She was rich now—at least her son, in whose house she lived, was rich; but the habits of her peasant youth clung to her, and only in her work could she find content. It was not that she laboured all the day, but it was necessary to her even yet to transform her energy into some created thing between the dawn and the set of sun. In her uprising and her lying-down, too, she was unlike the world around her. She had not learnt to turn night into day, and rose generally as early as the sun, and went to bed just as the rest of the household began the evening's play. In the summer villa, after dinner, she would sit alone in a corner of the square hall, arrayed in the modern dress they had bought for her, with her hands at rest in her lap, and her face at peace; till the shadows crept out of the corners, filled the whole hall, and slipped up the stairs. Then she followed them.

She lived a strangely individual life, tenderly dreaming her evening time to a close. She recognised that she was of a generation long since gone away, and accepted from the younger ones the rule of her life, submitting humbly to their decrees. They sometimes spoke roughly to her when they did not understand her little objections or desires, which seemed often strange, even irrational, coming from right away the other side so broad a river of years, and they thwarted her sometimes in her heart's deep needs. Then she would wander away down the villa garden to bear her loneliness better in the dell where through the scented pines one saw a quiet purple hill. She bore no grudge for these denials. Perhaps forgetfulness took them away from her. Perhaps her memory marked only the happy hours, for they would often see her as she sat alone with a smile flitting about her face.

Yet, in spite of her many years, her vigour was not shown merely in the tenacity with which she clung to existence. To watch from the foot of the stairs as she ascended them was an amazing experience. She went up with the swiftness and delicate lit of a young girl, and her slim figure and light step almost deceived the eye into judging her one. On the level her age betrayed itself more certainly. Her shoulders were bowed, her meagre form tremulous, though still having a strength akin to that of steel. Her face was withered, but still often quivering with the light and shade of mood as a child's. Feeling swept through her like the wind in an aspen tree. If you gave her a flower unexpectedly, she trembled and was in a swirling tumult to her very heart. If one not of her own household kissed her, she received it as a gift, and chuckled over it delightedly, but as if apologising for herself; and took the memory of it into her corner of the hall, and brought it out now and again to smile over it. She was humility itself, having learnt all her life, both as peasant, as wife, and now as mother, to be obedient. She rebelled sometimes with a pathetic petulance; most frequently when the supply of straw for her plaiting ran out, and they forgot day after day to bring her more. Then she fretted, and her thin empty hands played with one another, as if to create a fantasy that her work was in them. For she was a plaiter of straw for hats, and she would still sit—just as she had sat before she was twelve years old—for hours weaving the long yellow coil. It had become second nature to her, and she did it exquisitely, though, in these years, very slowly.

With her straw-plaiting was bound up her self-respect, for her son, who was a manufacturer of hats, took what she produced and paid for it; and some of the money she saved, some she gave to him for her board. "Of course," he said, "she is very slow; her work does not pay, and I do not want it; but she is unhappy if her hands are idle."

It was in connection with these savings that she once emerged from her isolation into activity in that typical kindly way of hers. One morning her granddaughter's governess arrived

with woe-begone face and reddened eyes. She had lost her purse, with not so large a sum in it, but one that held for her the balance between a week's starvation or comfort. The little grandmother was anxious to know the cause of those red eyes. It was told to her, and she made no comment; people thought the information had just glided off the surface of her mind. But two hours later she made a little mystery of bustle about the house. She trembled again, just as a bed of foam quivers in the wind, and her withered cheeks each wore a faint rose. She whispered in the excitement of her secret: Where was her son? She would reveal the mystery to none but him.

When he was found she breathlessly disclosed to him that her treasured hoard would just equal what the governess had lost. She wished to offer it, assuring him that with industry she could soon replenish it. "It will take her months," he said. But the whole household was made happy for the day by the joy her giving gave her.

She is alive yet, and still her vitality asserts itself. It was needed a little time ago to conquer a great misfortune. She fell one day on a polished floor, and broke her leg. The doctor said it was impossible of cure at her age, but the word impossible was in tenderness not breathed to her, and her will could never utter it. She walks again now, requiring only the aid of a stick.

A great happiness, too, has also been restored to her. Some time ago her youngest grandchild, her Benjamin, whom she had lovingly cherished all his days, was taken away from her and sent to England. And her heart lay always where her treasure was. Once when an English lady visited them she insisted upon greeting her; and holding up her face alive with a child's eagerness, she said: "You come from England where he is. Did you see him? How is he?"

She was haunted by a fear that she would die before he had returned. She was so old. How the thought echoed round her head! But he is back again now and she is content.

A. M. ALLEN.

### Sir Edward Grey.

Sir Edward Grey spoke at North Sunderland on Saturday the 20th. At the conclusion of his speech Miss Laura Ainsworth, of Newcastle, asked why Mr. Asquith insisted upon a further vote being taken in the House of Commons on Women's Suffrage, considering that for two years running it had secured majorities larger than many other reforms.

Sir E. Grey: The pledge given was that if a Government measure was introduced the House of Commons should have an opportunity of putting the suffrage for women into that Government measure. That is a pledge which was made and is going to be kept.

Miss Ainsworth asked why, in view of the majorities secured for Women's Suffrage measures, the Government should require a further vote before making it a Government measure?

Sir Edward Grey: It has always been insisted that Women's Suffrage cannot be made in the first instance a Government measure. The promise of the Government from the beginning was that the House of Commons would have the opportunity of passing Women's Suffrage.

In reply to a further question from another Suffragist, he said that the promise with regard to the Conciliation Bill still held good if the Government Bill failed.

Question: Would the Government refuse a Referendum?

Sir E. Grey: The Referendum is a question I personally have not considered much. It seems to me to rest with the Government or with the majority of the House of Commons to put Women's Suffrage into the Government Bill. The Government will certainly not be entitled, after all they have said, to say there must be a Referendum. If the House of Commons insist upon the Referendum, that is another matter.

flatters itself that Sir Edward Grey's reply to a question asked at a meeting held in North Sunderland on the 20th confirms what it has said.

"Will the Government refuse a Referendum on the subject of votes for women?" was the question asked. Sir Edward

replied that he had not personally considered the question, but, he added, "The Government will certainly not be entitled after all they have said to say there must be a Referendum, but if the majority of the House of Commons insists on a Referendum then that is another matter."

Readers will have noted that this reply of Sir E. Grey's by no means confirms what the *Westminster Gazette* has said. The *Westminster* strongly advocates a Referendum. Sir Edward Grey's statement is wholly non-committal, and conveys the impression that he has not considered the question in all its bearings. His reply leaves it open to him to take whatever line he may choose so far as his words on this occasion are concerned.

We would, however, remind Sir Edward Grey that Mr. Asquith's reply to the question asked by Mrs. Fawcett on November 17th, does in the spirit, if not in the letter, preclude the submission of a Women's Suffrage amendment to a Referendum.

"Will you regard any amendment enfranchising women which is carried as an integral part of the Bill, and defend it in all its stages?" was the question asked by Mrs. Fawcett. Mr. Asquith replied "Certainly." How, we ask, can that be regarded as "an integral part of the Bill," to which is accorded an entirely separate treatment. The *Westminster Gazette* has endeavoured to get out of the difficulty by a quibble; but we are convinced that no candid man or woman would interpret the answer as suggesting the possibility of submitting Women's Suffrage to a new, untried, and so far unconstitutional piece of political machinery.

We expect Mr. Asquith to keep his pledges in the spirit as well as in the letter; and the National Union will regard as an act of hostility any attempt to submit the question of Women's Suffrage to a specially devised Referendum. We are not afraid of a Referendum, but we will not be made the subject of an unconstitutional experiment.

If the Referendum is definitely made part of our Constitution, that is another question, and can be considered on its own merits. But where is the Government going to find its mandate?

### THE CALL TO WORK.

This year, 1912, is to be the crucial year in the history of the Women's Suffrage movement. When, last summer, Mr. Asquith gave a definite pledge that in the next session of Parliament (the session which will open next month) the Government would give time for the Conciliation Bill, all the Suffrage societies, realising what this opportunity meant, devoted themselves to the task of securing for the Bill such a majority as would ensure its passage through the House of Commons. Mr. Asquith's announcement on November 7th that it was the intention of the Government to introduce next session a Manhood Suffrage Bill changed the situation by adding to it an entirely new issue; but his pledges with regard to amendments including women in the Reform Bill, as well as his reiterated pledge of time for the Conciliation Bill were satisfactory to the N.U.W.S.S., in so far as they offered in the forthcoming session two chances, instead of one, of obtaining a measure of Women's Suffrage. From this point of view the session of 1912 becomes even more momentous than when it promised the Conciliation Bill only; if this Government remains in office, and if, as we have no reason to doubt, Mr. Asquith's pledges are kept, next session will certainly see the enfranchisement of some women, and may possibly see the enfranchisement of several millions. 1912, like 1832, 1867, and 1884, will stand out as a year when a great measure of justice was carried, and even more as a year which laid the foundations of a true and sounder democracy, recognising not only men but women also as the people.

What part are our members going to play in the last critical stage of women's struggle for enfranchisement? The burden and heat of the day have been borne by the older Suffragists, many of whom died before they could see the fruit of their labours; but even at this eleventh hour there is still much to be done; we still want fresh workers, and still call upon those

of the past to toil as they have never toiled before. And the work which is needed is not only that which can be done by the few; the services of expert politicians and organisers, speakers and writers, are essential of course, but their work is based on the foundations laid by the efforts of the ordinary member, whose name, perhaps, is never recorded, and who patiently gives her time and energy to doing a multitude of small things.

Hundreds of pounds must have been saved to the National Union by the mere fact that its members devote themselves evening after evening to addressing envelopes and similar work; even more important are other kinds of "ordinary work," the distribution of literature, the sale of papers, the endless work connected with the organisation of meetings, and most important of all, the innumerable personal calls upon which the increase of every society so largely depends. There is still a great mass of uneducated opinion in the country, and it is laid upon every individual member to take her share in breaking this down. Negotiations with and deputations to Members of Parliament are all-important at the present juncture, these must be left to those who are best fitted for this kind of work; but the strongest evidence to lay before any member is the support of his constituency, and it is the work of the ordinary member of every Suffrage society to create support for Women's Suffrage—1912 will, we hope and believe, be the last year of the fight for enfranchisement; no one who has the dimmest conception of what the women's movement means—and, most of all, no suffragist—will willingly forego the opportunity of taking her part in it.

K. D. COURTNEY.

### Treasurer's Notes

Last week our list of contributions showed the after-effects of Christmas duties and distractions, but this week is a good one.

We have gifts from friends who have often been generous before, besides some from new contributors. We are grateful to a group of members of the Keswick Society, who, besides assisting their Federation with the expenses of an organiser, have sent us a handsome contribution towards her salary. It is a healthy sign that in many Federations people are beginning to take a pride in not putting the National Fund to expense for local Federation work, and, where they cannot undertake entirely to support an organiser of their own for all or part of the year, that they are sending us increasingly large donations.

The Campaign Fund is slowly mounting up, but even counting all money promised later, I can only see my way as yet to barely a quarter of the sum that we ought to have for the bare necessities of the year's work. Among the promises that have come in this week, a good many small ones (from workers unable to afford more) are very welcome. They range from five shillings to a guinea. If only those better provided with this world's goods will only give in proportion, and make the same personal sacrifices as are represented by some of these single pounds!

The arrangements for the collection at Albert Hall on February 23rd have now been made, and are as follows:—

Gifts or promises can be sent up on that occasion ear-marked, either for the National Fund or for any particular society, Federation, or for any special piece of work, or, if for more than one object, in any proportion desired by the giver. All money not ear-marked will, after paying expenses, be equally divided between the National Union and the London society. We agreed to this division in view of the fact not only that the bulk of the audience must be Londoners, but that these great national demonstrations in the Metropolis are necessary so often that the London society cannot effectively hold, besides, very large meetings in its own area in the Union. Any unfairness to the rest of the country is obviated by leaving everyone free to ear-mark their gifts as they please. I hope everyone will remember that their local society is their care, and that unless

### 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: Hon. Secretary to Press Committee: Hon. Treasurer: Hon. Sec. to Literature Committee: Miss I. B. O'MALLEY. Telephone: 1960 Victoria.  
 MISS K. D. COURTNEY. MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D. MISS GERALDINE COOKE. MRS. AUERBACH.  
 MISS EDITH PALLISER (Parliamentary). Hon. Secretary to Press Committee: MISS EMILY M. LEAF.  
 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.

### From Headquarters.

#### THE REFERENDUM.

Discussion in some of the papers as to a Referendum for Women's Suffrage still continues, and the *Westminster Gazette*

### LONDON SOCIETY OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

58, Victoria Street, S.W.

## PUBLIC RECEPTION, TUESDAY, JANUARY 30,

At the Empress Rooms, Kensington (High Street Station) from 3.30 to 6.15. Chair: Miss EDITH DIMOCK.  
 Speakers: Miss CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN, M.A., Mrs. STANBURY, Mr. J. MALCOLM MITCHELL, M.A.  
 Hon. Sec. Men's League for Women's Suffrage. Recitation: Miss FLORENCE STREETER. Discussion invited.



it is adequate to this great occasion our effectiveness in the field will be grievously curtailed.

F. M. STERLING, Treasurer pro tem.

Press Department.

The Westminster Gazette this week still continues to employ all the ingenuity at its disposal in order to invent methods by which the obvious sense of the pledges of the Government in regard to the Woman's Suffrage amendment may be evaded.

Mr. Brailsford's suggestion is apparently entertained that we might have "Anti-Suffragists actually voting in the House for an extremist solution, and then campaigning in the country against it," but it calls forth only the mild remark, "that this would be a delicate and difficult operation, which it would be very perilous to engineer."

The provincial Press affords a good deal of blunt, straightforward criticism.

The Yorkshire Observer, under the heading of the "Referendum Again," finds the "solution" of the Westminster and Daily Chronicle naturally somewhat confusing—a confusion which is not likely to be dissipated by beholding its cartoon representing the "Splits in the Cabinet," due to Mr. Asquith's laughter.

The Manchester Courier recalls "the tornadoes of ridicule and vilification that burst from the Radicals when Mr. Balfour proposed the Referendum," and declares that "this volte face would be positively staggering unless the reasons why it has been proposed were so glaring."

The South Wales Daily News, upholding the neutrality of the Cabinet, asserts that "the only way of dealing with the matter is the straight way, which the Premier has indicated. The Referendum could not be introduced without bringing into existence greater difficulties than those which it is designed to remove. If once the Referendum were introduced, who can say to what questions it might not be applied? It would lead inevitably to endless complications, including the disturbance of the whole machinery of the Constitution."

The Daily Express asserts, "We may be allowed an almost indecent mirth, provoked by the foundering of Ministerialists, in the new Referendum morass. . . . Unfortunately, however, it is perceived by some astute Radicals that the adoption of the Referendum as an escape from the Cabinet's peril on this question will be hard to reconcile with opposition to the Referendum as part of our Constitutional machinery.

The Daily News, which has taken a strong and decided line throughout in opposition to the Referendum, maintains that "the Prime Minister is the last person in the world to be guilty of stultifying his pledges by promoting a referendist agitation in the Press; neither on Home Rule nor on the Referendum is there the slightest danger of the Government coming to grief."

Special attention may be called to Mrs. Swanwick's letter in the Manchester Guardian of January 22nd, and the excellent leader in the Daily News of January 23rd.

It is most important at this juncture that members should show in a decided manner—and in the way previously suggested—their approval or disapproval of the lines of policy taken by the Press during the coming months with regard to Woman's Suffrage. The Press Department will welcome news from Press Secretaries under the conditions described in the notices recently issued.

EMILY M. LEAF.

Miss Fawcett's Campaign

FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF ALBERT HALL HANDBILLS AND OF SUFFRAGE LITERATURE.

At a time when every member of the National Union is anxious to do something more than she has ever done before to help forward the cause, we welcome the following very practical suggestion from Miss Philippa Fawcett. Miss Fawcett is devoting all her week-ends to this labour.

DEAR MADAM,

The London Society for Women's Suffrage has recently issued a circular to its members urging them to take part in a special literature campaign to be undertaken in 1912. It has occurred to me that some economy of effort might result from combining the distribution of literature of an educative kind with the distribution of handbills announcing the meeting at the Albert Hall at which Mr. Lloyd George is to speak on February 23rd.

Handbills of the meeting will be provided free of charge to those who will undertake to distribute them, and I understand that a large quantity of educative leaflets can be supplied at about 2s. 6d. a thousand.

My suggestion is that as far as possible every member of the London Society and every reader of the COMMON CAUSE resident in or near London should undertake (a) to pay for 1,000 educative leaflets at 2s. 6d., and (b) to distribute 1,000 educative leaflets with 1,000 copies of the handbill announcing the Albert Hall meeting of February 23rd.

There are other members who, for various reasons, are unable personally to undertake the distribution of literature. These might pay for a double number of leaflets, namely, 2,000 at 5s.

I therefore urge every reader resident in or near London to write at once to

Miss Strachey, London Society for Women's Suffrage, 58, Victoria Street, London, S.W.,

offering either (i.) to pay for and distribute at least 1,000 leaflets and 1,000 handbills, or (ii.) to distribute at least 2,000 of each, or (iii.) to pay for at least 2,000 leaflets.

As no prudent person likes to undertake a task without knowing approximately the amount of time required, I may mention that in a crowded place 1,000 sets of leaflets can be distributed in less than an hour and a half. The folding takes rather longer. The exact time varies with the nature of the paper, but roughly speaking 1,000 of each of two kinds of leaflets can be folded in pairs in about two hours and a half.

My experience has been that a quite surprisingly large number of people take and read the leaflets, and it appears therefore that by this means people can be approached whom it is impossible to reach in any other way. At the present crisis every suffragist must be asking herself in what way she can personally help the cause.

I am, Madam, your obedient servant, PHILIPPA FAWCETT.

London Society.

RICHMOND DEMONSTRATION, SATURDAY, JANUARY 27TH.

If only the weather proves propitious, the demonstration at Richmond on Saturday is to be a brilliant success. Every day this week open-air meetings are being held in Richmond, at which the particulars of the procession and meeting are being announced, and handbills are being distributed, and the procession, which is to take place on Saturday, is the topic of conversation at the moment.

Miss Emily Davies, the famous pioneer of Woman Suffrage, has signified her intention of being present, and intends marching with Mrs. Fawcett at the head of the procession for at least part of the

Contributions to General Fund.

Table with columns: Name, £, s., d. Includes entries like 'Already acknowledged since Nov 1st, 1911 1,096 18 1', 'Mrs. Brownlow 5 0 0', 'Mrs. Amy Williams 1 0 0', etc.

\* Gave an equal amount to local society for expenses of organiser.

By-Elections.

CARMARTHEN BOROUGH.

CANDIDATES: Mr. Llewellyn Williams (L.), Mr. H. C. Bond (U.), Mr. F. G. Vivian (Ind. Lab.).

Committee Rooms.—Stepney Street, Llanelly. Organiser.—Mrs. Cowmeadow. Polling, January 24.

We are having a very exciting campaign, so far as Llanelly is concerned, though not quite so lively a one as the newspapers have represented. The town is swarming with enterprising journalists who view everything through magnifying glasses, so that a meagre streamlet, absolutely dry at times, becomes a river, and one snowball many.

We have an excellent committee room in a much-frequented part of the town, and this, while it brings us rather prominently before the youths, whose sole idea of elections seems a time of fun and frolic, also enables us to catch the attention of the serious section of the population who are showing sympathetic interest in our work.

It was very difficult to induce the candidates to give written replies to the questions submitted to them; Mr. Llewellyn Williams and Mr. Vivian each mentioned Women's Suffrage in his election address, and when answers were finally received from all candidates, they were sufficiently satisfactory to result in a decision for "propaganda only."

We have been very much helped by Miss Helen Fraser, who has gained a reputation in South Wales for her oratorical ability, and she was the principal speaker at two open-air meetings and

held a large meeting in the Parish Hall. There were huge audiences, and although there was interruption, Miss Fraser was able to drive home her arguments quite successfully.

Miss Waring and I were the speakers at a meeting in Park Street Schools, which might be described as like the curate's egg—good in parts. The room was packed, and there was a terrific hubbub at times, which was greatly resented by the orderly part of the audience, many of whom turned up again at the next evening's meeting.

EAST EDINBURGH.

CANDIDATES: Mr. J. M. Hogge (L.), Mr. J. Gordon Jameson (U.).

Organiser.—Miss Alice Low. Committee Rooms.—18, Montrose Terrace.

Owing to the time that the Liberal committee has taken to select its candidate, polling day will in all probability be as late as February 2, or even later. Out of several nominees, Mr. J. M. Hogge has been selected to represent the Liberal interest in East Edinburgh, and Suffragists will remember that he was one of the candidates in Camlachie when Mr. Mirrieles stood.

At the moment of sending this report it is impossible to state Mr. Hogge's views, as his formal adoption does not take place till January 22, but in Camlachie he was an auditist and nothing more nor less. Although our policy is not yet formulated, we have published a manifesto to indicate clearly our attitude towards the Reform Bill and the Conciliation Bill, and to set before the electors our aims and methods.

We have held several excellent outdoor meetings, and intend to do so daily till after the election.

All help, financial and otherwise, will be most grateful received by me or by Miss Hilliard at the committee rooms, 18, Montrose Terrace.

ALICE LOW.

Federation Notes.

Scottish.—The Ayr Society is now constituted, and, though its membership is not as yet large—the recruits having been gathered in through visits paid to individuals and not en masse at a meeting—it includes some very valuable workers. Amongst these is the Co. Secretary, Dr. Mary Nannetti, who has served the Cause so zealously in Kilmarnock. Having left that town and settled in the neighbourhood of Ayr, she is willing now to cast her lot with the new Ayr Society, to its great gain.

Eastern Counties.—NORWICH AND NORFOLK. Mrs. Fawcett's visit to Norwich on January 29th may be regarded as the crowning point of the most energetic suffrage season that East Anglia has experienced.

way. She, with the Mayor of Richmond, the Chairman, and Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Sir John Cockburn, Lady Yoxall, and Mr. Sandover, the speakers, will sit upon the platform, the stage of the theatre. The remainder of the stage will be occupied by the banner bearers holding their banners, and the effect from the auditorium should be very beautiful.

Richmond Green where the procession assembles is easily accessible from London, being only one minute's walk from the District and L. and S.W. Railway Stations. The procession will be marshalled in four blocks of pedestrians:—(1) The London Society's Surrey Branches; (2) Societies belonging to the Surrey, Sussex, and Hants Federation of the National Union; (3) the London Society's Metropolitan Branches; (4) Societies outside the National Union. A fifth block for carriages and motor cars will assemble in Parkshot between the Green and the station. A novel feature will be the guides who will assist Suffragists arriving at the Green to find their places in the procession.

South-west Norfolk has few centres, but we hope to have groups of members in Thetford and Swaffham. Mr. Winfrey is an adult suffragist who did not like the Conciliation Bill, but the descending order given by our questions is more likely to find favour with him.

Only two meetings have been held during the campaign in South Norfolk. This is a large and wide constituency, and the absence of railways makes it difficult to work. My ambition is to see a special fund raised for educative work in this constituency. Work will be easier when the days are longer and the roads in better condition.

As the list of forthcoming meetings in last week's issue showed, we are very active in Norwich. Each of these meetings is arranged for a special audience. Subsequently to the arrangements for the meeting of the 29th, the W.S.P.U. arranged a meeting at which Miss Christabel Pankhurst spoke on the 17th. Since Miss Pankhurst devoted her speech entirely to a discussion of her society's policy and tactics, Norwich is anxious to hear an account of the other policy.

The visit of Mrs. Fawcett, Mr. Brailsford, and Mrs. Rackham to Norwich will give a stimulus to the work of the district, and Norfolk's wide constituencies must soon cease to claim distinction as a black spot on the suffrage map.

EVA WARD.

South-Western.

DEPUTATION TO THE PLYMOUTH M.P.'S.

Dr. Mabel Ramsay, Hon. Sec., the Rev. Hatty Baker, and Miss Slater formed a deputation to the Plymouth M.P.'s in the hope of ascertaining their views on the women's suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill. Mr. Shirley Bean said that he was not prepared to give any promise whatever. Asked if we could rely on his promise contained in a letter written before the last election, he answered that he should not like to say either yes or no; he must be guided by party requirements, which, however, appear not to be very binding, as he declared that before voting for the Conciliation Bill his nearest friends did not know how he would vote. Mr. Astor was equally uncertain as to what his views might be. Both gentlemen seemed anxious to lead discussion away from the point and pleaded ignorance quite unabashed. Miss Hatty Baker thanked the Members for receiving the deputation.

West of England.

WELLS AND GLASTONBURY. A number of new members have been added to the Wells Society. The Glastonbury members are also to be included, and the Branch is now to be called the Wells and Glastonbury Branch. On January 16th we had a most entertaining debate in the Liberal Club at Castle Cary. Notwithstanding the inclusion of a clause providing that unless some women were enfranchised under it, the Reform Bill would not be acceptable to that meeting, we succeeded in carrying our resolution by a small majority. I moved the resolution, and Mrs. Clothier, of Street, and Miss Macmillan, Castle Cary, also spoke for the "Ayes."

This week we have a large programme of work in Cheltenham, in preparation for the demonstration on the 30th inst. We are being assisted by Miss Edith S. Robertson, who is kindly giving a month of her time to work in the Federation.

K. M. S. ROBERTSON. BATH.—The annual Christmas "At Home" was a great success, financially and otherwise. A musical programme was given, and speeches by Miss Hodge ("The Effect of the Vote in Australia") and by Miss Wheelwright, our Federation Secretary, were much enjoyed. Programmes and sweets were quickly sold out, and in all a sum of £6 was cleared for the Federation. Our weekly meetings were resumed on January 10th, when Miss Mabel Young pleaded for "Equality of Opportunity in the Schoolroom." On January 17th Miss Barrett dealt with "Unjust Laws."



**BRISTOL.**—The fifth debate, held by invitation of the West Bristol Liberals, took place at Bishopston on January 8th. The opener was Miss Maude Royden, who was opposed by Miss Gladys Pott, and the meeting was crowded to overflowing. The anti-suffragist made an extremely able defence, but the weak points in her speech were pointed out by Professor Barrell and splendidly answered by Miss Royden in her reply. Mrs. and Miss Martin, Mrs. Talbot, Mrs. Trapnell, and Mr. A. Daniell, among others, made brief and telling speeches, and though no vote was taken the balance of feeling was strongly on the Suffragist side. We are grateful to the West Bristol Liberals for inviting a debate in every ward of the division, an example we wish others would follow.

#### Oxford, Berks and Bucks.

**PANGBOURNE.**—On January 5th a meeting was held in the Friends Institute, to which Miss Eden Lewis kindly came from Oxford to speak. Here explanation of the present political situation and our prospects in 1912 was much appreciated. Two new members joined.

**WATFORD.**—Two meetings were held by this Society in December, and a baby show was organised to raise funds.

#### West Riding of Yorks.

**Huddersfield.**—DEPUTATION TO MR. SHERWELL, M.P. On January 12th, a deputation of members of the Huddersfield Women's Suffrage Society waited upon Mr. Sherwell, M.P., to ask him to give a pledge that he would do his utmost to secure the inclusion of women in any franchise measure introduced into Parliament next session. The deputation consisted of the following: Miss Siddon (President), Mrs. Studdard, Mrs. C. F. Sykes, Mrs. Donkersley, Mrs. Laycock, Mrs. Sanderson, Mrs. Haigh, Miss Lowenthal, Ald. Gee, Councillor Beaumont, and Mr. J. W. Piercy.

Mr. Sherwell stated that on the general merits of the extension of the franchise to women he was absolutely in agreement with the members of the deputation. Any efforts he made would be for an extension of the franchise on democratic lines; supposing, however, the passing of a wide measure be found to be impossible, those who supported it would be bound at least to consider the desirability of the Conciliation Bill. In conclusion, he expressed absolute certainty that any bill which passed next session would include some form of women's Suffrage.

#### BRADFORD SOCIETY MEETINGS HELD.

December 1st.—Bradford Moor Women's Liberal Association. Speaker: Miss Hilston.  
December 2nd.—Wesley Place Girls' Guild. Speaker: Miss Hilston.  
January 1st.—Adult School, Feversham Street. Speaker: Mrs. Bernheim.  
January 2nd.—Brownroyd Congregational P.M.E. Speaker: Miss Hilston.  
January 3rd.—Queensbury Women's Co-operative Guild. Speaker: Mrs. Bernheim.

**SHEFFIELD.**—On December 7th an American social was held with the double object of raising funds and gathering members together in a friendly and informal way. Thereence was charged for admission, "returnable in goods, an excellent tea was provided for the same sum, and much ingenuity was shown in furnishing threepenny, sixpenny and shilling articles for sale. Besides needlework and fancy goods, a ready market was found for sweets in N.U. boxes and for second-hand magazines and "seventy penny classics." Competitions were organised, and the evolution of fashionable millinery from newspaper and pins called out unsuspected talent and caused great amusement. The net proceeds amounted to £4.

A more ambitious effort was made on December 11th at the Grand Hotel, when the President and Council held a reception to meet Councillor Margaret Ashton. Invitations were greatly in demand, and our only regret was that the room could not be stretched to allow of twice as many guests as were present. Miss Ashton's address was listened to with great interest, and the resolution (proposed by her and seconded by Dr. Helen Wilson) was carried with only one dissentient. Councillor S. Gardner Harrison presided, in place of the Rev. A. F. Mitchell, who had originally promised to do so but was absent through ill-health. The "Common Cause" was on sale, and every copy was eagerly bought up. We have engaged a box for the Albert Hall meeting in February.

A very interesting correspondence is taking place in the columns of the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, caused by some anti-suffrage articles by Mr. Harold Owen which appeared there.

#### North-Eastern.

##### NEWCASTLE.—TWO DEPUTATIONS.

On January 18th, a National Union deputation waited upon Mr. Edward Shortt, K.C. (Liberal), junior member for the city. In reply to questions put by Dr. Ethel Williams he declared his intention of supporting an adult suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill and the alternative amendments if that were lost. He admitted the force of Dr. Williams' contention that should the bill go through as it stands, one channel through which women might obtain the vote would be lost to them for ever, but he did not feel justified in pledging himself to vote against it on that ground.

Under the auspices of the People's Suffrage Federation, a deputation waited upon Mr. Hudson (Labour), senior member for Newcastle. Mrs. Harrison Bell pressed Mr. Hudson to define the nature of the opposition the Labour Party would show if at the Third Reading of the Reform Bill women were not included. He replied that the Labour Party was intent upon having women included and that if they failed the matter would be taken up by them in a very lively way, but at such an early date he could not pledge himself to vote against the bill.

**NEWCASTLE.**—It is now a year since the Newcastle Society opened its office, and during that time 63 meetings, exclusive of committee meetings and choir practices, have been held and the Society has doubled its membership. These two facts alone show the advantage of having an office, but current expenses are heavy and members are asked to support most heartily the efforts made to obtain the necessary funds

for carrying on an active propaganda this year. We are looking forward to having Miss I. O. Ford with us in February and to having Lord Robert Cecil at the Town Hall in March. In order to make these meetings effectively known much help will be required in the office, in distributing handbills, and for poster parades, and the Secretary will be glad to have the names of volunteers for these purposes as soon as possible.

**WEST HARTLEPOOL.**—The large public meeting for Women's Suffrage was held in the Town Hall on January 10th, over which the Mayor presided. Mrs. Scholfield Coates and Mrs. Swanwick made able speeches and the resolution was carried unanimously. Songs were sung by the Women's Suffrage choir (which had travelled from Newcastle) augmented by members of the West Hartlepool ladies' choir.

#### Kentish.

**TUNBRIDGE WELLS.**—Mrs. White held her second "At Home" on Wednesday afternoon, January 17th, at the Suffrage Shop, 18, Crescent Road, when Miss Mosely gave a short address on "Woman's Sphere." On January 18th, the Study Circle had their second meeting in the Club Room, to discuss the National Insurance Act. The parts taken were the constitution of the committees of administration to be appointed by the Commissioners and the six points raised by the British Medical Association. At the next meeting the subject for discussion is "Insured Persons."

On Wednesday, December 13th, Miss H. C. Newcomb, hon. secretary of the Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' League (London), gave an interesting address at the Suffrage Shop. She detailed the beneficial effects of the enfranchisement of women in Australia and said these were recognised by the Commonwealth Government in the emphatic resolution they sent to the British Government. Australian women, on returning to the mother country, did not like to find themselves deprived of their electoral rights, and the League she represented was the outcome of this sentiment. Miss Newcomb further dwelt on the inequalities of nationality between the colonies and the homeland.

A discussion and a hearty vote of thanks to Miss Newcomb closed the proceedings.

Another very successful meeting was held last month at the Suffrage Shop, at one of the fortnightly "At Homes." Mr. A. Paget Hughes took the chair, and Mrs. Corbett was the speaker. She dealt with some of the Anti-Suffrage arguments, and pointed out that the women's movement is no revolution but a simple evolution which has been going on for hundreds of years and has merely taken on a greater impetus in the last generation.

**FOLKESTONE.**—On December 20th the Actresses' Franchise League gave a performance in the Town Hall of "Press Cuttings" and "How the Vote was Won." A very fair audience assembled in spite of the busy season and bad weather. During an interval, Miss Abadam gave an address. The local papers gave very good reports of the meeting.

A branch of the N.L.O.W.S. has been started in Folkestone, and a big public meeting was held in December. The majority of the audience appeared to be in favour of Women's Suffrage; one of the local papers reported strongly in favour of it, too.

**SEVENOAKS.**—The monthly meeting of the Sevenoaks Society was held at the Chantry on January 10th, by kind invitation of Miss Hankey. Miss Hamilton Thomson gave a delightful address, pointing out the educational value of the movement, and mentioning specially certain questions which come under legislation as peculiarly calling for the women's point of view, such as the education of children and the housing question. Miss Hamilton Thomson concluded by speaking hopefully of the prospect of Women's Suffrage in some form this year.

**TOWNBRIDGE.**—A meeting was held at Paddock Wood in the Parochial Hall on January 10th, and the Vicar took the chair. Tea was kindly provided by Mrs. Charles and Miss Palmer, and Mrs. Mosely spoke, explaining the policy of the National Union and the A.B.C. of Women's Suffrage.

### The Labour Party's Report.

The Labour Party has issued a preliminary report. In its concluding remarks it says, "We end a year which will leave a permanent mark on the history of democratic government in this country, and next year promises to be equally important. The Government has promised to introduce a Manhood Suffrage Bill, and we do not doubt but that an amendment will be carried including women within its scope."

### Ealing Liberals condemn the Referendum.

At a committee meeting of the Ealing Borough Liberal and Radical Association held on Friday, January 19th, the following resolution was passed:—"That this committee of the Ealing Borough Liberal and Radical Association opposes the use of the Referendum on Woman's Suffrage on the grounds:—

1. That the Liberal Party has already rejected the Referendum as being subversive of representative Government, and is, consequently, not justified in applying the method to Woman's Suffrage.
  2. That, as Mr. Asquith has said, such a referendum vote, being by men only, would be no settlement of the women's demand.
- The resolution was moved by Mrs. C. E. Richards and seconded by Mrs. Fryer, who serve as delegates from the Ealing Women's Liberal Association.

### Women Liberals and the Referendum.

The suggestion that was made by two Liberal newspapers that a Referendum should be instituted and applied to women's suffrage has roused considerable indignation among members of their own party. In a letter to the *Westminster Gazette*, last Monday, Mrs. Acland said: The distinction which you make between the propriety of using the Referendum on a non-party question and the impropriety of using it on our party questions appears to reduce more than ever the rights of private M.P.'s to be considered as in any sense independent representative entities.

The objection to the Referendum on party questions is, roughly, that under our Constitution there is an unwritten law that a party must stand or fall by its programme as a whole. That law is, perhaps, necessary. One effect of it is certainly to fetter the action of private members. Now comes the theory that on non-party questions the country has a right to be consulted by a special referendum *ad hoc*, and that the House of Commons, even though it might contain (as it does on this particular question of Woman Suffrage) an enormous and well and long-known majority in favour of a non-party reform, yet ought not to carry out that reform without a Referendum. Thus the only remaining sphere (the non-party sphere) for independent action on the part of members is lost.

One wonders also what is to happen, supposing that a House of Commons composed of a large majority, a long-standing majority, of Suffragists should find itself confronted by an anti-Suffrage result of a Referendum? Put their Suffrage principles and pledges into the waste-paper basket?

It is contended that a party could not honourably retain office while dropping, at the bidding of a Referendum, any particular part of their programme which had helped to win the election for them. That being so, how would it be honourable for a member to retain his seat while dropping a Suffrage pledge which had secured him at his election the support and work of the women in his division?

Many Liberal associations (I speak from experience of one party only) owe their strength, their continuity in times of depression, to the courageous spade-work of women. How can members turn upon the women who helped to win their seats and say:

"When we gave the pledges that secured your support we forgot to mention that in regard to one, and one only, non-party question, we considered those pledges as conditional on the result of a Referendum?"

We Liberal women Suffragists want to know why we never heard of this secret Referendum clause until the time came for the real fulfilment of those often-given pledges. We can only hope that the newspapers which are advocating the Referendum are not really speaking for the body of Liberal Suffragist M.P.'s whom we have trusted so long.

### Irish Borough Elections.

At the Municipal Elections on the 15th inst., Miss Harrison, the distinguished portrait painter and devoted worker in the cause of the unemployed poor of Dublin, was elected as a member of the Dublin Corporation at the head of the poll in the South City ward by a majority of 149, and Dr. Mary Strangman, F.R.C.P. & S.L., was elected to the same office for the Borough of Waterford. Both are members of the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association. If it had not been for the short time of preparation since the passing of the Local Authorities Qualification Act, it is believed that several other women would have been elected in different towns. There are now in Ireland two women members of the Borough Councils, five members of the Urban District and Town Councils, and 110 Poor-law Guardians, of whom 44 are Rural District Councillors as well. The elections for the County Councils and for some of the Boroughs will not take place till 1914.

### Canvass of Municipal Voters.

The figures of the canvass carried out by the Women's Social and Political Union in South Paddington were not given fully in last week's number of *THE COMMON CAUSE*.

We now give the complete table of the figures collected by the W.S.P.U. and the N.L.O.W.S.

#### FIGURES OF W.S.P.U. ELECTORATE, 2,502.

Antis	...	...	430
Suffragists	...	...	790
Doubtful	...	...	395
No answer	...	...	453
Away	...	...	354
Incapable or ill	...	...	64
No interest	...	...	16
			2,502

#### FIGURES OF N.L.O.W.S. ELECTORATE, 2,500.

Antis	...	...	1,161
Suffragists	...	...	334
Doubtful	...	...	335
*No reply	...	...	670
			2,500

\* No reply includes deceased, removed, or ill.  
EMILY M. LEAF,  
Hon. Press Secretary.

### Foreign News.

#### Sweden.

The Swedish National Union for Women's Suffrage held its ninth general meeting on the 9th and 10th January, 1912.  
Frau Anna Whitlock was elected President in succession to Dr. Lydia Wahlström, who has been obliged to resign the office on account of ill-health.

MRS. ENNIS RICHMOND, late Principal of West Heath School for boys and girls, Hampstead (now carried on by her son, Mr. Kenneth Richmond) takes at Valley End, Surrey, girls up to the age of 18.

A thoroughly good education in all ordinary School Subjects (including Advanced French and Music) is given, and, in addition, the girls have definite teaching in Household and Domestic Arts.

Valley End is in the middle of the 'Heather Country,' with every opportunity for a healthful and interesting life for young people.

Postal Address:—

Valley End, Chobham, Surrey.

Station: Sunningdale, L. & S.W.R.

### THE WEST END ASSOCIATION.

(Miss GOLDING.)  
Secretaries, Housekeepers, Matrons, Governesses, Nurses and Companions introduced free of charge. Flats, families receiving Paying Guests, Schools, Nursing Homes and Couriers recommended. There is also a Branch for Domestic Servants.  
317, REGENT STREET, W. (Near QUEEN'S HALL.)

### GOLA (Seeola) TOOTH POWDER

AN IDEAL DENTIFRICE, BECAUSE  
It is Antiseptic but non-poisonous.  
Does not contain any injurious Acid or Dye.  
Preserves and whitens the teeth.  
Certified by the Institute of Hygiene, 1910.  
Awarded honours at the Japan-British Exhibition.  
Sold by Chemists Everywhere.  
Wholesale: Black Bull Works, Caledonian Market, London, N.

### MONTAGUE HOTEL

(Temperance).  
MONTAGUE STREET, RUSSELL SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.  
Close to British Museum.  
BED and BREAKFAST (attendance inclusive), 3/6 to 5/6. Back Rooms (overlooking garden) perfectly quiet.  
SMOKING ROOM.  
Telegrams—"FAITHFUL," LONDON. Telephone—9992 Central.

Nothing "brings out" the flavour of a good joint like a little freshly-made Mustard, nothing so thoroughly promotes good digestion.

To those who really know its advantages, Mustard is much more than a table necessary—it is an essential. It sharpens the appetite, makes the food more appetising—makes it much more easily digested. Especially if it's the best, if it's

# COLMAN'S

## D.S.F. mustard

#### STANSFELD TRUST.

The Scrutineer issues Reports on all Bills, Public and Private, as they are introduced into Parliament that  
(1) affect men and women differently,  
(2) are of special interest to women,  
(3) deal with children and education.  
Subscription for one Session's Reports 6/6 post free; 5/- for each additional set of Reports sent with the first.  
Apply, Hon. Secretary, Kingswood, Shortlands, Kent.

### The International Suffrage Shop.

SUNDAY "AT HOMES" at 8.30 p.m.  
Will be continued on Feb. 4th, with Miss Christopher St. John on "Women in the Church." Chair, JOSEPH CLAYTON.

Course Ticket 3/6. Single Lecture 1/- (with coffee, etc.).  
BENEFIT PERFORMANCE, JAN. 28th, IN AID OF OUR FUNDS.

(1) Miss Jean Sterling Mackinley in "Old Songs and Ballads." (2) A New Socialist Play. (3) "The Man of Destiny." By G. Bernard Shaw.  
Book These Dates NOW!  
(All Pit and Gallery Seats Sold.)

15, Adam Street, Strand, W.C.

#### THE CONCILIATION BILL.

To counteract MISREPRESENTATION, Suffragists and the general public should be made acquainted with its provisions and effect. Broadcast distribution of the two-colour explanatory leaflet just drawn up by Miss Margaret Robertson, B.A., is the best means of doing so. To be had only from THE WILLIAM MORRIS PRESS, LTD., 42, ALBERT STREET, MANCHESTER, at the prices following:—250 3s. 6d., 500 5s., 1,000 9s., 2,000 17s., 3,000 24s., 5,000 37s. 6d., all carriage paid.



Among the various questions which came up for discussion, particular attention must be called to the fact that the National Union has decided to publish its own organ. The newspaper, which is to be called "The Suffrage for Women" ("Rösträtt för Kvinnor") will appear fortnightly, under the auspices of the Executive Committee of the National Union.

The Secretary, Frau Boheman, reported that the work of the Union had been carried on with unusual activity during the year 1911, and that 70,000 copies of 35 pamphlets and leaflets had been published.

Considerable discussion was devoted to the question of the "Press and Women's Suffrage,"

and a committee was appointed, to work out a system of regulating and supervising the news in the Swedish Press on the subject of the Suffrage.

The first day ended with a semi-public meeting, the principal feature of which was the account given by the women town-councillors of their experiences in their new office. From their description it appeared that they had been welcomed to the councils in the kindest possible manner.

The speakers emphasised the fact, that where sufficient practical knowledge was available, women could achieve success quite as well as men; and that every question could be one of interest to them, provided they were really interested in the welfare of their town. In matters concerning women, in the care of the poor, etc., they are indeed considered to be far more competent than men.

The town-council should also afford men an opportunity of learning to value women's co-operation in public affairs. There are now 46 women councillors in Sweden.

On the 3rd day the President of the Men's League brought the glad news to the public meeting held in the evening, that the Government would introduce a Bill in the present Session, granting the franchise to women and making them eligible for Parliament.

The General Meeting sent a telegram to the Prime Minister, thanking him for so soon fulfilling his promise by bringing the matter before the representatives of the people.

Thus Women's Suffrage in Sweden has once more taken a long step forward to its fulfilment. N. Kohnberger.

In the speech from the Throne at the opening of the Riksdag on January 16, a Bill was announced giving women the franchise, and making them eligible for election to Parliament on the same conditions as men. Suffragists in all parts of the world will watch with eager interest the fate of this Bill.

are the data in support of the theory we are considering? Opinions are not facts, and are necessarily inconclusive. Meanwhile there are one or two facts which need a satisfactory explanation before conclusions are safe.

The other day, in the course of my work, I met a woman whose husband is a labourer. A full week's wage brings him in 18s., but three months wet weather has meant twelve weeks of a much lower wage than that.

The wife has a child under three years of age; during the past year she has suffered two miscarriages, and is again expecting another child. She is not fit to work, but she would do so if she could, because they are, of course, not living, but starving, on her husband's wage. So in this case (one of thousands) the husband is not paid on the assumption that he has a wife and family to keep, unless it is suggested that less than 18s. a week is enough to keep a family upon?

And if men are paid on the assumption before mentioned, why do so many men get more than this? It is not suggested that they have more than one wife and family to keep, presumably; and if not, why this difference in their wages. I daily employ a woman in domestic work, to whom I pay 4d. per hour. This is the usual rate in Lancashire. And, be it noticed, it is practically the same rate as that paid to the husband of the woman mentioned above, though in the one case the man has a wife and family to keep, and in the other the woman is supposed (though incorrectly) to have nobody to keep.

It is admitted at once that this is not the usual rate for domestic work everywhere. But Lancashire contains more skilled women workers than any other part of the country; and they act as a lever in pulling up their sisters' wages in nearly every occupation. But what, then, becomes of the argument that men are paid better than women because they have a wife and family to keep? Miss Rathbone says that "juvenile and female labour" have an influence (which is not denied, by the way). But women do not compete in railway work. And wages are notoriously low on railways. Nor do women compete with men as labourers. Yet labouring is the worst paid of men's occupations. On the other hand, cotton spinning and engineering are amongst the best paid of men's occupations; and in neither of these do women compete. So that, without denying the inevitable dragging-down effect of any ill-paid work which women's mostly is, it is clear that this point is laboured out of all proportion to its importance, and that there are other factors governing wages which are much more powerful. Even the worst paid men in the cotton trade will compare favourably with labourers in the matter of wages, probably; yet nowhere are there more women working for wages. Does the evidence not point out, rather, that it is competence, skill, which is a greater force in governing wages, and that it is largely because women are so unskilled that they are paid less wages? Surely it would be wiser for women to recognise that unless they are prepared to demand and to fit themselves for any branch of work which is necessary in the community's service, they will for ever occupy a subordinate and dependent position.

ADA NIELD CHEW.

Reviews.

WHAT DIANTHA DID: A Novel by Charlotte Perkins Gilman. (London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1912. 4s. 6d. net.)

This is a delightful book, full of the spirit of enterprise and adventure. The reader's interest and curiosity is stimulated throughout, and not disappointed finally. There is humour and sympathy in every page, and sufficient sentiment to justify the description of the book as a novel. It should make a wide appeal to many kinds of readers, and I cannot believe that anyone would fail to read it through, even though the main idea set forth be one hitherto distasteful to him or her. For this main idea is the solution of an economic problem, the vexed problem of domestic service. No one will be surprised by the skill with which Mrs. Gilman treats the subject, one which she has dealt with most ably in former works, but to many it will be a pleasant surprise to find a question often regarded as hopeless and depressing clothed in such attractive guise. Exactly what it was that Diantha did, how she scandalised and almost alienated her nearest and dearest, how she conceived and carried to a triumphant issue a scheme opposed by all the united forces of selfishness and conventionality, it

The Civil Service Woman Suffrage Society.

This is a newly-formed Society, started by the women clerks in the Money Order Department of the General Post Office. It is open to all women Civil Servants of every grade; each department will form a separate branch, and general meetings of the branches will be held from time to time. Its objects are:—(1) To obtain the Parliamentary vote for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men; (2) to awaken interest in the enfranchisement of women; (3) to unite in one society all women Civil Servants in sympathy with the movement, representative as they are of one of the largest and most important bodies of women-workers in the country.

Its methods are constitutional and educational. This Society is entirely distinct from any other, but members of other Suffrage Societies are eligible to it. In common with all women who work in professions open to both men and women, the women Post Office clerks and other Civil Servants daily become more fully aware of their comparatively defenceless position, and the difficulty of safeguarding their interests against the growing tendency to cheapen their work and so lower their status in the Service. The formation of the Civil Service Woman Suffrage Society is a result of this consciousness, and should prove a considerable addition to the organised forces of the Suffrage movement.

The Economic Position of Married Women.

It is not at all an unusual view that the difference between the wages of men and women in the industrial world is attributable to the recognition of the fact that a man has always a present or potential wife and family to keep, whilst the same argument does not hold good in the case of a woman. The whole position of women as workers is such a muddled one, owing to their economic functions, their way of getting a living being mixed up with their sex functions—wifedom and motherhood—that it is little wonder that there is confusion in our ideas when considering it. The contention that men are paid on the assumption that they have a wife and family to keep is plausible, and satisfies people who are unable to do any thinking on their own account, and who are therefore disposed to be content with any kind of superficial explanation of what puzzles them; but it will not bear examination. If this is a definite, general principle, with a governing effect on wages, it will apply so generally and forcibly that convincing data will be forthcoming in support of it, as is the case in the effect of trade unionism on wages. What

Castle Electric Theatre, RICHMOND. Great Surrey Demonstration on Saturday, 27th January. Animated Pictures of this Mass Meeting and Procession :: will be shown at the :: Castle Electric Theatre the same evening.

Write in Comfort. SEND 12/6 FOR PATENT ONE-LEG KNEE TABLE. To be obtained of J. CULVER & SONS, 15-16, King Street, Richmond, Surrey.

THE PLAY PICTORIAL MONTHLY 6d. An Artistic Souvenir of Popular Plays. January Issue: FANNY'S FIRST PLAY. Of all Booksellers, or direct from 6, ADAM STREET, STRAND, W.C.

must be left to the reader to discover, as must also the amazing and convincing manner in which practical details are set forth and invested with thrilling interest. While reading this book, the recollection of a very different volume forced itself several times upon me, suggesting a comparison at first sight rather far-fetched.

The reference is to a certain antiquated household Bible of the fifties entitled "Enquire Within," which may be known to some of the more mature. Among much matter useful and otherwise, and many recipes for the household manufacture of things which in the present day no woman would dare to make at home unless she wished her sanity to be doubted, there occurred passages on "Advice to young wives," "How wives should treat their husbands," etc., pathetic little monuments of a past age when the sanctity of the home was even more bound up with the boiling of eggs than it is at the present day.

It is a far cry from these homilies to Diantha, and most men nowadays would endorse the declaration of one of Mrs. Gilman's characters, "I don't want sacred meals, I want good ones"; but we are still a long way from any practical or combined effort to fulfil this want with the least possible waste of time and material, so that the realisation of conjugal bliss on the lines described here seems to carry us almost as far into the future as does the perusal of "Enquire Within" into the past. Yet things move at an accelerated pace now, and perhaps some of us may live to see the results of such things as Diantha did.

L. C. J.

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.

THE SILLY SEASON.

Do you think we need concern ourselves over the discussion of the Referendum in regard to Woman's Suffrage, now being carried on in the daily press? The present Government has pronounced against such a procedure, and, after all, anything is to be welcomed before the eyes of the public.

It is the "Silly Season," and in the absence of Parliamentary news, I think we should be thankful that such a sensible subject as Woman's Suffrage is under discussion. They might be exhausting their brain-power on such matters as "Should men grow beards?" "Are goloshes detrimental to the health?" or "China, shall it be annexed?"

D. STANSFELD.

"REVOLVING DAUGHTERS."

I wonder whether any reader of COMMON CAUSE would, without great trouble, tell me in what year

Women in Industry

Readers of THE COMMON CAUSE desiring information as to the conditions under which women work, should read the columns of

THE LABOUR LEADER

in which Factory and Public Health Law is explained by an expert. . . .

ORDER FROM YOUR NEWSAGENT . . . . EVERY FRIDAY. . . ONE PENNY.

and in what periodical the controversy concerning "Revolving Daughters took place." It must have been between 20 and 30 years ago. ISOBEL HECHT. Jan. 20th, 1912.

PRACTICAL POLITICS.

In the Sunday Times for January 21st some verses on the general intransigence of women, by F. J. C., ended with the following verse, worthy, I think, of being recorded in the COMMON CAUSE:—

"O woman! Though it's true since time began It's been your policy no chance to miss To overthrow the little schemes of Man, No greater triumph have you won than this: To kill the ancient game of Blues and Reds, And change us all to 'Suffs' or 'Anti-Suffs.'"

Yours, etc., MARY LOWNDES.

AMENDMENTS AND THE REFORM BILL.

In your issue of the 4th inst. you refer extremely favourably to a proposal for enfranchising only those women who apply for registration. I should be delighted to see this seriously considered as an alternative to the scheme which would make marriage a qualification. But is there any reason for believing that it could be so considered? How could it fail to end very swiftly in Adult Womanhood Suffrage? Even the staunchest "Anti" would soon be persuaded that, for Party reasons, she must use her vote, deplorable necessity though it might be.

All the forces which now work to induce the mass of half-willing men to vote would very shortly cause all eligible women to register, and it is highly probable that even considerable difficulties in registration would not be sufficient to deter the majority of women. I wonder why any mention of age is considered humorous by most Suffragists.

Yours faithfully, DOROTHY PEART.

Other Societies.

THE CATHOLIC WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY. Hon. Sec.: Miss Beatrice Gadsby, B.A. Hon. Treasurer: Miss Monica Whately. Office: 51, Blandford Street, Baker Street, W.

Members are asked to make known the new office address. Office hours 5 to 6 on Tuesdays and Fridays—or by appointment.

The drawing-room meeting held by kind permission of Miss Lynch was a great success, and thanks are due to Mrs. Christitch for taking the chair, and Miss E. Fitzgerald for her charming speech. The Hon. Sec. is most anxious for other ladies to offer their drawing-rooms for meetings.

A debate was held at Ealing—arranged by the "Catholic Federation." Miss Abadam spoke for woman suffrage—Mrs. Gladstone Solomon opposed her—we scored a magnificent victory, and out of a large audience only four or five voted for Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.

The N.L.W.S.S. is having a procession—wet or fine—through the streets of Richmond on Saturday, January 27th, to demand Women's Suffrage in 1912. Our society is walking in the procession, and members are asked to assemble at 1.30 p.m. on Richmond Green behind the Catholic banner. The green is one minute's walk from Richmond Station.

THE WOMEN WRITERS' SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

The Women Writers' Suffrage League is arranging a matinee in aid of the funds of its society on Friday, February 9th, at the New Prince's Theatre, Shaftesbury Avenue. A new play by Miss Elizabeth Baker, author of "Chains," will be produced, and a grand pageant of Shakespeare's heroines, the songs to be sung by Mr. Courtoise Pounds. Miss Cicely Hamilton contributes a prologue, and a tableau, designed by Laurence Housman, representing women's struggle for freedom, is to be arranged. Among the actresses who have kindly promised to appear are: Mesdames Lena Ashwell, Marion Terry, Lilian Braithwaite, May Martyn, Blanche Stanley, Winifred Mayo, Adeline Bourne, Beatrice Ferrar, Nora Kerin.

THE WOMEN'S TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE.

We have been invited, together with other Suffrage Societies, by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, to join in their Richmond procession assembling at Richmond Green at 1.30 p.m. on Saturday, January 27th. All Suffragists who are in sympathy with the policy of tax resistance are cordially invited to join our section and walk with the John Hampden banner. (District Railway to Richmond Station.)

THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

The next members "At Home" will be held on Friday, January 26th, at 2, Robert Street, at 3 p.m. Hostess, Miss Adeline Bourne. Speakers, Mrs. Madeleine Luette Ryley and Miss Elsie Chapin.

A meeting will be held in the Grand Hall of the Criterion on Friday, February 2nd, at 3 p.m. Mrs. Hylton Dale and the Rev. Hugh Chapman will be among speakers, and Mrs. E. S. Willard will take the chair.

A leap year dance is being arranged by the Actresses' Franchise League, which will take place at Princes' Gallery on Tuesday, March 19th. Tickets (price 12s. 6d.) and all further particulars may be obtained from the Organising Secretary, Miss Jess Dorynne, at the offices of the League.

THE YOUNGER SUFFRAGISTS.

The Tea Sale will be held in the week of February 19th. Place to be notified later. Gifts of cakes, sweets, jam, flowers, etc., will be most welcome. Secretary, Miss Fyffe, 12, Roxburghe Mansion, Kensington Court, W.

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Forthcoming Meetings.

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(The meetings are given only a fortnight in advance.)

- JANUARY 25. Roohdale—Masonic Rooms, Ann Street—Social gathering—Mrs. Chew. 7.30

- Croydon—Miss Crickmay's drawing-room meeting—Rev. H. E. Oliver, M.A. 8.0

- FEBRUARY 3. Pangbourne—Mrs. Charles Jones's drawing-room meeting. 3.30



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- JANUARY 27. Cheltenham—Mrs. Mackenzie's drawing-room meeting—Mrs. S. Robertson, Miss E. S. Robertson. 3.15

- JANUARY 25. London. Richmond—Outside Fire Station—Open-air meetings—Mrs. Stanbury. 12-2

- JANUARY 31. Gateshead—Mrs. Warden's drawing-room meeting—Miss C. M. Gordon. 7.30

- JANUARY 25. Scotland. Bo'ness—Auditorium Hall—Miss C. Macmillan, Miss Lisa M. Gordon. 8.0

- FEBRUARY 1. Gateshead—Cate's Tea Room—Miss C. M. Gordon, M.A., Councillor Carr (chair). 7.30

- FEBRUARY 2. Ireland. Dublin—33, Molesworth Street—Irish W.S. and Local Government Association—"Industrial Law and the need for W.S."—Rev. R. M. Groyan, F.T.C.D., Councillor Harrison, Miss Badham, LL.D. 8.0

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MEETINGS ADDRESSED BY MEMBERS OF THE UNION.

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