

Present Position of the Bill
by Philip Snowden, M.P.

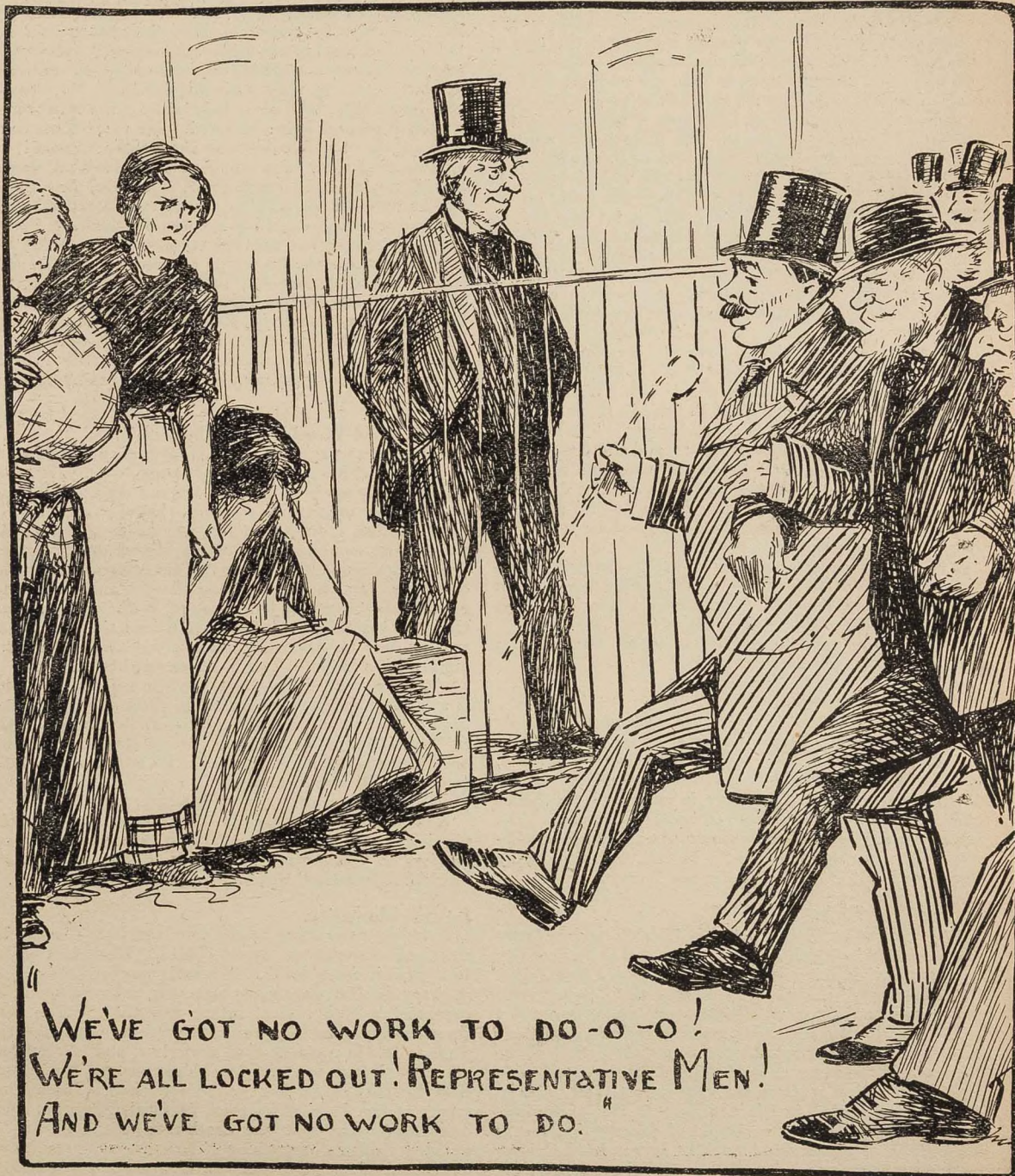
The Common Cause.

The Organ of the Women's Movement for Reform.

VOL. II. No. 69. Registered as
a Newspaper.

AUGUST 4, 1910.

ONE PENNY.



THE POLITICAL LOCK-OUT.

Mr. Asquith (29th July, 1910). I do not think anyone has reason to look back with regret at the way in which the time of the House has been spent.

The News of the Week.

The Official Reports.

Again we would recommend our readers to get the official report of the debate which took place in the House of Commons on Friday, 29th. It can be obtained direct from Messrs. Wyman, 109, Fetter Lane, Fleet Street, E.C. (price 3d., and 1½d. postage), or through a bookseller. The speeches of Lord Hugh Cecil and Mr. Snowden are well worth reading *in extenso*.

Our "Democratic" Government.

Mr. Arthur Chamberlain, speaking on the Veto Conference at Moor Green Hall, on the 25th, had some searching criticisms to make of the extremely "undemocratic" methods of the present Government. He said:—"We don't want what superior persons may say is the best of the country. We want what the people say is best for the country, and now in the year 1910 we find out that all these elections, all these appeals to the people are quite unnecessary, the House of Commons is not wanted, the House of Lords is not wanted, the King is not wanted, the people are not wanted. All that you want are eight self-elected men who will decide for you what is best. Is it any wonder that while these things are going on we lose a little interest in politics? Was it for this that at the last election some of us spent money, some of us risked our wealth, some of us lost our friends, many of us lost our places, and perhaps for the time our livelihood? Was it to bring eight worthy gentlemen together in a small room behind the Speaker's chair that we did all that? And yet we submit to it. We sit down under it, and no one says anything. What are our members for? Trouble no more about the fifty millions of our population; think only of those eight superior people who, without consulting us, can settle what shall be done in these matters! I venture to give a warning to our leaders. The strength of a political party is in the people, and the danger to a political party is in its leaders. If there be anything that can interfere with the great possibilities for good offered by the position and power of the Liberal party, it will be just this one thing, that our great leader thinks too little of the people and too much of himself."

Every word of this applies as well to the women's question as to the Veto question. We wonder how long it will be before the male electors awake to the knowledge that those leaders who talk most about "Democracy" are those who have in truth no respect whatever for representative government.

The Only Live Issue.

A still more melancholy cry goes up from the "Daily News" "We are bound," says a leader on the 30th, "to do nothing else until the Veto has been destroyed, and we cannot talk about anything else so long as the Conference persists. The party is mute and paralysed, and the paralysis threatens to become chronic. The summer campaign and the autumn campaign are vanishing with the spring campaign." In fact there is no really live issue but the issue of Votes for Women.

A Terrible Risk.

A correspondent points out that Lord Cromer in forming a League in which men and women will be "equally represented," is going even further than the Suffragists. "But perhaps," she adds, "it is only those women who agree with Lord Cromer politically who are to be equally represented? The rest are to retire to the sphere of their homes, and have no representation at all? So long as women hold the same views that Lord Cromer does, their views on political matters are very urgent, and must be equally represented in his League. Is this fair play? Is this justice? Is this a sample of democratic government?" It is perhaps too much to expect Lord Cromer to have much respect for democratic government; certainly no one need accuse Lord Curzon of any such respect. But there is another dilemma, pointed out in a letter to the "Manchester Guardian" by Miss Eckhard. She writes:—"I should like to ask the Anti-Suffragists what they will do if a majority of women in their League wish to take a certain course of action,

while a majority of men, in whom the physical force and therefore the ultimate power rests, desire an opposite course. Shall we then be confronted with the horrible spectacle of anti-Suffrage men and anti-Suffrage women arrayed in hostility against one another? This is one of the terrible contingencies which we are told will be made possible by Women's Suffrage; it is therefore with surprise that we find that Anti-Suffragists also, for the sake of fair play in their own society, are willing to face the risk."

Wesleyan Women.

At the Wesleyan Conference on the 18th it was decided by 179 votes to 153 that women should be eligible for election to the Conference. Twenty-four of the synods had approved, ten disapproved, and one was neutral. The Rev. Dinsdale T. Young opposed the motion root and branch "on the high grounds of chivalry." It was, he said, unbiblical, uneclesiastical, unmethodistic, unseemly and untimely. In spite of his eloquence, however, the vote was favourable, and at a later sitting the question of women preachers was considered. On the recommendation of the Committee, the Conference declared its opinion that cases in which it is desirable that women should preach were exceptional. Where, however, a woman possesses special gifts, and gives evidence of having received a divine call to the work of preaching, liberty should be given her for the exercise of her gifts, but in all such cases the preaching of women should be subject to the conditions—(1) that they should not preach until they have obtained the approbation of the Superintendent and Quarterly Meeting; (2) before they go into any other circuit and preach, they should have a written invitation from the Superintendent of that circuit and a recommendatory note from the Superintendent of their own circuit.

The Blessed Word "Physiological."

People are so apt to receive the statements of certified physicians with superstitious reverence, even when they are obviously made on quite insufficient data, and arrived at by totally unscientific methods, that women cannot be too glad that there are at last women doctors who can answer the men doctors from an experience of women even wider and more thorough than any a man doctor can have. Dr. Ethel Vaughan Sawyer and Dr. Agnes Savill have answered Dr. Leonard Williams most effectively in the "Times," and have driven that gentleman to that last entrenchment of the defeated,—"I can't argue with a lady." This is, of course, literally true; he can't! But what he means is that he will not, and this is a form of unfairness peculiar to those who know they have a weak case. Dr. Fremantle, at the British Medical Association on Friday, was, we are glad to say, hissed and contradicted when he made the preposterous statement that Woman Suffrage "in any shape or form was profoundly inimical to the birth-rate."

A correspondent suggests that the "blessed word physiological" will be a source of as much unintelligent comfort to the Anti-Suffragist as that other "blessed word Mesopotamia" was to the old woman in the story.

Infant Mortality.

A highly interesting report was issued on Tuesday by the Local Government Board Offices. We hope to refer to it later in more detail. Too early motherhood and insanitary dwellings are given as among the most operative causes of a high rate of infant mortality. The non-domestic employment of women is given as a contributory cause of less importance than these two, and it is pointed out that infant mortality is higher among the poorer classes, where breast feeding is more usual. The annual report of Dr. J. B. Wilkinson, Medical Officer for Oldham, also shows that the death-rate among infants of working mothers was slightly lower than among those having only domestic work. In view of the repeated evidence that wage-earning among women is *not* one of the prime causes of infant mortality, is it not time that our legislators set themselves to tackle the prime causes before interfering with women's liberty to earn? Vice, bad drainage, overcrowding, and starvation are prime causes, and should all be dealt with first.

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3 MONTHS	...	1 9
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CORRESPONDENTS ARE REQUESTED TO NOTE that this paper goes to press on Tuesday. The latest news, notices, and reports should, therefore, reach the Editor by first post on Monday. The Editor reminds correspondents, however, that the work is made much easier if news is sent in as long beforehand as possible. Monday is only mentioned as the last possible day, not as the one upon which all news should arrive.

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

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The Present Position of the Suffrage Bill.

By Philip Snowden, M.P.

The House of Commons has dispersed for the summer recess. The Suffrage Bill is still on the Order Paper of the House. The Prime Minister has sternly refused to promise time in the autumn for the further stages of the Bill. That might be taken to indicate that the fate of the Bill in this session is settled. But I by no means take that view of the situation. Between now and the meeting of Parliament in the autumn many things may happen. The Prime Minister has altered his pledged word many a time before. It is not impossible to make him do so again, and upon this matter of facilities for the Suffrage Bill.

The Conciliation Committee has held regular meetings since the second reading of the Bill was carried, and has been doing all it could to advance its interests. The correspondence which Lord Lytton, the chairman of the Committee, has had with Mr. Asquith about further facilities has been published in the Press, and to that I need make no detailed reference. What the Prime Minister said in the letter of reply he repeated in the House of Commons later in reply to my questions and my speech on the motion for the adjournment. He maintains that he has fulfilled to the letter the promises he gave in regard to the Bill, and he appears to consider himself a sadly ill-used person that we should worry him for something more than he has already given.

Let us look at the situation as it now appears. It is granted that the Prime Minister in his notorious reply on the 23rd of June said that "in view of the exigencies of other Parliamentary business, and their announced decision not to prosecute contentious legislation, they cannot afford any further facilities to the Bill this

session." We admit he said this. But what of that? This declaration did not settle the fate of the Bill after the second reading. In the first place, the Prime Minister's conditions were not accepted by the backers of the Bill. We did not accept the offer of time for the second reading on the condition that we would not press for further facilities. In the question to which the Prime Minister replied we asked only for time for the second reading. That was done deliberately in order to leave us free to press later for further time. So that the friends of the Bill are not bound by Mr. Asquith's reply on June 23rd.

Then we should consider the terms of Mr. Asquith's reply. A careful reading of it will show that it was by no means a barring of the door. The reasons he gave for not promising further time were all circumstantial reasons. He did not refuse further facilities because he thought the Bill ought not to pass, nor because he thought the House of Commons ought not to pass the Bill, and he raised no objection to the limitations of the Bill. The only reasons Mr. Asquith gave for not permitting the Bill to go beyond the second reading were that the time of Parliament was occupied with other business, and the Government had announced their intention not to take any contentious legislation this session. Both the reasons are debatable, and could be shown to be unfounded, or at least to have no application to the Suffrage Bill.

The time of Parliament has not been so fully occupied as to have prevented a willing Government from giving the short time necessary for the Committee stage of this Bill. There is nothing at all in that reason for the Cabinet's refusal of further facilities. Neither is there any more reason in the second excuse—namely, that the Government were pledged to abstain from prosecuting controversial legislation. That intention applied only to Government business, and certainly not to a private member's Bill. But in regard to Government business, that intention has not been respected. The Government have prosecuted a good deal of contentious legislation this session. They have carried the Royal Declaration Bill, which, judging from the amount of correspondence it has brought Members of Parliament, is the most controversial measure introduced into the House of Commons for years. That Bill was hotly contested at every stage, and opposed by a respectable minority in every division. In the autumn the Shop Hours Bill is to be taken, which is anything but an agreed-upon Bill. But as Lord Hugh Cecil pointed out in the debate last week, the Suffrage Bill is not a contentious measure at all in the sense that it divides political parties by a clear line. Therefore, neither of the reasons the Prime Minister gave for declining further facilities can be maintained, and the form in which they were given lacked definiteness and finality.

But if the Prime Minister had on the 23rd of June, when promising time for the second reading, made the most definite statement of refusal in regard to the further progress of the Bill, the result of the second reading division would have been a good reason for a reconsideration of his decision. But in his speech in reply to me on Friday last he based his case mainly on the last sentence of his reply on the 23rd June—namely, the words, "The Government recognise that the House ought to have opportunities, if that is their deliberate desire, for effectively dealing with the whole question." Let me quote in full the explanation of those words which the Premier gave last Friday. "Those are carefully chosen words," he said. "The plain meaning of them is that if it appears to be the deliberate desire of the House to have opportunities for dealing effectively with the general question the Government, not in this session but in the future, will be prepared to afford them. That, surely, is understood by 'effectively dealing with the whole question.'"

Surely there could not be a clearer case of an attempt to put a strained construction upon words in order to justify a new position. Nobody can honestly say the words bear the "plain meaning" the Prime Minister now attaches to them. It is difficult in any way to reconcile them with the words in the preceding sentence of the answer, but the most obvious interpretation of the pro-

mise to give full opportunity for dealing with the question, if the House of Commons so desired, is that the Government would give the House of Commons the opportunities when the House desired, and to deal with the whole question in the way the House desired. The second reading division was the expression of a desire by the majority of the House to deal with the question on the lines of the Bill, and to deal with it now. The Prime Minister, therefore, by his promise is bound to give the facilities the House demands, apart from the stronger right of the House to have these facilities whatever the Prime Minister had said to the contrary.

The present position, therefore, is that the Government are deliberately refusing to allow this Bill to go forward. They were unable to kill the Bill by argument, so they are using their power over the time of the House to destroy it. It is worth while noting that in the Prime Minister's reply on June 23 there was not a word about the limited nature of the Bill, nor about the title restricting the freedom of the House. All that is an afterthought to excuse their hostility to Woman Suffrage. The Prime Minister himself has admitted that a Woman Suffrage measure can only be passed if the Government of the day leaves it an open question. But this is just what the present Government will not do. The House of Commons if left free would pass this Bill this session. But the Government will not allow the House of Commons to do that. That is the situation. The Government is the enemy.

The Government are being encouraged in their opposition by a number of Liberal members who voted for the second reading of the Bill. The Conciliation Committee remains intact. Its meetings have been better attended since the second reading than before. There is thorough loyalty and strong determination among its members. The developments since the second reading have separated the genuine and the false friends of the woman's cause. The women have a band of champions in the House of Commons who may be depended upon to stand by them and go through with them to the end of this fight. But it is true that within the last three weeks there have been developments aimed at wrecking this Bill by its professed friends. What happened at the Liberal meeting on July 20 is now pretty well known. There was some plain speaking by some of the honest supporters of the Bill. Mr. Lloyd George had been invited to the meeting by that section of Liberals who want to kill the Bill. It was hoped that he would have enough influence to carry certain resolutions which were down on the notice convening the meeting. One of these resolutions stood in the name of Mr. R. D. Denham, Liberal M.P. for Carlisle, who the day before had been at a meeting of the Conciliation Committee—his one and only appearance at that Committee. This resolution is worth reproducing in full, because it shows the tactics which certain Liberals, who profess sympathy with the Woman Suffrage movement, are quietly practising to promote that cause.

Resolution by Mr. R. D. Denham.

- (a) That this meeting is not prepared to press the Government for further facilities for the Conciliation Bill
- (b) That the Liberals alone (or in conjunction with the Labour Party) proceed to the introduction of a new Bill to be introduced next session.
- (c) That a Cabinet Minister be invited to preside over a small committee to produce the Bill.
- (d) That the Government be invited to promise that if they are still in power and the condition of the House of Lords controversy permits, full time will be given next session for the House to deal with this Bill, provided that a liberal contribution of private members' time be made for the purpose.

Notices of motion were also on the paper in the names of Mr. R. Harcourt, who is the Liberal Member for Montrose, and of Mr. W. R. Rea, of Scarborough. It is interesting to note that the circular is headed "Liberal Members in favour of Woman Suffrage." It is no wonder that one well-known Radical baronet was so disgusted that he charged the wreckers with being traitors to the cause they professed to approve.

Feeling ran very high in that meeting. Mr. Lloyd George made desperate appeals to his friends to throw over the Bill. One delightful little incident happened. "If this Bill should pass the House of Commons and should be thrown out by the Lords," he said, "what could we say in East Fife, in Dundee, and in Carnarvon when asked if the House of Lords had done right in rejecting the Bill? We should be obliged to say they had. Look how ridiculous that would make us appear if we were fighting the constitutional issue." He appealed to the meeting to postpone this question for two or three years until more important matters had been settled. The division of opinion and the feeling in the meeting were so acute that no resolution was passed, and nothing was decided as to the future course of action.

I have referred to this Liberal meeting because it throws a light upon what is going on. This dissentient section of the Liberal party is not numerous. It is very bitter in its opposition. The loudest and most persistent cheering when Mr. Asquith was refusing further facilities last Friday came from the Radical benches and from members who voted for the Bill. But if all these men were driven into the George-Churchill camp of open opponents the vote in support of the Bill would not be materially affected. One almost wishes that the pure democrats could have an opportunity of really testing the amount of support there is in this House of Commons for what they call "a genuinely democratic measure." Mr. Asquith was right when he said in the second reading debate that not one half those who were going to vote for that Bill would support a measure conferring full and universal political rights.

The situation to-day is as promising as it was when the division on the second reading of the Bill was announced. It is for the women to keep up the agitation in the country during the recess. The women of the Liberal party hold the key to the situation. If they would take up a firm and united attitude now, and tell the Government that the Bill must be passed before Christmas, it would be done. But whether they rise to the occasion or not, the enfranchisement of women is soon going to be an accomplished thing.

A Conspiracy.

The Bill is not dead. Remember that. The Bill does not, and cannot, die until this session dies, and that will not be till the end of the autumn session.

Some good people tell us that it is in fact dead, because Mr. Asquith has now categorically stated (1) that he would not give further facilities for any Women's Suffrage Bill *this session*; and (2) that he would not give further facilities for *this Bill* at any time. But Mr. Asquith's statements were based upon a misapprehension, and if that can be removed, he is bound, if he is a reasonable man, to alter his decision. Mr. Asquith said this could not be made a party question, but he recognised that the House ought to be left free to decide it. Now he states that by voting to refer the Bill to a Committee of the whole House, the House distinctly expressed the wish that the Bill should go no further. Lord Hugh Cecil, however, pricked that bubble. Everybody knows that there are many Members who hold strongly the view that Franchise Bills should not be sent to Grand Committee. Mr. Balfour holds this view, and Mr. Haldane expressly stated that to send the Bill to Committee of the whole House need not delay it. Clearly then, Mr. Asquith is wrong in his deduction, and a careful reading of Mr. Churchill's and Mr. Lloyd George's speeches makes plain that at the time of the debate (whatever somersaults they may have turned since) they knew a favourable vote in the second reading meant business and not platonic "sympathy with the principle." But, if Mr. Asquith still suffers from honest doubt, the remedy is simple. He has only to take the suggestion of Lord Hugh Cecil and ask the House to vote on the question—facilities, or no facilities?

We may be sure that the Conciliation Committee and our friends in the House will do their utmost to press on the solution of this question. What can we, in the country, do to help?

There are signs of something very like a sinister conspiracy against Suffragists, and they must be wary lest they play the enemy's game. It is remarkable that the Home Secretary's benevolent schemes for acknowledging the status of political prisoners should be timed so nicely to take effect now, when, by the machinations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, women have been cheated and humbugged. It looks remarkably as if, knowing the sympathy in the country and in the House for the women's cause, the Chancellor had hoped to detach some of this sympathy by goading the women into fresh outbreaks, and at the same time abolishing the severity of the punishments hitherto given them. There is little doubt that some of the more timid and unreasonable of our supporters would be alienated by fresh outbreaks, and we earnestly hope that no Suffragists will play Mr. Lloyd George's game by yielding to their very legitimate indignation.

What we have to do is to rouse the country in our support, to keep our friends in the House staunch and, if necessary, to strike, politically, where we can best damage our enemies,—not ourselves or our cause. Nothing, we believe, would better please Mr. George and his docile pupil, Mr. Churchill, than that the women should give Mr. Asquith an excuse for withdrawing all his promises. We deprecate violence and all threats of violence, not only because we think them wrong, but because we think they are playing the enemy's game.

The game is ours, if only we hold firm. There are many members now thoroughly angry at the shifty ways of the Government. Lord Hugh's statement that the Government was treating the House "with outward courtesy but essential contempt" was echoed in the hearts of many. Women—with the cant of "chivalry" always dinned in their ears—know too well the ignominy of such a position. We shall have such a case for the country and in the House as never before, if only no one spoils it. Women are angry, and have been angry for some time. At last—at long last—the men are getting angry too. They are beginning to understand all that the opposition to our movement means; they are at last recognising the "contempt" which underlies the so-called "chivalry"; they are beginning to resent the playing fast and loose with the "will of the people"; they are beginning to come out of their political organisations and stand for fair play for the women. This is what we must develop.

The National Union works through the electors, by interesting them and showing them the meaning of this movement; by getting them to put pressure on their Members and Candidates; and by running Independent Women's Suffrage Candidates where possible. It is on the lines of such truly political work that success must come, and we must redouble our energies on these lines. There must be such an autumn campaign throughout the country as never before. A special effort must be made to move the men. It should be the endeavour of every Women's Suffrage Society to start a Men's League where there is none, and to increase tenfold the membership of the existing branches. From the Men's League should come our candidates: from the Men's League our hecklers and our electors who will "put Women's Suffrage first"; to the chivalry of the men we women must appeal that they no longer leave to the poor and the weak and the defenceless the whole burden of fighting for that liberty which they themselves have won. Money we must have. Since, largely by their laws, men keep us poor, will they not do for us what the millionaires of the Anti-Suffrage League are doing to maintain privilege and secure corrupt and vested interests?

The Debate on the Second Reading.

II. The Contortionist.

Several newspapers described Mr. Churchill's as a most "damaging speech," and we are inclined to agree with them. Careful re-reading of the farrago of nonsense which he poured forth on July 12 has convinced us that it must indeed have damaged Mr. Churchill very

seriously in the estimation of those who still hoped for a manly or a candid utterance from him. Nothing has been more plain all along than that, in this matter of women's enfranchisement, Mr. Churchill has never really put his mind to the question, but has treated it with childish irresponsibility; so that, when the time came to make a great speech in the House, he betrayed his fundamental frivolity by not only contradicting what he had said on other occasions, but by making a speech which was in itself a model of disingenuousness and inconsistency.

To take only a few previous utterances:—

MANCHESTER, MARCH, 1908.
"I will try my best, as and when occasion offers, to get women the Parliamentary suffrage, because I do think sincerely that women have always had a logical case, and they have now got behind them a great and popular demand among women. It is no longer a movement of a few extravagant and excitable people, but a movement which is gradually spreading to all classes of women; and that being so, it assumes the same character as franchise movements have previously assumed."

"I find another argument in favour of the enfranchisement of women in the opposition we are encountering on this temperance question. I believe the influence of women in the temperance question would be highly beneficial."

MANIFESTO, NOVEMBER, 1909.
"The burden of the rates is the heaviest load which the mill-owner and the operative alike have to bear."

DUNDEE, JANUARY 5, 1910.
"I think the women can bring their influence to bear on every man. (Laughter.) I think the majority of women manage to fix it out somehow or other. (Laughter.) There are women who find themselves at a loose end, and I would like to meet their case. But I do not think our system less democratic because women are not enfranchised. The women can make their influence felt in the home. That is my own experience." (Laughter.)

It can scarcely be necessary to point out how Mr. Churchill is not redeeming his promise to get women the Suffrage "as and when occasion offers," since he makes no occasion himself and does not take one which is made for him; that, in view of the fact that during the last two years Suffrage societies and meetings have multiplied tenfold, it is strange to hear now that we don't want the vote, when, it seems, in 1908 Mr. Churchill was convinced we did; that if it be true that women take a different view from men on the importance of the temperance question, it is manifestly untrue to state that women suffer "no disadvantage" from being unrepresented, and are in fact "privileged," for they cannot affect legislation on an evil which they feel far more than men; that since the burden of the rates falls upon operatives, and they are women as well as men, it is plain that it is a disadvantage not to have any say in legislation which decides what part of taxation should be raised in rates and what by Imperial taxes; lastly, that whereas in Dundee Mr. Churchill's elegantly expressed sympathy was all for the women "at a loose end," in the House he pleaded for the wives: the wives do not thank him for his championing, nor for the language in which he spoke of their sisters.

But, after all, Mr. Churchill has by now established a reputation (it is almost a right) to change his mind, and we need look no further than his speech in the House for absurdities and contradictions. He began by saying that he thought there was a certain proportion of women capable of exercising the franchise to their own and the State's advantage, and that this proportion was to be found in every class; the sex disqualification was not in accordance with obvious facts, and he rejected the theory that it was necessary for the security of society. The reasons for which he was theoretically in favour of enfranchising women were, that women who worked in politics deserved the reward of the vote, and that he would like the general "slur of inferiority" on the whole

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

JULY 12, 1910.

"I shall, after long reflection, and without any doubt whatever, give my vote this evening for the rejection of this measure on the second reading."

"I do not believe that the great mass of women want a vote."

"The grievance is grossly exaggerated. . . . It cannot be proved that they (women) suffer any disadvantage in legislation. The Statute-book, in fact, leaves them a privileged class."

"The basic principle of this Bill is to deny votes to mothers and wives—that is to say, to deny votes to those who are, upon the whole, the best of their sex."

sex removed. Mr. Churchill denied that women suffered any wrongs or that the franchise would raise their wages.

We cannot here go into detailed enumeration of the injustice to women in our existing laws: the whole of the laws regulating the relations of the sexes—bastardy, divorce, marriage, maintenance, inheritance, solicitation, and traffic in women—put women at a disadvantage, and naturally and inevitably do so. The trifling instances (chiefly in connection with the prosecution of husbands for their wives' "torts," and a few others) where men are wronged do not give a corresponding right to the wife, and would probably be gladly swept away by women as a relic of the times when a married woman was a chattel.

The wages question also cannot be adequately dealt with, and we would only remind Mr. Churchill that here he differs from his instructor, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who stated in the Albert Hall that the Government, at least, would be compelled to give enfranchised women equal pay with men for equal work. Mr. Churchill said that "economic conditions" were what raised wages, and no one knows better than he how legislation can affect "economic conditions."

He gave a striking and admirable instance of how women, when they were dependent upon men, were apt to be tools in the hands of men and become a real danger to progress, and we heartily agree with him. The extraordinary thing is that he should not see that it is we who are trying to liberate women from that dependence and to relieve the nation of that grave danger, and he who, with his babble about "influence," is striving to perpetuate it.

It was when he came to the provisions of this particular Bill, however, that Mr. Churchill surpassed himself. He began by saying that, as for himself, there were two ways in which he thought women might be enfranchised: one was to create a "fancy franchise," by which "some of the best women of all classes" should vote, and their qualifications were to be (1) property, (2) wage-earning capacity, and (3) education. But then, what becomes of his contention that wives are "the best of their sex"? No one could say that marriage increased a woman's wage-earning capacity, or added to her property or even her education. As an alternative to these absurd qualifications he could see nothing but Adult Suffrage.

He objected to this Bill that it was "an enormous addition": it would enfranchise about one million, whereas Adult Suffrage, which he advocated, would enfranchise about eight million. I've protested that it was "capricious and one-sided." It would enfranchise the Head of the House (whether man or woman), and we submit that this is less capricious than Mr. Churchill's "fancy franchise," and less one-sided than enfranchising householders only when they are men.

He called the Bill not only "undemocratic" but "anti-democratic," because it gives an "unfair representation to property as against persons." A statement more out of accord with facts is hard to conceive: men's franchise gives plural votes to "property as against persons"; this Bill specifically states that no property shall carry a vote unless there is a person occupying it; this is included in the very title, which the "democratic" Mr. George would alter! "Only half (of those enfranchised) would be workers," said Mr. Churchill. Now Mr. Booth's figures (quoted in the debate by Mr. McLaren and referred to by Mr. Churchill) give, out of 197,000 women-occupiers in London, 95,000 working outside their homes for wages, and 70,000 keeping no servant, leaving only 32,000 who have any domestic help. We submit that if Mr. Churchill had to black his own boots and grates (and his wife's, too), cook his dinner, and scrub his floors and his shirts, he would think he was a "worker." It is apparent from these figures that about one-sixth only would belong to the more leisured classes.

Mr. Churchill was anxious lest "charwomen and widows" should be disfranchised by receiving poor relief. Now, in 1908 there were only 77,705 widows in receipt of poor relief, and there are over a million of

widows in the country, so that we should still have a considerable number of widows enfranchised even if the poor-relief disability were maintained for women as it is for men. Moreover, if women could protect themselves better we make bold to say that fewer of them would need poor relief.

Mr. Churchill then broke into exclamations: "Fancy this proposition that we Members of Parliament are asked to commit ourselves to, and to defend on the platforms of this country, that a young, inexperienced girl of twenty-one should have a vote, and the mother of seven or eight children, who for twenty-five years has kept and directed the policy and economy of a family, should be refused the vote!" But does Mr. Churchill really find it so much easier to defend "on the platforms of this country" the anomaly of the "young, inexperienced boy of twenty-one" voting when his mother cannot? "That a woman," proceeded Mr. Churchill, "who has nobody to keep but herself out of her wages or income is to have a vote, and the woman who keeps by her labour an invalid husband and her family is to have no vote unless the unfortunate husband is rich enough to put her in for a property qualification!" But a large proportion of these new voters would be widows, who have "kept and directed the policy of the family" for years, and who are the mothers of "seven or eight children." A correspondent suggests that the Registrar-General may have informed Mr. Churchill that the seven or eight children all die on the same day as the husband, but he could only have learned from direct inspiration that the woman's experience and wisdom die too at the same fatal moment. Further, we should like to point out to Mr. Churchill that the woman who keeps her husband pays the rates, and would be the occupier, and therefore the voter, if she chose.

But perhaps no sentences did Mr. Churchill more harm or revealed his mind more to his damage than those in which he spoke of this Bill giving the vote to women living in a state of prostitution. The indignant letters that have poured in upon us from everywhere show that the ideal of an equal moral standard is gaining ground all over England among men as well as among women, and that for this ideal, if for no other, men and women want the vote for both sexes.

We have only very briefly touched upon a few of Mr. Churchill's inconsistencies, and they reveal very plainly how hard put to it he was to find some excuse for his breach of faith. He was so confident of turning Members round to accompany him in this breach that he risked several statements he must have wished afterwards to recall. He said that a vote on the second reading of this Bill "means, really, except on minor details, a vote for the third reading of an ordinary Bill." He said that a Member who voted for the second reading was, in effect, saying "I want this Bill passed into law this session, regardless of all other consequences. I want it as it is and I want it now. I want it sent to the House of Lords. I am prepared to fight the House of Lords if they reject it."

And the Bill passed its second reading by a majority of 109.

Why Women Need the Vote.

XIII.—The Lesson from Experience.

(3) The Effect on Home Life

Sir John Cockburn (late Agent-General for South Australia) declares that it made no difference whatever to home life; husband and wife, as a rule, voted the same way. His experience was that the franchise was a family franchise, and the vote was given in the direction which was best for the welfare of the family.

Mr. Percy Harris (writing to the "Westminster Gazette" on "New Zealand in 1908," observes:—

"The women do not appear to have any more leaning to either Liberalism or Conservatism than the men; the party divisions seem about the same. Nor have political differences broken up the home; families are inclined to

In Parliament.

Questions on the Women's Suffrage Bill.

On Wednesday, 25th, in reply to Mr. C. Bathurst, the Prime Minister stated that the Government had not considered the taking of a referendum on this question.

On Thursday, 28th, in reply to Mr. Snowden, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (for Mr. Asquith) stated that no further facilities would be given for Mr. Shackleton's Bill, and that the Prime Minister had said so on June 23. On being pressed by Mr. Snowden to interpret what Mr. Asquith meant by saying that the House should, "if it so desired, have a full opportunity of dealing effectively with the whole question," Mr. George said that "inasmuch as this Bill is so framed that the House of Commons cannot deal with the whole question, but only with a part of it, we certainly cannot give further facilities." This was greeted with some laughter.

Mr. Snowden asked what was the difference between the veto of a non-elected Prime Minister and the veto of the House of Lords, and Mr. Keir Hardie asked 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 ideas on the subject." No reply was given.

Mr. Snowden States the Case for Further Facilities.

On Friday, 29th, Mr. Snowden again returned to the charge, and, on the motion for adjournment, called attention to the refusal of the Government to give facilities for the further stages of the Bill. He pointed out that it had passed its second reading by a larger majority than was given to the Budget or to the Veto Resolutions, and that it was a free and independent vote, unaffected by party whips, and given in spite of the ardent opposition of the three most prominent members of the Cabinet. Mr. Lloyd George had even said he would vote for the second reading if it was considered merely as an affirmation of principle; he could not now turn round and say that the second reading was not an expression of a desire to deal effectively with the question on the lines laid down in the Bill. The House, the electors, and the women all brought forward a strong demand for *this* Bill. He believed the Government had thought they could kill the Bill on the second reading, and having failed to do so, would mock and exasperate the women into fresh outbreaks of disorder.

Mr. Asquith's Reply.

In his reply Mr. Asquith said that his answer on June 23 was framed by the Cabinet, and it stated that after second reading no further facilities could be afforded the Bill this session. The recognition by the Government that "the House ought to have opportunities, if that is their deliberate desire, for effectively dealing with the whole question" referred not to this session but to the future, and it could not refer to this Bill because it provided by its very title that "the whole question" should not be considered. Mr. Asquith further maintained that the majority of 145 for referring the Bill to a Committee of the whole House plainly indicated that the majority wished the Bill to proceed no further this year. He concluded by saying that the Government had strictly adhered to the course which they laid down before this Bill came on for second reading, and they were prepared to carry out in the letter and the spirit the pledge which they gave at the same time.

The Meaning of the Second Division.

Lord Hugh Cecil protested against Mr. Asquith's interpretation of the second vote; the Leader of the Opposition, for instance, was in favour of the Bill, but he had voted for sending it to a Committee of the whole House because he was opposed to a *Suffrage Bill going to a Grand Committee*. He challenged the Prime Minister to give the House an opportunity of voting as to whether the Bill should be given further facilities.

He declared that the Government had all along intended to kill the Bill, and had hoped to do so on the

vote together, but it is quite common for a wife to hold opposite political views to her husband with no more disastrous results than if she had different views in music or art."

Why not, indeed? No intelligent man desires in the companion of his hearth a mere reflex of his own personality. There are, of course, certain uneducated natures (low in the scale of civilization, whatever be their social status) whose opinions grow on them like barnacles, not to be detached, affected, or modified by any enviroing influence or experience, and serving no purpose but to scarify and wound the unlucky persons who come in contact with them. Such individuals are tyrants with whom their fellows (especially their families) will avoid the futile attempt to exchange ideas. But are we to model our social arrangements on such characters as these? A domestic peace secured by such conditions is a slavery as gross as that suggested by the specimens of a "scold's bridle," which have come down to us from mediæval times.

"It's twenty pities that people can't put up with other people's notions," says that delightful Irish author, Miss Jane Barlow. One knows some families in which all discussion is discouraged, as possibly leading to disagreement, and where domestic converse is never allowed to dive beneath the froth of surface banality; others, again, in which all subjects of general interest are keenly and fearlessly discussed, identity of view being neither expected nor required, but individual freedom of thought recognized without question or offence. Such a family contributes not only to life's savour and healthful activity, but to human progress, in a degree a hundred-fold greater than the one-mind-power household.

Lastly, of the general good effect on the country of the women's vote, the consensus of weighty opinion is such that it is hard to select only a few examples.

Mr. Seddon, when Premier of New Zealand, declared to a deputation of Englishwomen that the results of Women's Suffrage had been the passing of laws beneficial to the Colony, and that women had not been in the slightest degree unsexed, but were more highly appreciated than ever.

The Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia, together with the Premiers of every separate State, publicly testified last year to the beneficial results of women's political equality with men.

In Norway, the political representation granted a few years ago has just been confirmed and extended by the Cabinet. The American States, after long experience, have re-affirmed and approved it, wherever tried. Every Governor of Wyoming for thirty-nine years has witnessed to its good results, and the Legislature has twice passed unanimous resolutions to this effect.

In Colorado, a published statement that no ill-effects had followed Women's Suffrage and that it was "noticeably more conscientious than that of men" was signed by the Governor, Governor-elect, and two ex-Governors; the Chief Justice and all Justices of the State Supreme Court, Denver District Court, and the Court of Appeals; the Attorney-General, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, all the Senators and Representatives in Congress, and a long list of distinguished citizens, including prominent clergymen. (Mrs. Julia Ward Howe; letter to the "Times," October, 1908.)

As opposed to this overwhelming testimony, individual expressions of adverse opinion may doubtless be collected, and in American politics, at any rate, Women's Suffrage has undeniably its enemies. They are of a kind, however, to reflect credit on our cause. The promoters of financial trusts and rings, the Tammany Hall party, and the immense power known as the liquor interest, are all deadly foes of the women's vote. Why? Because that vote can neither be purchased nor prostituted! A Finland peasant woman spoke for her sex when she said, "Now I have a vote I want to use it as a means to protect the things I esteem as the highest good in this world—my religion, my fatherland, and my home."

C. C. OSLER.

second reading. He accused them of a lack of frankness, an accusation hotly repudiated by Mr. Churchill and Mr. Lloyd George, the latter interjecting "I voted for all the other Bills," to which Lord Hugh replied: "Yes, when you knew they could not be carried!" The Government had pretended to be impartial and neutral, but they had been guilty of hypocrisy, and were now treating the House "with outward courtesy, but with essential contempt."

Mr. Roch quoted Mr. Haldane's statement, and asked that the House, having, by the majority on the second reading, shown its feeling, should now be given an opportunity "to translate that feeling into a concrete form."

The Veto Conference.

Mr. Asquith on Friday also made his long-expected statement concerning the Conference, but his reply did not give much satisfaction. He said the representatives of the Government and the Opposition had held twelve meetings, and had carefully surveyed a large part of the field of controversy. The result was that their discussions had made such progress—although they had not so far reached an agreement—as to render it, in the opinion of all of them, not only desirable but necessary that they should continue. In fact he might go further and say that they would think it wrong at this stage to break them off. There was no question of their indefinite continuance, and if they found, as a result of further

deliberation during the recess, that there was no prospect of agreement that could be announced in Parliament in the course of the present session they would bring the Conference to a close.

Other Business.

On Monday, 25th, the Finance Bill was read a first time. The Accession Declaration Bill, in spite of its exceedingly contentious nature, was this week rushed through second reading, committee, report, and third reading.

In the House of Lords the Midwives Bill passed through committee; an amendment providing that the doctor's fee might be recovered from the local supervising authority instead of the board of guardians was introduced by Lord Ampthill, and supported by Lord Lytton; it was opposed by Lord Stanley of Alderley as "Socialistic," and by Lord Beauchamp as "prejudicing Poor Law reform," and was negatived.

Notice of Motion.

Mr. Keir Hardie has given notice of the following motion for the autumn sitting:—"Parliamentary Franchise (Women) Bill (Procedure).—That the committee stage of the Parliamentary Franchise (Women) Bill have precedence of all orders of the day and notices of motions on Friday, November 18, and the report and third reading stages of the same measure take a like precedence on Friday, November 25."

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 the country. (b) The organisation of Women's Suffrage Societies on a non-party basis.

Hon. Secretaries: Miss Edith Dimock. **President:** Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D. **Hon. Treasurer:** Miss Bertha Mason (Pro Tem.).

Telegrams: "Voiceless, London." **Secretary:** Miss T. G. Whitehead, M.A. **Telephone:** 1900 Victoria.

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

The Executive Committee.

At a meeting held on Thursday, 28th, the situation was carefully considered, and the following resolution was passed:—"That until the promoters of Mr. Shackleton's Bill decide to drop it, the National Union shall not consider the Bill is destroyed." It will be remembered that at the Bristol Council meeting it was resolved to call a Special Council meeting should the Government destroy the Bill.

Treasurer's Notes.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

July 23rd to July 30th, 1910.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	1,801	10	3½
Subscriptions:—			
Mrs. Carl Hentschel	0	5	0
Miss B. A. Clough (£20 additional)	25	0	0
Mrs. Wallis Chapman	0	5	0
Mrs. McCarthy	0	5	0
Mrs. Greig	0	5	0
Mrs. Rawson	0	5	0
Lady Clayton	1	1	0
Affiliation Fees:—			
Horsham W.S.S.	0	5	0
Hockwold W.S.S.	0	5	6
Tonbridge W.S.S.	0	9	3
Donations:—			
Mrs. Eric Carter	1	0	0
Anonymous	0	5	0
Miss A. M. Allen, of Whitefield (Collecting Card)	2	7	0
	£1,833	8	0½

MILLION SHILLING FUND.

	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	1,373	6
Miss M. T. Saint	20	0
	1,393	6

QUEEN'S HALL DEMONSTRATION.

	£	s.	d.
Share of profits to July 30th	698	18	4

BERTHA MASON, Treasurer.

The Parliamentary Situation.

The Prime Minister has refused any further facilities for Mr. Shackleton's Women's Suffrage Bill this session. We understand that the Conciliation Committee do not intend to accept this reply as final, and that they will renew their request. If the House of Commons will support the Committee in their reasonable action the Bill may yet go through this session.

At the moment of writing we await the action of the House of Commons in support of this Bill. Meanwhile, we urge Women Suffragists to remember that *the Bill is not yet dead*, and that it is the unexpected which always happens.

Our business, therefore, is to renew and redouble our efforts to secure the passage of the Bill through its further stages; to back up the Conciliation Committee in their efforts to secure the necessary facilities; to bring pressure on Members of Parliament to induce the Government to give time; and to agitate in the constituencies.

Mr. Lloyd George, speaking on behalf of the Prime Minister on July 28th, is reported to have said that "the pledge given by the Prime Minister was "that the Government were prepared in *this Parliament* to give an opportunity for effectively dealing with the whole question." But, inasmuch as Mr. Shackleton's Bill is so framed that the House of Commons cannot deal with the whole question, but only part of it, we certainly cannot give further facilities.

Women will not be deceived by insincere quibbles of that kind. The "all or none" policy is not the attitude taken up by politicians on other questions. It is not the attitude taken up by this Government or by Mr. Lloyd George himself when they have determined that a reform shall go through. It has ever been the custom of politicians to proceed on the line of least resistance. We women are quite willing to proceed upon this line. We accept Mr. Shackleton's Bill because we consider that it is a practical, moderate solution of the difficulty. We

are not shaken in our belief by recent events or by refusals. We believe in the justice and righteousness of our claim, we believe that the present moment is *the* moment to press it; we are willing to accept an instalment of justice.

What we are not prepared quietly to accept is the policy of indefinite postponement. If the Government is not satisfied with the form of the Bill now before the House, let them in common fairness, at once introduce a Bill of their own, a Bill which, in their opinion, will express "the will of the representatives of the people," and let them give time for its passage through the House of Commons without further delay. Our object is the removal of sex disqualification, and for this we demand opportunity at the hands of the Government.

BERTHA MASON, Parliamentary Secretary.

Work in the North of Scotland.

MR. ANNAN BRYCE'S CONSTITUENCY.

We are very busy in the North now forming new Societies round Inverness, which with those already existing will constitute a North of Scotland Federation. The first week has been chiefly occupied in organizing future meetings and visiting people interested.

Inverness is the centre of the constituency of Mr. Annan Bryce, who seconded the rejection of the Bill on July 11th, and in Nairn Public Hall, at the meeting arranged by the Nairn Society, Mrs. Hunter presiding, my speech will be a reply to his speech in the House. This will be my text also in Forres and Fortrose.

Mr. Annan Bryce moved the House to laughter on the 11th by citing as impossible the gaining of the signatures of a majority of his (or any) electors to this reform, stating that he had said he would withdraw his opposition if this were forthcoming. He suppressed the fact that he received from Forres and Fortrose at the General Election our petition signed by a majority of his electors in these places; that from Nairn he received only six less than a majority; and that his Inverness petition contained the names of the greater number of his best and most influential supporters. The Press in Inverness has published Mr. Bryce's speech in full, and replies to it from myself and others, and an excellent interview with Mrs. Hunter, our Inverness president, dealing with it. It is

specially important that this constituency should be worked now.

On Friday a meeting in Elgin will be held, and on Monday and Tuesday (1st and 2nd August) Beaulieu will have its first indoor Suffrage meetings.

I go to Lossiemouth this week also (Mrs. Wemyss Fulton, of our Aberdeen Committee, kindly offering hospitality), and hope to arrange a meeting for visitors and residents which our members there will work up.

HELEN FRASER.

Yorkshire Federation.

After leaving York, I went on to Bridlington, where I held two well-attended meetings. The greatest interest was shown by the audience, and when questions were invited, many entered into a long discussion on the Conciliation Bill. After two days at Bridlington I went on to Beverley, where, considering the size and character of the town, the meetings have been extremely good, and the collections excellent. I have held five open-air meetings in this town, and last night one or two men in the audience asked me to continue next week. I therefore intend to give two more before going on to Driffield on Thursday next.

R. LE CLERE PHILLIPS.

Correspondence Between Lord Lytton and Mr. Asquith.

The following correspondence has passed between Lord Lytton and Mr. Asquith:—

19th July, 1910.

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.

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 merely indicate approval of the principle of Women'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 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. 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 this 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.

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



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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, etc.,
(Signed) LYTTON.

July 23rd.
Dear Lord Lytton,—I have received your letter of the 19th instant. On the 23rd June 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."—
(Signed) H. H. ASQUITH.

July 28th.
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 Women Suffragists have laboured under what you have yourselves 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 preference for a Bill drafted in such a way 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, etc.,
(Signed) LYTTON.

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

40, Museum Street, W.C.

The Executive of the Men's League met on July 28th, and agreed unanimously to summon a general meeting of the League for September 23rd, when the following resolution will be proposed in the name of the Executive:—

"That in view of the refusal of the Prime Minister to grant facilities for Mr. Shackleton's Bill, this League decides to oppose the Government until a Woman's Suffrage measure is carried into law. At by-elections it will oppose all official Government candidates. At a General Election the Executive shall be empowered to make an exception in favour of sitting Liberal members who have rendered effective support to the Conciliation Committee."

A Conservative Resignation.

Lady Betty Balfour has resigned her office as Dame President of the Woking Habitation of the Primrose League, as a protest against the adverse vote given by Mr. D. Macmaster, M.P. for the Chertsey Division, on the second reading of Mr. Shackleton's Bill.

The Women's Liberal Federation

We read in the papers that at a meeting of the Women's Liberal Federation Executive Committee it has been resolved to call a special meeting of the Council for Monday, December 5th, to consider the situation with regard to Women's Suffrage. Delegates from 694 Women's Liberal Associations will be entitled to attend the Conference, at which, it is stated, important resolutions will be considered.

Well, well! One wonders how many Suffragists will be left within the Women's Liberal Federation by December 5th. The women are certainly learning from the Government how to cool the ardour of their own supporters.

More Secessions from the Liberal Party.

Owing to the attitude of the Government towards the Conciliation Bill, Mrs. C. A. Fyfe has resigned from the Women's National Liberal Association, of which she has been a vice-president and a member of the Executive Committee for about seventeen years. She has also resigned from the Liberal Social Council; the Free Trade Union, on whose Brighton Executive Committee she was; the Women's Free Trade Union, and the Horsham Women's Liberal Association. Mrs. Fyfe had been president of the Horsham Women's Liberal Association and on its executive ever since the Association was started. Miss Churchman, another old member of the Horsham W.L.A. Executive, who only recently consented to become treasurer, has also resigned. These ladies have resolved to work no more for the Liberal or any other political party till the just claims of women to the Parliamentary vote have been recognised.

Liberal Women's Suffrage League.

We, representing the Liberal Women's Suffrage League, desire to place on record our deep satisfaction with the debate and division upon the Municipal Suffrage Bill, and urge the Government to give facilities for making the Bill law either now or during the autumn session. In spite of some deliverances from individual Liberal leaders, we cannot bring ourselves to believe that the great Liberal party will hesitate to grant this measure of justice to women because of some supposed disadvantage to the party. Such a falling away from high ideals could not fail to bring ultimate disaster; nor do we believe the fear to be justified. Our anxiety at this crisis is as much on behalf of Liberalism as of the Suffrage.

EDITH TATTERSALL, President.
ALICE SANDYS, Treasurer.

July 26th, 1910.

Photographs of the Trafalgar Square Demonstration.

We much regret that several misprints occurred in the address given in our issue of July 14th. These photographs can be obtained, 2d. each, from Mrs. Albert Broom, 38, Burnfoot Avenue, Fulham, London.

Women Writers' Suffrage League

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.

Isle of Sheppey.

Miss K. Raleigh writes that there is to be a holiday campaign in Sheerness, Queenborough, etc., from August 8th to 12th inclusive, and she would be grateful for help of any sort. Canvassers and sellers and stewards are wanted. Address: Cliff Cottage, Eastchurch, Kent.

The Suffragists' Revenge.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.

Sir,—I feel that it is my duty to point out to you that in 5 and 6 Vict. Cap 35, Sec. 45, the following appears:—

"Provided always, that the profits of any married woman living with her husband shall be deemed the profits of the husband, and the same shall be charged in the name of the husband and not in her name, nor of her trustee."

With regard to the two sentences here quoted, it is quite obvious that the second is the natural outcome and corollary of the first; while both are integral parts of the law, and the Inland Revenue authorities are clearly estopped from disputing either of the principles which are here laid down.

It is probably not necessary for me to explain to you that the word "profits," as used throughout this Act, includes income of all kinds, and from whatever source arising.

Now, Sir, you have already, I believe, had to admit that, in consequence of the provisions of this Act, I, for instance, as a married woman living with my husband, cannot be charged with income-tax, no matter how much my profession may be bringing me in.

You have also had to admit that for the same reason you will be unable to charge the supertax on married women living with their husbands.

In these circumstances, therefore, it becomes my business to ask you a very serious and pertinent question.

Why are those married women who are living with their husbands, and whose incomes happen to be derived, for instance, from *Consols* and *Government stocks*, being charged with the income-tax thereon?

The Act clearly states that the tax is to be charged on the husband, and in his name only.

I assert that the law is being juggled with, and that married women are being charged with income-tax every day, in flagrant defiance of the Act of Parliament.

The law is as clear as any form of words can possibly be, and under no circumstances can anyone have the right, so long as a married woman is living with her husband, to expect her to pay income-tax, or to call upon her to do so, or to charge her with it, or to regard her as being liable for it. I have tested the accuracy of this statement in my own case. I know the authorities dare not charge me with income-tax, and therefore I want to know how dare they charge any other married woman?

The answer is that other married women do not know the law, and it happens that I do. The husband is clearly the only person who is liable for income-tax, and therefore he is the only person who may be charged with it, and so long as his wife is living with him he cannot transfer his liability to her.

Your duty, Sir, is therefore imperative—namely, to adjust this matter by immediately refunding to married women all the tax which has been illegally charged upon them and deducted from their incomes for some 28 years past.

I believe that this will probably amount to about £100,000,000 on a very modest and conservative estimate.

But you have your remedy at law, as you are clearly entitled to recover from the persons who alone were legally liable, and who ought to have been charged in the first place—that is, the husbands. No doubt this course will lead to the immediate formation of a "Husband's Tax Resistance League." That, however, has nothing to do with the case, and is quite another story. I have no animus against husbands, far from it; I deeply sympathise with them. But I am a law-abiding person, and I like to see other persons obeying the laws, especially public officials.

I hope, Sir, that you and all future Chancellors of the Exchequer will now and from henceforth take pains to secure that while the law remains what it is, it shall be duly observed and administered.—I am, yours respectfully,
ETHEL AYRES PURDIE, Public Accountant and
Income-tax Expert.

Foreign News.

FRANCE.

An important victory for women has just been gained at the Congress of the "Fédération du Livre," which is taking place at Bordeaux.

Some years ago the printers refused to admit women to their union, which counts many thousands of members. Some time after this refusal a strike broke out in the East of France, and a large number of printers ceased work. Women printers consented to replace them, thus ruining the strike, and showing the men how much better it would have been to work together than as rivals; was it not in the interest of the men themselves that the women should not undersell them?

However, this self-evident truth has only now been recognized; on July 23, by 74 votes to 63 (and 22 abstentions), the Congress decided to admit women to the "Fédération du Livre." At the Congress at Lyons in 1905 the women only obtained three votes.

This is a great victory for women of the working classes, because the Federation is the most powerful and best organized Union, and this decision will certainly serve as an example and a precedent for all the others.

C. L. BRUNSCWIG.
The question of the "Recherche de la Paternité" is occupying the French Senate. According to the Code Napoléon, the mother of an illegitimate child has no claim on the father. Now the French are becoming alarmed at the declining birth-rate and gradual depopulation of the country, and are searching for causes and remedies. Inquiries have proved that the mortality among illegitimate children is three times as great as among the legitimate, and the proportion of illegimates is large—about one-third of the number of legitimates. It is hoped that by obliging the father to contribute to the maintenance of mother and child the chances of early mortality will be greatly diminished. Bills dealing with the question have often been brought forward, but have never got beyond the Committee stage; the Bill of M. Rivot dates from 1883, when it was first introduced. After many meetings on the subject the Senate has decided to accord it a second reading, and as it is unlikely that the Chamber will overrule the Senate, it is probable that the Bill will become law, and thus abolish an injustice of long standing.

Our Sons' Heritage.

Bone of my bone, flesh of my flesh!—if I stunt my flesh and bone
I pay the price, but it is not I who pay the price alone!
If I cramp my brain and my very soul, if I learn to coax and fawn,
I wrong myself, but I also wrong the babe that is yet unborn.

For when we gather grapes from thorns, and figs from thistles, then
Poor slavish women will bear a race of free and dauntless men!

But so long as like breeds like, so long as the world goes on its way,
It cannot be for the fathers' sins alone that the children pay.
If we barter our freedom—if we sell our very souls for ease,
If we crush our lives in a narrow groove, and only live to please,
We may gain our way by our pretty wiles, but will our sons be brave
If the birthright we transmit to them is the heart of a cunning slave?

For Nature has never decreed that it is part of her design
That a mother's traits should be entailed—entailed on the female line!
The Eastern harem is not alone the women's dwelling place
Or prison-house; it also serves as the cradle of the race—
And it is not a cradle that we should choose to suit our purpose when
We wish to rear a sturdy race of independent men.

If we hide our talents till they rot and change into worthless dust,
We rob ourselves, and we rob the race for whom they were held in trust.

As we work, and wait till our hearts are sick, and hope for a brighter dawn,
Our hope is not for ourselves alone, but for children yet unborn!

It is not of ourselves alone we think, nor yet of the present age—
We wish to leave a healthy race,—a glorious heritage!

G. M. GEORGE.

Correspondence.

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

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

THE SUPPORT IN THE HOUSE.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—In your issue of to-day you state that "nearly half" the House of Commons supports the Conciliation Bill. This appears to understate the case, as you have not taken into account those who were absent unpaired or unofficially.



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WILLIAM OWEN
WESTBOURNE GROVE, W.

paired. I have taken the trouble to analyse these members according to your list of supporters of the cause in your issue of February 17 last (as corrected later). I have also analysed the pairs. It may interest your readers to have the figures in a fuller form than I have seen published as yet:—

For the Bill:

	Total.	Lib.	Cons.	Lab.	Nat.
Voted	299	161	87	31	20
Paired	25	14	10	1	0
Absent unpaired but in favour of W.S.	49	22	15	4	8
	373	197	112	36	28

Against:

	Total.	Lib.	Cons.	Lab.	Nat.
Voted	190	60	113	2	14
Paired	25	8	17	0	0
Absent opposed	63	11	18	0	34
	278	79	148	2	48

Present but did not vote ... 17 2 13 0 2

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Write for an explanatory leaflet to **Miss Ellen Walshe**, Office of "The Common Cause," 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester, Agent for the

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It therefore appears that considerably more than half the House are in favour of the Bill, and even that does not fully state the case, for there are a number of supporters of the principle of the enfranchisement of women who for one reason or another opposed this particular Bill.

If their numbers are added we get the following:—

	Total.	Lib.	Cons.	Lab.	Nat.
In favour as above	373	197	112	36	28
Voted against the Bill but in favour of the principle	32	19	10	2	1

Total supporters of the principle .. 405 216 122 38 29
Again, if we deduct the above 32 from the 278 opponents we find that the objectors to the principle of Women's Suffrage number 246, so that the majority in favour of the principle is 159. (This leaves out of account the 17 members present who did not vote, who may probably be regarded as doubtful.)—Yours,
THOS. G. ROGERS.

LORD MILNER AND THE ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.
To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—I have noticed that Lord Milner has twice lately been alluded to as an Anti-Suffragist in the pages of "The Common Cause." This statesman has never made any pronouncement on Women's Suffrage, but he has certainly never joined the Anti-Suffrage League.—Yours,
A FRIEND.

[We are very glad indeed to hear that we are mistaken about Lord Milner. His name was included in an unofficial list some months ago, and it is good news indeed to hear that this was an error.—Ed., "C.C."]

RECORD OF WORK DONE.

To the Editor, "The Common Cause."

Madam,—There are two suggestions I should like to make to your readers.

It seems to me that a great deal of the work done by Societies in the National Union fails to have its full effect because it does not appear in any centralised record, easy of access to those who want a concise statement of facts which can be quoted. It is most important that none of the evidence our Societies are obtaining in support of the Conciliation Committee's Bill should be wasted. I want to suggest that during the life of the Bill a brief report of all local work should be sent by the secretary of each Society to Mr. Brailsford, secretary of the Conciliation Committee, written clearly on sheets of quarto paper, under headings: "Meetings," "Resolutions," "Petitions to Parliament," "Letters to Party Leaders," "Letters to M.P.s," etc., etc. I should suggest that a summary of all work already done in support of the Bill (the briefest possible statement of facts) should be sent in at once, and that each secretary should henceforward send in a report at least once a month. The material thus collected and placed at the disposal of the Conciliation Committee might then be handed over to the N.U. Office, or to voluntary workers supplied by the London Society, who should tabulate it and publish a complete up-to-date record from time to time in "The Common Cause," just as subscription lists are published.

The other suggestion I want to make has no connection with my first one. It has always seemed to me a great pity that the eloquent speeches made at so many of our meetings should not be recorded and published for the benefit of a wider public than the audience which is present when they are made. Of course, "The Common Cause" has not room for verbatim reports, and the Press—at any rate in London—can hardly be expected to give more than a summary of speeches. Would it not be well worth while for a Society organizing an important meeting in which specially good speakers are going to take part to engage their own short-

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hand reporter to make a verbatim report which could be published in leaflet form if there were sufficient demand for it? I am sure everyone who was present in St. James's Hall on July 13th must have wished for a verbatim report of Mrs. Swanwick's brilliant speech to take home and spread broadcast among their local Societies.—Yours,
CATHERINE E. MARSHALL.

Hawse End, Keswick, July 30th, 1910.
[We are afraid that expense would be a serious consideration as regards Miss Marshall's second suggestion. A short-hand report is an exceedingly costly affair.—Ed., "C.C."]

LIBERAL WOMEN AND THE VOTE.
To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—May I, through your paper, address a few words to Liberal women? I see that a great gathering of the Liberal Women's Federation will be held shortly.

I am strongly impressed by the exceptional weapon on behalf of the Suffrage which this powerful organization possesses. If the Federation is whole-hearted in desiring women's franchise why does it not proclaim a general strike? We who are fighting for no political party, but for the Suffrage only, entreat the Federation at this crisis to put aside every other question and to rest content with no promise from any man that somehow, at some time in the indefinite future, he may give us the vote. We ask Liberal women to cease working altogether for the Ministry till it has given the vote. If they will take this bold course, I fancy that the conscientious objections of Anti-Suffrage Ministers will soon vanish into smoke. If the Federation continues to support those who are determined to retain their women workers in the category of idiots and criminals, it is playing into the hands of our enemies and retarding our cause.—Yours,
LOUISA BIGG, 2, YORK TERRACE, REGENT'S PARK.

Reports of Societies within the National Union.

Secretaries would simplify the work by sending in notices of FORTHCOMING MEETINGS, endorsed with those words, with time, place, and speakers legibly written, on one side of the paper only, and on a sheet of paper separate from other matter.

(The following reports were held over from last week.)
BASINGSTOKE.

On July 1st Miss Dorothy Edwards addressed a drawing-room meeting for members and friends at Garryowen, by kind permission of Mrs. Conran. The speaker told the gathering the main details of the work of the National Union done during 1909 down to the present time, and explained the nature of the Bill before Parliament. Considering that the weather was terribly bad, a good number of members attended the meeting and expressed themselves very interested in all they heard. Miss Eyre kindly came over from Fleet and recited an amusing Suffragist monologue, which was greatly appreciated. Mrs. Conran was heartily thanked for her past services as secretary. On July 5th the Rev. Ivory Cripps came from Swindon, and, despite torrential rain, addressed a good and orderly gathering in the Market Place at 8 p.m. The next day was fine, and he spoke to the mechanics at Thornycroft's motor works during the dinner hour. On both occasions his speech was a most lucid and forceful explanation of Mr. Shackleton's Bill, and the men were most obviously interested and impressed. The Committee are most anxious that Mr. Cripps shall pay Basingstoke another visit.

Miss Edwards organized for several days in Basingstoke, and was very pleased with the courteous way she was received everywhere.

The Basingstoke Branch is to be congratulated on having a hard-working and painstaking Committee which has kept the local Member of Parliament well supplied with resolutions and letters concerning the Bill, for which he ultimately voted.

BIRMINGHAM—SOLIHULL.

On Saturday, July 16th, to raise funds, a Morris Dancing and Folk Song Entertainment was given in the garden of Sutton Lodge, Solihull, by the girls and children of the Oozells Street Clubs, Birmingham. The girls, dressed in coloured print frocks, aprons, and sun-bonnets, danced "Maid of the Mill," "Bean-setting" (a dance dating from Pagan times and commemorating the sowing of seeds in spring), "Blue-eyed Stranger," and other Morris dances, and sang delightful folk songs from Somerset, collected by Cecil Sharp; while the babies of four to five years old charmed the audience by singing and acting the old English games, "London Bridge," "Three Dukes," "When I was a Young Girl," etc., or played in the two large haycocks on the lawn while the elder ones took their turn.

The Club has been trained by Florence Warren for the Society for the Revival of Folk Music and Dancing, and is extremely good, and the audience grew most enthusiastic as the performance went on. It was a fine day, and tea was served out of doors on another lawn at the end of the first part of the performance.

After this interval, Lady Isabel Margesson, introduced by the Rev. E. Newman Hall, curate of Solihull, and a pillar of its Society,

kindly gave a short address. About 130 tickets were taken, and the amount realized, when all expenses were paid, was £7 13s.

Solihull is most grateful to the Club and to Miss Bishop, its Secretary, who so kindly gave their services to the cause.

BRIDLINGTON.

Two good open-air meetings were held here on Monday and Tuesday, July 18th and 19th. Miss le Clerc Phillips, who is temporarily taking the duties of Organizer for the Yorkshire Federation, was the speaker. The assembly was at first small, although the meetings had been well advertised, but after a short time there was a good crowd, whose interest deepened as Miss Phillips proceeded with her clever address.

Mrs. Richardson, who came over from Hull for the Monday evening meeting, also spoke and answered questions. Question-time revealed some result of the Home Secretary's mud-throwing. It appears to be sticking in the minds of a good many unoriginal people. It is time the woman's point of view was represented when people can openly hold up hands in holy horror at the bare idea of a vote being given to a woman guilty of an offence which is looked upon as an excusable indiscretion when participated in by, not voters only, but even our law-makers.

FARNHAM.

The annual general meeting was held on July 19th, 1910, in the garden of Etwas, by the kind permission of Mr. and Mrs. Harcourt Barnard, who also provided members and their friends with tea. There was a gathering of about forty, being a fine afternoon, and as Lady Middleton, president, was at the last unable to come to us, Mr. Bury took the chair and introduced Miss M. Martineau, of Esher, who gave an interesting address on the present position of the Bill and on the need for still more earnest work to keep the position we have won. At the business meeting which followed Mrs. Weatherby took the chair. The Treasurer reported receipts £49 17s. 7d., and expenditure £45 10s. 8d., leaving a cash balance of £4 6s. 11d., but with about £5 still owing for the expenses of our last two meetings. Mr. Henry Bury then asked to be relieved of the office of treasurer, as, owing to the scattered nature of our district, it would be better for the hon. secretary to be also treasurer, and, in fact, she had almost acted as such during the past year. With regret this was accepted, and Miss Milton agreed to take the double responsibility. The Secretary then reported twelve meetings held during the year; a membership of 73 and 8 associates; committee meetings 17. The Society had taken part in two great demonstrations in London on June 18 and July 9 in favour of the Enfranchisement of Women Bill, 1910, taking their banner with them. One member had defended her claim to be put on the register, and this was reported in the "Times." Two hundred and thirty-one signatures were obtained for the electors' petition (Guildford division). Lady Middleton was re-elected president, and Mrs. Bury, Mrs. Ralph Durand, Mr. Henry Bury, and Miss L. Antrobus were elected to fill the four vacancies on the committee. The sum of £1 10s. 11d. was collected, and some literature and badges sold.

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CHELTENHAM.

A well-attended garden meeting was held on Saturday, July 16th, at Sandford Lawn, by kind invitation of General and Mrs. Swiney. The weather was perfect. In spite of serious disappointments at the last moment in the matter of speakers, local supporters supplied all deficiencies. Mrs. Swiney giving a spirited address from the chair, and the Rev. J. H. Smith, Unitarian minister, delivering an eloquent and plain-spoken speech on the rightful claims of women and the usurpation of men. A resolution calling upon the Government to give time for the further stages of the Bill was passed unanimously.

The Hon. Secretary gave a short account of the two demonstrations, on the 18th of June and 9th of July, at which she had carried the Cheltenham banner.

Pamphlets, "Common Causes," etc., were sold. The tea stall did a brisk trade, and miscellaneous goods were also sold. There was an excellent entertainment, for which an entrance fee of threepence was charged, and almost everyone attended this. A new member joined. The Government is again being urged to give facilities to the Bill, in view of the large majority on the second reading.

CUCKFIELD AND CENTRAL SUSSEX.

We held our first annual meeting in the Queen's Hall, Cuckfield, on the 30th June. About a hundred members and friends were present. The report showed that the steady and increasing work of the year had resulted in a total membership of 160. Branches of the Society had been formed at Cuckfield, Hayward's Heath, and Hurstpierpoint, and arrangements are being made to extend the work to other places in the constituency.

Mrs. Strickland, of Hastings, in an interesting and convincing address, showed the need, the justice, and the expediency of giving women the vote. Though the goal was not yet reached the speaker thought there are many indications of its soon being in sight, and her persuasive appeal to her hearers to do all in their power to further the cause at this critical moment in its history drew a hearty response from the audience, and fourteen new members were enrolled.

On July 14th, at the kind invitation of Mrs. Martindale, a garden party was held in the grounds of the Congregational Institute at Horsted Keynes, to inaugurate a branch of our Society. Miss Merrifield, the indefatigable secretary from Brighton, moved a resolution supporting the cause, and she was followed by our old and valued friend, Mrs. Francis, who gave a really masterly and comprehensive address on the whole subject. She began with a humorous review of the debate in the House of Commons, and then dealt with the question successively from the physical, the moral, and the practical points of view. Under the last head she emphasized the fact that a very large number of women in England are working not only for their own support but for that of their children, and pointed out the importance of giving women a chance of seeing that their sisters had justice.

Fourteen members were enrolled, and Miss Meyers was appointed Secretary, *pro tem.* We are looking forward to receiving great help from the visit of Miss Duncan, the organizer, in August, both in breaking up new ground and in giving a stimulus to the work already in existence.

DINGWALL.

A very successful garden party was held on July 14th by the members of the above Society, in the grounds of the National Hotel, Dingwall. The gathering was a brilliant and fashionable one, including members and their friends, who were received by Mrs. R. Munro-Westfield. After tea, which was served in the gardens, the company sojourned to the spacious coffee-room of the hotel, where a short musical programme was gone through by members of the Society. In the unavoidable absence of Dr. Bruce, The Castle, Mr. Newsam introduced the speakers, who were Miss Lumsden (President of the Aberdeen Society) and Miss Matheson (Hon. Secretary of the Edinburgh Society).

At the close Mr. Robert Munro, assessor, called for a vote of thanks to Mr. Newsam, and Mr. Newsam called for a similar compliment to Mrs. Robert Munro for getting up such a delightful entertainment, which gave them the opportunity of hearing such clever speaking, and at the same time strengthened their Society and the women's cause.

INVERNESS.

Under the auspices of the Inverness Women's Suffrage Society a most successful public meeting was held at Nethy Bridge, when the speakers were Mrs. Hunter (president) and Mrs. James Fraser (secretary), of the Inverness Society. Both ladies received a sympathetic and attentive hearing. The following resolution was moved, seconded, and unanimously passed: "That this meeting, in view of the large majority in favour of the second reading of the Women's Franchise Bill, urgently calls upon the Government to give time for the Committee and other stages necessary for the Bill to become law."

It is hoped to form a Women's Suffrage Society in Nethy Bridge at an early date.

LEICESTER.

A public meeting was held on Friday, July 15th, in the lecture room of the Temperance Hall, under the joint auspices of the Leicester and Leicestershire Women's Suffrage Society and the National Women's Social and Political Union, in support of Mr. Shackleton's Conciliation Bill. The Rev. F. L. Donaldson presided over a large and enthusiastic audience, and the speakers were Mr. Henry Nevins and the Rev. E. W. Lummis, M.A., who respectively proposed and seconded a resolution calling on the Government, in consideration of the large majority for the second reading, to grant time for free facilities for carrying through the Bill. A vote of thanks to the speakers was proposed by J. M. Gimson, Esq., J.P., seconded by J. W. Taylor, Esq., and supported by Mr. Donaldson.

LLANDUDNO.

Our Suffrage Library is now in full working order, and as a source of reference to facts and data is found most useful to workers. By lending books among waverers and enemies we are able to do a good deal of quiet propagandist work which would scarcely have been possible by other means. Our two copies of "The Life of Josephine Butler" are constantly out, and it is proving an invaluable aid in "missionary" work.



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LONDON—N. HACKNEY.

Our garden party, held on July 14th at Newlyn, Lordship Road, by kind invitation of Councillor and Mrs. E. H. Coumbe, was a success in every way. The weather was glorious, and over two hundred people attended. The Highbury Ladies' String Band discoursed sweet music; there were songs and recitations, a clever palmist, cake and candy and literature stalls, a shooting range, and other attractions.

Mrs. Henry Pawcett, LL.D., delivered a most able and hopeful address on "The Present Situation." She said we had reached a very important and critical moment in the Suffrage movement. We had every reason to feel greatly delighted with the large majority in the House of Commons in favour of the Women's Bill, considering the forces against us, and in spite of the fact that some of those whose support we had every right to expect forsook us. The corrected majority (109) was larger than any other political measure debated before the House of Commons could secure—larger than the majority on the Veto resolutions larger than any that could be secured for Tariff Reform or Free Trade. She claimed that the women's movement had made enormous progress. Women were now elected as town councillors and as mayors, yet they were considered unfit to say which of two men should represent a constituency. She once heard the objection that women would vote for the handsomest man ably dealt with. The answer was, "Have you ever seen a Board of Guardians?" (Laughter.)

Miss J. Thomson, B.A., made a brief and most telling little speech which at once gained us many new members. Short addresses were also delivered by the Rev. C. Heming Williams, Councillor E. H. Coumbe, Alderman Dr. T. Rushbrooke (chairman), and a cordial vote of thanks was passed to Councillor and Mrs. Coumbe.

LONDON—HAMPSTEAD.

A most successful gathering of our members and their friends was held at the Library, Prince Arthur Road, on July 19th, 4-6 p.m. Miss Emily Davies was in the chair. Lady Frances Balfour made a most earnest speech to our members, and proposed a resolution expressing the opinion of the meeting that the Government should give time for the Women's Franchise Bill to become law. This was seconded by Miss Clementina Black, who made an appeal for help from the Hampstead members. Miss Rose Graham gave a most interesting address, and Miss Davies made some concluding remarks. A very enjoyable meeting was brought to a close by a stirring appeal for workers by Mrs. Stanbury. Five new members joined the Society.

A very large crowd assembled for our meeting last Thursday evening on the Heath. Mrs. Stanbury's appeal on the 19th had brought several members, who kindly distributed leaflets and sold "The Common Cause." Mrs. Stanbury and Miss Cockle both spoke, and Mr. Simpson, of the Men's League, kindly came to help us and took the chair. There was a good deal of interruption, and several questions were asked, but the audience did not seem disposed to disperse till our chairman had to declare the meeting closed. The last of our present series of open-air meetings will take place next Thursday, when Mrs. Stanbury and Miss A. Dawson will speak.

SIDMOUTH.

A meeting in support of the Conciliation Bill was held on Friday, 8th July, and the resolution was passed. Mr. D. B. Squire was in the chair, and the speakers were Miss Hodge (of Sydney), Mrs. Randall Vickers, and Lady Lockyer, who explained the Bill. Miss Dutton gave a brief history of the Suffrage agitation, and Dr. Withers also spoke in favour of the Bill which was, he said, a moderate measure, and bitterness and resentment would follow its failure.

SOUTHAMPTON.

A large garden meeting was held on Monday last at 47, Westwood Road, under the kind auspices of Dr. and Mrs. Farquharson. Mrs. Pember-Reeves (wife of the ex-High Commissioner of New Zealand) was the speaker, and Dr. E. R. Stancomb took the chair. The Chairman's opening remarks dealt with the present political position of the cause. Mrs. Pember-Reeves, by a delightfully stimulating and witty address, greatly interested her audience. She assured her listeners that votes for women would not cause the fearful disaster to the country and Empire anticipated by some of our politicians in the House of Commons on 11th and 12th July last. On the contrary, in New Zealand they had proved a great benefit to the country, and also of great educational value to women themselves. She roused much laughter when she told them that a great many men who were most opposed to the measure before it became law, expressing it a most unadvisable and unwomanly thing for a woman to go to the poll, were the very men who were most anxious to drive their wives there when the vote was won. The resolution was proposed and carried, with one dissentient. Miss Cumberland, in seconding the resolution, made an appeal for speakers and funds for the Southampton Society. After a vote of thanks had been given to our host and hostess and to the speakers, tea was served upon the lawn. Several new members were enrolled, and altogether we had a most delightful and profitable afternoon.

Other Societies.

THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

On Monday evening, the 18th inst., a very successful meeting was held under the auspices of the Actresses' Franchise League at 60, Onslow Gardens, by kind permission of Mrs. Hylton Dale. The speakers were Mrs. Madeline Lucette Ryley, Mr. R. F. Cholmeley (of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage), and the Countess Russell was in the chair. The speeches were followed very closely. Mrs. Ryley's witty and brilliant speech was intensely interesting, and Mr. Cholmeley was most convincing, obviously affecting the audience and arousing their enthusiasm. A considerable amount of money for the Actresses' Franchise League was raised.

THE NEW UNION FOR MEN AND WOMEN.

52, Maddox Street, Hanover Square, W.

The New Union who, as their erise and blue banner proclaims, "mean to get women's enfranchisement now," took part in the procession to Hyde Park on July 23rd. The platform was occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Wilson Horn (founders of the New Union), Miss Sanders (hon. secretary), and the speakers—Mr. Wilson Horn (chair), Miss Francis, Mr. E. Duval, and Mrs. Manson. The resolution calling on the Government to provide facilities to enable the Bill to pass into law this session was carried, with cheers, by a very large audience. In sending the resolution to Mr. Asquith, the Chairman has asked him whether he will give the requisite time for the Bill to be brought before a Committee of the whole House.

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Kewick—Market Place—Miss C. E. Marshall. 8 p.m.
AUGUST 6.
Scarborough—West Pier—Miss le Clere Phillips. 8 p.m.
Highgate and North St. Pancras—Mrs. Archibald Little. 8 p.m.
Woking—Open-air Meeting—Duke Street—Mr. Cyril Yaldwyn. 7.30 p.m.

AUGUST 8.
Scarborough—Clarence Drive—Miss le Clere Phillips. 11.30 a.m.

AUGUST 9.
Scarborough—Esplanade—Miss le Clere Phillips. 11.30 a.m.
Filey—Sands—Miss le Clere Phillips. afternoon

AUGUST 10.
Scarborough—Falsgrave—Miss le Clere Phillips. 11.30 a.m.
Scalby—Miss le Clere Phillips. evening

London—Kingston Market Place—Open-air Meeting—Miss Ward, Mrs. Rogers. 8 p.m.

AUGUST 11.
Scarborough—Clarence Drive—Miss le Clere Phillips. 11.30 a.m.
Scarborough—West Pier—Miss le Clere Phillips. 8 p.m.

AUGUST 12.
Ayton—Miss le Clere Phillips. evening
Lossiemouth—Town Hall—Miss Helen Fraser, Provost Watt. 3.30 and 8 p.m.

AUGUST 13.
Woking—Open-air Meeting—Duke Street—Mr. T. Gugenheim. 7.30 p.m.

AUGUST 17.
London—Kingston Market Place—Open-air Meeting—Mr. C. Yaldwyn. 8 p.m.

AUGUST 20.

Huddersfield—Blackrock, Linthwaite—Miss Fielden.

AUGUST 21.

Leeds—Beeston Park—Miss I. O. Ford, Miss Fielden. 11 a.m.

AUGUST 22.

Leeds—Women's Labour League—East Ward—Miss Fielden.

AUGUST 24.

Leeds—The Misses Ford's Garden Party—Adel Grange. 3 p.m.

AUGUST 26.

London—Kingston Market Place—Open-air Meeting—Miss Dawson. 8 p.m.

AUGUST 27.

Leeds—Garden Party—Farsley—Miss Fielden.

AUGUST 29.

London—Windsor—At Home—Miss M. Hodge. 8 p.m.

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