

THE VOTE

(THE ORGAN OF THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.)

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ONE PENNY.

NOTICE.

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EDITORIAL.

The Editor is responsible for unsigned articles only. Articles, paragraphs, or cuttings dealing with matters of interest to women generally will be welcomed. Every effort will be made to return unsuitable MSS. if a stamped addressed envelope be enclosed, but the Editor cannot be responsible in case of loss.

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WHAT WE THINK.

In statu quo—NO!

"What is the difference between the Veto of a non-elected Prime Minister and the Veto of a non-elected House of Lords?" This question, asked by Mr. Snowden when protesting against Mr. Asquith's arbitrary treatment of the Women Occupiers Bill, puzzled Mr. Speaker—but a Suffragist could have answered it readily. Mr. Asquith may not be an hereditary accident, but he certainly has far more of the temper of the other House than of the democratic party which he leads. To expect consistency from Mr. Asquith would be to imagine a vain thing, and therefore there may be balm in Gilead yet. The Government, as Lord Hugh Cecil pointed out in the House on Friday, exercises an overwhelming power over legislation. This power has hardened under Mr. Asquith's rule, and has been used in the most cruel way against the Women Occupiers Bill. The Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer repeated, says Lord Hugh Cecil, "The will of the people" and "the voice of the people" with the melodious iteration of the singers of a glee," but now, while pretending that the Government is impartial, they allow a minority in the Cabinet to kill "the will of the people" as expressed by a majority of the House. Mr. Asquith knows that if he acknowledged that a vast majority of the House showed "its deliberate desire of effectively dealing" with the Bill it may be forced to take concrete form. So, in his reply to Lord Lytton, he shelters himself behind a refusal to grant further facilities based on an assertion that the Bill *does not* deal with "the whole question," Mr. Asquith knowing well that a Bill which attempted anything more than this Bill has done would have been shattered by a broadside of hostile amendments. Lord Lytton, in his dignified answer to him, says, "We note that while you indicate your preference for a Bill drafted in such a manner as to necessitate protracted discussion, you give us no assurance that in making a bolder demand on the time of the House we should meet with a more favourable reply." The day after, in the House, Mr. Lloyd George stated that "if Bills are so framed that you cannot even ascertain what the will of the representatives (of the people) is, then there is no reason why sufficient opportunity should be given for such Bills so drafted." Yet, curiously enough, Mr. Asquith refused to postpone the Declaration Bill, which has so many dissentients on various grounds, until members should consult their constituents. "I see no sufficient reason for such postponement," he said, yet the number of cross-currents in nearly every constituency over

the wording of this Bill is far stronger than it could possibly be in the case of Women's Suffrage. But the Veto of the non-elected Prime Minister and the Veto of the House of Lords will presently be discovered to have one point in common, and it is that against the will of the majority of the people, as expressed by the majority of the House of Commons, neither can prevail. Mr. Asquith's statement on Friday that "the Government are prepared to carry out, in the letter and in the spirit, the pledge which they gave" is one of which he will be continually reminded. Mr. Brailsford's advice as to how we can help the Premier to keep to the letter and the spirit of his pledge will be found in another column. Our activities will be concentrated on argument and persuasion for some little time. Mr. Asquith shall have every opportunity of keeping his word—but we would meanwhile call his attention to the fact that throughout the country the unrest is spreading—it is voicing itself in various ways—and it is not only the non-party militants who are clamouring for their rights, but the women who have held on to the parties, trusting them. Lady Betty Balfour resigned her presidency of the Woking Branch of the Primrose League, and from every part of the country is news of Liberal women leaving their committees in righteous anger against the baseness of the Cabinet. And for whatever happens at the next General Election—if in the autumn session facilities are not granted—whatever form the women's anger takes, Mr. Asquith has only himself to blame. After the serious debate which raised our question to the front rank of political issues, it can never again be relegated *in statu quo ante*.

The Tea Duty.

It is interesting to remember in connection with such matters as the debate on the Tea Duty that women are supposed to be untouched and unaffected by imperial matters. The debate, we notice, was conducted from the point of view of Colonial Preference, and not from that of the consumer, though if Mr. J. F. Hope's motion to reduce the duty by one penny in the pound on tea coming from India, Ceylon, or any British Possession had been carried the poorest consumers—most of them women—would be immediately benefited. On the question of Colonial Preference we do not venture to offer an opinion one way or another, but we do suggest that if it had been a commodity such as whisky, beer, or tobacco, which is largely consumed by men, the consumer's point of view would have been voiced in the House. Mr. Bonar Law frankly admitted that he supported the proposal on political rather than economic grounds. Had it been a question of male expenditure we would have heard considerably more about its economic aspect.

Shop Assistants.

Not before it was wanted has a Bill, which was received in a friendly way by the House recently, to brighten the lot of 1,000,000 shop assistants been introduced by Mr. Winston Churchill. By the terms of this Bill they will not be allowed to work more than sixty hours a week, and may not be compelled to work after 8 o'clock on more than three nights a week. There would be a universal weekly half-holiday, and Sunday closing would be established subject to the provisions of Sunday trading. It is to be hoped that when this Bill becomes law its provisions will be rigidly enforced, and that a maximum penalty of a high figure will be provided for those who evade it.

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PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT.

The New Campaign.

The curtain has been rung down at Westminster, and the farce is over for the present. There is to be a three months' interval, during which the members of Parliament will rest from their arduous labours. No Suffragist will rest, for we must go on fighting until, in the face of prejudice and intolerance, we have won our liberties. On the day Parliament closed the new campaign opened, and from now on, everyone who desires the enfranchisement of women must work unceasingly to rouse the country. Within the next few weeks several new lines of work will be announced, and the campaign must grow in force and effectiveness until by November we have raised a protest which cannot easily be overlooked or disregarded. Much will depend on the next few months' work, for if public opinion, peaceably aroused, will not overcome the opposition, then we must prepare for any sacrifice.

Constituency Work.

Many of the members of Parliament have retired this week to their constituencies, and there we must pursue them. Whenever and wherever they woo the electors we must impress upon them that "Votes for Women" is the most vital question of the day, and that they will neglect it at their peril. There is nothing so effective to raise the enlightened public spirit of the politician as an attack in his own constituency. Visitors as well as constituents can help, and arrangements for local meetings, &c., will be made as soon as headquarters are communicated with. Where no branch is already working one should be formed so that local propaganda can be organised and sustained.

Holiday Propaganda.

The holiday propaganda is now in full swing, and meetings are being held at nearly every seaside place. We appeal to every member who is away from home not only to wear the W.F.L. badge, but to recognise in every other wearer a friend and a co-worker. Let the badge be a sufficient introduction, for it is a sign of the new freemasonry of woman's rights. Felixstowe and Eastbourne will be glad to receive helpers, and a member who is going to Westmorland in the second half of August desires to communicate with someone who will help work a campaign there. If members leaving town will write to me I will endeavour to put them in touch with co-workers anywhere.

Pageant of Great Women.

The attention of London members is directed to the performance of the Pageant to be given through Mrs. Harvey's initiative next month at Beckenham Public Hall, for Bromley (Kent) and district. There are several character rôles still to be filled, and those interested are referred to announcement on page 178.

The Vote.

Sales are being well maintained, and further volunteers are sought. Members away from home can have a supply sent them, and will be credited with copies returned. Our champion seller last week was Miss Fenning, of Croydon, who sold 169 copies. Who will break the record?

Open-air Meetings.

All organisers of open-air meetings are urged to remember the importance of literature sales and of taking collections.

Press Work

There is plenty of journalistic work to be done in connection with the London organisation, and volunteers are asked for.

B. BORRMANN WELLS.

CARAVAN TOUR.

On Monday and Tuesday last week we again held large meetings in the Market Place at St. Albans, and again we had friends in the crowd to keep order amongst the small boys. Indeed, one of the men who had come to our assistance on Friday night went round with one of the collection boxes and helped us to sell our literature. Our stay at St. Albans was thoroughly enjoyable, and we feel satisfied that with some steady work, tact, and patience a good branch of the W.F.L. could be formed there. The *Hertfordshire Advertiser*, the best paper in the district, gives us the most prominent line on its poster and three columns of interview and report of our doings, of which the following is a sample:—

"We are out in the mornings with pieces of pipeclay chalking the place and time of the meetings upon the pavement."

"Much to the disgust of one's respectable acquaintances," chimed in Miss Henderson. "They walk past and don't know you, which is rather amusing."

"But," went on Miss Sidley, "we also meet with encouragement. While we were chalking this morning a gentleman came up and said he had met us during the Bermondsey by-election, and he was glad to see us again at St. Albans."

"Then again," said Miss Henderson, "people have said to me, 'Why don't you go home and mend your stockings or do the washing?'" That, again, is very annoying, especially when I know that I can do it, and that I do do it; when, in fact, the greater part of my life is spent in the discharge of household duties."

"Throughout our interview Miss Henderson was putting into practice her last remark, attending assiduously to various culinary processes in preparation for the midday meal, to the enjoyment of which our representative left these two capable exponents of the Women's Suffrage movement."

"What may be the opinion of the men-folk we do not know, but they will, we have no doubt, admit that the Suffragettes are not people who can be interrupted with impunity. It was, indeed, quite a risky business to venture caustic comments on the feminine arguments advanced in St. Albans on Friday, Monday, and Tuesday."

"It is not for us to express an opinion on the merits of Woman's Suffrage, because we do not adopt party views, but we may be permitted to congratulate the ladies who represent the Women's Freedom League in St. Albans this week on the marked ability with which they defended—nay, championed—their cause. English people, take them as a whole, invariably appreciate pluck and determination, and, whether they agree with the views set forth in the Market Place or oppose them, will wish the ladies good luck in the campaign which they have just inaugurated—a campaign conducted according to the best traditions of a country where freedom of speech is a treasured national privilege."

"Neat ties of yellow, green, and white, and badges, showed them to be members of the Women's Freedom League."

On Wednesday, at the invitation of Mrs. Rosina Graham, we went to Redbourn for a meeting. Few and far between are the pavements, but there are telegraph poles at short intervals on each side of the street, and these made excellent boards on which to write our message. Our advertising over, we went to Mrs. Graham's house, where we spent a delightful afternoon romping with her two babies in the garden. Incidentally we wished some "Antis" could see how even Suffragettes can be perfectly happy playing with children. Our meeting was not of the quietest, but we are informed Redbourn rarely permits a speaker to be heard, so that we must congratulate ourselves on getting a hearing at all.

On Thursday we came on to Dunstable. Again we entered our new quarters on early closing day, and were unable to hold a meeting that night. Here a special attention was shown us. Our friend of the collection-box from St. Albans telephoned the police at Dunstable asking them to look after us and help us as far as possible.

On applying at the police station for information about fields for our caravan, we were shown more than ordinary courtesy, and an officer was sent round the town with us

to show us the various fields where it would be possible for us to stand. Our meeting on Friday night was exceedingly orderly: there were no interruptions even from the boys. At the end quite a number of questions were asked and answered. MARGUERITE A. SIDLEY.

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

In view of the serious political situation the National Executive Committee at its last meeting decided to call a Conference of the Branches for October 29th. It is hoped that every Branch will be represented at the Conference, a special session of which will be devoted to the consideration of each of the following:—

1. GENERAL ELECTION POLICY.
2. MILITANT DEVELOPMENTS.
3. INTERNAL ORGANISATION.

It is possible that this Conference may take the place of the usual one in January if the Branches so decide. As Branch Secretaries already know by letter, resolutions for inclusion on the agenda can be received up to September 15th, as well as nominations for the vacancy on the Committee owing to the resignation through ill-health of Mrs. Holmes.—EDITH HOW MARTYN.

OUR DETERMINATION.

The following letter has been sent to the Press:—
To the Editor of THE VOTE.

Sir,—The Prime Minister's intimation to-day in the House of Commons that he proposes to grant no further facilities for the Women's Suffrage Bill in the present Session of Parliament is a statement no Suffragist will accept: it is indeed not an answer to our demand, but a challenge. The electors, through their Parliamentary representatives, have declared by a majority of 109 in favour of the Bill at its Second Reading, and unless representative Government is a sham, the Bill will go through before the year is out. We secured the Second Reading in the face of Mr. Asquith's ultimatum, and the Third Reading must also be secured. Every Suffragist must rally to the fight and prove to Mr. Asquith that we are as powerful as those who have been successful in altering the Declaration Bill. Then the Government will also see our need, and we shall obtain satisfaction. We of the Women's Freedom League shall go on working, not merely convinced that facilities will be, but resolved that they shall be, granted. There will be no rest for the Government and no peace in the country until we secure justice.—Yours faithfully,

July 28th, 1910. EDITH HOW MARTYN.

TAX-RESISTANCE MEETING AT HIGHBURY.

A protest meeting was held at Highbury Corner on Saturday, as a result of the sale of Dr. Patch's goods last week, owing to her refusal to pay taxes. Miss Guttridge was in the chair, and there was a good attendance. The speakers were Mrs. Despard and Mr. Laurence Housman. Mrs. Despard, in the course of her speech, said that the Women Suffragists were going to adopt measures of coercion towards the Government. They were going to "stop the traffic." Mr. Laurence Housman took up the phrase. He said, "Stop the traffic, and you have found the solution of the situation. Bad government makes government expensive." He spoke of the spirit of liberty which is latent in every human being—the spirit of liberty which is always roused to its fullest force under tyrannical oppression. That spirit was awake in the women who are fighting for the Franchise to-day. He thought that most of the men of this country did not realise the spirit of that fight because they had come by their own votes too easily. They had practically been born to the Vote. They had come into it too long after their fathers' fight for it to feel its true basis of liberty. He remarked that wherever Mrs. Despard went to-day the Government became an object of ridicule. She ought to be in prison, as she had refused to pay the Imperial taxes, but they were afraid to put her there—(laughter and cheers)—and she would not go to prison because she was more logical than the Government. If they gave her representation she would agree to taxation—the two must go together. It was disgraceful in a democratic country that women like Mrs. Despard, who have done noble work for the community in general, should be shut out from the Parliamentary administration of the people's interests.

Members of the W.F.L. going on holidays should take a dozen copies of THE VOTE—or more if they can afford it—to leave about on the lounges in hotels and boarding-houses. People like the paper, and it is excellent propaganda.

WHERE WE STAND.

[In response to a request from the Editor of THE VOTE, Mr. Brailsford has kindly sent the following message of advice: We are to make the country talk Suffrage throughout the autumn and to organise all our male sympathisers. It can be done. It is excellent advice, and it shall most certainly not fall on deaf ears.]

The Prime Minister has met the demand for further facilities for the Conciliation Bill with an uncompromising refusal. Our only answer is that we take our stand upon the rights of a majority. We have overcome obstacles more formidable than this. We began our work an obscure committee which stood alone. We now know that behind us is more than half the House of Commons, and every woman who respects herself. Refusals no longer interest us.

We have told the Prime Minister that we shall lay before him evidence, before Parliament reassembles in the autumn, of the urgency and extent of the demand for the passing of our Bill this year. It lies with the Suffrage Societies to make that evidence for us. They can, if they will, make the country talk Suffrage throughout the autumn. They can convince even the blindest of politicians that this is a question which cannot be delayed. It is to members, when they visit their constituencies in the autumn, that this conviction must be brought home. Let those who voted straight realise that they have done a popular thing, that they are on the winning side, that they have made friends and disarmed opponents. Let those who voted against you realise that they have alienated the support not only of women who will soon be electors, but of men who already are electors.

Among the most useful work that can be done is the organisation of men sympathisers. If every woman who really wants the vote will act as a recruiting sergeant and contribute at least one new member to the Men's League (Mr. A. J. Malcolm Mitchell, 40, Museum Street, W.C.) or the Men's Political Union (Mr. Victor Duval, 13, Buckingham Street, W.C.), your cause will be won. We have already a majority that will vote. We have to convert it into a majority that will insist.

I am often asked, Is there any hope for the Bill this year? Hope is a thing that has to be made.

H. N. BRAILSFORD.

CONCERNING WOMEN IN U.S.A.

The following items concerning our American sisters have been sent us by Miss S. H. Fenton, member of W.F.L. (Waterloo Branch), who recently went out to America:—

In New Hampshire Mrs. Marilla M. Ricker is a candidate for Governor. New Hampshire is not one of those States where women have the Franchise, but Mrs. Ricker sees nothing in the Constitution which prevents men voting for a woman if they wish to do so. This is an interesting experiment. What will be the result?

Yale University has recently conferred the degree of A.M. on Miss Jane Addams, head of Hull House, Chicago. She is, I understand, the first woman to be honoured by that University. In conferring the degree Professor Perrin said: "She has had a prophetic vision of what might be done, and militant courage united with a high order of administrative social and political capacity in doing and getting it done." Those who have followed with interest the story of Miss Addams' life, who have recognised the love and devotion she has expended on her work, know how applicable those words are. All America unites in her praise, but withholds from her the legal stamp of citizenship. Miss Addams is a true Suffragist. Which would she consider the more valuable possession, the Vote or her A.M. degree? When "militant courage" accomplishes its end it receives all honour. Soon the "militant courage" and "political capacity" of the English Suffragette will bear fully-ripened fruit. May the day soon come!

On all sides I find sympathy with the English militant movement, and many women have joined Suffrage societies to show their sympathy with it. When any prejudice exists, an explanation of our position in England quickly dispels it.—S. H. FENTON.

MR. HERBERT JACOBS.

Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

The idea of a Men's League for Women's Suffrage originated with Mr. Jacobs; it was a generous idea, arising out of a different species of chivalry from that which Lord Curzon tells us we would lose if we obtain the Vote. It had its origin in the conviction that those who possess electoral power know its value, and are anxious that it should not be denied to others who are similarly qualified save in respect of sex. Mr. Herbert Jacobs is one of the great chess players of the century, and this, if any were needed, is a good proof that he does not rush to hasty conclusions. Before throwing himself into the Suffrage movement, in a period of over twenty years as a chess player, he was acclaimed one of the most brilliant exponents of the "game of kings" who ever played for England. In 1897, in the Anglo-American cable match, he was the first to win, thus paving the way for Great Britain's final triumph. He has taken part in seven Anglo-American cable matches and other tournaments, and he won the championship of the City of London Chess Club twice.

In the course of an interview, Mr. Jacobs expressed his views of the present position of the Suffrage movement.

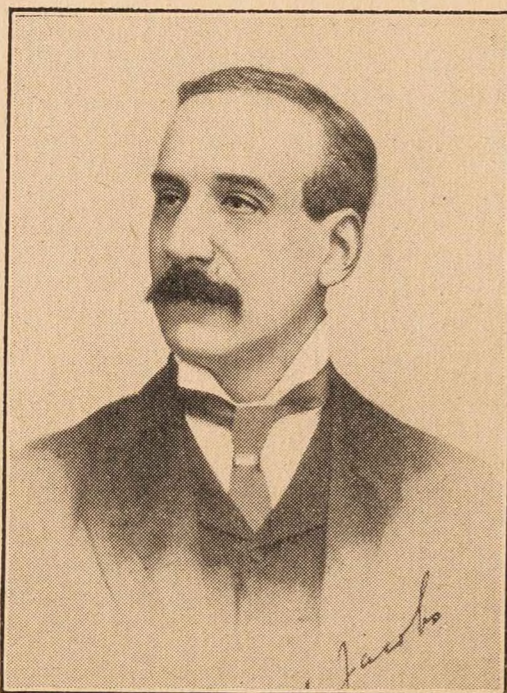
"For over twenty years I have been interested in the Suffrage movement. In the early days, when its discussion, even in an academic form, had something enterprising in it, I was for a short time a member of the Committee of the Central Society. The alteration in the opposition to the measure since then has been considerable. It has changed from crude objection to the principle of Women's Suffrage to an attack upon the details of any particular measure. This was specially noteworthy in the recent debate. The Conciliation Bill was a well-considered compromise, and had won the approval of all real Suffragists. It was drafted, not as the ideal Bill, but as a Bill which was intended to pass. I was sorry to see Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill, both professed Suffragists, attacking it as undemocratic. If this Bill is rejected on such grounds it will be absolutely impossible to draft a Bill which would satisfy every critic—whether friend or opponent—and the question would have to be postponed until Adult Suffrage became practical politics."

"Mr. Churchill's fancy franchises—what of them?"

"Mr. Churchill's series of fancy franchises would be open to far more destructive criticisms than any other Bill ever brought before the House. Mr. Asquith's speech no doubt withdrew the support of many Liberals, but it struck me that coming from so uncompromising an opponent of Woman Suffrage it was rather unreal. It seemed surprising that he should devote all his powers

to attacking the details of the Bill. When he appealed to the House not to consider a Bill which did not enfranchise the wives and mothers of our citizens, one could not help reflecting that Mr. Asquith would not enfranchise a single woman, mother, wife, or spinster, if he could help it! I thought that some of the downright opposition was wholesome and manly.

"Mr. Balfour's speech in support impressed me very favourably, and I think he has done a great deal of good amongst Unionists. It is too early to judge of the exact effect of the division, but in my opinion it marks an advance, and I think I may safely say that those who voted for sending the Bill to a Grand Committee are real friends of the cause. I would not exclude all those who did not vote for this, but I think in general we must regard many of them with suspicion. Should a discussion of the Bill take place in a Committee of the whole House it would be an excellent thing, provided that that Committee sits soon."



HERBERT JACOBS.

"And the action of the Men's League at the present crisis?"

"We must all take a step forward; everyone who is capable of helping directly or indirectly must come out and do it. The fact that the Anti-Suffragists have come into the open is the best evidence that our cause has become a danger to them. It is difficult to say what form their opposition will take, but I feel quite sure they have not got sufficient self-sacrifice or enthusiasm behind them to compete with us. If I am wrong, and they conduct their agitation on the same magnificent scale as the women have done, it is all to the good; it will turn the country into a great Suffrage battlefield, and the leaders of political parties will be only too anxious to settle the question one way

or another that they may continue to fight their party battles over those real or imaginary questions in which the public at large take only a languid interest.

"Mr. Balfour has said that he believes the majority of women demand the Vote, but I do not attach any importance to the question whether few or many demand it, and I do not think men who are Suffragists in the real sense do either. If only one woman wanted the Vote I would give it to her, so that on this point I differ from Mr. F. E. Smith."

"You believe, then, in the Englishman's sense of justice?"

"I do! I believe that if the country realised that the women were being unfairly treated by the House of Commons or by the Government in power in connection with this Bill thousands of men would come into the ranks of the Suffragists. Indeed, I believe that fact would weigh even more strongly with men than with women."

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"How did you come to take a more active interest in this question?"

"Well," said Mr. Jacobs, "I first realised the enormous disadvantages under which women labour after reading Mill's 'Subjection of Women' when a young man. That settled my convictions once and for ever. I was fortunate enough to come in contact at the time with Mrs. Pennington, Mr. Jacob Bright, and other well-known advocates of Woman Suffrage. In 1907, when militant tactics began, I went to a breakfast at Anderton's Hotel given to some prisoners. Mrs. Pankhurst asked me to speak, and I suggested the formation of a Men's League, hoping that someone would rise up and do it for me. Mrs. Despard subsequently forced my hand by sending members to me on the understanding that I had already undertaken to form a League, so I had no choice."

"Looking back on my whole period of connection with the Men's League, I may safely say that I am very pleased and very proud to have been instrumental in forming that Society, and I can further say I do believe the League has been of value in concentrating the energies of those men who were earnestly and sincerely determined to see the women of England enfranchised. On our list of members we have men drawn from every party and representative of every branch of human activity. Our membership steadily increases—we have large branches everywhere, and our speakers include some of the best orators to be heard on any platform. As you know, we speak from the platforms of every woman's Society—whether militant or non-militant. Much of the success of our work is due to the great devotion of Mr. J. Malcolm Mitchell, who at an early stage became our Hon. Secretary, and who has worked indefatigably ever since."

"Do you think a knowledge of chess is of any advantage to you in conducting an agitation?"

The question seemed to amuse Mr. Jacobs.

"The conduct of an agitation," he said, "presents many analogies to the conduct of a game of chess. Your rash chess player may often rush on too fast, only to court disaster, while your too cautious player may delay his advance so long that he practically beats himself. In chess, as in politics, you must calculate the immediate and the remote effects of your moves; you must be careful without being too cautious. The successful chess player is one who is at first content with the accumulation of small advantages, and yet is always ready, when the opportunity offers, to make some great sacrifice of his forces in order to pierce the ranks of his opponent."

M. O. KENNEDY.

A MAN'S POINT OF VIEW.

To the Editor of THE VOTE.

Dear Madam,—May I through the medium of your paper tender my appreciation of the self-sacrifice of Dr. Patch in refusing her consent to the levy of Government taxes? May I also add my sympathy? This I do advisedly. At one stage of the campaign it was supposed that we men voters could look on whilst women worked out their own salvation. To-day we have been smacked in the face by the refusal of the Prime Minister—through the mouth of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—to grant the facilities which are due to us to carry into law Mr. Shackleton's Bill. We have already been smitten on one cheek, when men Suffragists were refused audience of the King on the advice of the late Home Secretary and when men Suffragists were refused audience of the Prime Minister by himself—Quaker like, we turned the other cheek. *Verb. sap.* At this moment, however, we Suffragists of all societies have every right to exercise a great optimism—we know that we have champions in the House of Commons of all parties. These champions include members of the Government. We and they know that there is a bond of loyalty between us; we and they know that there is a great confidence—that through their steadfastness the ideal of all true British statesmen will prevail and that once again honesty will prove the best "policy."

—Yours truly, C. M. GONNE (Capt., retired, R.A.).

Mr. Albert Dawson, editor of a Finchley newspaper, is about to take a plebiscite of the 23,000 voters of the Hornsey Division. A public-spirited man Suffragist will pay the cost—nearly £100.

OUR TREASURY.

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Amount previously acknowledged	3246 0 2
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Tudor, Mrs. R.	10 0 0
Napier, Mrs.	5 0 0
Tudor, Dr.	3 0 0
Wright, Miss F. M.	2 2 0
Russell, Mrs.	2 2 0
Allan, J., Esq.	1 0 0
Solomon, Mrs. S.	1 0 0
Connell, Miss	0 10 0
Rawlings, Miss	0 2 6
Pierotti, Miss L.	0 2 6
Sherwood, Miss E. J.	0 10 0
Sherwood, Miss A.	0 10 0
Rendall, Miss	0 1 6
Armstrong, Mdm.	0 2 6
Ford, Miss G. S.	0 6 6
Vulliamy, Mrs. (collected)	1 6 0
Gummin, Miss L.	0 1 6
Grant, Miss H.	0 1 6
Weir, Miss J. E.	0 2 6
Hickman, Miss	0 1 6
Brend, Mrs.	1 1 6
Mail, Miss	0 3 6
Labrousse, Mrs.	0 10 0
Corben, Miss	0 10 0
Parr, Mrs. M.	0 2 6
Brown, Miss M.	0 5 0
Wright, Miss A.	1 1 6
Birnstingl, Miss	0 5 0
McCabe, Mrs.	1 0 0
Peacock, Miss E. M.	1 6 0
Fry, H. S., Esq.	1 1 6
Allwork, Miss D.	0 4 0
Beld, Miss	1 1 6
O'Connor, Mrs. B.	1 0 0
Haward, Miss K.	0 5 3
Haward, Miss L.	0 5 3
Allwork, Mrs. C.	0 5 0
Robinson, Miss H.	0 1 0
Edwards, Mrs. T.	0 10 0
Corben, Miss	1 0 0
Cleaves, Mrs. McLeod	1 0 0
Great Rex, Miss	0 2 6
Duckett, Miss C.	0 5 0
Tigg, Miss R.	0 2 6
Bremner, Mrs.	0 2 6
Snelling, Miss G.	0 2 6
Bache, Miss	0 5 0
Woolf, Miss	0 10 0
Sutcliffe, Mrs.	0 2 6
Corthorn, Dr. A. C.	0 5 0
Mallard, Mrs.	0 5 0
Russell, Mrs.	0 5 0
Baker, Miss E. M.	0 1 0
Harrison, Mrs. L.	0 2 0
Charles, Miss G.	1 0 0
Northern Heights Branch	1 0 0
Dyer, Miss C.	0 5 0
Sidley, Mrs. L.	0 5 0
Lock, Mrs.	0 10 0
Tudor, Mrs. R.	0 10 6
Briant, Miss	0 3 0
Bisdee, Miss	0 2 6
Roberts, Mrs. E.	0 1 0
Sinel, Mrs. M. F. de G.	0 2 0
Hawkins, Mrs.	0 2 0
Fuller, Miss E.	0 10 0
Atkinson, Miss	0 3 6
Warren, Miss	0 2 6
Anonymous	0 2 6
Walston, Miss	0 10 0
Hutchings, Mrs. and the Misses	0 5 0
Light, Miss	0 2 6
Ross, Miss I.	0 5 0
Pennington, Miss J. (collected)	0 3 6
Mustard, Mrs.	0 10 6
Greenhow, Miss	0 1 0
Greaves, Mrs. J.	0 2 0
Jones, Mrs. C. Aspland	5 0 0
Stuart, Miss E.	0 2 6
Vance, Miss M.	1 1 0
Wood, Miss E. G.	0 2 6
Wilson, Miss E. H.	0 1 6
Charles, Miss G.	0 9 6
Church, Mrs. E. F.	1 0 0
Fagan, Miss	0 10 0
De Orellana, Mrs.	0 1 0
Thompson, Miss M. G.	0 1 0
Railton, Mrs.	1 0 0
Uphill, Miss	0 10 0
Saunders, Miss M. H.	0 2 0
Coyle, per Miss	0 5 0
Priestley, Miss	0 5 0
Wray, Mrs.	0 2 6
Wray, Miss	0 2 0
McCracken, Mrs.	0 5 0
Orr, Mr. J.	0 0 6
Chaine, Miss	0 1 0
Manning, per Miss	1 1 0
Lea, Miss	1 0 0
Brock, Miss	1 0 0
Swinton Branch	1 0 0
Manning, Mrs.	0 7 6
Manning, Miss	0 8 6
Geller, Miss	0 5 0
Radcliffe, L.L.P.	0 2 0
Manson, per Mrs.	0 1 0
Nathan, Mr. F.	0 1 0
C.T.O., per Miss Wolf	0 9 0
Sanderson, per Mrs.	0 5 0
"A Friend"	1 9 6
Carriage seats (Procession)	6 1 10
Vote Sales	0 2 6
Ticket	0 2 6
Collections:	
Manning, per Miss	1 9 0
Bremner, per Miss	0 10 0
Trafalgar Square	1 2 7
Sidley, per Miss (caravan)	1 6 6
Total	£3343 8 5

101 POINTS IN FAVOUR OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

These points will cover the legal, social, and economic grounds on which women demand the vote, and will call attention to the glaring inconsistencies which demand a change in the present condition of the franchise.

27.—In the interest of public morality, it is of importance that the laws which decree that a woman may be punished on the word of a single policeman for soliciting, while a man may accost a woman with impunity, should be altered.

The only way to put women on an equality with men before the law is to allow them a voice in the making of the law which they are called upon to obey. All laws dealing with the relationship of the sexes are in favour of men, who have legalised two different standards of morality—a high one for women, a low one for themselves.

NEXT WEEK'S ISSUE. IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT.

Next week's issue will contain a splendid poem by Ella Wheeler Wilcox called "The Battle Hymn of the Women," which she has presented to the Freedom League. It is a wonderful poem, and those who know the power that Mrs. Wilcox has over words and metre and the inspiration that leaps from everything she writes, will eagerly read this contribution from her pen. It will subsequently be set to music. Next week, also, we shall have a special interview with Mr. Hugh Law, M.P., one of our very good friends in the House, and a member of the Conciliation Committee.

THE VOTE.

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SATURDAY, AUGUST 6, 1910.

THE GOVERNMENT BLOCKADE.

The Prime Minister has at length replied to the demand of the Conciliation Committee for further facilities for the Women's Suffrage Bill introduced by Mr. Shackleton, and his reply is in the negative. His letter to Lord Lytton and Lord Lytton's apposite reply, which are now public property, make quite clear how strong an effort is to be made by the Government to escape its responsibilities, while Mr. Lloyd George's answers to Mr. Snowden's questions in the House of Commons on Thursday last throw further light upon this decision. The Government will grant us nothing further unless its hand is forced.

Briefly, we are refused facilities in this session for any Women's Suffrage Bill whatever. There is no time for women. How should there be when they are a negligible part of the population? We are further refused any additional facilities at all for this particular Bill in any session. This Bill, like all Bills that are unlucky enough to pass their Second Reading triumphantly, is a bad Bill. By this course of reasoning the Prime Minister manages to evade the solemn pledge he gave the House without repudiating it—a feat requiring much doubtful dexterity. Any simple soul judging the Prime Minister's letter by the ordinary canons of conduct would read into it that he still holds himself bound by the pledge he gave to the members of the House, and would expect him honourably to fulfil that pledge. But we with our fuller knowledge know that this pledge will never be fulfilled if we trust to it, but only if we render it inevitable.

The obvious effort after postponement admits of no two interpretations. It is an effort to blockade us. The sudden tenderness of the Ministerial conscience as to the rightful liberty of the House is also of obvious intention. It is mere sleight-of-hand—the trick of a charlatan. Such an objection to the Conciliation Bill from such a source is truly comic. The Ministers who have prevented the House from fulfilling its intentions with regard to Women's Suffrage during the whole of the last Parliament, the Ministers who go behind the back of the House to decide in private a most momentous change in the Constitution, these men of all others take up the virtuous pose of champions of its liberties! Such ridiculous improbability will deceive no one. Neither within the House nor without will the Government gain anything by this latest piece of political trickery. The efforts after postponement are meant to betray us, and to defraud the House of its will. The conditions as to the kind of Bill for which any facilities will be granted are intended to secure the introduction of such a measure as is certain of final rejection.

It must be quite clear to everyone who marked the original statement made to the House by the Prime Minister that no such conditions were then laid down. The general statement made on that day referred to measures which were to be dealt with during this session. It might be asserted with some show of justification that it referred to measures to be dealt with during the present sitting of this session. In the same way there was no qualification of the promise that, if the deliberate intention of the House were made clear, further opportunities should be afforded it, and opportunities which would make possible effective settlement. After the reply for the Bill on the Second Reading none can say that the House has not declared its intentions. The Prime Minister knows this as well as we do. He made his pledge expecting that he would not be called upon to keep it. He relied upon his fellow Ministers to save him from the consequences, to prevent the fulfilment of the condition,

to destroy the support of the measure at the last moment. This they utterly failed to do, and the present wriggle of qualification and quibble is the usual politician's effort to escape without loss of prestige from the fulfilment of a promise which was unwillingly given, and given only to be fulfilled if it could not be evaded. This much is clear to all who look upon the facts with open eyes.

The decision of the Conciliation Committee to hold together, to gather together its forces by agitation in the country, and to return to the direct attack before the close of the recess, meets our expectations. None of the political tricks that have been employed against the Committee and against its Bill have been of sufficient subtlety to deceive or discourage our friends. The forces for us, now we have our firm standard-bearers within the House, are much too strong to be thwarted by the old political trickery. New lines of opposition will have to be organised if our inevitable victory is to be long delayed; and the men who are at present blocking our advance are incapable of developing the kind of opposition required, or of awakening that type of emotional loyalty which thrusts everything aside for personality. The recess will see the gathering up of forces and the preparation of weapons. The opening of the Autumn Session will see the rally of determined friends, and the careful arrangement of our own forces to be in readiness for all eventualities. We do not despair of pushing the Government upon its reluctant way. We know that we must win—that we must win soon—and we believe that to the concentrated pressure of all Suffrage forces in the country the Government must yield whether it will or no. We must stick to this Bill which the House has endorsed. We must see it carried through. The verdict of the House must be made operative. As the Peers are not to be allowed to obstruct the declared wishes of the representatives of the male population, so the Cabinet must not be allowed to exercise a veto upon the intentions of a majority of the House. In spite of this last expression of Government unwillingness and hostility, this Bill can be saved. This Bill must be saved. We must save it.

We are entitled to ask more explicit statements from the Government before any thought of abandoning this measure is entertained for a moment. We are entitled to know in exact and unmistakable terms just what the Government proposes to give us if we surrender our present advantageous position. It is obvious to all that we must have either this Bill—which the House has endorsed and will pass if the Government will stand out of the way—or a Government measure to the support of which all the Government forces, official and unofficial, will be rallied. One of these alternatives is essential. If the present Conciliation Bill is to be withdrawn it can only be withdrawn on one condition: we must have a clear and public pledge that there will be substituted for it in the early days of the Autumn Session a Government measure backed by the full strength of the Government authority and Whips. This is the only way. We cannot be expected to forego a certainty for nothing. We cannot be expected to give up a Bill supported from every side of the House for one that will not even be supported from one side. We must have a guarantee of Government action in the Autumn Session or the Conciliation Bill must go through.

The present move of Mr. Asquith's is pure bluff. He is calmly asking us to give his Cabinet the right to decide the terms of a Bill while they refuse to be responsible for its conduct through the House. He asks to be given all the advantages of the initiator and refuses to accept any of the responsibilities. He seeks to dictate terms, but will not give an equivalent in support if they are satisfied. If he and his Cabinet desire to determine to their own liking the conditions of the first Franchise to be conferred on women their only course is to embody them in a Government measure and to present them so endorsed to the House. This is the only honest, the only fair course. If the Government is not willing to follow this line of action it must stand out of the way. Women must be enfranchised at once. The Conciliation Bill must pass even if it passes at the point of the sword.

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SENT ON APPROVAL.

BRANCH NOTES.

London Branches Council.—1, Robert Street, Adelphi Crystal Palace and Anerley District—149, Croydon Road.

On Monday, the 25th ult., our speakers were Miss Ethel Penning and Mr. R. Bowden Smith, who explained at length and most clearly the Conciliation Bill and the debate on it in the House. Several questions were asked, and a good number of copies of THE VOTE sold and a collection taken.

As our principal seller will be away the next three weeks, it is hoped that sympathisers in the neighbourhood will rally round us. We specially want someone to hold the pennon, which at present we cannot bring up to our meetings, as there is no one to look after it.—E. M. F.

Herne Hill and Norwood.—32, Geneva Road, Brixton, S.W.

On Sunday evening, July 31st, we held a joint meeting with the Men's League for Women's Suffrage in Brockwell Park. Mrs. Manson spoke for our League, and Mr. Hawkins and Mr. Gugenheim spoke for the Men's League. The chair was taken by Mr. Hawkins, who in an opening speech explained why women had been obliged to resort to the so-called militant methods of agitation for obtaining the Suffrage.

Mrs. Manson gave an eloquent and interesting address, referring especially to some of the most frequently raised objections to Votes for Women, which she explained in a serious and logical manner, and finally disposed of them very convincingly. Women's Suffrage, she said, was the bedrock of all social reforms, and no improvement in social conditions could be obtained without it. Mr. Gugenheim also gave a very interesting address, and showed very clearly and emphatically that the demand for the Parliamentary vote for women is an urgent and necessary measure of immediate practical politics. A large and enthusiastic audience stayed till the close of the meeting, when a number of questions were asked, and very ably answered by Mrs. Manson. The next meeting will be held on Sunday, August 7th, at 6 p.m., when Mrs. Nevinson will speak.—B. SPENCER.

Manchester District.—Miss Manning, B.A., Harper Hill, Sale, Cheshire.

Manchester (Central Branch).—9, Albert Square.
 "Radcliffe Councillors Support the Ladies." Under this heading the Radcliffe Times reports a successful meeting held under the auspices of the local I.L.P., at which Councillor S. Brooks, Councillor Walter Brooks, and Miss Manning were the speakers. Councillor S. Brooks said that "those who opposed the Conciliation Bill were going against a thing which they

knew in their hearts was a right and just measure. . . . Women had been exerting themselves for a number of years to try to get the vote, and still it was withheld from them. If only the sacrifices they were making on behalf of the movement were taken into consideration, it would soon occur to the people that their cause was a right and a just one." At the close of the meeting a resolution urging the Government to give facilities this session was passed without dissenters.

A good open-air meeting was held in Sale last week, when Miss Neal and Miss Heyes spoke on the Bill. We have difficulties to overcome in Sale owing to the county bye-law against chalking and the scarcity of pitches. Owing to the kindness of Miss Geiler we were able to have a carriage, and Miss Heyes acted as bellman and announced the meeting for an hour beforehand. On this occasion also a triumph in bill-posting was effected, an old contents bill of THE VOTE, reading "Mrs. Despard's Message to Suffragists," being cunningly altered to "Message to Suffragists: Meeting near Parr's Bank, 7.30."

The urgency of the moment has led us to consider the immediate reconstitution of the Sale branch, with a view to extended work, and Miss Geiler has offered to provide a room for a business meeting on August 10th. Members will receive further notice of time and place, and all who can be asked to make an effort to be present, as the holidays are likely to make the attendance small.

We intend to take advantage of the day excursion trips to visit seaside and other resorts during August and September. I should be glad to hear of friends who will help in this plan. The price of the day tickets varies from 1s. 3d. to 3s. 6d., and the trips will take place chiefly on Saturdays.—M. E. MANNING.

North East District.—Mrs. Schofield Coates, Wilstrop House, Roman Road, Middlesbrough.

West Hartlepool.

Instead of our usual drawing-room meeting, we decided to hold a garden party on Wednesday last. Many of our members showed keen interest in the work, and were quite eager to obtain that public recognition of our League which we so much desire. Great credit is due to Miss Ainsley and Miss Stubbs for their ardent enthusiasm, for which they were rewarded by making a record sale of tickets. Mrs. Eades kindly placed her large garden in Hutton Avenue at our disposal. Great fears were entertained lest the weather should be unfavourable, but these were soon dispelled, as Wednesday was the finest day for some time, and by three o'clock there was quite a large assembly of ladies. As it was still early, we entertained our friends with music, and gave them opportunity to buy our fruit, &c., and our literature, to which they generously responded. Miss Yapp presided over the meeting, and Mrs. Schofield Coates gave a very much appreciated address dealing with the Franchise laws and their restrictions upon our sex. There was no one in our audience who did not agree with our speaker when she declared that it was the duty of the Houses of Parliament to pass a measure now in favour of the women of our land. Tea was served, and Miss Cook, in an interesting little talk, showed clearly what appeared to many a new qualification for the municipal vote—i.e., the £10 occupiers' qualification apart from the men electors of the same house, where the house allowed for such qualifications. After tea Mrs. Casper delighted us with some very finely rendered recitations.

For the next speech we were indebted to Mrs. Coates Hansen, of Middlesbrough. As a Poor Law guardian Mrs. Hansen has had a fair share of the responsibilities of public life, and in a most convincing speech proved that it was most urgent and necessary that women should discharge the sacred-to-men electoral duties of a citizen, and, what was more, that they were fully able to do so. The meeting closed with a hearty vote of thanks to our hostess, Mrs. Eades, and to those ladies who had so ably and willingly spoken.—J. H. L., Secretary.

Wales.—Mrs. Cleeves, Chez Nous, Sketty, S.O., Glam.
Swansea.—Chez Nous, Sketty, S.O., Glam.

The junior members of the branch arranged a very interesting and entertaining evening last week. They acted two scenes from "Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch," and the picketing episode, "At the Gates," by Mrs. Chapin, which appeared some time ago in THE VOTE. Miss Nancy Jones and Miss Dorothy Knight made excellent stage managers, and took the principal parts. They were assisted by the following:—Gladys Davies, Dorothy Eastman, Constance Jelly, Greta Olson, Phillis and Nancy Roberts, Sylvia, Erick, and Michael Cleeves, and Glen and Mabel Knight. The musical part of the programme was contributed to by Misses Lillian Davies, Gladys Williams, Brunhild Seyler, Freda Thomas, and Josephine Wooding. We hope our juniors will arrange many more such evenings in the future. I should like to thank all the members of this branch for the lovely present they have given me; I shall always treasure and prize it.—M. MCLEOD CLEEVES.

Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett and Miss Benett held a meeting on July 27th at West End Green, Hampstead, when a large crowd collected round them. A sympathetic greengrocer gave them a box to stand upon, and the crowd, not particularly interested at first, were eventually completely won over. West End Green is new ground, but it will be broken thoroughly, and is likely to prove fruitful in sympathisers. Mrs. de Vismes (Hon. Meetings Secretary, Central Branch), who organises these outdoor meetings, wants speakers (open-air) for August, and would like to receive names and dates immediately.

THE CONCILIATION BILL AND THE PREMIER.

The following correspondence has passed between the Prime Minister and Lord Lytton:—

11, North Audley Street, W., July 19th, 1910.
To the Right Hon. the Prime Minister.

Dear Mr. Asquith,—The Conciliation Committee composed of the members of Parliament who are promoting the Women's Suffrage Bill now before the House of Commons are anxious to lay before you their reasons for demanding facilities for the remaining stages of the Bill, and they therefore ask you to receive a deputation of its members who could state their case. As, however, you do not see your way to receive a deputation and have asked us to communicate with you in writing, the Committee has instructed me to state the grounds on which their application is based.

In answer to Mr. Shackleton's question in the House of Commons on June 23rd you expressed the willingness of the Government to grant time for a full discussion on the Second Reading of the Bill, but added that the exigencies of other Parliamentary business prevented the Government from granting further facilities this Session. If you had said nothing more and if the Session were to terminate in August, as was expected at that time, we should realise that our appeal for further encroachments on the time of the House would be made with little chance of success. But the words in which you concluded your answer were significant, and can only be interpreted as indicating the opinion of the Government that if the House of Commons expressed "a deliberate desire of effectively dealing with the whole question" an opportunity would be provided for them. You added further that you expected to be enlightened by the coming debate as to the state of Parliamentary opinion on the subject.

We contend that the large majority recorded in favour of the Second Reading of the Bill and the memorial asking for facilities for its passage into law this Session, signed by 196 members of Parliament, afford striking evidence of such "a deliberate desire" on the part of the House of Commons.

We would further remind you that in the course of the recent debate on the Second Reading the Secretary of State for War used these words:—"If this House of Commons expresses itself very strongly for the principle, then it is reasonable that effective opportunity should be given at some time for that House to translate its feelings into a concrete form." He also went on to say that to keep the Bill in Committee of the Whole House (the course which our friends on both front benches recommended) would not "involve necessarily that the question should be delayed in becoming law," thereby indicating that if the House adopted this course further opportunity would be provided for the consideration of the subsequent stages of the Bill.

Lastly, we desire to point out that during the same debate both the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Home Secretary invited the House to refuse to read the Bill a second time, on the grounds that a division in its favour would not merely indicate approval of the principle of Woman's Suffrage, but would amount to a Third Reading division on an ordinary Bill, signifying a determination on the part of those who voted for the Bill that they "want it passed into law this Session, regardless of all other consequences," that they "want it as it is and want it now," that they "want it sent to the House of Lords," and are "prepared to fight the House of Lords if they reject it." In answer to this direct challenge the House of Commons declared its determination to do all these things by a majority of 109.

In face of these facts we ask you to give the House of Commons an effective opportunity of carrying out its wishes thus emphatically expressed. The Session is to be prolonged into the autumn, and, therefore, time can be found for this Bill to be carried into law. We make our request to you in all earnestness and with confidence that it will not be made in vain, relying as we do on your own statement and those of your colleagues made upon the floor of the House of Commons with full knowledge of the responsibility which they involved.

I have read this letter to my Committee, and they have authorised me by a unanimous vote to say that it represents their views.—I am, yours very truly,
LYTTON.

10, Downing Street, Whitehall, S.W., July 23rd, 1910.

Dear Lord Lytton,—I have received your letter of the 19th inst.

On June 23rd last, in announcing in the House of Commons that, in the exceptional circumstances of the case, the Government were prepared to give time for a full debate and division on the Second Reading of Mr. Shackleton's Bill, I added, with the utmost explicitness, that they could not afford any further facilities to the Bill this Session.

To that statement I need hardly say that the Government adhere. My further words to which you refer, that "the House ought to have opportunities, if that is their deliberate desire, for effectively dealing with the whole question," clearly did not, and could not, refer to the present Session; nor (I may add) to any Bill the title of which was so framed as to preclude a free and adequate dealing with the "whole question."—Yours very truly,
H. H. ASQUITH.

11, North Audley Street, W., July 28th, 1910.

Dear Mr. Asquith,—I read your letter of the 23rd to my Committee this afternoon, and they asked me to reply to you as follows:

It is common ground between the Government and ourselves that in the Parliamentary handling of this question woman Suffragists have laboured under what you have yourself described as "a great hardship." Bills for the enfranchisement of women have repeatedly passed their Second Reading in the House of Commons, yet no effect has been given to the opinions thus recorded by large majorities. Your letter indicates that you propose to make the debate of this Session—serious, comprehensive, and decisive though it was—one item the more in a long list of unfruitful and academic discussions. We can conceive no course more surely calculated to increase a discontent for which already there was much justification.

In drafting our Bill we had to remember that we were suitors for Parliamentary time. We believed that in putting before the House a definite proposal which required no prolonged debate we should meet the convenience of the Government. We note that, while you indicate your preference for a Bill drafted in such a manner as to necessitate protracted discussion, you give us no assurance that in making a bolder demand on the time of the House we should meet with a more favourable reply.

Our object was to provide by way of compromise a solution of a problem the urgency of which the Government recognises while it avows its inability to legislate itself. The significant vote by which our proposals were adopted entitles us to claim the rights of a majority. We propose before Parliament reassembles to lay before you further evidence of the extent and urgency of the demand for the passage into law of Mr. Shackleton's Bill this year.—I am, yours very truly,
LYTTON.

IN THE HOUSE.

Thursday.

Mr. SNOWDEN (Lab., Blackburn) for Mr. Shackleton (Lab., Lancashire, S.E., Clitheroe), asked the Prime Minister, in view of the majority by which the Parliamentary Franchise (Women) Bill was carried on the Second Reading, what facilities he proposed to give for its further stages in the present Session.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE (Chancellor of the Exchequer, Carnarvon): My right hon. friend stated on June 23rd that the Government could not give any further facilities to the Bill in the present Session.

Mr. C. BATHURST (U., Wilton): Will the Government consider the advisability of taking the opinion of the electorate on the question by referendum?

The SPEAKER: Notice must be given of that question.

Mr. SNOWDEN: Is it not a fact that, on that occasion, the Prime Minister stated that the House of Commons, if it so desired, should have a full opportunity of dealing with the whole question, and that being so, is not the Government prepared to stand by the promise made by the Prime Minister?

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE: I think the hon. member is mistaken in the pledge given by the Prime Minister. The pledge given was that the Government were prepared in this Parliament to give an opportunity for effectively dealing with the whole question; but, inasmuch as this Bill is so framed that the House of Commons cannot deal with the whole question, but only with part of it, the Government certainly cannot give further facilities.

Mr. SNOWDEN: May I further ask if the decision declared by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the first answer he gave was not arrived at in order to ensure that the will of the people, as expressed by their representatives, should take full effect within the lifetime of one Parliament?

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE: I quite agree; but if Bills are so framed that you cannot even ascertain what the will of the representatives is, then there is no reason why sufficient opportunity should be given for Bills so drafted.

Mr. SNOWDEN: Is it not a fact that this House has already declared by a majority that it wants this Bill passed into law? (Opposition cries of "No"), and, further, if the House is not to be permitted to give effect to its will, what is the difference between the Veto of a non-elected Prime Minister and the Veto of a non-elected House of Lords?

The SPEAKER: No man can answer the second question. The first question everybody can answer for himself. (Laughter.)

Mr. KEIR HARDIE (Lab., Merthyr Tydvil): May I ask whether, since the Government are not satisfied with the form of the Bill now before the House, they are prepared to introduce one of their own to give effect to their own ideas on the subject?

The SPEAKER: Notice should be given of that question.

Friday.

On Friday in the House Mr. Snowden, when the adjournment until Wednesday was announced and Mr. Asquith was present, called attention to the refusal of the Government to grant facilities for the further stages of the Bill. His friends based their demand for further facilities for the measure on the ground that it obtained so large a majority on second reading. The promises of the Prime Minister were not like the laws of the Medes and Persians, for at first the right hon. gentleman declined to give an early day for the second reading, and then he gave two early days. They hoped his present refusal would be reconsidered. By only giving a second reading to the Bill they were mocking and exasperating women into taking militant action. Militant action would not have been justified if the House had not granted a second reading, but, having granted it and refused to proceed with the measure, thousands of women who had hitherto opposed such action would be forced to take some such means. He urged the Government to give further facilities for the passing of the measure.

Mr. Asquith, replying to him, while acknowledging that in his Cabinet he was in a minority, referred to his answer to Mr. Keir Hardie on June 23rd, in which, when promising time for the second reading, he declared that owing to their announced decision not to prosecute contentious legislation they could not afford further facilities this session. "It is not only ridiculous but worse than ridiculous for the hon. member to say the Government have been guilty of anything in the nature of a breach of faith. The Government have adhered absolutely and precisely to the statement I made, on the faith of which facilities were afforded." Alluding to the Conciliation Bill, he said: "You cannot effectively deal with the whole question on a Bill which has its title so carefully framed that it is impossible to introduce any substantial amendment. If the supporters of Women's Suffrage want to satisfy the conditions laid down by the Government the title of their Bill must be so large and elastic that the whole question of Women's Suffrage, and not one

application of it only, must come under discussion." Proceeding, he said that Mr. Snowden had omitted any allusion to the sending of the Bill to a Committee of the whole House. This omission he described as remarkable, for he declared that the majority of 145 meant that it could make no further progress. The only argument Mr. Snowden brought forward, he said, did not appeal to reason, but to fear. "I can assure the hon. gentleman and those for whom he is for the moment the mouthpiece that if he imagines that considerations of that kind will influence either the Government or the House of Commons to alter the line which they have deliberately declared it to be their determination to pursue, he is very much mistaken. (Cheers.) *The Government will strictly adhere to the course which they laid down before this Bill came on for second reading, and they are prepared to carry out, in the letter and in the spirit, the pledge which they gave. There is no foundation whatever, in reason or justice, for the hon. gentleman to complain that we are not giving further facilities.*"

Lord H. Cecil then arose and made a strong indictment of the Government attitude towards Suffrage. He said: "I desire to call attention to the Constitutional aspect of this matter. It is not seriously disputed that if the Government favoured this Bill it would pass into law. (Cries of "No.") Therefore it is the veto of the Government which is conclusive on the legislative proposal. The Cabinet now exercise—it has been going on for many years—an overwhelming power over legislation. They condemn absolutely any Bill they please. This Government has just carried a Bill which is in the highest degree contentious, in the sense in which the Suffrage Bill is. (Hear, hear.) They pressed it forward in a very inconvenient manner because they said the great majority of the House had accepted it. Why was not that principle applied to Women's Suffrage? (Hear, hear.) Simply because it does not suit the Government to apply it (Hear, hear.) I do not complain the Government should play their own game. But don't let us have any hypocrisy about it. (Cheers.) Let it be clearly understood that the Government are not neutral in regard to this Bill, but hostile to it. They mean to destroy it by exercising all their powers over the time of the House. With regard to what the Prime Minister said about the second division, I would point out that Mr. Balfour, whose vote carried great weight, voted for the Bill being taken in Committee of the whole House because he is opposed to a Suffrage Bill going to a Grand Committee. If the Prime Minister will not give facilities for this Bill, will he give facilities for a motion to give another Bill on the subject precedence? It would not take a couple of hours to discuss such a motion. (Cheers.) It is not fair of the Government to say they are impartial and get the votes of supporters of Women's Suffrage on other issues, while all the time they mean to kill the Bill. (Cheers.) The speeches of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Churchill were designed to kill the Bill on second reading. It would be the same with any Bill that came forward."

Mr. Churchill: An unworthy suggestion.

Lord H. Cecil: I have a right to say what I believe to be true. It would be quite easy to bring forward another Bill if the Government would give facilities.

Mr. Lloyd George: I voted for all the other Bills on the subject.

Lord H. Cecil said that the right hon. gentleman knew they would not be carried. (Cries of "Withdraw!") "Personally, I care very little whether the Bill is passed this session or not. (Ironical Ministerial cheers.) But I make no pretence about the matter. The Government, on the other hand, protest they are entirely impartial, and elaborately kill the Bill. (Hear, hear.) It is interesting to notice the contempt which has been developed for the doctrine of the 'voice of the people.' At an earlier period of the session we heard the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer repeat 'the will of the people' and the 'voice of the people' with the melodious iteration of the singers of a glee. (Laughter.) In every tone they said it, bass, tenor, and treble, over and over again. Things are altered now."

SCOTTISH NOTES.

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Glasgow.

Work in the Clyde campaign has been very much spoiled by rain this week; only a few meetings have been held. Strone, Gourcock, Rothesay, and Girvan have been visited, and at Rothesay and Girvan especially we have had much success. Mrs. Wilson advertised, arranged, and took the chair at the Girvan meeting, where, in spite of some counter attraction, a very large crowd attended, and at the end of the speeches gave us a hearty invitation to come again. We took up a good collection and sold out our stock of VOTES. Miss MacCallum and Miss McFadyen chalked Rothesay for our meeting there, and with Miss White, Miss MacArthur, and Miss Barber helped to make it the success it was. At this meeting Miss Helen McLachlan, M.A., of Edinburgh, who has given a week of her holidays to the Clyde campaign, spoke excellently, to the evident appreciation of the crowd.

To-day is the last day of the campaign in Gourcock. Our headquarters will be shifted to Ayr on Monday, August 1st.

I will be glad to hear from anyone who can help during August, and offer grateful thanks to all those who have given such generous help during July.—MADGE TURNER, Organiser.

Edinburgh.—33, Forrest Road.

A special At Home was held on Thursday afternoon at the suggestion of Mrs. Finlayson Eauld, for the instruction of provincial women teachers who are undergoing a summer session in town. A goodly number accepted our invitation, and a very profitable and enjoyable meeting was the result. Mrs. Eauld took the chair, and gave an excellent summary of our movement, and Miss Sara Munro, our President, spoke on the present political situation and the Conciliation Bill. Many VOTES were sold, and three new members joined.

Will members who are on holiday kindly remember our Annual Cake and Apron Sale, which takes place early in October, and in their leisure moments put in a few stitches for the good of the cause?—A. Z. J.

THE MORAL OF THE CRIPPEN CASE.

A thought that must have suggested itself to many during this past week of exciting Atlantic chase, is that whatever capture the police have made and whatever energy they have shown at the eleventh hour the entire credit of the capture is due to the activity, enterprise, and resourcefulness of Mrs. Crippen's women friends—Mrs. Nash, Mrs. Ginnett, and Mrs. Paul Martinetti. The business-like methods of these ladies and the steps they took to trace their missing friend during the months in which they slowly pieced the evidence together down to the time when they formally notified the police, must stand out in strong contrast to the action of Inspector Dew, who begged the bogus doctor to amiably "stand by" until the law should be ready to pounce. It is not to be wondered at that the "doctor" declined the invitation, and that the patient work of these ladies came near to being lost. What is remarkable is that these women, who are not considered sufficiently intelligent to know how to mark a voting paper with a cross, tracked down in his lying statements a man of infinite resource, audacity, and cunning, and furnished to Scotland Yard a "dossier" which would do credit to a seasoned detective. An anti-suffragist recently remarked that the best government is that in which the women are kept as silent as St. Paul would like them to be. We feel sure "Dr." Crippen would share this opinion. How long, we ask, will one half of the people refuse to avail itself of the brains and the help of the other half? How long?

H. H.

The Literature Department of the Women's Freedom League, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, London, W.C., has just published an excellent pamphlet by John Cameron Grant, entitled "Working Women and the Vote, from a Man's Point of View." Mr. Grant deals with the economic question, and in some trenchant remarks on the effects of women's cheap labour shows that the granting of the Franchise to women is the only remedy for the present deplorable economic condition which forces women to undersell men in the labour market. The subject is dealt with in an eminently practical way. Price 1d., by post 1½d.

The Women's Movement is arousing great interest in Eastbourne, and Mrs. Dilks and Miss Munro find much encouragement from visitors at their meetings.

PAGEANT OF GREAT WOMEN.

Members willing to take character rôles in the two performances of the Pageant at Beckenham Town Hall on September 24th are asked to send names, and, if possible, photographs to Miss Tucker, 88, Walker Road, Harrogate. Height, waist, and bust measurements, and also the length of skirt should be mentioned. Costumes will be supplied at a charge of 12s. for the two (afternoon and evening) performances.

"When Garibaldi evacuated Rome in 1848, he said to the vast crowd gathered round him in the Piazza of St. Peter's: 'Fortune, who betrays us to-day, will smile upon us to-morrow. I am going out from Rome. Let those who wish to continue to war against the stranger come with me. I offer neither pay, nor quarters, nor provisions. I offer hunger, thirst, forced marches, battles, death. Let him who loves his country in his heart and not with his lips only follow me.' (Trevelyan's Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic, p. 231.) And thousands followed him and became spiritually the fathers of United Italy. What young Italy did for Italian unity, young England can do for the liberty of Englishwomen to-day. The sacrifices we ask for are not so great as those which Garibaldi demanded, but they are real; and so far from being a deterrent, I believe they will prove a real allurements to the brave heart of youth in the cause of spreading wider the bounds of human freedom."—Mrs. FAWCETT in *The Common Cause*.

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STONE THE WOMAN.

The tragic ending of a Persian "Enoch Arden" incident (told in the "New York World"), and a pitiful punishment of a woman who married a second man, supposing the first to be dead. In different countries the laws affect women differently, but in all they treat her harshly.

There is a humble grave in the sand outside Koutchan, in Northern Persia, a grave on which the grass has scarce begun to grow. Beneath that heap of earth lies the body of a woman who by a barbarous death expiated a crime of which she was unconscious, and ended a romance that was innocent but—according to the laws of her country—scandalous.

The story of her tragic life and her horrible and ignominious end has just been brought from Persia by the French traveller Claude Anet, with photographs taken on the spot by a European who chanced to be there with a camera.

Koutchan is a small town about midway between Askabad, the capital of Russian Transcaucasia, and Meshed, the chief city of the Persian province of Khorassan and the holy city of Persia, by reason of its enshrining the sacred body of the Iman Reza, descendant of Ali, son-in-law of Mahomet the Prophet. M. Anet publishes the story as follows:—

"Not far from Koutchan there lived on a farm a woman who was, like all women of that region, poor, married, and leading the laborious life of a peasant. It is the women who till the fields. The men are lazy; and then are they not the masters? So this woman performed a man's work while her husband spent the greater part of his time in the cafés of Koutchan. There he drank arrack when he was not smoking opium. Poppies are cultivated abundantly in Khorassan; they are one of the sources of wealth of the country, and one of its scourges, for the use of opium is widespread.

"One day this man went away on a voyage, for a short time, he said. A peasant travelling is a rare thing anywhere, but especially in Persia. He went away. His return was expected for several months. He did not come back. A year elapsed; then two. What had become of him? Doubtless he was dead. Another year, and yet another slipped away.

"His wife continued to do her hard work in the fields, ploughing the earth, sowing seed, gathering herbs. She lived alone. A peasant man approached her and wooed her as few Persian women have the good fortune to be wooed. In Mohammedan lands a woman does not see a man until he has married her. But this poor, hard-working worshipper of Allah was actually courted by a man who loved her. She believed herself to be a widow. In Persia men do not go away and not return unless death has cut them off.

"Now this pair of lovers might, even in Persia, have lived as it pleased them. Association in the sight of their neighbours might have been necessary, and, of course, secrecy in such matters is not as easy in a sparsely-settled farming country as it is in a great city. But no such thing as a meretricious union ever occurred to them. For, as has been said, the woman believed herself to be a widow. They were married—married according to the rites of the Mohammedan faith, like respectable and religious people who are conscious of their duty to society.

"They lived happily, toiling hard, but sharing each other's labours. So passed another year.

"Then one day the first husband returned. Whence did he come? What adventures had he encountered? Where had he been? Why had he sent no news, for there are mails in Persia, and in every village there are mirzas ready to write letters for you? But it matters not where he had been or why he had sent no word. The one important fact is that he was alive, that he was there!

"Tennyson treated this same situation in his great poem 'Enoch Arden.' A sailor who has been thought dead returns to his home. His wife has remarried; she has children; she is happy. What does he do? He vanishes again into the night.

"But the Persian husband never thought of this solution. He showed himself in Koutchan and there was a great scandal.

"The peasant woman was a bigamist. Bigamy is a crime which all countries punish severely, for it is one of the gravest menaces to the family, upon which society is founded. In Moslem lands a man is permitted to have two or more wives, but it may be imagined to what a degree the Moslem considers it impossible and odious that a woman have two husbands.

"So the woman was taken before the high priest of Koutchan. There was only one thing to do. The law was simple. The priest opened the Koran in which are the teachings of Allah as transmitted by Mahomet, his prophet. The matter of bigamy is expressly treated in the Koran and punishment for it is stated to be the same as that which Moses wrote down in the Book of Leviticus in the name of the same God, who was called Jehovah in those days. In Christian lands the penalties prescribed by Moses have been forgotten. Not so in Persia, where the Koran is the law of the land and its clauses are strictly enforced.

"According to Leviticus, and hence the Koran, the penalty for bigamy is stoning to death.

"The audience expressed keen satisfaction. The people were overjoyed at the idea that so great a crime should receive so just a punishment.

"The guilty woman was at once seized. In Western lands much has been said and written about what is barbarously called the wholesome example of an execution. We have made our executions private. The Persians have retained simpler ideas about such matters. They consider that an execution should be a lesson for everybody, and hence as public as possible.

"They began by walking the woman through the town. The poor creature was led to the market place and paraded through the streets. She walked barefoot in the dust, her legs scarcely covered by a thin skirt, and her face unveiled. This last alone is a dreadful disgrace for a Persian woman. Her hands were free and with them she held a ragged shawl over the lower part of her face. She walked for a long time in the heat of the midday sun, between the men who were her guards. She did not speak. She did not weep. She walked as if she was senseless.

"At the passage of this unfortunate woman the joy was great and tumultuous. 'One might hope,' comments M. Anet, 'that these hearts were full of holy horror for the crime, and that only excessive love of virtue impelled these people to demand the torture of this woman. But it must be confessed that the popular joy had other motives, and that the inhabitants of Koutchan were animated that day by the most cruel and most barbarous of cravings—that of seeing a human being in agony.

"The high priest of Koutchan led the procession, as is ordained by the law. At last the place of execution, outside the town, was reached.

"In the sand a grave was dug, a grave about three feet deep—for all things must be done decently and in order, and there are rules to be observed even in stoning a criminal.

"The woman lay down in the grave. No one needed to push her. Even now there was not a cry, not a murmur from her lips. She lay down silently, as if she were lying upon the sand to go to sleep.

"Then the high priest drew near. All about him was the silence of this woman, and the sharp cries, the angry, delirious shouts of the crowd—men, women, and children—pushing and jostling in order to miss nothing of the frightful spectacle.

"The priest took a heavy stone and threw it as hard as he could at the woman. Amid the joyous tumult of the people no one heard the sound of the stone striking the living flesh of the poor creature.

"Having cast the first stone the high priest stepped back. There was a fierce rush of the crowd. Stones fell like hail into the grave. As each one hurled a stone he yelled an insult. But not a moan arose from beneath those stones that were filling up in a heap.

"In a minute the grave was filled. Divine justice was satisfied. The crowd slowly returned to Koutchan, discussing the grand sensations of the day.

"In the evening the stones were removed; the corpse of the woman was lifted out and buried a little farther away in accordance with the religious rites which regulate the interment of Mussulmans.

"Thus was the institution of marriage defended that day, only a few months ago, at Koutchan; and thus was stoned to death a woman guilty of having broken the fundamental laws which govern civilised society. The Persians safeguard the marriage tie by inexorable methods."

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

LONDON.



Thurs., August 4th.—Finchley (Percy Road, Tally-ho Corner), 8 p.m. Miss A. Hicks.

Highbury Corner, 8. Mr. Gugenheim and Miss Lucas.

Fri., August 5th.—Mossbury Road, Lavender Hill, 7.30. Mrs. Duval and others.

South Norwood Clock, 8 p.m. Miss E. Fenning and Mr. R. Bowden Smith.

Sat., August 6th.—Thornton Heath Clock, 7.30. Miss Lucas and Miss Fenning's Chair, Miss M. Pearson.

Sun., August 7th.—Regent's Park, 12. Brockwell Park, 6 p.m. Mrs. Nevinson.

Mon., August 8th.—Hornsey Fire Station, 8 p.m. Tram Terminus, Crystal Palace. Miss E. Fenning and Mr. John Simpson.

Tues., August 9th.—Highbury Corner, 8 p.m. Miss Neilans. Hampstead Heath, 8 p.m.

Thurs., August 11th.—Finchley (Percy Road, Tally-ho Corner), 8 p.m. Highbury Corner, 8.

Fri., August 12th.—South Norwood Clock. Miss E. Fenning and Mr. John Simpson.

PROVINCES.

Sat., August 6th.—Eastbourne. Open-air meeting, east of the Pier. Miss Munro.

Mon., August 8th.—Eastbourne. Open-air meeting, east of the Pier. Miss Munro.

Wed., August 10th.—Eastbourne. Open-air meeting, east of the Pier. Miss Munro.

A DOMESTIC QUARREL.

Mrs. Snell is a Devonian, and, as is common in the West Country, has, or until recently had, a simple faith in the divinely appointed superiority of all men over all women, and particularly in her own duty of respect, honour, and blind obedience to her husband. The family income, consisting mainly of her husband's small pension from the Devon County Council and his earnings as a knife-grinder, is eked out by Mrs. Snell's casual wages as a daily servant. It was in this way that I came to know her, and although she is not now in my employ, she comes to me occasionally for a cup of tea and a chat. On a recent occasion this was the substance of her talk:

"'Ev 'ee read about them Suffragettes, Miss, what 'ave been sent to gaol for thraving stones?"

"No, Mrs. Snell, why should I read about such people? I have no patience with them."

"But, Miss, you surely must 'ave read what they writes in the newspapers and the boot-iful spaiches they makes. I'm sorry you daun't think much of 'em, Miss, but I thinks they'm lovely. We women 'ave been trod upon too long, is what they says. And I tells 'Da' about it and 'ee daun't like it. 'Ee says it's all rubbish. And I says to un tish't no such rubbish either. Now, when you goes out for your to-morrow (Sunday) afternoon's walk, you've got to take me and Liza (that's my daughter, Miss) and if you don't, well, Liza and me 'ull putt on our best 'ats, and go out ourselves, and when you comes 'ome you won't find no tea waiting for 'ee, there now. 'Ee didn't say anything, Miss, but 'ee went out without us. Well, us did as us said. Us putt on our best 'ats and us went out. And, of course, when 'ee cum back 'ee didn't find any tea waitin' for un. Well, Miss, I don't like to tell 'ee what 'ee said, for 'ee said a bad word, and I don't like exactly to tell 'ee. Well, you see, Miss, 'ee said 'Damn,' and us 'aven't spoke for a fortnight.

"And both of us be dying to spaik."

DEMOCRACY.

Though capacity to serve the State is the true basis of the Suffrage, and this capacity must be greater in some citizens than in others, no safe method of enforcing this theoretically justifiable discrimination is discoverable.

Adult Suffrage is the only practicable expedient for securing the required contact between representatives and people. . . . The admission of women to an equal voice with men thus needs no separate argument. It enters in the very nature of democracy.

For a democracy maimed by the exclusion of the direct representation of the needs, aspirations, and experience of half the people would be a mere androcracy.—I. A. HOBSON, *The English Review*, Dec., 1909.

FRENCHMEN ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

The vast proportion of eminent French public men are favourable to Women's Suffrage, according to the symposium at present going on in *La Revue*. M. Edmond Rostand, author of "Chantecler," says he regards women as intellectually and as morally qualified as man to pronounce upon the choice of a Government or the ratification of a law, or to take part in any elections. Perhaps she would introduce an element of disinterestedness which is often lacking in man, absorbed by ambition and calculations as to his career. "I am convinced that the mother of the family, forced to instruct herself more thoroughly in view of the new privilege, would in general judge with good sense and bring a wholesome influence to bear on the vote of her husband and grown-up son."

An Academician declares that he would give plurality of votes to mothers and fathers as an honour and a recompense in a country which is being undermined by a decreasing birth-rate.

The Socialist doctrine, says M. Vaillant, a deputy of the Extreme Left, is woman's equality with man. M. Henri de Varigny, who is not a Socialist, declares one could with advantage bestow the Suffrage on a certain proportion of women whilst profiting by the opportunity of withdrawing it from an equal proportion of men."

The Committee of the Women Writers' Suffrage League asks us to say that their office at 55, Berners Street, will be closed during the month of August, but all communications by letter will receive prompt attention.

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