

Men's League for Women's Suffrage

No. 34.

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Monthly Paper.

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Hon. Treas.: REGD. H. POTT.
Hon. Political Sec.: J. M. MITCHELL.

July, 1912

Great Joint Demonstration

HYDE PARK,

SUNDAY, 14th JULY, at 3 p.m.,

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

The Women's Social and Political Union

AND SUPPORTED BY

The Men's League and other Societies.

**TO PROTEST AGAINST A REFORM BILL FOR
MEN ONLY.**

VOLUNTEERS WANTED AS BANNER MEN.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

TRUST IN HALF THE PEOPLE.

The dullest Reform Bill in British history has been introduced at last in one of the most commonplace speeches to which the House of Commons has ever listened. "Trust in the people," said Mr. Pease, is its principle, "tempered by prudence." "Trust in half the people, tempered by sex prejudice," would be a more accurate description. It is a Bill to make every lad of twenty-one the ruler of the mother who bore him. We have nothing to say against the improvements which it introduces in the machinery of registration. But it is primarily a scheme to abolish the plural voter, and its whole motive is to assure the party gains of this achievement. It has behind it none of the democratic inspiration of earlier Reform Bills. It admits to citizenship no excluded class, no body even of men whom poverty had hitherto disfranchised. It will gain a human meaning and a place in the history of civilisation only if this nerveless, disunited House, swayed alternately by gusts of childish emotion and by calculations of party interest, finds manhood enough to act on behalf of women without the guidance of its whips. The Bill is clearly not the work of men who meant to make the process easy. It is jealously drafted so that women shall derive not even an incidental advantage from it.

Perhaps the strangest part of the Bill is its failure to reform the municipal franchise. Setting out to create one simple resi-

dential qualification, it actually perpetuates in the domain of local government all the old contentious distinctions of owner, occupier, and lodger. The local government franchise differs for county and parish councils, and it differs in London, provincial England, Scotland, and Ireland. All these existing anomalies are elaborately reproduced in the Bill. When we adopted in the Conciliation Bill a franchise distinctly more reasonable and democratic than the English municipal basis, which was our model, Mr. Lloyd George told us that we had drafted our Bill to please the Tory canvasser. When we included a few married women he opposed us in the interests of the working man's wife. One can hardly believe one's eyes. Yet in clear print in this Bill this same limited franchise for women is deliberately re-enacted by the Liberal Government itself. Not even for their own party advantage, not even in the limited field of local government, will this Liberal Ministry apply its principles to women. The fact is that they have spoiled their own plan of reform, because any remodelling of the municipal franchise would have compelled them to do something for women.

CONCERNING PROCEDURE.

When the Bill reaches the Committee stage, presumably in the late autumn, it will be no easy task to ensure a procedure that will defeat the wreckers and enable the Suffragist majority to transform the Bill. The first step is to remove the word "male" from the first sub-section. The structure of the Bill is built on two main pillars. It begins by saying that "every male person" who is qualified shall be entitled to be registered and to vote. It then goes on to state what the qualification is to be. To adapt the Bill to the demands of women they must first be brought within the scope of the general enfranchising provision. They must then be given a qualification, either the same as that of man or some other. If there is no majority for the general principle of Women's Suffrage, the word "male" cannot be excised. But this first victory would still leave the problem of finding a majority for some one proposal to define the qualification. For my part, I cannot doubt that the first trench will be carried. Adultists and Moderates, and even many of those who "rattled" on the Conciliation Bill, will unite for this first effort. Having gone so far, the House cannot, without discrediting its own ability to legislate, fail to arrive at some conclusion on the qualification. It will make itself the laughing-stock of the civilised world, if it first decides that women shall not be excluded, yet fails to decide that any women shall be included. It is precisely at this point that a Government which meant to govern would know how to intervene. If the House, voting freely, had decided to remove the sex disability, the Government ought itself to step in to propose the form of their qualification.

COMPROMISE AND PRINCIPLE.

The Conciliation Committee has, with Mr. Henderson's group, taken a share in forming a Parliamentary Council, which will recommend a procedure in the name of the whole body of Suffragists.

THE IRISH VOTE.

In considering the prospects of the Reform Bill there is one central question—the attitude of Mr. Redmond. At a largely attended conference of Liberal and Labour members on Women's Suffrage the other day the division bell happened to ring.

OUR POLICY AND LABOUR.

The new policy of supporting a Labour candidate in every triangular fight, save against a tried Liberal Suffragist, has made a brilliant first essay at Holmfirth.

vote it must powerfully reinforce the prospects of a Labour success. Our aim is to support the one party which has adopted Women's Suffrage, to apply anti-Governmental pressure in an effective and novel way to the Liberal machine, and eventually to eliminate from the Liberal ranks the reactionary minority, which threatens to-day to delay the women's triumph.

TORTURE IN PRISON.

The Men's League made its emphatic demand at Trafalgar Square for the equal treatment of the imprisoned Suffragists. Every constitutional device has been used, and still the intolerable inequality remains, and the brutal torture continues.

H. N. BRAILSFORD.

DEATH OF MR. WALTER S. B. MACLAREN, M.P.

By the death of Mr. Walter MacLaren the cause of Women's Suffrage in the House of Commons loses one of its oldest and most sincere supporters. He was an early member of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and joined the Men's League in July, 1907.

When the League adopted the anti-Government election policy he opposed the change, but at the general meeting convinced even the warmest supporters of the new policy that his disapproval was based upon a reasoned conviction of its ineffectiveness.

When it is realised that as far back as 1884 he moved and carried an amendment in favour of Women's Suffrage at a meeting of the National Reform Union and the National Liberal Federation, that he was honorary secretary of the first Women's Suffrage Committee in the House of Commons, and that he has steadily supported the cause ever since in the House and outside, all Suffragists will unite in a grateful tribute to his memory for his great services—almost unique among men—and in sincere sympathy with his widow and his family.

J. MALCOLM MITCHELL.

THE MONTH'S MEETINGS.

TRAFALGAR SQUARE.

The most important public appearance of the League this month has been the demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Saturday, June 15. The League was joined officially by the following societies:—Women's Freedom League, Men's Political Union, New Constitutional Society, Tax Resistance League, Irish League for Women's Suffrage, Women Writers' League, Cymric Suffrage Union, Actresses' Franchise League, Free Church League, Men's Suffrage Federation.

the most distinguished in the Suffrage ranks, among them being Mr. H. W. Nevinston, Mr. Laurence Housman, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mrs. Nevinston, Mrs. Kineton Parkes, Mrs. Merivale Mayer, Mr. E. Duval, Mr. Victor Duval, Miss Patricia Hoey, Miss Clemence Housman, Mr. W. L. George, Mr. John Simpson, Mr. H. E. Craufurd, Rev. F. M. Green.

The following resolution was passed with only nine dissentients out of an audience of between two and three thousand:— That this meeting approves the action of the Home Office in transferring the W.S.P.U. leaders to the first class, and claims that the same privilege should be extended to other members of that society still serving their sentences.

A fortnight later a demonstration was organised by the Women's Freedom League in the same place to demand the inclusion of women in the Reform Bill. The Men's League gladly accepted an invitation to be represented, and speeches were made by Dr. Drysdale, Mr. J. M. Mitchell, and Mr. John Simpson.

HYDE PARK.

The League's progress in Hyde Park is very marked. The audiences grow larger and larger, and the determination shown by our speakers to isolate and emphasise the really essential points is amply justified by the attentiveness of the crowd and the quality of their questions.

POSTER PARADE.

To advertise the Trafalgar Square meeting posters were carried round the main West End thoroughfares by members of the League. The "bearers" included Messrs. Mitchell, Drysdale, Brailsford, Housman, Sargeant, Mower, Sparrow, S. L. H. Fry.

This mode of advertisement is cheap and effective, and we shall be glad to have offers from any men willing to participate in similar enterprises.

DR. C. V. DRYSDALE'S NEW PAMPHLET.

We are glad to be able to announce that Dr. Drysdale's pamphlet will be published in the course of this month. It is entitled "Why men should work for Women's Suffrage," and deals with the question of wages and employment.

It is desirable that orders be sent in as early as possible, as it will be a very keen weapon, and we anticipate a great demand. Price 2d. each (postage included). Special terms for quantities, on application. One order for 1,000 copies has already been booked.

Any of the above items will be gladly forwarded on application to the Hon. Literature Secretary.

SILVESTER SPARROW.

PROPAGANDA FUND.

Table with columns: Donations, £ s. d., New Members, £ s. d. Lists names like Miss E. M. Hitchcock, Edmund J. Fry, etc. with amounts.

MEN'S LEAGUE ACTIVITIES.

Our members and others will be glad to see that the Men's League is becoming increasingly active in all departments of propaganda work. The extreme financial difficulties under which we have laboured since the beginning of the year have now been removed, thanks to the generous help of many members of the Executive and other donors, and our activities are beginning to increase in many directions.

cial towns, and members in various districts are earnestly asked to group themselves together for this purpose.

Much interest was aroused by our joint demonstration in Trafalgar Square, on June 15, so ably organised by Mr. Mitchell, and by the Poster Parade which preceded it. The demonstration organised by the Women's Freedom League on the 30th, in the same place, and in which we took part, was no less successful. Messrs. Housman and Sargeant represented the League in the visit of the Tax Resistance League to Aylesbury, on June 27, at the unveiling of the John Hampden Memorial, and some of our speakers have taken part in protest meeting at sales, held by the Tax Resistance League.

As regards the office, Mr. Sidney Williams, who has been a worker in the Women's Suffrage movement for many years, and has had considerable experience of political organisation, has been appointed assistant-secretary. Mr. de Maria, who has taken the whole work on his shoulders for the past six months, is going away for a short rest, and the Executive have passed a special vote of thanks to him for his devoted service. Most valuable voluntary work has also been done by Messrs. Silvester Sparrow and G. Mower.

It is hoped that our Literature Department, under Mr. Sparrow, will soon be a most valuable feature, and we hope to announce some important new developments in our next issue. This work, however, badly needs funds, and the extent to which the League can be effective now entirely depends upon the help given us. We hope that our members and other sympathisers will come forward.

C. V. DRYSDALE.

PROPAGANDA BY LITERATURE.

THE POSTCARD.

The appeal to members to adopt the postcard for the refusal of subscriptions, announced in the last issue, has been most successful. The executive, however, have issued another postcard, wider in scope and suitable for the refusal of applications for subscriptions, the buying of goods, or for the sending in advance to any societies to which contributions have generally been sent. The card runs as follows:—

To.....
I regret that the reduction of my other expenditure necessitated by the efforts I feel called upon to make for the cause of Women's Enfranchisement, renders me unable to spare money for.....
You will recognise that the delay in passing a Women's Enfranchisement Measure imposes a severe tax upon the resources of all supporters of the movement.

Signed.....

We trust this card will be largely adopted by our members, and may we suggest that the subscriptions withheld would be well applied to the purposes of the Men's League.

Prices, including postage, 2d. per dozen, 1s. per hundred.

MR. LAURENCE HOUSMAN'S PAMPHLETS.

In response to many enquiries we have much pleasure in announcing that we have now stocked Mr. Laurence Housman's excellent pamphlets. The pamphlet is a most important adjunct in the dissemination of our views, as its more reasoned argument

can be calmly and dispassionately read and digested by the fireside. (Yes, we can speak of the fireside in an English June.)

We would specially recommend them to be purchased and disseminated by those who have not the gift of speech, or who lack the necessary time to collect facts useful in argument.

The following are their titles and prices:—

- Sex-War and Woman's Suffrage, price 4d.
The Immoral Effects of Ignorance in Sex Relations, price 4d.
Articles of Faith in the Freedom of Women, price 6d. net.
The Bawling Brotherhood, price 1d.
The "Physical Force" Fallacy, 1d.
Also
Lysistrata, a modern paraphrase from Aristophanes, price 6d. net.
Alice in Ganderland, a one act play, price 3d.
The New Child's Guide to Knowledge, price 2s. 6d. net.
The Blue Moon, a book for children, price 2s. net.

A DAILY NEWSPAPER FOR WOMEN.

We are asked to state that a new daily paper, the Journal de la Femme, will appear in October next. It is to be a complete newspaper of from six to twelve pages, and, among other items, will give the latest information concerning the Feminist movement in France and other countries. The subscription rate in this country will be 16 francs (12s. 9d.) for six months, or 30 francs (24s.) per annum. It will be published at No. 2, Place du Caire, Paris.

"THE WOMEN WITH THE PACK."

The play by Miss Gertrude Vaughan under the above title, which was produced with such great success by the Actresses' Franchise League at the last W.S.P.U. Christmas Fête, has just been re-written and issued by Mr. W. J. Hare Smith of 6, John St., Adelphi, W.C. For those who are able to carry on propaganda work in this manner, this play ought to be welcomed as a powerful appeal to feeling, conceived in a thoroughly dramatic and artistic spirit. A photograph of the late M. Constantine Isenberg's beautiful statue "The Heavy Cross" forms the frontispiece and the motif of the play.

"JOHN HAMPDEN."

The Women's Tax Resistance League have just issued a little penny pamphlet under the above title, written by Mrs. E. J. Harrison. It gives a concise history of Hampden's famous resistance to the ship money exactions, as well as the part played by the women of the period. Several women appear to have gone to Westminster Hall, in 1642, with a petition against ship money. They were received by the Prime Minister in person; while no less than 5,000 assembled in the same place, in 1643, petitioning in support of the peace party. On this occasion the guard ordered them to retire, and a cavalry charge took place. Such precedents for the Suffrage agitation and tax-resistance may do much to mollify the modern Philistine.

BRANCH NEWS.

The following resolution of the Parliamentary Joint Campaign Committee—"That we call upon the Government to introduce a Reform Bill and carry it through all its stages during the present Session, and further declare that no Bill can be accepted which does not include the Parliamentary enfranchisement of women"—has been passed unanimously by several of the branches, including those of Manchester and Leamington.

In view of the fact that the holiday season will shortly be upon us, we hope that all members will speak for the Cause on every possible occasion. At this time of the year, when people are taking their holidays and have leisure to digest facts and arguments, propaganda work is more likely to produce permanent results than at any other time.

A motor propaganda tour is under consideration for August. Who will provide the car? F. N. SARGEANT.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH LORD CURZON. ANTI-SUFFRAGE LOGIC.

Lord Curzon having, as President of the Anti-Suffrage League, described the policy of the Men's League as "cynical and immoral," and having incidentally misrepresented our policy, Mr. Mitchell wrote to him pointing out his error, and requesting a withdrawal.

From his lordship's letter it is plain that in his view it is "cynical and immoral" to work specially for a cause which one believes to be of primary importance. Apparently he declines to believe that we look upon Women's Suffrage as anything but a "narrow and subordinate issue."

THE ACCUSATION.

1, Carlton House Terrace, S.W. June 26, 1912.

Sir,—

I beg to acknowledge your courteous letter of June 22. But I have nothing to withdraw in the language which I employed at the Westminster Palace Hotel about the recent decision of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, and also the Council of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, to support Labour candidates in future Parliamentary elections if the rival candidate is opposed to the grant of the vote to women.

I described this as a cynical and immoral attitude, because it means that in order to secure the return of a Suffragist M.P. electors are being advised to vote for a general policy which in many cases they abhor, thereby sacrificing the good of the country to their personal convictions on a narrow and subordinate issue. For instance, a Conservative voter is to pledge himself to vote for a Socialist or Syndicalist candidate, for the sole reason that the latter has accepted women's suffrage, although nine-tenths of his programme may be fatal to everything else that the voter holds dear. Is it possible to conceive anything more cynical or immoral?

I am, Yours obediently, CURZON OF KEDLESTON, President of the Anti-Suffrage League.

J. Malcolm Mitchell, Esq.

THE REJOINER.

June 28, 1912.

My Lord,—

I beg to thank you for your letter in explanation of your criticism of the policy of this League and that of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

I venture, none the less, to express the hope that you will withdraw publicly the epithets "cynical and immoral" upon the following grounds:—

If I may use the jargon of the schools, I would point out that in the course of your inference you describe the enfranchisement of women as "a narrow and subordinate issue," a term which I venture to describe as a typical example of the fallacy of "petitio principii."

I admit that in your lordship's opinion the agitation for equality between the sexes in electoral matters is "a narrow and subordinate issue." If we Suffragists accepted this "valuation" our policy would undoubtedly merit the charge of cynicism and immorality. In point of fact, the view taken by my colleagues is the exact reverse. We regard the enfranchisement of women as being, under modern conditions, an indispensable prerequisite to efficient legislation.

A very simple example illustrates this point. The Government has introduced a Bill to disestablish the Welsh Church. Now, though many members of this League are in favour of disestablishment, we are absolutely at one in holding that the introduction of such a measure, affecting as it does an interest which, numerically and intellectually, appears to belong largely to women, is entirely unjustifiable upon any existing theory of government so long as women have had no constitutional means of expressing their views. Similarly, we deny that any legislation affecting the earning capacity of the community as a whole can achieve efficiency or permanence so long as a generic

inferiority in electoral influence is imposed upon half the community.

Therefore, believing as we do that, in the widest interests of the country and the Empire, the enfranchisement of women, whether property owners or wage-earners, is imperatively required, we are clearly compelled as honest citizens to place this object first in our political programme. We cannot but feel, therefore, that we are bound to abandon party issues in order to promote what we regard as transcending them all.

I should be glad, with your lordship's permission, to publish this correspondence—of course, with any reply which you may care to make.

I am, my Lord, Your obedient servant, J. MALCOLM MITCHELL.

NO WITHDRAWAL.

Lord Curzon's reply was brief. "You are quite at liberty to publish our correspondence, as I have nothing either to add or to withdraw."

THE SEVENTH INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONGRESS, BUDAPEST, JUNE 15-20, 1913.

As we go to press particulars have just come to hand of the preliminary arrangements for the above congress, which will be accompanied by a meeting of the Men's International Alliance. Special facilities have been granted for travelling, and the city of Budapest has arranged to formally welcome the congress through its Lord Mayor, and has voted 5,000 crowns for the purpose. The Hungarian Minister of Commerce has also contributed 1,500 crowns, and other Ministers are expected to follow this example. The contrast to English Ministers is striking. Mrs. Chapman Catt, the president of the Alliance, who has been making a tour of the world, writes that delegates from India, Egypt, and Burmah will probably attend. Further particulars will be given shortly.

MEETINGS ADDRESSED BY MEMBERS OF THE MEN'S LEAGUE IN JUNE.

The list of speakers for this month deserves the careful attention of members of the League. A moment's glance will show how large is the demand upon us, and how ready is the response made month after month by a small number of energetic members.

These men are giving up their evenings unstintingly in the service of the cause at no small sacrifice to themselves, both physically and in their private interests. Attempts are continually made to reinforce the "speakers' list," but the response is regrettably small. Many men say they "really cannot speak," "they would do more harm than good!" They will forgive the comment that no one knows what he can do till he tries, and that the most effective of our speakers had to risk failure at the beginning. There is unlimited scope for educational work, and unless help is forthcoming very soon the present "team" will cease to be heard "for their much speaking."

Table with 2 columns: Date and Location, and Name of Speaker. Includes entries for June 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 at various locations like Palmer's Green, Ealing, Hampstead, Hyde Park, etc., with speakers such as Victor Prout, J. Y. Kennedy, J. M. Mitchell, Theodor Gugenheim, Reginald Pott, John Simpson, Dr. Drysdale, Lewis W. Phillips, J. M. Mitchell, J. Y. Kennedy, L. W. Phillips, Joseph Clayton, Rev. F. M. Green, H. Rolleston Stables, Rev. Claude Hinscliff, Rev. Hugh Chapman, J. Y. Kennedy.

June 7	Hampstead L.S.W.S.	Henry Holiday
" 7	Essex Hall C.L.W.S.	Rev. F. M. Green
" 7	Grantham N.U.W.S.S.	Christopher Turnor
" 7	" " "	J. M. Mitchell
" 8	Walthamstow W.S.P.U.	Joseph Clayton
" 9	Hyde Park M.L.W.S.	J. W. Jeurwine
" 9	" " "	H. E. Craufurd
" 9	" " "	J. M. Mitchell
" 9	" " "	Theodor Gugenheim
" 9	" " "	John Simpson
" 9	" " "	Dr. Drysdale
" 9	Regent's Park, W.S.P.U.	Laurence Housman
" 9	Victoria Park W.F.L.	Reginald Pott
" 9	Hyde Park M.P.U.	Victor Prout
" 10	North Kensington L.S.W.S.	J. M. Mitchell
" 10	Hythe N.C.S.W.S.	Rev. F. M. Green
" 11	Knightsbridge N.C.S.W.S.	Laurence Housman
" 11	Grafton Street I.W.F.C.	J. E. Raphael
" 12	Dundee W.S.P.U.	Joseph Clayton
" 13	Archer Street N.U.W.S.S.	J. Y. Kennedy
" 13	Guildford N.U.W.S.S.	H. Rolleston Stables
" 13	Peckham, N.U.W.S.S.	L. W. Phillips
" 15	Trafalgar Square M.L.W.S.	Laurence Housman
" " "	" " "	H. E. Craufurd
" " "	" " "	J. M. Mitchell
" " "	" " "	J. Y. Kennedy
" " "	" " "	John Simpson
" " "	" " "	H. W. Nevinson
" " "	" " "	W. L. George
" " "	" " "	F. N. Sargeant
" " "	" " "	Rev. F. M. Green
" " "	" " "	Dr. Drysdale
" " "	" " "	Herbert Jacobs
" " "	" " "	E. G. Clayton
" 16	Ealing W.S.P.U.	L. W. Phillips
" 16	Finsbury I.L.P.	F. N. Sargeant
" 17	Southwark L.S.W.S.	F. Stanton Barnes
" 18	Oldham M.L.W.S.	Reginald Pott
" 18	Hammersmith W.S.P.U.	R. F. Cholmeley
" 18	Kensington L.S.W.S.	J. M. Mitchell
" 19	Blackheath N.U.W.S.S.	Lord Lytton
" 20	Knebworth N.U.W.S.S.	Laurence Housman
" 20	" " "	R. F. Cholmeley
" 20	Camden Road L.S.W.S.	Rev. J. Ivory Cripps
" 20	Wimbledon W.S.P.U.	J. M. Mitchell
" 21	N. Kensington L.S.W.S.	Rev. F. M. Green
" 21	Chorley Wood W.S.P.U.	Laurence Housman
" 22	Putney Hill M.P.U.	Joseph Clayton
" 22	Criterion Restaurant C.W.S.L.	Reginald Pott
" 22	Croydon W.S.P.U.	Victor Prout
" 22	Palmer's Green W.S.P.U.	W. M. Mirlees
" 22	Sawston C.U.W.S.A.	E. G. Clayton
" 22	Richmond W.S.P.U.	Laurence Housman
" 23	Gladstone Park W.S.P.U.	Reginald Pott
" 23	" " "	J. M. Mitchell
" 23	Hyde Park W.F.L.	Theodor Gugenheim
" 23	" M.L.W.S.	John Simpson
" 23	" " "	J. M. Mitchell
" 23	" " "	Dr. Drysdale
" 23	" " "	J. Y. Kennedy
" 23	" " "	Rev. F. M. Green
" 24	Islington L.S.W.S.	R. F. Cholmeley
" 24	" " "	Rev. J. Ivory Cripps
" 24	London Pavilion W.S.P.U.	L. W. Phillips
" 25	N. Islington I.L.P.	F. N. Sargeant
" 26	Newington Causeway	John Simpson
" 26	Swansea	Reginald Pott
" 26	Kensington, W.S.P.U.	Walter Hogg
" 27	Wimbledon, L.S.W.S.	A. B. Mace
" 27	Battersea, B.S.P.A.	J. M. Mitchell
" 28	Bletchingley, N.U.W.S.S.	Dr. Drysdale
" 28	Grosvenor Gardens, W.T.R.L.	Rev. F. M. Green
" 28	Hampstead, W.S.P.U.	J. M. Mitchell
" 29	Kingston, W.S.P.U.	Dr. Drysdale
" 29	Trafalgar Square, W.F.L.	John Simpson
" 29	" " "	J. M. Mitchell
" 29	" " "	Herbert Jacobs
" 29	Muswell Hill, N.U.W.S.S.	Reginald Pott
" 29	Streatham, W.S.P.U.	J. M. Mitchell
" 30	Hyde Park, M.L.W.S.	Dr. Drysdale
" 30	" " "	Theodor Gugenheim
" 30	" " "	John Simpson
" 30	" " "	A. B. Mace
" 30	Finsbury Park, S.A.U.	John Simpson
" 30	Peckham Rye, W.S.P.U.	J. Y. Kennedy
" 30	" " "	" " "

Total 102. 3.40 per day.

THE COALITION CRISIS.

A SPECIMEN OF LIBERAL GOVERNMENT PRINCIPLES.

Those who have blamed Liberal Suffragists for forsaking their party and for accusing the Liberal Government of treachery to its principles may be recommended to read an article by Mr. Harold Spender in the "Daily News and Leader" of July 4. For sheer unblushing admission of party bargaining it would be impossible to beat this effusion, and we may, indeed, be grateful to the Labour Party for having, by their recent threat, enraged the Liberals to the point of showing their hand and of confessing to a greater depth of cynical indifference to principle than the Suffragists have ever accused it of. A few citations from Mr. Spender will suffice. After accusing the Labour Party of indifferent attendance and insufficient obsequiousness to the Liberals Whips, he goes on:—

"Even if the full Labour vote be withdrawn—which is not at all probable—then the present Government still maintains a working majority of about fifty. Such a withdrawal would, of course, relieve the Government of any obligation to pass Labour measures, such as the Trade Union Bill, and would leave them to concentrate their forces on the passage of Home Rule, which secures to them the biggest majority in the House of Commons. The real catastrophe of such a situation would be that the Ministerial Party would lean from 'Left' to 'Right.' Such a policy on behalf of Labour would, in fact, produce the very result which is the bogey of Labour platforms—it would tend to push Liberalism into the arms of the capitalists."

If it is possible to get more political immorality into a single paragraph, it would be interesting to see it done. We have three distinct admissions: first, that the Liberal Party only backs Labour measures because of Labour Party support; second, that they can now concentrate on Home Rule merely because the Nationalist Party secures them the largest majority; and, third, that, after all their vehement declarations in favour of the masses, the withdrawal of forty Labour votes will deliver them over to the capitalists! Mr. Harold Spender is no irresponsible outsider, but a journalist of long connection with the Liberal Press; and if he represents, as he should be able to do, the true state of Liberal Party feeling, those who accuse Suffragists of political immorality may indeed be invited to look at home.

C. V. DRYSDALE.

RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

(More particularly in relation to taxation).

8vo, pp. xii + 152. Price 3s. 6d. net.

BY C. Y. C. DAWBARN, M.A.

Author of "Liberty and Progress," etc.

Liberty is the end of Individualism, and the just payment for services rendered is its essential condition. Services may be rendered and received individually and collectively, and the payment for collective services, otherwise taxation, is the subject of this essay. This involves an enquiry into the basis of taxation, earned and unearned incomes, the nature of property and monopoly rights, and convenience as affecting methods of collection.

"Mr. Dawbarn, whose book on 'Liberty and Progress' was recently reviewed in these columns, has now produced a smaller but equally interesting volume called 'The Social Contract,' which is mainly confined to a discussion of the principles on which taxation should be based. Mr. Dawbarn writes with admirable lucidity."—*Spectator*.

"The author presents the 'No Taxation without Representation Argument in favour of women' very forcibly."—*Herbert Jacobs*.

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