

The Member for Inverness
Burghs on Women's Suffrage.

The Common Cause.

The Organ of the Women's Movement for Reform.

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ONE PENNY.

A LIBERAL OFFER.



(With apologies to Alice through the Looking Glass)
"The rule is, jam to-morrow & jam yesterday —
but never jam to-day."

Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons, July 12, 1910.

"I know it has been said by my two right hon. friends that they would rather have this Bill than none at all. Why should that be the alternative?" (*An Hon. Member*: "What is the other?") "Well, I cannot say for the moment."

"If the promoters of this Bill say that they regard the Second Reading merely as an affirmation of the principle of Woman Suffrage, and if they promise that when they reintroduce the Bill it will be in a form which will enable the House of Commons to move any amendment either for restriction or extension, I shall be happy to vote for this Bill." (*Mr. Roch*: "Will the Government give time?") "That is a question for the Prime Minister."

The News of the Week.

The Adjournment.

Parliament has gone on its holiday. The Suffragist—who knows what a lot more time and money it takes to get the vote than to use the vote, and who would gladly take the "intolerable burden" of the vote in exchange for the much more intolerable burden of making her wants understood without the vote,—the Suffragist hopes that certain members of the Cabinet when they have recovered from the exhausting business of the session, will be wiser men, and will be prepared to face this question, not with quibbles and excuses, but like men who have to answer for the government of the country at the bar of public opinion.

The Royal assent was given on August 3rd to the Accession Declaration, the Civil List and the Regency Bills, with many other minor measures, and both Houses stand adjourned till November 15th.

The Double Standard Again.

We are not much excited by Mr. Albert Dawson's expressed intention of taking a plebiscite in his constituency (the Hornsey Division of Middlesex). Men are always inventing for women new tests which they never dream of even attempting themselves to fulfil. In the House, Members had so little sense of humour that they gravely discussed whether women should be qualified or disqualified by their intelligence, poverty, marriage, or morality, and now Mr. Dawson seems to imply that something will be known that is worth knowing (and even, perhaps, acting upon) when the male electors of Hornsey have voted (or abstained from voting) on the question, "Are you in favour of conferring upon women the right to vote in Parliamentary elections?"

No Reform Bill would ever have been passed by such methods. In 1867, as a writer in "The Nation" points out, "it is well known that, relatively to the persons affected, it was but a small and active minority who were politically awake, who engineered the crisis." He quotes, "all through the North of England public feeling was vehemently excited, and numerous meetings were held with great enthusiasm. In the South, on the other hand, comparative apathy prevailed." In 1884 Gladstone was found to say that, whether he knew it or not, the need the agricultural labourer had for the vote was reason enough for giving it to him.

Any educative work, in Hornsey or elsewhere, is good, and perhaps this suggestion may stimulate work in Hornsey; but we do not regard the results of such a plebiscite as of any importance, or as having any bearing on the question whether women should or should not be given the vote. Great reforms are not put through by the inert mass, but by the active few.

Occupiers' Claims.

The last day for sending these in is August 20th, and the Women's Local Government Society, 17, Tothill Street, Westminster, is circulating leaflets for the guidance of qualified women occupiers, which show very clearly how to make a claim.

By the way, some weeks ago we published a letter from Mrs. Haslam, of Dublin, explaining how women should claim to be put on the register. It should have been explained that what she said applied to Scotland and Ireland only. In England and Wales a woman lodger cannot vote for a local election.

Miss Norah O'Shea, Parish Councillor.

At a special meeting of the Cosham Parish Council last week, Miss Norah O'Shea was elected to fill one of two vacancies caused by resignation. Miss O'Shea and her sister are well-known as among the keenest and most popular workers in the Surrey, Sussex, and Hants Federation.

A Doughty Scot.

Last week the "Aberdeen Free Press" (Liberal) had a very outspoken and honest criticism of the way the Government has treated Mr. Shackleton's Bill. While admitting that "the charge of a definite breach of faith cannot fairly be brought against" Mr. Asquith, the writer holds that "the promoters of the Bill have reason to be exasperated with the action of the Government in this matter." The Ministerialist party, he holds, is "shuffling and dodging and evading a plain Yes or No"; "it is to be hoped that the promoters of the Bill will not abandon it, but will press it this year and next as the working programme for Women's Suffrage. It represents a feasible and practical policy." Finally this doughty Scot concludes: "The attitude of those Liberals who oppose the measure because they think it will injure the party, is contemptible." Amen, say we.

A New Zealand Visitor.

Really the Antis are hard put to it! In response to the magnificent array of Premiers and Heads of Departments who have testified to the efficacy of the women's vote in New Zealand and Australia, the Antis now and then fish up an anonymous Antipodean Anti who shakes his or her head over the supposed prosperity of these countries. The "Morning Post" of August 4th had an article "by a New Zealand Visitor," which was apparently intended as part of its Anti-Suffrage propaganda. But after all, what it comes to is that people don't vote in New Zealand as the anonymous "visitor" would vote. He admits that the women use their votes "practically en masse," and he admits that it has not produced "family quarrels," or "sex war," although wives as well as widows and maidens vote. But—the women are keen on temperance, the abolition of gambling, and the substitution of arbitration for war! Think what this gentleman would have said if the women had supported the liquor trade and the gambling saloons, and had hounded the men on to destruction! Give a dog a bad name,—call her a woman—and hang her!

The Privileged Sex.

A correspondent sends us the following cutting from the "Daily News" of August 6th:—"For assaulting a young lady whilst pretending to be a doctor Frederick Cox, alias Collinson, was sentenced at Marylebone to six weeks' imprisonment in the second division." This was a lighter sentence than some of the Suffragettes received for insisting upon seeing Mr. Asquith.

We know what is the conventional notion of "a woman's honour"; we do not hold it, but it has its value in the marriage market, and many men would deny women any other trade or profession than that of marriage. So that it comes to this, that a man may destroy a woman's chances in life, for the trifling penalty of six weeks in the second division. Of course, this is taking the whole matter on its least important—its commercial—side. Of the other we prefer not to speak, since Mr. Churchill and other men who talk of women as a "privileged sex" would not understand what we meant.

The Choice.

Mrs. Mona Caird had a witty and cogent letter in the papers last week showing how absurd is the bogey of women "outvoting" men, and how very restricted is the actual choice, no matter how "impulsive," "feminine," or "meretricious" the women's votes may be. In connection with this, we should like to cite a story from the "Daily News":—"In an English constituency a canvasser happened upon an artisan reading the posted addresses and studying the pictured faces of the two candidates. 'Well, what do you think of them?' asked the canvasser. The voter shrugged his shoulders, and said nothing. 'Which candidate would you like to vote for?' persisted the other. 'Don't know nothing about none of 'em,' replied the British elector; 'but by what I can see of 'em, I thank 'eaven as only one of 'em can get in.' That's just it. Only one of them can get in, and one of them must get in, even when women have the vote.

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LONDON AGENT.—Communications referring to advertisements may now be addressed to our London agent, Mrs. H. A. Evans, 10, Adelphi Terrace, London, W.C. Friends in London desirous of helping to get advertisements will kindly communicate with her.

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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.

Contents.

	Page
Cartoon: Alice and the White Queen	285
News of the Week	286
Two Campaigns	287
The Debate on the Second Reading	288
Why Women Need the Vote	289
The Conciliation Committee	290
National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies:—	
The Executive Committee	291
Treasurer's Notes	291
A Holiday Task	292
Federation Notes	292
Sex War	293
A Great Tax Resister	294
Poem: We Think We Do	295
Correspondence	295
Reports of Societies	300
List of Societies	302
Forthcoming Meetings	303

Two Campaigns.

The Anti-Suffragists do not excel in argument; they are poor and timid speakers, and very rarely risk the chance of a good heckling; nothing has done the Suffrage cause more good than the meetings the Anti-Suffragists have held, because many people who had felt in a dim way that there was something to be said for the hoary old prejudices they nursed, and who went hoping to be primed with reasons, came away convinced that, since there were no reasons, the only respectable thing to do was to throw away the dusty old prejudices and let in the air and the young life and movement.

The more prudent and worldly wise of the Anti-Suffragists knew all along that public meetings were injurious to them and public debates disastrous, and they have certainly not ventured much into the open. Other methods were more profitable. Teas and entertainments, and quiet, "unobtrusive" canvassing, when petitions could be "explained" so as to secure the maximum of signatures,—these were recommended and adopted pretty widely. But these do not cost very much, and it was possible to carry on such "work" as this with a very small expenditure. It did not effect much, however; and by and by it was felt that, to stem the current of public opinion, romping in for the plucky women who stood for liberty, it was necessary to do something more. Hopes were raised that the Antis would really "take the field," and have a lively propaganda throughout the country. They sent some unemployed men to stand sheepishly in Trafalgar Square with sandwich boards, stating "Women do not want the vote"; and they created much hilarity in the Square a week later by holding what turned out to be Suffrage meetings; but it rather looks as if their success in these ventures would not tempt them to extend on these lines. Nevertheless they say they are going to extend; they have appealed for £100,000, and they are said to have already obtained £20,000. Where does this

money come from? What are the motives which prompt people to give anonymous cheques of thousands? How will they be used?

Wherever Women's Suffrage has been tried, the verdict is unanimous that the women's vote is given in the main for temperance, social reform, education, and protection of young life; that women will not vote for an immoral man; that the women's vote is not venal. Women do not care so much about trusts and vested interests, for war, for sport, or for gain,—they care for human life, and human life is cheap in this man-made world. What forces, then, oppose the representation of the woman's point of view? Not the social workers, not those who strive for temperance, soberness, and chastity, for decent housing, and for equal laws. Not the artists, who loathe our ugly, commercial world which offends every sense and batters our nerves into insensibility. Not the philosophers, and not the best of the workers, the forces of organized and intelligent labour. The financier, the man who sees in woman's conscience and individualism a danger to the engineering of speculative wars and the bolstering up of huge trusts; the owners of great newspaper property, with its appeal to the sensual and the rapacious, the frivolous and the sensational; the manipulators of the world's markets and of the traffic in human life; these are all alarmed at last, and from them, we may be sure, anonymous subscriptions will pour in for the secret-service fund of the opponents of women's enfranchisement.

But how can they use these funds? We know pretty well by what methods the Suffragists advocate their cause; by what thousands upon thousands of meetings and of leaflets and papers they have freely educated the people. They publish their accounts, and we know whence the money comes and by what piteous self-denial and where it goes, and how cleverly the women-chancellors manage their exchequers. What will the Antis do with their thousands? Two things mainly, and on these two methods they can spend as much money as they have. They have already captured the greater part of the London press, and they will doubtless further work that machine which punctually turns out opinion and principle in response to the penny in the slot. The other great machine is the Party machine, and this, also, is not difficult to capture or keep where money is. Party machines are naturally and necessarily opposed to any extension of the franchise. It is not to be expected that the human spiders who sit at the centre of the web, shifting and dodging to catch the simple voter, should enjoy having their webs all torn and rearranged; it is natural that agents and wire-pullers should have no small affection for all that hardy acquired information and influence to which they (again, naturally enough) attribute an altogether exaggerated importance. The machine is there, and has a voracious appetite for funds. A man can purchase anything almost in the way of "honours," if he will only subscribe liberally enough to the secret funds by which the party is run. It is a natural thought, then, that money can buy measures as well as men. And so it can very often. So it could now, if this great cause of women's liberty were not so deeply rooted in the needs of women—and therefore of men—that when once women have been awakened to it they can never sleep again in the old wretched subjection.

All the machinery in the world cannot defy flesh and blood, for it takes flesh and blood to work the machinery. And we have good hope that the men of England are still men enough to resent the turning of their vote, their voice, their conscience, their will into lifeless checks or counters, to be gambled with by those who have fortunes to lose or places to keep or win. The tyranny of party has been allowed to go pretty far by men whose minds are indolent and whose wills are sheep-like. But at last we are come up against the most arrogant attack against representative Government that has been seen in our day. A Cabinet, ostensibly occupied in fighting the battle of the Elector against the Hereditary Chamber, is actually proposing to prevent the elected Chamber from carrying into effect its wishes, expressed by a majority of 109. Mr. Churchill, who said that a vote for the second reading of Mr. Shackleton's Bill meant "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"; Mr. Lloyd George, who expressly refused to vote for the second reading because such a vote would not be "academic"; these two politicians are now reduced to sheltering behind the coat tails of Mr. Asquith, who says 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"; and this in spite of the fact that Mr. Balfour and Mr. Haldane, who voted "Aye" in both divisions, expressly stated that this was not the interpretation of their second vote, and the same was probably true of all the Conservatives who voted "Aye."

Our autumn campaign must be directed to awakening the elector to his peril and to informing him how he is being cheated. The Government have gone on a holiday, but they will have to come back to the country. It is our business to prepare a reception for them in the country; to see to it that the men with votes are no longer ignorant of this matter (and remember, the men with votes learn precious little that is true from most of the daily papers. We women must teach them); to see that the politicians are questioned, and the feeling on our side so organized and expressed that it will prove a motive force all over the country, and the Members shall be sent back to Parliament, saying, "The women shall have justice."

The Debate on the Second Reading.

III.—Mr. J. Annan Bryce.

Mr. Annan Bryce has been congratulated by the local Press upon "the frank and courageous manner" in which he has given expression to his views on the subject of Women's Suffrage. We also tender our congratulations to the hon. member for having so clearly shown that he has the courage of his convictions. We can respect an honest foe, and although we find his arguments unconvincing and his conclusions unsound, we appreciate this fact, that, unlike some of our adversaries, Mr. Bryce has evidently given our cause his serious consideration.

Being, as he is, a member of the "progressive" party, Mr. Bryce apparently hardly feels at ease as a professed champion of things as they are. He comes forward, as he himself says, "with diffidence." He comes, likewise, he is careful to add, "under considerable sacrifices," as in doing so he knows he is acting against the wishes of some of his "most valued supporters—both men and women." "Some of the latter," Mr. Bryce adds, "sank their views in this particular question in order to give me their very best support at the General Election."

I need hardly say that this was not the official attitude of our local Society to Mr. Bryce's candidature. To say in effect to an opponent, "Allow me to help you to hinder me from getting the vote," is certainly not the policy of the National Union or of any member of our local committee. "At the present moment," said Lord Macaulay, speaking in support of the Reform Bill of 1832, "I can see only one question in the State—the question of Reform; only two parties—the friends of the Bill and its enemies." That is the spirit in which reforms of former days were accomplished, and in a like spirit we intend to carry our reform to-day. Mr. Bryce has entered the lists as a champion of Anti-Suffrage—he has declared himself to be an enemy of our Bill. As loyal Suffragists we accept his challenge.

Mr. Bryce's declaration of war is contained in the speech he made on the 11th of July in support of Mr. Smith's motion. Taking his cue from Mr. Smith, Mr. Bryce stated at the outset that he was dealing not with a Bill that is going to enfranchise a small number of women, but with a Bill which will "carry with it the transfer of the whole balance of power to women." I

suppose the Reform Bill of 1832 had enemies who insisted upon calling it a Manhood Suffrage Bill. Every reform that has ever been proposed has been met with opposition of this same equitable type. We always have with us these men with an unreasoning terror of the thin end of the wedge (*i.e.*, if it does not happen to be their own particular wedge). We are never without the people who say, as Lord Lytton puts it, "You must not begin, for Heaven knows where you will end."

In the course of his speech, Mr. Bryce speaks of the "chivalrous indulgence" that has hitherto been afforded to women, and in his anxiety to display this quality he makes claims for us that we should not dream of making for ourselves. "For the intellectual exercise of the franchise," says Mr. Bryce, "I consider the average woman is superior to the average man." We make no such assertions, nor do we claim enfranchisement on any such grounds. Our claim is a much broader one—it is the claim of a common humanity. In common with all who have fought for and won political power in our land, our claim is that as responsible human beings, we shall be asked to give our consent to the manner of our government. We maintain that no accident of birth should deprive us of the privileges of citizenship; that our sex alone should not disqualify us from our share in the great principles of our Constitution; that taxation and representation go hand in hand.

Mr. Bryce's argument from his own opinion regarding the temperament of women does not seem to me a sound one. He must first establish his premises before his conclusions can be accepted. And even though he could prove his statements that women, by their constitution, are more liable to be affected by "gusts and waves of sentiment" than men, his argument would still be unsound, unless he could assert that the present electorate has been subjected to some temperamental test. I should say that we had "gusts and waves" of emotion displayed by voters at the last General Election in sufficient volume to prove conclusively that no such test was applied. What about the raiding and burning of "dump" shops, the breaking up of meetings, etc.?

Mr. Bryce declares that "women's moral mission is to keep burning the flames of the ideal in life." It is surely the "moral mission" of both men and women to keep burning these "ideals of right." One would be sorry to think that the atmosphere of the House of Commons acts inevitably as an extinguisher of this "flame of the ideal." "We should suggest to Mr. J. A. Bryce and his fellow-members," says a writer in "The Nation," "whether it is not conceivable that even in a 'business house' devoted to compromise, an occasional 'ideal' might not come in handy." And what about the other flames that women have to keep burning? I would remind Mr. Bryce that too often as widow or deserted wife, women have other flames besides the ideal to keep burning. They have to keep the flames burning on the hearth, and in the fanning of these flames I take it they gain a fairly accurate knowledge of the practical side of life. In that bitter struggle for her own existence and for those dependent upon her, I do not think the poor sweated woman receives much of that chivalrous indulgence which Mr. Bryce declares is the "protection of weakness." In that grim struggle for life, is not woman "soiled with dust" and subjected to "rough usage" in a manner that would startle even "the male gladiator" (*vide* Mr. Bryce's speech) in the political arena?

I trust Mr. Bryce will be asked by those concerned to prove his assertions that "the influences of clap-trap and cant have increased in politics in New Zealand since women were enfranchised there." He does not mention, however, that infant mortality and intemperance have enormously decreased since women got the vote; nor that the sweated woman worker is now a thing of the past. Nor does Mr. Bryce refer to the fact that the first offer of help to the Mother Country at the time of the South African War came from New Zealand; and, of course, he carefully refrains from mentioning that the whole

movement for national defence in Australasia has begun since women had the vote.

Many of Mr. Bryce's arguments against Women's Suffrage seem to have had their origin in an out-of-date form of chivalry—a chivalry that discounts itself because it stands entirely aloof from the hard facts of life, and refuses to see that the only way to help the weak is to give them power to help themselves. But when Mr. Bryce uses the argument that his country-women must not be enfranchised because of the effect it might have upon our dependencies, he suddenly forgets all about knight errantry and "chivalrous indulgence." What will Egypt say—that will India say—if we gave votes to women, asks Mr. Bryce in terror. Has it, then, come to this? Are the men of Great Britain really going to allow themselves to be dictated to as to their treatment of their womenkind by a people who instituted the *Suttee*, and who still curse the child widow? Is the Mother of Parliaments going to refuse the franchise to her daughters in deference to the prejudices of a nation that maintains the utter depravity of women? Mr. Bryce informs us that he lived for a time in India, and that he feels certain our Government there would lose prestige if our Parliament enfranchised British women. How does this conviction of Mr. Bryce's tally with the universal respect that was shown by the people of India for the rule of the Great White Queen? Few, indeed, of Her Majesty's subjects there, I take it, understood our political system. Most of them credited Queen Victoria with supreme control, and yet they were proud to enlist to be under her sway.

Mr. Bryce admits that in our own country the enfranchisement of women might give impetus to our social movements—"movements," to quote his own words, "in the direction of temperance, of greater purity of life, and in various other directions." "But what are the evils," he adds, "which to my mind far outweigh any possible benefit from women having the vote?" These are some of the "evils." "It would immensely increase the size of the electorate, and consequently would immensely increase the cost of organisation, of registration, and of elections; it would also increase the difficulty of instructing this vastly increased body of electors in their political duties, and incidentally it would enormously enhance the labours of the candidate." There is something almost engaging in the frankness of this last plea, and I am sure we sympathise with Mr. Bryce in his reluctance to add to the labours of the already hard-wrought candidate. But, after all, the difficulty of instructing women voters in their political duties may not be so great as Mr. Bryce anticipates. Are not women, according to his own judgment, "holier in imagination," quicker in comprehension, and "on the whole more intelligent than the average man"?

It may be that candidates with an anti-Suffrage record will feel, just at first, a little diffident about teaching the new electors that their political duty should consist in voting for their quondam enemies. But diffidence, as everyone knows, is foreign to the nature of the average candidate, and we may be sure it will soon disappear. Mr. Bryce made merry in the House of Commons over the mere possibility of a majority ever being found in his constituency in favour of Women's Suffrage. I frankly admit that in Inverness we failed to obtain anything like a majority of the electors' names to our petition. We did not have time to canvass even a fifth of the electors here. But, as Mr. Bryce knows, many of his strongest supporters at the General Election were favourable to our cause. In Forres and Fortrose a clear majority of the electorate signed our petition, and in Nairn we were within six of a majority. The cause of Women's Suffrage is certainly winning its way in the North. And we feel sure that when the hon. member for the Inverness Burghs visits his electors again he will find that his recent deliverance in the House of Commons, contrary to his intention, has given a fresh impulse to the cause which he vainly hoped to retard.

E. B. HUNTER

(President Inverness Branch N.U.W.S.S.).

Why Women Need the Vote.

XIV.—The Status of Women.

We are sometimes told that in attempting to achieve a position of equality with men, women are in danger of losing something still more valuable—*viz.*, a tradition of consideration and respect which apparently is the recognized reward for unquestioning subordination. If we ask to be shown more clearly the nature of this substitute for equal justice, we are met with the magic word, chivalry,—with vague allusions to opening of doors, raising of hats, yielding up of seats, and handing of tea-cups. And if we challenge the comparative value of these attentions, we are assured that they are symbols merely of a real veneration for womanhood which lies at the root of civilization itself.

Now, women are certainly not prepared to sacrifice substance for shadow! Let us convince ourselves, if possible, of the genuineness of this professed respect for women as they are, and have been under the social conditions hitherto assigned them! Do men actually respect women, or do they despise them?

The first thing to remember in regard to this traditional homage is that it is a matter of conventional observance, confined mainly to the classes in which such observances play a considerable part in life. There exists, indeed, a real and noble chivalry in human nature, which is the service of strength to weakness, and which may be found in all grades; but this chivalry does not depend on sex, and is a deeply rooted and permanent human virtue, closely resembling the "neighbourliness" of the good Samaritan. Traditional homage to womanhood, on the other hand, though it may spring from this true chivalry, is a plant which takes various forms according to the fashions of different epochs, but is perhaps equally superficial in all. Neither men nor women are deceived by it; and hitherto the underlying contempt for the belauded sex has been acknowledged and acquiesced in by women themselves.

It is less than eighty years ago since the Hon. Mrs. Norton, whose shameful treatment by her husband first drew public attention to the legal wrongs of mothers, thought it no shame in pleading her own cause, to express herself as follows:—"The wild and stupid theories advanced by a few women of 'equal rights' and 'equal intelligence' are not the opinions of their sex. I for one (I, with millions more) believe in the natural superiority of man, as I do in the existence of a God. The natural position of woman is inferiority to man. Amen! That is a thing of God's appointing, not of man's devising. I believe it sincerely as a part of my religion. I never pretended to the wild and ridiculous doctrine of equality."

And a century earlier Lady Mary Wortley Montague declared: "God and Nature have thrown us into an inferior rank; we are a lower part of the creation; and any woman who suffers her sanity and folly to deny this rebels against the law of her Creator and the indisputable order of Nature."

Only on the lips of a few Anti-Suffragists could we find to-day utterances quite so abject as these. Intelligent women are no longer satisfied to be considered inferior beings to men. Higher education, wider opportunities of development, the possibilities of honourable independence, have inspired them with confidence and self-respect. Association for common aims and ideals has kindled in them an *esprit de corps* formerly conspicuous by its absence. Unfortunately, this striking change of sentiment and outlook among women has not yet been fully recognized and accepted by men. It is true we no longer hear within the House of Commons the abominable gibes and jeers which in every debate on a Suffrage Bill used to be well described as "the noble sport of woman-baiting." Public opinion has at least moved some paces forward in this respect. On the other hand, an eminent legal "gentleman" is not ashamed to declare to a gathering of Englishwomen that to give them politi-

cal representation would lower the intelligence and education of the electorate, and that a smart uniform or a title would be the determining factors in women's votes. (Sir Edward Clarke.) A popular novelist publishes his opinion that "It is always the woman, tradition tells us, who persuades the man to be a coward, to stay at home, to shirk a difficult or a dangerous duty." (Seton Merriman.) A renowned mental specialist, giving evidence at a famous trial of a woman, sends flying over the world his expressed regret "that the legal code, whilst taking into account the mental inferiority of minors, did not do the same for the inferiority of woman, whose mentality was undoubtedly restricted." (This in face of the fact that the lesser criminality of women is abundantly proved by statistics.) A member of a Board of Guardians recently declared he would resign every public office he held rather than submit to the rule of a lady, who had just been appointed chairman of a committee.

Can it be denied that among a large section of the very men on whose lips the cant of chivalry is readiest, such opinions as the foregoing are freely expressed between themselves? Or that they are inclined to sneer when a different type of man testifies to a different experience? One of the most humiliating ordeals a woman can undergo is to listen to a debate among young men on any question touching the relation of the sexes. After being stretched alive upon the dissecting table of their youthful eloquence for an hour or two, an intelligent woman is like to carry away the deeply branded conviction that any radical alteration or elimination of so contemptible a portion of humanity as her own sex must be an unmixed benefit to the world! The very qualities which men subtly and sedulously encourage in women—frivolity, vanity, and devotion to display—are also those for which they jeer at and satirise them, and on the ground of which they pronounce them unfit for responsibility. It is true that many husbands and fathers, who take the pains to observe and appreciate the daily life and labours of their wives, feel a real admiration for their characters and capacities, and depend on their intelligent help and co-operation in affairs, to an extent which they often hardly realise; yet, in spite of this they will frequently join in the prevailing tone of disparagement.

"Do you really think that *your wife* thinks and acts in that way?" asked a lady who was enduring remarks of this nature.

"No, certainly not," was the indignant rejoinder.

"Then what right have you to assume that other women do so?"

The pertinent reproach drew forth an immediate apology: yet it is a fact that whereas the individual man, and not his sex, is held responsible for the credit or discredit of his actions, a woman's conduct is constantly ascribed to her whole sex, more especially when it is to be censured. A foolish action or utterance provokes the comment, "How like a woman!" whilst, *per contra*, the heroic deed or wise word is not allowed to redound to the credit of any but its author.

With an equal status would come also a juster individual estimate; and women would more easily find their fitting position and spheres in life; for, as Mill inimitably expressed it—"what women are by nature unable to do, it is quite superfluous to forbid them doing."

In the face of theories and prophecies to the contrary, it is undeniable that gain, and not loss of status has resulted from every increase of freedom hitherto achieved by women. None of us wish to revive in real life the women so exquisitely portrayed by Jane Austen: amusing as they may be to read about, we should be ineffably bored by them. When men and women are brought into comradeship in public service and social effort, by the work as well as the play of existence, their mutual understanding and respect becomes a more genuine and lasting, because a better grounded, sentiment than the old tradition which spasmodically attempts to combine the goddess on a pedestal with a working partner in life's business.

C. C. OSLER.

Conciliation Committee for Women Suffrage.

Chairman: The Right Hon. the EARL OF LYTTON.

RECORD OF WORK DONE.

I am greatly obliged to Miss Marshall for reminding your readers that a careful record should be kept of all meetings held in support of the Conciliation Bill during the autumn. We propose to lay before the Prime Minister, before Parliament reassembles, evidence of the urgency and extent of the demand behind our Bill. A record of the activity of all the societies should form the most impressive item in our evidence. It would, however, add needlessly to the work of secretaries if these reports were sent once a month to me. The officials of the National Union have kindly undertaken to collect this evidence, which will be required about the beginning of November.

H. N. BRAILSFORD.

32, Well Walk, N.W.

The Conciliation Bill Explained.

A most compendious leaflet has been issued by the Conciliation Committee; it can be obtained post free from the printers, Baines and Scarsbrook, 75, Fairfax Road, South Hampstead, at 9d. per 100 and 6s. per 1,000, and a reduction of 10 to 15 per cent. for larger quantities. We hope that very large quantities will be used by all Suffrage Societies, for we want the Bill understood all over the country and the action of the Government also.

What is the Conciliation Bill?

An attempt to bring all political parties together in support of a moderate and practical plan for giving votes to women. The Bill was drafted by a committee of fifty M.P.s representing all four parties in the House.

It has succeeded so well that on July 12 it was carried on the second reading by a majority of 110—a larger majority than the Budget got.

Among those who voted for it were Mr. Birrell, Mr. John Burns, Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Haldane, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Lyttelton, Mr. Wyndham, Mr. Baines, Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Shackleton, Mr. Snowden, Mr. Devlin, Mr. Healy, Mr. Kettle, and Mr. W. Redmond.

Will it give Votes to all Women?

No! It will give votes only to women who pay rates and taxes (whether directly or as part of the rent). The women who already have votes for town and county councils will by this Bill have them for Parliament. There is no dangerous innovation here. It is common-sense that a woman who can choose a county councillor can also choose an M.P.

What Women will get the Vote?

Chiefly women householders. A householder is a woman who occupies a dwelling-house, or part of a house, over which she has full control, however small it may be, and however low its value. A duchess may get a vote for her palace, and a charwoman for her cottage, or even (if she has full control) for a single room. The few business women who occupy shops or offices worth £10 a year will also get the vote, precisely as men do.

Why are these Women Chosen?

Because they are heads of households which at present are unrepresented. Every man who is the head of a house may qualify as a voter. These women have the same responsibilities as men householders. Most of them are widows, and many have children dependent on them. The rest are chiefly single women earning their own living.

What about Married Women?

A wife will not get the vote unless the house is rented in her name. But a woman will not be disqualified simply because she is married. This means that a sailor, a fisherman, or a commercial traveller, who is often away from home when the election comes on, may arrange to register his house in his wife's name, and so give her the vote. Thus every household will be represented.

How many Women will get the Vote?

About one million in the three kingdoms.

Will it Stop There?

That depends on men. They will still be the vast majority of the electors. There are seven and a half millions of men voters.

Is the Bill fair to the Working Classes?

Well, the Labour party thinks so. Mr. Shackleton introduced it. Thirty-two Labour members voted for it, and only two against it.

Look at these figures.

In London 87 per cent. of the registered women occupiers are working-women. Out of 189,000 no less than 30,000 are charwomen. (See *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, September, 1908.)

In Bolton in 1904 the Liberal agent, Mr. Gerrey, found that 90 per cent. of the women occupiers are working-women.

In fifty other towns the Independent Labour Party found that the average of working-women is 82 per cent. Surely this is democratic enough.

On what Grounds was the Bill Opposed?

Some speakers in the debate objected to giving votes to any women. Others said that all women should be given the vote at once. Some objected to the Bill because a few married women will get votes. Others said every married woman should have a vote.

Our opponents are all at sixes and sevens. We know what we want.

All the women's societies, the Suffragists and the Suffragettes, the Women's Liberal Federation, the Conservative Franchise Association, and the Co-operative Women's Guild support this Bill.

Why has not the Bill been Passed?

Because the Prime Minister refuses to give time. Yet Parliament has never had less to do than it has this session. There never is time for a women's Bill. Six Bills to give votes to women have passed their second reading since 1870, and none of them has been allowed to go further. Is this your notion of fair play?

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 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 DEMOCK. President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.
Miss BERTHA MASON (Parliamentary). 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.

The following recommendations were circulated last week among the Societies:—

In the many constituencies in which no Women's Suffrage candidates can be run at the General Election, and where, therefore, there is opportunity for other work, it is suggested that a complete canvass should be made of the women entitled to vote for municipal elections (Division 3 of the Register), explaining to them that they would receive the Parliamentary franchise under Mr. Shackleton's Bill, and inviting them to sign a petition in support of the Bill. We would recommend, where possible, not only house-to-house visiting, as above indicated, but also cottage meetings, street-corner meetings, addresses to mothers' meetings, Pleasant Monday Evenings, British Women's Temperance Associations, Co-operative Guilds, Women's Labour League; in fact, all the women's meetings to which entrance can be gained; and the constant wearing of our badges and colours. The county register should be undertaken in the same way. This work would enable our societies to get into touch with the Parliamentary women voters of the future, and to band them together in a non-party union. This canvass, if thoroughly done, will be a means of correcting and adding to the women's register, for it will be possible to suggest joint occupancy in many cases where now a brother or a son, a mother or a sister is the sole registered occupier. It will be possible in many cases to turn a woman lodger of to-day into a joint occupier of the future; but it will above all bring the knowledge of our Union, its literature, and its aim into every woman's home in the kingdom, and this is the greatest need of our National Union and our greatest educative force.

The National Union and the Men's League.

In the leader in "The Common Cause" of August 4th are to be found these words: "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."

Electors! Tell your Member to Insist that the Government must give time for this Bill to be passed through all its stages in the autumn session.

The will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives must prevail. That is Mr. Asquith's own watchword.

Support the Bill

Because it is just.
Because it is moderate.
Because it is democratic.
Because women have the same need of the vote as men, to protect them against unjust laws and unfair taxes.

Because honest men are tired of seeing the question played with.
Because the women have earned success by their pluck and perseverance.

Here is the Text of the Bill.

1.—Every woman possessed of a household qualification or of a ten pound occupation qualification within the meaning of The Representation of the People Act (1884), shall be entitled to be registered as a voter, and when registered to vote for the county or borough in which the qualifying premises are situate.
2.—For the purposes of this Act, a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being registered as a voter, provided that a husband and wife shall not both be registered as voters in the same Parliamentary Borough or County Division.

N.B.—In the second Clause is incorporated an amendment of which Mr. Shackleton has given notice in the name of the Conciliation Committee.

I hope that every Society in our Union will make this work its concern during the coming months, and should any Society be at a loss how to start a Men's League, let me commend to it the example of the Tunbridge Wells Society. It is worthy of imitation.

At the time of the General Election this Society worked hard to obtain signatures for the Electors' Petition. The names and addresses of those who signed were filed, and later in the year the signatories were invited to a meeting, at which those who were present were invited to form themselves into a Men's League, which it is hoped in time will become a power for good in the town and district.

It is probable that many other Women's Suffrage Societies have kept the names and addresses of the electors who signed petitions in their respective districts, and may be able and willing to hold a meeting for those men, and enrol them in a league after the manner of Tunbridge Wells.

I heartily commend this plan to the consideration of all the Societies in our National Union.

BERTHA MASON, Parliamentary Secretary.

Treasurer's Notes.

The gift of £50 from our friend who wishes her name withheld is very welcome, and we tender to her, and to the students of the Newnham Branch of the Cambridge University Women's Society for their self-denial week efforts, our grateful thanks for the help thus given.

Would it not be possible for other Societies to have self-denial efforts? £12 from each Society would make an immense difference to the war chest of the National Union. We feel sure that Miss K. L. Cox, the treasurer of the Newnham Society, would give valuable hints to any society wishing to follow the excellent example of Newnham.

Miss Jameson, in sending a cheque for one pound, suggests that "the contribution may be marked 'overtime,' as it is the product of extra work which came in her way almost by chance, and which only the needs of the National Union could have made her add to an already heavy day's work." This is another proof of the

self-sacrificing efforts of our members, which we acknowledge with gratitude.

CONTRIBUTIONS		
July 30th to August 6th, 1910.		
	£	s. d.
Already acknowledged	1833	8 0½
Subscriptions:—		
Miss M. Hare	0	2 0
Donations:—		
Miss Dalby	2	2 0
Miss Lightman, percentage on sales of lavender	0	0 10
Newham College, collection, Self-Denial Week	12	0 0
Leeds W.S.S.	4	0 0
Anonymous	50	0 0
Miss A. M. Partridge	0	2 6
Miss W. G. Jameson, "overtime" (for Conciliation Bill Campaign)	1	0 0
Affiliation Fees:—		
York W.S.S. (1st instalment)	1	7 0
Gateshead W.S.S.	0	12 9
John o' Groats W.S.S.	0	5 0
Elgin and Lossiemouth W.S.S.	0	7 0
	1905	7 1½
MILLION SHILLING FUND.		
	£	s. d.
Already acknowledged	1393	6
Miss R. M. Paul	10	0
Mrs. Clegg, per Mrs. Cunliffe	5	0
Miss A. J. Coles	5	0
	1413	6

BERTHA MASON, Treasurer.

A Holiday Task.

We frequently have letters from kind friends who say nice things about the paper and wish they could see it everywhere. They proceed to tell us that they inquired at various station bookstalls, and could not get it; they sometimes add that they went into sundry clubs, waiting-rooms, and hotels, and saw A, B, or C—other daily or weekly papers,—but not a single copy of "The Common Cause."

Now the moral of this is: some people interested in A, B, or C put those copies in those rooms, and in order to do so they bought them.

As for the station bookstalls, it is necessary to explain a little. A station bookstall has a very limited space, and it is quite impossible for any station bookstall to stock any but the papers in most constant demand. Given the demand, you will obtain the supply. What every bookstall will do is to obtain a copy, or copies, of the paper if ordered. We know that some bookstall boys have been known to say they have never heard of "The Common Cause," but that is only boy-nature, and they must be shown a copy of the paper with the name of their firm on the bottom of the back page, and gently, but firmly, instructed never to say anything so silly again.

Our kind friends, travelling about England on their holidays, will not find "The Common Cause" at every bookstall where they will find "The Daily Murder" or "Pack o' Lies." They will find it at certain bookstalls, and they may know that where this is the case there are some friends to the cause who have taken some trouble to introduce the paper and keep a watch on the sales.

Some time ago Miss Helen Fraser indicated how this sort of work should be done. While working in a Northern town she interested a number of Suffragists in the paper and secured promises of orders from them; she then ascertained what would be a convenient bookstall (or news shop), and she called there, taking some free copies of the paper and a poster, talking about it, and mentioning the terms of sale and the most convenient wholesale agent. Then the orders poured in, and the connection was established.

We venture to suggest that this is one piece of simple work, not disagreeable, and possible for almost everyone to do. If every member of the National Union would work up a connection at one stall or bookshop, we could enlarge the paper, have more special articles and no over-set matter, and no wrathful secretaries. The Editor is going for a holiday—the first for three years. She would like to come back to a doubled circulation.

Miss Mason in the North West.

Miss Mason has asked us to state that she expects to be in Lancashire and Cheshire between October 10th and 19th, and could speak in the areas of the proposed West Lancashire, West Cheshire, and North Wales Federations. The 12th and 13th are already booked.

Federation Notes.

Scottish.

Since my last report I have held meetings in Lerwick, Scalloway, Burra, and Symbister in Shetland, and two in South Ronaldshay, Orkney.

From there I came to Thurso, and had two excellent meetings, and as a result there is now a John o' Groats Society.

My meeting in Wick has not been so good, and there is no chance at present of a Society being formed. Now Wick is a Liberal town. But there are two kinds of Liberals in Caithness, just as there are two kinds of Liberals in the House of Commons. Land's End, Westminster, and John o' Groats have much in common. But I hope yet for ten just women in Wick who shall save the city.

W. H. LAMOND.

During the month of August—when Edinburgh becomes a sort of stepping-stone 'twixt North and South for the travelling holiday-makers—the Scottish Federation invites all members of the Union, and all interested in Women's Suffrage, to call at the office, 2, St. Andrew Square (close to Waverley Station), and interchange news. The office is specially open for these calls between two and six o'clock.

FLORENCE HILLIARD, Organiser.

Work in North of Scotland.

A visit of two days has been paid to Lossiemouth this week, through Mrs. Wemyss Fulton's kindness, and arrangements made for two meetings there, afternoon and evening, on August 12th. Our Lossiemouth members will work them up.

On Thursday the Nairn meeting was held, and on Friday afternoon the Elgin and Lossiemouth Branch of the National Union was formed, the joint hon. secretaries being Miss Macpherson and Miss Forsyth.

This week the Elgin and Lossiemouth Society has affiliated to the National Union. Two meetings have been held in Beaulieu, and Forres and Fortrose have been visited and had meetings organized in them for the next week.

The public meeting in Beaulieu was held in the Drill Hall, very kindly lent, free of charge, by Colonel Fraser. Sergeant-Instructor Mackenzie made every arrangement for us admirably. Mrs. James Fraser (Inverness) presided, and made an admirable chairman's address. The resolution, moved by myself, was: "That this meeting expresses its satisfaction at the successful second reading of the Women's Suffrage Bill, and urges the Government to grant facilities for the Committee and third reading stages this session." The audience listened intently to every point—for many of them it was their first introduction to what our demand meant—and it was plain many points were appreciated. The resolution was seconded by Miss Janet Macrae, and carried unanimously. Some questions were asked, and literature sold. On Tuesday afternoon a ladies' meeting was held, and we secured a nucleus of members for a Society. Miss Macrae has promised to act as hon. secretary and to endeavour to secure more members, so that we may affiliate the Society as soon as possible.

At Forres on the 11th Mrs. Critchley will preside over my meeting, and we hope to form a Forres Society. At my afternoon meeting at Lossiemouth Mrs. Ramsay MacDonald will preside, and in the evening Provost Watt.

In all three constituencies being worked here now the members are Anti-Suffragists. Press notices are good, and there is every indication that a good Federation will be formed speedily.

HELEN FRASER.

Surrey, Sussex, and Hants.: Sussex Campaign.

We started the week's work in Lewes on July 19 with a meeting in the garden kindly lent by Mrs. Every. Miss Merrifield took the chair, and Mrs. Francis and I spoke, and afterwards Mrs. Every gave us all tea, and we added a goodly number of members to the nucleus already formed in Lewes by the Brighton and Hove Society. In spite of the almost unanimous cry that a Suffrage society was impossible in Lewes, 36 good Suffragists appeared by the end of the week, and a little committee has undertaken to carry on the work, with Mrs. Vallance as secretary.

On Saturday, 23rd, Brighton had its garden party, and Suffragists from half Sussex came to the pavilion to meet their president, Mrs. Ridgeway, and to hear Mr. Cholmeley's speech, and a report of Sussex work. Afterwards the Sussex Amateurs gave their charming and telling rendering of "The Change of Tenant."

This week work has been in and round Worthing. We had an open-air meeting in the charming village of Slindon, which we hope may have good results. On Wednesday there was a big meeting in the Worthing Literary Institute, organised by the local society. Mrs. Chapman took the chair, and Miss Sterling, Mr. Brunel, and I spoke, and the resolution was carried unanimously. The rest of the week has been spent planning a series of open-air meetings in the neighbourhood, at Tarring, Broadwater, West Worthing, Yapton, and Arundel.

BARBARA DUNCAN.

Mrs. Marshall and the Haslemere Society have given to the Federation all the goods left over from their recent sale of work. Miss M. O'Shea will be glad to hear from anyone who can help dispose of these for the benefit of the Federation funds or a society in the Federation.

It is now found that the takings of that garden fête and sale at Tweenways, Haslemere, are between £42 and £43.

Miss Margaret Ashton is addressing a meeting at Portsmouth on the 11th, and in Southampton on the 12th, and she will be in Sussex from the 15th to the 25th August. Miss Barbara Duncan is working for the Worthing Society at Worthing, Arundel, and Yapton.

The North-Eastern Federation.

The first Society to be formed by the North-Eastern Federation is Gateshead, which was inaugurated last week at a meeting held at the Berwick Hall. Miss Frances Hardcastle, secretary to the Federation, occupied the chair, and briefly explained the object, methods, and organisation of the National Union. Considerable discussion took place over the rules of the new Society, and there was keen competition for places on the Executive Committee. Mrs. Spence Watson was elected president; Miss Lina Johnson, secretary; Miss Stewart, treasurer; and Miss Burgham, Miss Hope Emley, Miss France, Mrs. Hutchinson, Miss Lowery, and Miss Tomperley, ordinary members of committee. The new branch has made an excellent start, as it possesses already over fifty members, and both Mr. Elveston, the sitting member, and Mr. Gratton Doyle, the Conservative candidate, are Suffragists. The former voted for the second reading of the Bill, and also for its being sent to a Grand Committee. It is a happy augury for the future success of the Gateshead Branch, that the expenses of the first meeting were completely covered by the profits.

C. M. GORDON, Organiser.

The Society of Suffragists for the Abolition of the White Slave Traffic.

A small but enthusiastic meeting was held last Wednesday, July 27, at Mrs. Alice Lowndes' house at Finchley, when it was unanimously resolved to form "The Society of Suffragists for the Abolition of the White Slave Traffic." On the suggestion of the Misses Cummings and Maitland, it was agreed to invite Mr. G. Kerschener-Knight to become hon. secretary. It was also decided to admit both men and women to the Society, and to pursue a vigorous policy generally. Offices will be taken in the West End of London, and full particulars of the new League announced shortly.

An Open Letter to Dr. Leonard Williams.

The following letter was sent to the "Times" for publication, but refused. It will doubtless be fresh in the memories of our readers that Dr. Leonard Williams threatened with "physiological bankruptcy" those temerarious women who ventured to use their minds.

Sir,—I have a tender conscience; and in your admirable and cogent letter in the "Times" of July the 23rd your have smitten it upon the raw. I look back on the long procession of women who have passed to physiological bankruptcy in my service and in the service of the State with horror and contrition of spirit. I look forward to a lengthening of that procession—to more cooks, housemaids, washerwomen, weavers, and tailors; to all the coming novel-writers, opera-singers, teachers, inspectors, and officials of many kinds; I see ladies still managing complicated parties, and other ladies gracing them after anxious hours with yet more dress-makers; I contemplate with remorse the lady who looks anxiously after my dinners and my shirts—and I am determined that this outrage shall not go on.

You, I know, are with me; and therefore I invite you, confident in your willingness to aid the great cause we have at heart, to join me as an Original Member of the League for the Restoration and Promotion of Physiological Solvency among Women—a League which has before it the task of doing justice to science and the afflicted in a manner never before, I venture to say, attempted in this blind-eyed world. Inspired by your words, roused by your trumpet-call to action, I desire, with you, to start again from the beginning and build human society afresh in accordance with the principles you have laid down. The magnitude of the work before us will not daunt the high courage to which you have already borne witness in casting those principles into the world's arena, as your knightly challenge to the forces of destruction which so far have ruled unchecked within that field. You have roused me from my guilty acquiescence in things as they ought not to be, and I pledge myself to warfare by your side.

The question of the vote is, of course, as is evident at a glance, a mere drop in the bucket of our great adventure. I write, Sir, under the sway of an emotion which you will recognise as at once a testimony to the power of your argument and your appeal, and an excuse for the suddenness and publicity with which I bring my project of the new League before you.—Yours very faithfully,

WM. SCOTT PALMER.

Sex War.

"The Church Times" is a newspaper to which Women's Suffrage is anathema. It fears the enfranchisement of women with unreasoning fear, and hates it with unholy hate; and, like other newspapers, both religious and secular, which allow their prejudices to govern their understanding, it imagines things with regard to Women's Suffrage that have no existence, and makes statements about it that are both untrue and ridiculous.

A few weeks ago it regaled its readers with a paragraph about the Conciliation Bill. It bemoaned, as is its wont, the evils which, it thinks, will follow in the wake of any extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women, and it made the astounding statement that, "Already the war between the sexes has been declared." I had often been told that Women's Suffrage would lead to sex war, and that sex war was preached by the militant Suffrage Societies, but never before had I heard of any declaration of sex war. The facts, so far as I knew them, did not justify the statement, which appeared to me to be rather the expression of a popular but vague inexactitude, than of any thing resembling the truth. Probably, I thought (like Mr. Asquith's grandiloquent utterance, "The will of the people must prevail"), it was simply a catch phrase, meant, at once to add to the number of the opponents of Women's Suffrage and to round off a period, possibly, it conveyed to the mind of the reader more than its author intended. Being uncertain as to this, I addressed a letter to the Editor, in which, among other things, I asked him to explain what the phrase meant. I got no answer—I did not expect one; the letter has not been published—I never thought it would be; and the extraordinary statement has neither been withdrawn nor explained, which does not surprise me. No answer or explanation could justify it. For aught I know, it may have



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been made thoughtlessly at first; but it does not suit "The Church Times" to admit this. To try to explain it would show the insufficient grounds on which it was based; to leave it unexplained gives it a further lease of life in which to damage, if possible, the hated cause of Women's Suffrage. A statement, however erroneous, emanating from an apparently reliable source, the longer it remains uncontradicted the more it is believed. If repeated often enough it comes to be accepted as the truth. It is so with this sex-war myth. A sex war implies war between the sexes—war between men and women,—but no sane person believes this possible. When, therefore, the term is used, it is either used wantonly or thoughtlessly. I have never heard it explained. When those who use it are asked to either substantiate what it implies, or explain what it means, they almost invariably admit that they can do neither. Occasionally someone, more than usually prejudiced or foolish, will defend its use, but even such a one will never venture an explanation. Unfortunately, like other catch phrases, it takes the public ear. War of any kind is bad enough: a sex war would be appalling. So much the public know. If they only considered a little they would know that it is impossible, and that the phrase, as used by the opponents of Women's Suffrage, is simply nonsense.

I should not have thought the matter worth referring to had it not been that I have just had proof that the statement in "The Church Times" has had, in at least one instance, a baneful effect. Soon after the late general election I called on a lady who is a pronounced Suffragist. Her husband is a decided, if somewhat passive, opponent of Women's Suffrage. She was very despondent, and it was evident that her husband's passive opposition was beginning to tell. "What is the use," she said, "of continuing the struggle? My husband says we shall never get the vote. It is quite hopeless. Besides, he says it simply means sex war." I did my best to cheer her. I told her that sex war was an impossibility, and that, far from being hopeless, the outlook never was so hopeful; and I appealed to her better nature by saying that, were the position such as she seemed to think, there was all the more reason why she, and everyone who believed in the justice of the cause, should fight for it with greater vigour than ever. My appeal was successful. Her depression vanished. She glowed with enthusiasm, and she laughed at the idea of a sex war. Her husband's influence had, for the moment, failed. I met her again a few days ago. I do not know whether she was more indignant with the Government or despondent at the outlook. Everything was going wrong. She saw ahead a prolonged and bitter struggle, and she spoke of growing antagonism between the sexes. "Why," I asked, "should there be antagonism between the sexes? What do you mean by it? There is none, and there can be none." "Oh, yes, there is," she said. "War between the sexes has begun." I knew at once where the expression came from. She is a reader of "The Church Times," and had read the paragraph in which it announced the declaration of sex war. The united influence of husband and newspaper had been too much for her. "The Church Times" had crystallised in a phrase what her husband had been trying to instil into her mind, and she had accepted it as true. We had a long talk, during which I poured scorn on the idea of sex war, and emphasised its absurdity. I pointed out that the term, as applied to existing conditions, was untrue, and, if applied to possible conditions, ridiculous. She was satisfied; but I wonder how long she will remain so; and I wonder how many others have been misled by the mischievous and untrue assertion of "The Church Times."

J. Y. KENNEDY.

A Great Tax Resister.

Resistance to illegal taxation was one salient feature of John Hampden's Parliamentary life. With a most unusual calm, he opposed time after time King Charles I.'s demand for ship money and other demands of a like nature. He was impeached, and seven of his judges declared for the King. This did not disturb John Hampden. But he was not content with opposing illegal taxation; he was in deadly earnest for the repeal of laws which made legal taxation, which, in his liberal and freedom-loving mind, was unjust.

To him taxation without representation was indeed tyranny. His mind abhorred tyranny, and no career of a public man shows a more passionate hatred of it than that of the Buckinghamshire Squire, who gave up a life of fashion and pleasure, for which he was well fitted,—for he was handsome, rich, and of charming manners,—in order to combat the King and the courtiers with their tyrannical view of the liberties of the people.

In many ways John Hampden was the chief force of the great Rebellion. There are other names more often thought of than his, but none of them represent the irresistible determination, the absolute conviction, and the unostentatious and fervid resolution which is associated with that of John Hampden.

Pym and Eliot were his dear friends and associates, but we shall never know how much Hampden's commanding, if quiet personality, affected these two associates of his in their splendid and successful battle for the liberty of the subject and the sacredness of the person.

John Hampden longed for liberty—civil, religious, personal. The very thought of any interference with the person, unless that person had the exercise of a right to be consulted; a right of discussion at least; a right of decision on affairs concerning himself, was an abhorrence to him.

Strafford sneered at him, as men of Strafford's cast of mind will ever sneer at the reformer: "The vain flatteries of an imagined liberty," he called John Hampden's life-passion! Just as to-day a modern Strafford sneers at the "vain flatteries" of women's demand for liberty.

Strafford went on to describe John Hampden as "the very genius of that nation of people which leads them always to oppose all that ever authority ordains for them." A plaintive note which has been echoed to-day by opponents of the women's franchise. But Strafford goes further, and excels himself. He ventures on a remedy for recalcitrancy: "In good faith," he says, such people should be "whipped home into their right wits!" In some directions we have still our Straffords. John Hampden fought for liberty and justice, and triumphed in part. The Commons of the Long Parliament declared, among other things, that the judgment against him was "against the right of property and the liberty of subject," two things which women are fighting for to-day. Property has rights to-day and the subject has liberties; and women demand that these rights shall be respected. They call for the vindication which John Hampden received.

He resisted taxation—a taxation that was unjust, because he and his fellows were called to pay a tax in the imposition of which they had had no hand. Their property was to be taxed against their consent; their personal liberty was impugned; they resisted these things, and successfully.

Women's property is taxed to-day, and they have had no choice in this taxation. Like John Hampden, they will exercise that other right—the liberty of the subject—in opposing what others have imposed without leave or license. Women are subjects, and have the natural rights of every subject, and the most natural right of all is political right, the right which has been denied them. Until this right is conceded they can resist, as John Hampden showed them how, they can refuse supply. He went to jail for it, but he came out of jail, and the taxes he resisted were removed. There are women Hampdens to-day, and they await their work as calmly and as secretly as did he, who in the seventeenth century, enunciated the principles upon which the woman movement to-day is based; the principles, which, unified, mean that taxation and representation, must, for justice, go together.

KINGTON PARKES.

Foreign News.

DENMARK.

As a new Cabinet was formed at the beginning of July, the Danish Women's Society (founded in 1871) sent a deputation to the Premier and to the Minister of the Interior to ask that, in the event of the Government bringing in an amendment to the Constitution, it would admit women to political suffrage. Both Ministers received the deputation most graciously, and pointed to their attitude towards the question during the preceding session as showing how fully they were in sympathy with the Women's Cause. The Premier hoped that when the new elections for the House of Commons take place in three years' time, women would be among the electors. He advised them in the meantime to continue to be active in influencing the electors in their favour.

We know that Norway, before obtaining full suffrage for women, had to amend its Constitution.

JOHANNA MÜNTER.

SWEDEN.

The recent municipal elections in Sweden were more than usually exciting, as for the first time the proportional electoral system was put into practice. The Suffrage Associations were very active, because the municipal franchise gives an indirect vote for the Upper House, which is elected by persons nominated by the provincial and municipal councils. We may remind our readers that though in April, 1909, a Women's Suffrage Bill passed the Lower House unanimously, it was rejected by the Upper House by 104 votes to 25. Therefore, Women Suffragists are concentrating their energies on changing the structure of the Upper House, which is, as may be imagined, a stronghold of conservatism. At present it consists of 143 or 144 Conservatives, six or seven Liberals, and no Social Democrats. The two latter parties are the only ones who have Women's Suffrage on their programme. The results of the election are encouraging; the new electors consist of 666 Conservatives, 431 Liberals, and 150 Social Democrats, so that when the Upper House has been totally renewed, which cannot be till 1915, one can calculate on the probability of 83 Conservatives, 55 Liberals, and 12 Social Democrats, and therefore a better chance for women's enfranchisement.

HUNGARY.

Hungarian women made use of the election time in May to carry on an active Suffrage campaign. They were spurred on by the attitude of the "League for General Suffrage," which

declared itself strongly opposed to the women's claim, and even denied women the right of speaking at its public meetings. This roused a storm of indignation in the press, and among many members of the League, for it was the leaders alone who were responsible for the very undemocratic pronouncement. The peasants, of whom many thousands were addressed, both men and women, showed themselves intelligent and appreciative.

The result of the elections was increased support for the Government, but as no party has Women's Suffrage on its programme, the result does not matter to Suffragists, who depend on individual members who are friendly to their cause. Some of these have joined the Men's League. We quote Miss Rosika Schwimmer:

Our great hope is now that our English sisters will soon get their vote. This will bring us nearer to our vote than hundreds of meetings and other propaganda of ours.

We are awfully tired, our cash box is empty, but our spirits are unabated. As long as this holds, we shall not cease to go onward.

ITALY.

The National W.S.A. decided at its last meeting in Rome to admit men to membership. It will now direct all its efforts to obtaining the municipal vote, and has resolved to hold a meeting of the "Casa del Popolo" a few days before Signor Gallini's Bill is discussed in the Chamber of Deputies. A committee of ladies has been appointed to undertake propaganda work among women of the working classes.

NETHERLANDS.

The opening day of the Amsterdam Convention, June 15th, has been made a national Suffrage day, and this year Dutch Suffragists were particularly active. Meetings and festivals were held, and many new members joined. The Amsterdam "Handelsblad" said it was impossible to give an adequate idea of all that had been done for propaganda in the 84 local branches of the W.S.A. on that memorable day.

UNITED STATES.

It has been decided to amalgamate the two papers, "The Woman's Journal" and "Progress," and to make the joint paper the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. The subscription will be reduced to one dollar per year, and as soon as possible the paper will be enlarged to eight pages instead of four. It will mean increased strength, both from the equal Suffrage standpoint and from the publishing standpoint. The title, "The Woman's Journal," with its forty years of honourable history, will remain.

Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, Superintendent of Schools in Chicago, was elected president of the National Education Association at its recent meeting in Boston. Mrs. Young is the first woman to hold the office, and her appointment has given great satisfaction, for Mrs. Young commands both the affection and esteem of all who know her and her work.

Another interesting appointment is that of Miss Ellis Meredith, Denver's woman Election Commissioner, to be chairman of the Election Committee, whose members are all men.

An advance schedule on which statistics relating to farm lands are to be recorded has been sent out by the United States Census Bureau. It contains the following clause:—

"Manager.—If you do not own the farm or rent it, but manage it for the owner, who pays you wages or a salary, write 'Manager' in answer to Inquiry 6. A husband is never to be reported, however, as manager for his wife's farm, but if he manages it for her should be reported as owner."

It is difficult to see under these extraordinary conditions (imagine the positions reversed!) how the census can show how many women own farms, or on how much farm land they pay taxes.

Review.

The Magazines.

The following extract is from *The Journal of Education* for August, 1910:—"There is no occasion for *The Journal* to pronounce an opinion on Woman Suffrage, and we follow the example of the Government in leaving it an open question. But the appeal of the National Anti-Woman Suffrage League is a direct challenge, and it is contended by the promoters that the distinguished list of names appended to it represents the vast preponderance of educated opinion. To this assumption we can, as regards one important class, give an emphatic denial. 'The ladies,' we are told, 'who have signed the appeal, though fewer in number than the men, are in no respect less representative.' Among the signatories there are two ex-headmistresses, but women teachers through their various associations—the Head Mistresses, the Assistant Mistresses, the University Teacher—have pronounced themselves unanimously in favour of Woman Suffrage. They may be right or they may be wrong, but the fact cannot be denied that an overwhelming majority of women teachers desire the Suffrage for themselves and their sisters."

We Think We Do.

"It was not easy to ascertain whether the majority of women wanted the vote; his opinion was that they did not, and those who did possibly do not want it really as much as they think they do."—EARL RONALDSHAY in the House, July 12th, 1910.

"For there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so."—HAMLET.

When we had beaten them all round
With arguments of force,
When not a shred of logic sound
Could longer on their side be found,
They took another course.

"All this may possibly be true
Which you so aptly quote,"
Said they, "but women do not sue
The right you ask, and in our view
They do not want the vote."

Petitions then came in a throng—
Some half a million names,—
And then we marched, ten thousand strong,
With banners gay, the streets along,
In witness of our claims.

Then they—"Dear ladies, there's a moté
In your sweet eyes of blue.
You are deceived. We, wiser, note
You do not really want the vote—
You only think you do."

We think we do. Although we note,
This much at least is true:
We see the woman Mammon smote,
The sweeter o'er his victim gloat,
And then we think we want the vote.

Well, yes—we think we do.
But we so long have thought this thought,
And still this thought proclaim,
And for this thought so fight and fought,
And it with such hard thinking bought,
And so to children's children taught
This thought with human blessings fraught,
That though of truth it be not wrought,
'Tis really just the same!

THEODORA FLOWER MILLS.

Miss Horniman's Theatre.

Last week this theatre re-opened with a revival of "Independent Means," and this week Miss Horniman is giving us a revival of "Cupid and the Styx," with two new actors in the parts of Dr. Hope and Mrs. Barton.

There is something a little acrid about the humour of this clever piece, and we think most women would smile with a rather wry mouth at the spectacle of the ambitious hospital nurse, with no outlet for her ambition other than angling for a husband, and the three rather preposterous medical men, whose egotism is so stupendous that they fall the easiest prey to anyone who knows how to play upon it. Mr. Esmé Percy, as the fatuous and cocky younger house-surgeon, had intonations of his beautiful voice which gave hints of a whole world of possibilities of character; there is a finish and variety about his comedy which gives his presence in a repertory theatre the delight of an ever-fresh curiosity as to what he will make of a part, and he has, what is rare, the power of suggesting a whole person, not merely the particular deeds and thoughts which, at the moment, and on that stage, he is exhibiting. The more one tastes him the more one appreciates the flavour.

He, with Miss Roland, gave something in the nature of a recitation, with scenery, of the balcony scene in Romeo and Juliet. It seems to us a mutilation which cannot answer, to jerk out of its place a scene so steeped in romantic atmosphere, and we cannot believe that any artist could ever do much with it.

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.

"SIGNING THE PLEDGE."

To the Editor "The Common Cause."
Madam,—In your issue of August 4th Mrs. Bigg urges that the Women's Liberal Federation should proclaim a general strike. I entirely agree with her that such a strike, if it became really general (i.e., if the majority of the branches and the majority of the members of the branches agreed to it), would be a powerful and a perfectly legitimate method of persuading the Liberal Government that Liberal women are in earnest about the Suffrage. Pending, however, the adoption of any such policy by the Federation as a whole, I venture to suggest that a form of pledge might be drawn out, binding those who signed it not to work for any Parliamentary candidate who was not upon a list of those

approved as convinced and active supporters of the Suffrage by the committee of the Forward Suffrage Union, or by any other body selected as the arbiter. An effort should then be made to get as large as possible a number of the Women's Liberal Federation and of Liberal women generally to sign this pledge, and lists of those who had done so in any given locality should be sent from time to time to the party agents and prominent local politicians. Exactly the same plan could be put into operation for Conservatives by the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.

The chief advantages of this plan seem to me as follows:—
(1) It could be put into execution at once by any group of prominent women Liberals, without waiting for the assent of any organised body.

(2) It would enable party women to make a public and effective protest by a far better method than that of resigning the membership of their branches. Personally, I always strongly dissuade party women from taking this step on the ground that they can do much better work for the Suffrage by remaining within the party organisation (while refusing to work for an unsatisfactory candidate) than by resigning outright. Resigned members, like the dead, are quickly forgotten. They have lost their influence over their fellow-members; they have lost their power of voting in favour of a forward Suffrage policy. The party agent, for example, tells an anti-Suffragist candidate that the local W.L.A. is working for him to a woman. He does not tell him—he probably does not know himself—how large a number of capable women have resigned from or never joined the Association because of the Suffrage question. Suppose, on the other hand, that from 50 to 90 per cent. of the members of the Association, while continuing to attend its meetings and pay their subscriptions, were bound by a written pledge, such as I suggest,—a letter pointing out that fact would be a useful weapon both in preventing the choice of an unsatisfactory candidate and in inducing the candidate to hear reason. There would be, of course, nothing whatever disloyal to party principles in thus remaining sleeping members of the Association, since in the eyes of every woman Suffragist a candidate who refuses to extend the principle of representative government to women is no true Liberal; and a candidate who does not believe in the constitutional principle that taxation and representation should go together is no true Conservative.

(3) Upon the party woman herself the effect of having thus "taken the pledge" would be much the same as that felt by the potential drunkard. It would fortify her against her own possible weakness and against the pressure put upon her by her friends. In the last general election most of us must have known cases where women who had often declared that they would never work for a candidate who was not sound on Women's Suffrage were swept off their feet by the tremendous excitement of the time, or yielded against their better judgment to the entreaties of their men friends and relations. If now in cooler blood we could appeal to these women, perhaps at the close of a meeting when the great issues involved in the Suffrage question had been brought home to them by the eloquence of some of our speakers, and could ask them to sign the pledge, they would I believe be true to the promise thus given and find in the reply, "I have given my word," a sufficient defence against the pressure of their party friends.

Some critics may object to the form of the pledge suggested upon the ground that it is upon the lines of the old policy of dealing with the candidates as individuals and not of refusing to work for all Liberals as such. I do not believe that there is the smallest chance that we should get the great majority of Liberal women to adopt this latter policy, even granted that it was desirable, which I do not myself hold. A study of the recent division lists certainly does not favour the view of those who think that our cause would fare any better at the hands of a Unionist Government than at those of a Liberal one. Our aim ought to be in the future as it has been in the past, to fill the House with those pledged to active support of Women's Suffrage, and to trust to the House at length forcing the Government to do its will.—I am, yours faithfully,

ELEANOR F. RATHBONE (Hon. Sec. Liverpool Society for Women's Suffrage).
Greenbank, Liverpool, E., 5th August, 1910.

SUFFRAGE OR PARTY.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—In the event of the Conciliation Bill not passing by reason of refusal of facilities during the autumn session, we evidently need to reconsider our position. I understand that the Men's League for Women's Suffrage intends to call a special meeting with regard to election policy if the Bill does not pass; and I would urge all societies of the National Union to be prepared to consider the situation at a Council meeting.

We have two important points in our policy upon which clear thinking is desirable. First, with regard to election questions—the questions put to candidates before we decide to support or oppose them, or to remain neutral. Is it not generally admitted that those questions need "tightening up," that they readily admit of evasive answers, and that they in no wise hinder us from supporting a Lloyd George or a Winston Churchill? I should like to suggest that every

candidate should be considered an "opponent" and opposed who will not answer this question at least in the affirmative: "Will you vote for a Women's Suffrage Bill independently of the direction of your party whips?" We make ourselves a laughing-stock by our readiness to accept any assurance of a favourable attitude, with no guarantee that this spells effective help.

The reason for this readiness is that the National Union in the past has depended upon and deferred to the Liberal party to a degree which renders the latter's treatment of the Suffrage question still more significant. In its anxiety not to alienate the Liberals, has not the National Union always refrained from opposing a Liberal candidate at elections? have not the questions always been elastic enough for that? or at least has not the attitude of both candidates been found to be "neither wholly satisfactory nor wholly unsatisfactory," and consequently propaganda work only has been done? We have had our reward; we know just what is the value of the Liberal support, or we shall know it in the autumn.

For the sake of Suffrage, then, can not we put aside this pandering to party interests? The one and only way in which we shall obtain the Suffrage is by making refusal of it endanger the return of the candidates at the polls, whether they be Liberals or whether they belong to any other party.

And my second point is this: Should we not consider whether it is not needful to ask of our Executive a self-denying ordinance, and to require its members to sever connection with any party organization? We profess ourselves to be an organization attached to no party—"non-party"—let us be practically such a one. The reason is obvious—that it is impossible for the members of a party organization not to be influenced by the interests of that party, not to think they can run both—Suffrage and party—together; and they are, moreover, exposed to all the influence which politicians, only heedful of their own interests, can exact by advice, discussion, and ridicule. Members who were present at the last Council meeting in London cannot fail to remember, as a slight example of what I mean, the persistence with which one man urged upon the Council the prosecution of methods which could by no possibility cause any inconvenience to his party, until the meeting laughed him out of court.

Let me therefore ask all the societies to consider this matter, and to reflect upon the virtues of "tightening up" election questions, and of a self-denying ordinance such as I suggest, for the sake of the reform which we so earnestly desire, and which all experience shows can only be achieved by singleminded effort.—Yours,

EDITH S. HOOPER.

Chenier Street Chambers, W.C.

[The National Union will, of course, call a Council meeting to consider any great change in the political situation. It is not the case that the National Union has refrained from opposing Liberals where they were Anti-Suffragists, but it is being more and more realized that the only effective method of opposing one candidate is to run another against him. Miss Hooper misunderstands and underrates the work done by the National Union. Much of the handsome majority of 109 on the second reading is due to our patient educative and political work.—Ed. "C.C."]

THE OPPORTUNITY OF LIBERAL WOMEN.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—I cordially welcome your correspondent's letter, entitled "Liberal Women and the Vote." I welcome it all the more that I myself, a few years ago, seceded from the Liberal Association with which I was then connected, as a simple protest against the cynical indifference with which women's political claims were officially regarded.

At the present time women who are connected with political parties—and particularly those whose support has been given to this Government,—are under a serious moral obligation to make use of the great leverage which they undoubtedly possess in order to secure the early and successful close of the Suffrage struggle. It is only a question of whether the affiliated Liberal women will act promptly so as to prevent a further Government blockade, or whether they will afterwards be exasperated into wholesale resignations as the result of the Cabinet's continued contumacy.

It may be apposite here to inform your readers that the Personal Rights Association, exactly ten years ago, issued an urgent letter to all the women's political associations throughout the country advising them, for the sake of Women's Suffrage, to refuse any longer "to humbly do the menial work of those who show that they despise them, content with the decoration of a flower, some grotesque title, or a place on some committee to do other people's business."

Women, as women, owe a primal duty to themselves to secure a proper measure of enfranchisement, a duty that ought to be attended to before the claims of any political party whatever.—Yours, etc.,

CHARLES B. MADON.

50, St. George's Road, Glasgow.

MR. SHACKLETON'S BILL.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—As one who has been advocating a reasonable measure of Women's Suffrage during many years, permit me to express a hope that Mr. Shackleton and his backers will

stand to their guns and not listen to those false friends, Winston Churchill and Lloyd George. With the latter women householders have special reason to be wroth. By his 1909 Budget he puts on an extra twopenny in the pound tax on unearned incomes. This presses hardly on women. And now, while giving lip service to the cause of Women's Suffrage, he refuses assent, in the name of democratic principles, to a Bill which is accepted by undoubted democrats, whom I need not name. Why this jealousy of property? It is possible to be a member of the propertied class and yet to be a Liberal. Demos has enough power, if only he had the sense to know how to use it.—Yours,

LEWIS THOMPSON.

MR. SMITH'S ARGUMENTS.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—Mr. F. E. Smith in his speech against the Women's Bill argued that the cry, "No taxation without representation" is either a universal truth or a mere catchword, and that if it is not a universal truth it is wholly destitute of force. It is not a universal truth, and it will be found that scarcely a single principle in economics or politics will be found to have universal validity if we apply the test used by Mr. Smith—i.e., that of India. Certain globe-trotting Members of Parliament, well up in John Stuart Mill and Adam Smith, and incapable of grasping actualities, have provided considerable amusement in their determination to sledge-hammer into Indian Imperial questions these universal principles. But because we cannot admit the principle, "No taxation without representation" in our great Eastern Dependency are we to admit also that we sacrificed our American colonies for a "catchword"?

Mr. F. E. Smith continues: "Supposing our Indian fellow subjects were ever enfranchised, the operation must include not the men only, but the unilluminated zenanas." Has Mr. Smith read Loti's "Désenchantées"? If he has not, we would advise him to do so, and we may advise him that not only in the harems of Turkey but in the Zenanas of India society may imprison the persons, but it cannot stop the emancipation of their minds. In India at the present time there is one lady who, whilst keeping the strictest purdah, governs her own state, and does it remarkably well, too, not delegating her authority in any matter. To come more closely to the point at issue—in a certain distinguished Mahomedan family, which has for several generations provided members of the Indian Civil Service, and the present head of which is a high court judge, the younger girls have been allowed to attend school to the age of 16 instead of going into purdah at 13 or 14, as is the custom. These girls have, in their school careers, given abundant evidence that they possess their full share of the family stock of brains, and now they can no longer attend school or college, to dispel some of the gloom of their "unilluminated" zenana, they have formed a Literary and Debating Society. In 1909 the literary section was devoted to Browning, and one of the motions for debate was "That women ought to have the Parliamentary vote." The motion was carried!

It has also been stated in the House that women had not been allowed to attend school to the age of 16 instead of going into purdah at 13 or 14, as is the custom. These girls have, in their school careers, given abundant evidence that they possess their full share of the family stock of brains, and now they can no longer attend school or college, to dispel some of the gloom of their "unilluminated" zenana, they have formed a Literary and Debating Society. In 1909 the literary section was devoted to Browning, and one of the motions for debate was "That women ought to have the Parliamentary vote." The motion was carried!

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THE "PHYSIOLOGICAL" ARGUMENT.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—The *reductio ad absurdum* of the argument that women are physiologically unfit to exercise the vote is contained in Dr. Leonard Williams' recent letter on this subject to the *Times*. If they accepted this doctor's views about themselves, all women between the ages of seventeen and fifty would become neurotic invalids and claim exemption

from every form of activity save child-bearing. Such extreme views carry their own condemnation, but Dr. Williams' letter opens one's eyes to the serious mischief which may be done by the medical Anti-Suffragist. Some years ago a clever girl-friend of mine had the misfortune to be obliged to consult an eminent physician of this type, in whose eyes the intellectual woman—to use his own expression—was merely a "masculine monstrosity." Having ascertained that his patient's tastes were studious and literary, he pronounced on this girl of twenty-one the stultifying verdict, "You must give up all that kind of thing. Light novels and patchwork are all that you will ever be good for." Happily the girl's parents were not satisfied with his opinion, and took their daughter to a still more eminent authority—the late Sir Andrew Clarke—who, in reply to the anxious inquiry, "Can I go on with my literary work?" said emphatically, "Why, of course. God would not have given you brains if He did not intend you to use them, and you will certainly never be well unless you do." I may add that in a few weeks this girl was restored to perfect health, and has since justified her existence, from the Anti-Suffragists' point of view, by becoming the mother of several vigorous children.

Edgbaston, July 30th.

C. G. HOUGHTON.

THE CONDITION OF INDIAN WOMEN.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Dear Madam,—I am interested in seeing the letters in your issue of June 16th referring to an article on "Indian Women" which I did not see. While rejoicing that the domestic conditions of our Indian sisters are thus brought to public notice, I feel that the quotation from Manu by your Indian correspondent is liable, in its isolation, to cause considerable misapprehension. She could have gone on, and from the same chapter have quoted, "On whatever honours the women of a family, not being duly honoured, pronounce an imprecation, those houses, with all that belong to them, utterly perish as if destroyed by a sacrifice for the death of an enemy." Again: "She who shows disrespect to a husband who is addicted to some evil passion, being a drunkard or diseased, shall be deserted for three months, and be deprived of her ornaments and furniture."—Ch. 9, 77, 81. "A wife that is barren may be superseded by another in the eighth year. She whose children are dead, in the tenth. She who brings forth only daughters, in the eleventh, but she who speaks to her husband unkindly, may be superseded without delay."

"Stealing cattle, slaying women, Sudras, Vaisyas or Khetriyas and Atleism, are all *minor* offences."—Ch. 11, 67. "A wife is the marital property of her husband."

"Let the husband neither eat with his wife, nor look at her eating."

"Though destitute of virtue, or seeking pleasure elsewhere, or devoid of good qualities, yet a husband must be constantly worshipped as a god by a faithful wife."

"She must never mention the name of another man after her husband has died."

"A virtuous wife, who, after the death of her husband, constantly remains chaste, reaches heaven though she have no son. But a woman who, from a desire to have offspring, violates her duty towards her deceased husband, brings on herself disgrace in this world, and loses her place with her husband in heaven." "A second husband is not anywhere prescribed for virtuous women."—Ch. 5, 154, 166.

"No crime, causing loss of caste, is committed by swearing falsely to women."

"Day and night women must be kept in dependence by the males of their families."

"Women, being weak creatures, have no share in the Mantras (Sacred invocations).—Ch. 5, 18.

"For women no sacramental rite is performed with sacred texts, this the law is settled; women who are destitute of strength and knowledge of Vedic texts are as impure as falsehood itself, that is a fixed rule."—Ch. 9, 2.

PENSION-ASSURANCES FOR WOMEN.

EDUCATED WOMEN

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"One should not sit in a lonely place with one's mother, sister or daughter, for the senses are powerful and master even a learned man."—Ch. 2, 213, 215.

(Buhler's Translation.)
There is considerable reason, I think, to doubt the statement made by another correspondent—viz., that "Mrs. Besant enjoys unparalleled opportunities for studying the Indian's domestic life of all creeds." I have been told by some who are likely to know that it is very improbable.

I have not seen any later issue of the "Common Cause" than the one I refer to, so that you have, perhaps, had others writing in remonstrance against such one-sided quotations.

I shall conclude with a few phrases from a Sanscrit catechism:—

What is cruel?—Answer: The heart of a viper.
What more cruel than that?—Answer: The heart of a woman.

What is the chief gate to hell?—Answer: A woman.
What is the cruellest thing of all?—Answer: The heart of a soulless widow.

Who are fetters to men?—Answer: Women.
What is that which cannot be trusted?—Answer: Woman.
What poison is that which appears like nectar?—Answer: A woman.

"We cannot understand women, even the gods cannot."
It may occur to some readers that, as the code of Manu is supposed to be (at least portions of it) about 2,000 years old, that these rules and customs are now probably obsolete; but, as a matter of fact, its prevailing sentiments survive to the present day, and powerfully influence the social and domestic life of the people.

A more modern code, translated from the Persian into English in 1775 may also be quoted: "A man both day and night must keep his wife so much in subjection that she by no means becomes mistress of her own actions. A woman shall never go out of the house without the consent of her husband. A woman shall never go to a stranger's house, and shall never stand at the door, and must never look out of a window."

"It is proper for a woman, after her husband's death, to burn herself in the fire with his corpse."
The subject of widowhood I cannot now enter into, but every educated Hindu woman in the present day can only declare their addition to be wretched and heartbreaking. A book was privately circulated in Bombay in 1890, in which the experiences of a merchant of Caste who ventured to marry a widow of suitable rank are given, an interesting résumé of which is to be found in "Our Indian Sisters," by E. Storrow, from which I have largely quoted.

Apologising for using your valuable space.—Yours,
"NYDIA."

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—After some years' work in India, may I endorse S. F. Waring's letters. Miss Chandler does not give at all too dark a picture of Indian women; the fact is that most people, instead of admitting the deplorable condition of many Englishwomen, make light of that, and therefore expose themselves to the charge of comparative exaggeration when they give a true account of India.

It is true that in many cases Indian women have more power in the home than English; that Hindus treat their wives better than Mohammedans; that Hindu morality is on a far higher scale consequently; that it is infinitely preferable to be a poor peasant woman in the villages of India than a poor working-woman in the slums of London; that there is often most delightful family affection, and that heaps of the women are quite content with their narrow lot, and pride themselves on their seclusion as a mark of high class or caste. So do women in England when their menfolk tell them politics are too dirty for them to touch. As Dr. Coomaraswamy says, purdah was established for the protection of women—an urgent necessity, by the way, in a country abounding with Mohammedan men; it is not indigenous to the Hindus, and does not obtain to nearly such a large extent in South India, where the followers of the Prophet are few. But that is merely to say that it is on a par with all the restrictions placed on woman at home; rather than take the trouble to have roads safe and public manners and morals pure, mankind finds it easier to restrict the activities of his womenfolk.

It is true that in some Indian poetry women are given a high place; but they are called angels in English poetry, and then paid starvation wages—one presumes on the principle that a spirit does not require material food!

The position of the higher-middle and upper-class women in India is, however, whether they realise it or not, far more pitiful than that of women at home. They are capable of such infinitely better things than the gossip of the Zenana; and the way that many of them, when permitted to do so, are embracing the opportunity of leading a larger life shows that they are waking up to the fact.

Then, too, though some Indian widows may be happy in their privations, there are others who frequently complain of the hardness of their lot and the rigour of Hindu religious customs. Undoubtedly members of many Christian sisterhoods are extremely happy; but to insist on every woman becoming a nun in consequence would be sheer brutality, and involve neither merit nor beauty; asceticism must surely be voluntary to be admired.

KEEP FIT

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The lot also of the poorer English widow is hard, and the custom that obtains in this country of enforcing poverty on her by refusing her equal pay for equal work and equal political protection is a disgrace to the professors of Christianity. But it remains an interesting fact that, in doing one's hospital rounds in India, one can generally tell at a glance whether a "new patient" is an orthodox Hindu or Mohammedan, or whether her upbringing has been more liberal. The faces of one's Indian nurses, again, are alive with intelligence; one may put this down either to their Christianity or to what has followed on it, their education. But in either case it shows that the impact of the West on the East can produce a further and most desirable development in Indian women. In a mission hospital, moreover, unlike a hospital at home, one sees the higher castes and classes, which makes one's judgment a fairer one—i.e., one is not noting the effect of the change amongst only pariah classes.

Besides, as one knows from melancholy experience, it is a simple thing for a woman in a zenana to disappear, and no hue and cry or disturbance of any kind need follow. The murder of women in England is terribly frequent, but there is more public opinion against it and more chance of retribution.

One sees, as Miss Ransom says, delightful things in Indian homes; but to dwell solely on those will not help us to reform the manifold miseries that exist, any more than noting only the many happy English homes that there are will spur one on to deal with suffering and injustice here. The condition of the Indian woman is much like that of the English, only more so; and it is with joy that I look forward to the time when, with the effective weapon of the vote in their hands, the women of England, who have themselves learnt so much of suffering, both personal and vicarious, in the last few years, shall turn their attention to the women of the East.—Yours,
H. B. HANSON, M.D., B.S. (Lond.).

16, Mowbray Road, Brondesbury, July 27, 1910.

THE PRESS AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—At the risk of being a voice crying in the wilderness, may I protest against the proposed boycotting by Suffragists of newspapers that do not agree with our views? It is apt to prove rather like cutting off one's nose to spite one's face, unless the "opposition" daily is equally useful, which is often not the case (I am speaking, of course, of provincial papers), and it is in other respects highly impolitic.

I speak from some experience. I find it infinitely better to heap coals of fire by making the education of the local

journals one's special care—to see that the editors are kept supplied with accurate Suffrage news; to make sure that all meetings, demonstrations, etc., are duly puffed, not only in the advertisement but in the correspondence columns; to take care that "our lady correspondent" (who is more often than not a Suffragist herself, whatever the paper may be officially) receives invitations to all public meetings and private receptions, drawing-room meetings, and so forth, and is duly posted with information as to speakers, hostesses, and anything else that may be of use to her and of interest to her readers. Editors are human—even the most editorial of them—and are susceptible to pressure brought to bear by women whose names have social or political weight, and (like the historic journalist whose one reflection on "the immensity of space" was that he had a column of it to fill every day) they are usually glad to insert paragraphs of general interest, whether they are in sympathy with their object or no.

I mentioned the correspondence column. This, if properly worked, should be an invaluable means of making public facts that it is important to have known, of correcting misapprehensions and contradicting mis-statements, and of arousing discussion. One person should be told off to each daily, nightly, or weekly newspaper in a town or district to watch its columns, intervene when necessary, and generally take paper and readers under her maternal care. The difference which this makes to the proper reporting of meetings has to be experienced to be believed. I hope what I have written may have the effect of inducing some of your correspondents to try "nursing" a paper before deciding to boycott it.—Yours,
SHEFFIELD, July 22nd, 1910.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—Miss L. O. Ford, in an interesting speech in St. James's Hall on July 13, suggested that Suffragists should cease to subscribe to newspapers that treat the question in an unfair and inadequate manner.

I believe myself that a still more effective way would be to touch the press through their advertisements. If Suffragists, men or women, who advertise in newspapers could see their way to withdraw their advertisements, and write and tell the editor of the paper the reason of their action, I feel sure it would not be without avail.—Yours,
E. M.

THE PRESS AND THE SUFFRAGE.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—The proposal of E. M. Guest to boycott London papers is scarcely practicable in the South of England. News-agents here deal with London collecting houses, so that Manchester papers are received too late to take the place of London ones. Moreover, we do need to know what is being said in London. It would be of use, however, to have a consensus of opinion as to which is the most favourable of the London papers. Personally I give the preference to the "Morning Leader," whose Parliamentary representative (Mr. S. L. Hughes, M.P.) voted for us in both divisions.—Yours,
PLYMOUTH, July 25th, 1910.

Several Suffragists have written to say they have decided to give up taking the "Daily Mail," and are substituting the "Daily Chronicle." They decided to do so after looking in vain in the "Mail" for some report of the great demonstration in Trafalgar Square on July 9th.

THE MAN WITH THE VOTE. A POSER FOR MR. CHURCHILL.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—In Mr. Churchill's amazing speech on the debate of July 12th he said: "It would be possible for a prostitute to have a vote, to lose it if she married, yet regain it if divorced," etc. Permit me to ask Mr. Churchill: What about the men with a vote who in 90 cases out of 100 are the makers of prostitutes? Let him reply.

An Indignant Mother, whose innocent daughter was led astray, ruined, and deserted by a Man with a Vote.

P.S.—Our Magdalen was rescued by a missionary, also a man with a vote. She is now self-supporting, and with a

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passionate loving devotion born of bitter experience, giving her life to the saving of women, especially of young girls, who have been cast on to the dust-heap of humanity by men with a vote.

THE MOTHER'S POINT OF VIEW.

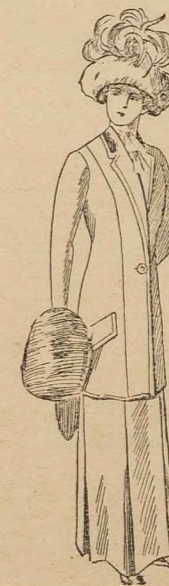
To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam.—A friend who is slowly recovering from the birth of a little son makes a suggestion which I think the "National Union" and other Suffrage Societies would do well to consider. It is that in future processions or demonstrations of Women Suffragists an "Absent Mothers" banner should be carried, indicating the number of mothers necessarily absent owing to the claims of their children who desire to be represented.

I am convinced that many mothers would be glad of such a visible sign of their spiritual presence. For myself, during the past six years I have been absent from every important Suffrage demonstration owing to ill-health before or after the birth of my children. I have never been asked to attend as a mother, though as a University graduate I have been urged to come.

Members of Parliament and others are fond of saying that we married women are the best women, and the fittest to have the vote—when a Bill is introduced which would not widely enfranchise us. One sometimes wishes that we had some organisation within our respective societies which could tell them authoritatively what we think; that would inform them that we are heart and soul with the "disappointed women" (delightful phrase!) in desiring political enfranchisement for women; that we care little, comparatively—though we, too, greatly desire the vote,—whether we ourselves are made citizens in the first instance. So long as some women are enfranchised and the insult to our sex removed we are certain that our position as wives and mothers, with that of other women, will be raised and made easier in a thousand ways. I doubt whether any married woman at all capable of clear and disinterested thinking could be found who would object to unmarried women and widows attaining enfranchisement because she was still excluded—as one M.P. suggested. We know the value to society of those women who are doing work of incalculable value in many spheres outside the home. Many of us have been for years in the ranks of the "disappointed women" (fancying ourselves all the time free, useful, and even honoured members of society!), and we know how excellent such a training, say, as a Government inspector, teacher, or overseer of women labour, may be as a qualification for political responsibility.

Mr. Winston Churchill is shocked at the idea of women prostitutes occasionally getting a vote. We could tell him that there are mothers in Israel who are by no means shocked at the idea, because they have had to get used to the fact that the men who make use of prostitutes have a vote, and even that we are liable to be "represented" in Parliament by men who manufacture prostitutes by paying women employees less than a living wage, and in other ways. Some of us even think that the prostitute probably sees our present social system from a point of view of which it would be very valuable to get some glimpse. In the seamy seclusion of our homes we read the debates in Parliament, and we know what to think of a professed supporter of our cause who can allege such a reason for rejecting a Bill of incalculable importance to every mother in the land.—Yours,
EDITH M. D. MARVIN.



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London Letter.

During the week preceding the arrest of Dr. Crippen—that time when it seemed almost indecent to spy on the proceedings of an unsuspecting fugitive,—I met a man who tried every day to buy a daily newspaper which had nothing in it about Crippen. He failed, of course—and went without his paper. He reminded me of the man who tried for two days only to live without using any advertised article; he found he must remain unwashed, unshod, and unclothed, and, like a wise man, he gave up the attempt. In a somewhat Alice-through-the-looking-glass fashion I would ask readers of "The Common Cause" to do the other thing—not to live through two days without using something recommended in our columns. Quite apart from the literary interest of the paper, distinct from the great revolutionary movement which is the basis of the "Cause," there is the "Common" side of the paper, where the things we want and the things we want should, pushed by the Ariel of Commerce, "meet and join." We want some women to know what other women make and sell, in order that they may consider the buying of it from them in the first instance. We shall tell country members where to stay in London, and townfolk where they may find comfortable quarters in the particular parts of the country they wish to visit. We bring suggestions to the busy, and occupations to those who would no longer be idle, and from time to time I hope to describe one or another of the many side interests to women. Readers of "The Common Cause" are asked to watch the advertisement columns, to patronise where they can, and to be ready with suggestions and matter to swell those columns. By doing this, those of us who are neither born leaders, nor speakers, nor even scribblers, may help the paper to that solid financial basis on which every paper born of woman must rest before it can grow up into a success.

AGNES EVANS.

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.)

BARNESLEY.

An enthusiastic meeting was held in the Y.M.C.A. Rooms, Barnsley, on July 25th. Mrs. White, vice-president, in the chair, said how warmly she welcomed Miss Mary Fielden and Mrs. Hallowes. Mrs. Hallowes, India, spoke on the reasons why she wanted the vote—to deal with the cantonment question in India.

Miss Fielden critically explained the Conciliation Bill, and made an able speech in support of Women's Suffrage. The resolution asking for facilities for the Bill was moved by Miss Nicholson, seconded by Mrs. Hallowes, and supported by Miss Mary Fielden and Miss F. Embleton, and it was carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the chairman and speakers was moved by T. Baldwin, Esq., seconded by Miss Celia Wray, and carried unanimously. The resolution was sent to the Prime Minister and to Sir Joseph Walton, Bart., M.P.

BISHOPSWORTH.

A branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies has recently been formed in Bishopsworth, and the movement is growing apace, as shown by the large and enthusiastic audience which gathered on Monday last at Melbourne Lodge, kindly placed at the disposal of the committee by the hon. secretary, Mrs. H. J. Priddle. The occasion was one of a series of garden meetings being held in the village, and, despite the stormy weather prevailing, a goodly number of members and visitors attended to listen to the able addresses delivered in support of the objects of the Union by Mrs. Randall Vickers, Mrs. Barrell, Miss Helen Sturge, and Mrs. W. C. H. Cross.

The chair was taken by Mrs. Pobjoy, of Bishopsworth. Resolutions urging the speedy passage of the Bill granting the franchise to women were proposed and unanimously passed, and the meeting terminated with the admission of further members and votes of thanks to the hostess, Mrs. Priddle, to Mrs. Pobjoy, the treasurer, and to the members of the committee who rendered assistance.

BRIGHTON AND HOVE.

On Saturday, July 23rd, a garden party was held at the Pavilion by this Society to meet the president, Mrs. Ridgeway (wife of the Bishop of Chichester). There were 250 present, and the Ladies' Orchestra, under Mr. Madle, gave selections during the tea-hour. Mr. R. F. Cholmely and Miss Barbara Duncau spoke, the chair being taken by Rev. Prebendary Bond. Miss Duncau gave an account of the propaganda work which is being done by the Society in Sussex, and called attention to the increasing enthusiasm with which our speakers are being received in localities hitherto considered apathetic or hostile. "Sussex," she said, "is living down the slander which was passed upon it." Mr. Cholmely dealt with the various arguments put forward by the Anti-Suffragists, adding, "The whole trend of politics diminishes the physical force idea." The speakers were unanimous in their belief that great progress is being made throughout the country, and that the Conciliation Bill is not yet dead.

Mr. Merrifield, seconded by Miss Verrall, moved a vote of thanks to the chairman and speakers, and the proceedings were brought to a close by a short play entitled "A Change of Tenant," acted by Mr. and Mrs. Francis, Miss A. McGlade, and Mr. Adrian Brunel.

CAMBERLEY AND DISTRICT.

A garden meeting was held at Portesbery Hill on Thursday, July 28th, at which a resolution was passed calling upon the Prime Minister to give facilities for the Committee stage of the Conciliation Bill.

Mrs. Bisset, who was the speaker, made a special appeal to those present to take in "The Common Cause," and five new subscribers were obtained. Several members of the local branch promised to

distribute the leaflets issued by the Manchester and Reigate Societies, and other Suffrage literature.

The Camberley banner, made on purpose for use in Trafalgar Square on July 9th, and to which members had subscribed very generously, was on view for the first time since the demonstration.

HULL.

The Hull Branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies held a very successful drawing-room meeting on Wednesday, July 20th, by the kind invitation of our treasurer, Mrs. Cussons. The original intention was a garden party, but the wet weather rendered it necessary to receive the guests indoors; but, nothing daunted or dismayed by the rain, the visitors arrived in good numbers. An address was given by the president, Mrs. Richardson, on the work of the Society, and mention was made of the new Committee Room, opened at 17, Jameson Street, and of the many uses to which the room would be put. Miss A. Jackson spoke of the prospects of the Conciliation Bill, and of the progress made by Women's Suffrage. A most hearty welcome was given to Dr. Murdoch on her first appearance after her long and serious illness.

LEEDS.

On the 12th of July, by the invitation of Mrs. Grosvenor Talbot, Mrs. Parrish and Miss Fielden spoke to the members of the Kickstall Women's Liberal Association in the garden of Southfield, Burley. The resolution was carried without a dissent. Mrs. Grosvenor Talbot took the chair both at this and at the drawing-room meeting given by Mrs. Julius Hess the following Thursday. Owing to unforeseen circumstances this meeting, which ought to have been held at West Grove, was obliged to be transferred to the Priestley Hall, and all guests notified at the eleventh hour. Over a hundred turned up, and the meeting was addressed by Miss I. O. Ford, who spoke on the debate in the House, and Miss Fielden. The resolution to the effect that the Bill was well carried. The following week hundreds of letters embodying this resolution were sent up from Leeds to Mr. Asquith and the M.P.s.

Miss Fielden had a splendid debate in the East Park on Sunday, the 17th, on the expediency of an Adult Suffragist supporting the present Bill. The wind was very high, but an audience of between 1,000 and 1,500 people listened with deep interest for fully two hours, during which time there was not an interruption.

We have also had open-air meetings, the best of which was held from the Victoria statue, Town Hall Square, last Thursday evening, when Miss Fielden addressed an interested audience, and the resolution was carried without a dissent. Our time is now being devoted to fixing up autumn arrangements.

LONDON—KINGSTON AND SURBITON.

The third open-air meeting held this year in Kingston Market Place was addressed by Miss E. Hooper, Miss Cicely Corbett, and Mr. Crawford, and was the largest we have had. The crowd was slow in collecting at first, but we had between two and three hundred at the end. The interest aroused by our former speakers, Miss Ward, Miss Cockle, and Miss Janet Thompson, is beginning to have excellent results, and we may hope for five or six hundred before the meetings come to an end.

LONDON—WINDSOR AND ETON.

The third monthly At Home of the branch was held in the Grove Road Schoolroom, Windsor, on Monday, July 25th, at 8 o'clock. Miss Harriet Cockle gave a most interesting address on the Conciliation Bill, or the "Breadwinners' Bill," as she called it. There was a good deal of informal discussion afterwards. Miss Hodgskin proposed a vote of thanks to the speaker, which was seconded by Mrs. R. Lord. The hon. secretary, Mrs. Gibb, was in the chair. While the audience was assembling tea and cakes were handed round.

LONDON—ESHER AND EAST MOLESLEY.

We held four open-air meetings this week, for which we were lucky enough to get Miss Cicely Corbett and Mr. Crawford as speakers. On Monday they spoke in Thames Ditton, High Street, at 6 p.m. As far as I know it was the first Suffrage meeting held in that still old-fashioned little village. The audience was not large, but very attentive. At 8 p.m. we held a meeting at the drinking fountain, East Molesey. There we had a really large and more appreciative audience. They all listened spellbound to the eloquence of the speakers, and many came up for leaflets and "Common Causes" afterwards.

On Tuesday we had a meeting on Esher Green at 6, attended by a dozen or so interested working people; about a dozen supporters, and a dozen Anti-Suffragists drawn up in silent line, with their badges. They asked no questions, and withdrew modestly just before the close of the meeting. At 8 we repaired to Claygate, where we had a large and lively audience, and when Miss Corbett finished her speech they applauded loudly. We sold over thirty "Common Causes" at the different meetings, and distributed leaflets. It would be hard to find a better pair of speakers for an open-air mixed audience than Miss Cicely Corbett and Mr. Crawford. These four open-air meetings close our year's campaign. It has been hard work, but at last we seem to be reaping some reward. We also feel it satisfactory that we have been able to contribute (apart from our subscriptions) £5 8s. 9d. to the London Society's funds.

NOTTINGHAM.

On July 30th our shop, taken for the General Election and kept open until now, was closed, and our new offices, Regent Chambers, 54, Long Row, Nottingham (over Pearson Bros., the ironmongers), will be opened on September 1st. The new offices are larger and much more central than the shop, and afternoon teas will be procurable every day (except Thursday), from 4 to 6, at 3d. and 4d., as they were in the shop. We have one nice large room to the front, in which the monthly At Homes will be held in future, and a small office at the back.

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We had a large and attentive crowd at our open-air meeting in the Market Place on Monday, held jointly with the Church League for Women's Suffrage. The Rev. Claude Hinscliff took the chair, and his vigorous and rousing speech was followed by an impressive address from Miss Stirling. Not a single rude or even bantering remark was heard by the stewards in the crowd, and not a single hand was held up against the resolution.

On Tuesday afternoon our July At Home was held in Mrs. W. B. Hamilton's garden, and, though not very well attended, was remarkable for its quiet enthusiasm and determination. Many promises of help for the winter were given, and nearly £2 of things left over from the garden fête and sale were sold.

ORCADIAN.

A drawing-room concert on behalf of this Society and the Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies was held at Daisybank, Kirkwall (the residence of the secretary and treasurer of the Oradian Society), on Wednesday evening, 21st inst. The programme consisted of vocal and instrumental music, solos on the piano, violin, 'cello, and flute being contributed by friends and members of the Oradian Society, all of which afforded great delight to the audience, who numbered over fifty. From the receipts the sum of £1 10s. has been forwarded to the Scottish Federation of Suffrage Societies.

OXFORD.

This Society has been holding a series of meetings in Mid Oxon and also in Gloucestershire. Mrs. Hobbs, of Kelmscott, arranged meetings at Bampton for women only, and a public meeting at Lechlade in the school, which was very well attended. Hon. Mrs. Bertram Russell spoke, and Mrs. Hobbs presided.

On Friday, 29th, there will be an open-air meeting at Fairford, Glos. We had also a successful drawing-room meeting in Witney, given by Mrs. Charles Earley. Mrs. Russell spoke on "Women and Citizenship." There are so many of the country districts about here quite untouched, and we find everywhere most attentive audiences.

BOLTON.

A garden party was given on July 30th by Mrs. Haslam, president of the Association at White Bank, to members and friends. It was a beautiful day, and the red, white, and green flags made a brave show. Mrs. Allan Bright very kindly came and gave an address on the Bill and the present position of affairs. The audience of about 100 was most interested and enthusiastic, and a resolution calling upon the Government to give further facilities for the Bill during the autumn session was carried unanimously. The hon. secretary, Miss Haslam, announced that the committee had decided to undertake a canvass of the women householders of Bolton, of whom there are over 5,000, asking them to sign a petition demanding further facilities for the Bill. She asked all members who could possibly do so to help with this work, and a number gave in their names at once.

DREIFIELD.

Miss de Clare Phillips was here on August 4th and 5th, and we arranged two meetings. The first, a public one on the Cross Hill, was quite successful. Naturally the audience was of a very miscellaneous nature, but besides the ordinary street loafer there was a large proportion of artisans, clerks, and shop assistants. These, by their attitude of thoughtful attention throughout the whole address, and by the entire absence of unseemly interruption, paid a well-deserved tribute to the lucid and logical words of the speaker. A garden meeting had been arranged for Friday afternoon by kind permission of Mrs. Day, a member of our Committee, but, unfortunately, so small a muster of members turned up that we were obliged to abandon it.

HASLEMERE.

This Society is undertaking a house-to-house visitation of women householders who are voters on the Urban, Rural, and Parish Councils, to take a census of those for and against Women's Suffrage. This seems a useful piece of educational work, to bring knowledge of our cause to the women who have already a small portion of the rights of citizenship, who come into contact with canvassers, and who have enough status conferred on them by their limited privileges to serve as an argument against our claim in any district, on Anti-Suffragist platforms, if they display indifference or betray ignorance on our question. Besides, when once women feel their importance is increased by the possession of the municipal vote, it is only one more step for them to realise what the Parliamentary vote means in the protection of their own interests.

KESWICK.

On Thursday evening, August 4th, an open-air meeting in support of the Conciliation Bill was held in the Market Place. Leave had been very kindly given to us to speak from the Town Hall steps, which were gay with banners and flags, and made a capital platform. Mr. A. Mitchell-Dawson, C.C., J.P., was in the chair. Miss Catherine Marshall addressed the meeting, and in an excellent and able speech explained the terms of the Conciliation Bill to an attentive audience of 500 to 600 people, a large proportion of which were men. At the close of her address Miss Marshall moved a resolution in favour of the Bill, urging the Government to give all necessary facilities for the further stages of the Bill in the autumn session. It was resolved that copies of the resolution be sent to the four Party Leaders; to Mr. Braisford, hon. secretary of the Conciliation Committee; and to the members of Cumberland and Westmorland. Miss Minna Rathbone (a member of the Executive Committee of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association) seconded the resolution. During the meeting a collection was taken, and literature sold and distributed.

LONDON-HIGHGATE AND NORTH ST. PANCRAS.

London is commonly supposed to be empty in August, but there are usually four or five millions of people who remain, and we have therefore not abated our zeal to convert them to our cause.

We have been trying all through July to get on to the fine open space of Parliament Hill Fields, but the cold, damp weather has prevented that, and kept us at one or other of our street corner pitches. Among others who have earned our thanks for so kindly speaking for us are Miss M. Hodge, Miss Cicely Corbett, Miss Dawson, Mrs. Bowden-Smith, and Mrs. McRae. On Bank Holiday,

having a fine day, we took the opportunity of getting some of the thousands who assemble on the Hill to listen to our cause. Mr. John Simpson, Mr. Rogers, and I were the speakers.

Saturday night found us once again at Tufnell Park Station. Mrs. Archibald Little was the principal speaker, and with her assistance we kept a keenly interested audience till 10.30, and sold all our copies of "The Common Cause."

As August is a difficult month in which to secure speakers, it would be a real service if any who are in town would write and offer their services.

Please address Mrs. Rogers, "Drumtochty," Cholmeley Park, Highgate, N.

NAIRN.

A meeting was held in the Public Hall, Nairn, on Thursday, July 28th, at 8 p.m., at which Mrs. Hunter presided, and Miss Helen Fraser was the speaker, her address being "A Reply to Mr. Annan Bryce's Speech against Women's Suffrage."

Mrs. Hunter made a capable and bright chairman, dealing with some of our opponent's objections ably and wittily.

Miss Helen Fraser's speech dealt with the different points in Mr. Annan Bryce's speech very brilliantly, treating with especial force his "Indian" objection and his "ideal" and "dusty arena of politics unfit for women" attitude. The resolution moved, stated "That this meeting expresses its satisfaction at the successful second reading of the Women's Suffrage Bill; and in view of the fact that the reading was carried by 109—a majority larger than that given to the Veto Resolutions,—urges the Government to grant facilities for the Committee and third reading stages this session."

The resolution was carried unanimously, a good collection was taken, and literature, badges, and "Common Causes" were disposed of to the keenly interested audience.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

As so many people are away from home during August, it has been decided that the working-party will not meet again till September. An urgent appeal is made to all members to do their utmost to make the sale of work a success. Contributions of work or money will be gladly received by Miss Mein, "Hunstanworth."

NORTH OF ENGLAND.

The hon. treasurer having sent out subscription reminders about a week ago, received a postal order for 21s., whose origin he cannot trace, no name being given. The postmark is as follows:—"Tidebrook," Wadhurst, Station Road, S.O. Sussex, July 28. Will the sender kindly communicate at once with the treasurer, 85, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester?

WOKING.

We held a successful meeting on Saturday evening, August 6, in the town. Mr. Cyril Yaldwyn, of the Men's League, very kindly came down to speak for us. His speech was listened to very attentively by a crowd which, though refraining from applause, remained for the whole of the meeting. Mr. Urwick took the chair, and Miss Katharine Cox, in a speech of a few minutes, supported Mr. Yaldwyn. This is the best open-air meeting we have had.

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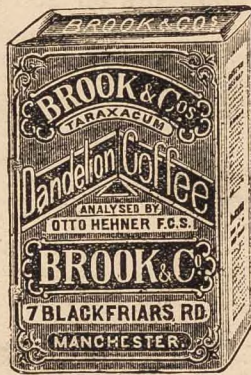
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