

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 Thro' 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.

ALL BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS should be addressed to The Manager, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester.

ADVERTISEMENTS should reach the office by first post on Tuesday.

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.

THE PAPER WILL BE POSTED to any address in England or abroad for the following prepaid payments:—

3 MONTHS	...	1	9
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LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS should be addressed to The Editor, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester, accompanied by a stamped envelope addressed if it is desired that they should be returned. The Editor accepts no responsibility, however, for matter which is offered unsolicited.

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

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

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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 musty 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 hardly 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—what 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.

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?

"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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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. Barnes, 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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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

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.

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."

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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."

WORTHING.

A public meeting was held here at the Literary Institute on Wednesday, 27th July. Mrs. Chapman took the chair, and the speakers were Miss Frances Sterling, Mr. Brunel, Miss Duncan, and Miss Cocks.

The speeches were listened to with great attention, and the resolution supporting Mr. Shackleton's Bill was put and carried unanimously. Copies of the resolution were subsequently forwarded to Mr. Asquith and Mr. Campbell, member for Mid-Sussex. Some interesting questions were asked at the close of the meeting, and several new members joined.

About 130 people assembled at short notice in the Exhibition on the 2nd inst., when Miss Hodge, of Sydney, Australia, gave a most interesting account of the successful result of the Women's Vote in her country. She told how for years women had failed in spite of every effort to get the age of consent raised from 13; but, when women got the vote, it only took three months to get the age raised to 18. She also told what a large percentage of women exercised their vote (about 80 per cent.)—this is slightly higher than the men, in spite of the fact that they must now do so to prevent the men being outvoted by the women. Mr. Hannah kindly presided. Three dozen "Common Causes" were sold.

List of Societies in the National Union.

Table listing societies in the National Union across various regions including ENGLAND, NORTH OF ENGLAND, SOUTH OF ENGLAND, IRELAND, and SCOTLAND. Each entry includes the name of the society and the name and address of its secretary.

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Table listing dates and events from August 17 to September 1, 1910, including meetings and lectures in various locations like London, Huddersfield, and Leeds.

Thoughts on Some Questions Relating to Women, 1860-1908.

By EMILY DAVIES, LL.D. With Prefatory Note by E. E. CONSTANCE JONES. With Portrait. Crown 8vo. pp. 228. Price 3s. 6d. net; postage 4d.

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Forthcoming Meetings.

Table listing upcoming meetings from August 11 to August 16, 1910, including locations like Scarborough, Cuckfield, and London, and times.

Gaiety Theatre - - Manchester.

This Week, Evenings 7-30, Matinee Saturday at 2. CUPID AND THE STYX. By J. Sackville Martin. August 15, Mr. Lawrence Irving and Miss Mabel Hackney in "The Unwritten Law" & "Margaret Catchpole". Telephone: 8048 Central.

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