

VOTES FOR WOMEN

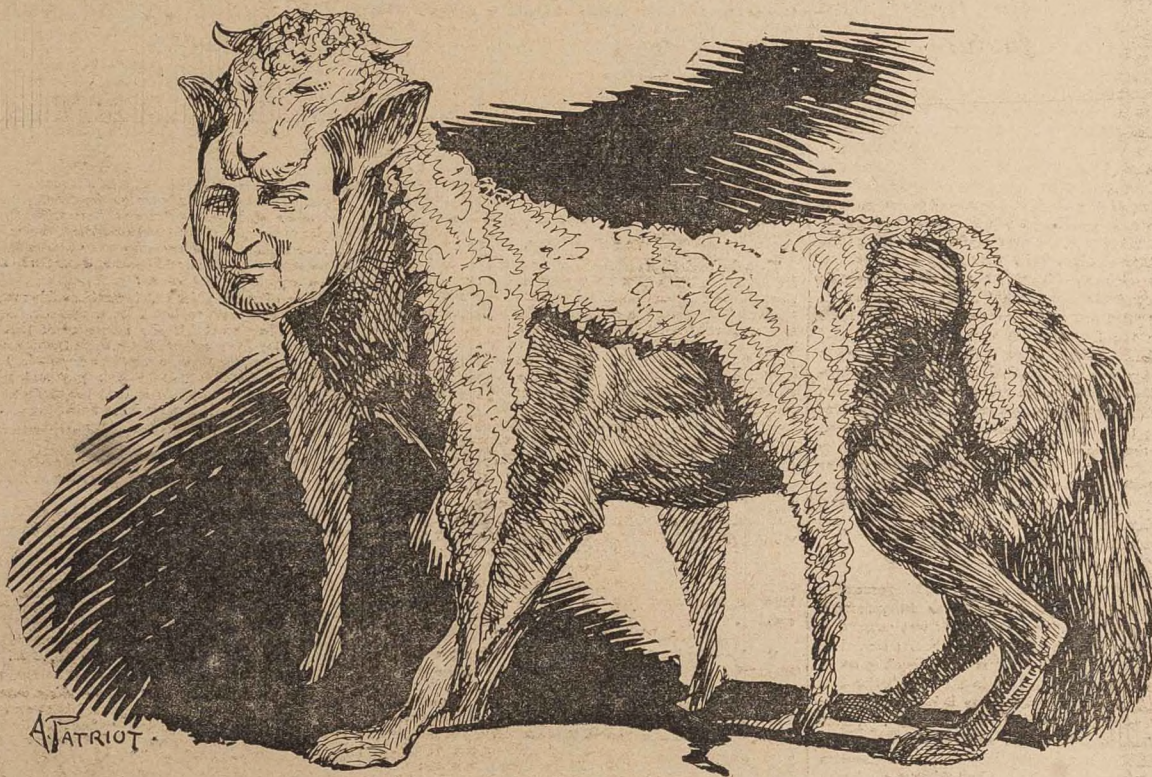
EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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A WOLF IN SHEEP'S CLOTHING.



Mr. Masterman (the Liberal Candidate at Bethnal Green By-Election), on the specious plea of desiring to give votes to wives and mothers, expresses his intention of supporting amendments which, in the opinion of the Conciliation Committee (composed of Members of Parliament of all Parties), will have the effect of wrecking the Conciliation Bill, and thus preventing any women from obtaining the vote.

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom; to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it; to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

Though the Government's promise to grant facilities for the Conciliation Bill does not become due until next year, important discussions have already been taking place among the party groups of M.P.'s who support Woman Suffrage as to the course they will adopt with regard to it.

Unionist Support.

At the meeting of the Unionist group the following resolution was passed:—

That this meeting supports the Conciliation Bill as the most

practicable method of giving the suffrage to women, and will resist any amendment which, under pretence of extending its provisions, will, in fact, prejudice its chances of becoming law.

We heartily welcome this indication of friendship.

The Liberal Group.

The Liberal group met on Thursday in last week, and listened to an address from Mr. Lloyd George, who made the astounding proposal that members should ballot for a "more democratic" measure than the Conciliation Bill, and should endeavour to secure for this measure the facilities promised by the Government; but that if this manoeuvre failed they should adopt the Conciliation Bill and endeavour by amendment in Committee to widen its scope. The following letter from Sir Edward Grey was read:—

I am sorry I cannot, owing to pressure of work, stay for the meeting to-day. As the Bill of this year brought all sections together on the second reading, and is capable of amendment in Committee, it seems unnecessary to alter it next year before it gets to the Committee stage.

The important point, it seems to me, is to spend the period now before us in coming to agreement as to what amendments can be made in Committee without seriously dividing the supporters of women's suffrage. To spend time upon the introduction of another and different Bill that would not command on the second reading the same support as the existing Bill cannot help the object in view.

The Liberal group adjourned without coming to any decision.

Political Theft.

Critically examined, Mr. Lloyd George's first suggestion amounts to nothing more nor less than that Mr. Asquith's promise made to the Conciliation Com-

mittee on behalf of the Conciliation Bill should be stolen by the adult Suffragists and utilised by them for a barren discussion on a Bill which everyone knows has no chance whatever of becoming law during the present Parliament. The manoeuvre will fail because Mr. Asquith, after stating that his promise would be fulfilled in the spirit as well as in the letter, could not be a party to so dishonourable a proposition.

A Trick That Has to be Exposed.

Mr. Lloyd George's second suggestion that the Conciliation Bill should be adopted and radically amended in Committee is more subtle, but amounts in the end to the same thing; and we are confident that it will be defeated when it is fully understood. We publish on page 709 of the present issue the salient extracts of a weighty and important speech delivered by Sir Alfred Mond, at the meeting of the W.S.P.U. in the London Pavilion on Monday last, in which he clearly set forth the reasons why sound woman Suffragists, whatever their views as to adult suffrage, ought to resist strenuously any amendments which would have the effect of altering the compromise arrived at in the Conciliation Bill. Miss Pankhurst deals with the same question in our leading article this week, and Lord Lytton, in his inaugural address as chairman of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage (reported on page 705), said that, while some men might be taken in by the device of the Chancellor of the Exchequer,

he did not believe that women would fail to see who were their real friends and who were their enemies masquerading in the guise of friendship.

The By-elections.

Among the methods which the W.S.P.U. are adopting to bring this point of view home to the people of the country and to politicians one of the most effective is the new by-election policy of opposition to candidates who refuse to give a pledge of loyalty to the Conciliation Committee. In West Somerset, Mr. Dudley Ward, who refused to give this promise, which was given by his opponent, had to encounter accordingly a vigorous opposition from the W.S.P.U. in addition to the normal party attack. He has suffered a severe defeat at the polls. In Bethnal Green, Mr. Masterman definitely indicates his intention of supporting widening amendments, which, if carried, are certain to wreck the Bill, while his opponent, Mr. Hoffgaard, wholeheartedly accepts the lead of the Conciliation Committee. The weight of the W.S.P.U. and the other suffrage societies is accordingly being thrown against Mr. Masterman, and though owing to the strong party character of the constituency the seat may not be wrested from him, yet he has undoubtedly been severely put to defend himself against the exposure of the dishonourable tactics which he intends to pursue on the woman's question.

The Scenes in the House of Commons.

We hope that after the scenes which have taken place during the past week in the House of Commons we have heard the last of the superior criticism which has condemned women suffragists as unfit for the vote, because they have interpolated relevant interruptions with regard to votes for women at public meetings addressed by members of the Government. Certainly none of those Unionist M.P.'s who deliberately chose this means of political propaganda, nor those Liberal M.P.'s who deliberately adopted it as a policy of retaliation, can ever again, except with their tongue in their cheek, rebuke women on this account. Without expressing any opinion on the rights or wrongs, or the expediency of the course followed by men legislators, we desire to point out that the case for the woman is far stronger. In the first place, it was their sole means of introducing the subject of Woman Suffrage, which, up to the time the policy was adopted, had been consistently boycotted by politicians and by the Press. In the second place, they did not interrupt the speakers until it had been proved by experience that the more courteous method of asking questions at the close of the speech was invariably met by ignoring the question. In the third place, while men as electors, and still more as Members of Parliament, have votes with which to render effective their opinions, women, who are voteless, have no constitutional means of bringing pressure to bear on those in authority.

A Case in Point.

While members of Parliament were engaged in preventing one another from being heard in the House of Commons, a member of the Men's Political Union who was present at the dinner at the Mansion House, interpolated a remark in the course of Mr. Lloyd George's speech, bidding him not to introduce wrecking amendments into the Conciliation Bill. This interruption was regarded as so heinous an offence that he was arrested and detained for two hours. Meanwhile, the police insisted upon his disclosing his occupation on threat that they would detain him till this information was given. By the law of the land no prisoner can be detained except when a charge is preferred against him, and unless such charge be made he cannot be compelled to state his occupation. He could not be charged because he had committed no legal offence. The moral is that the authorities introduce a distorted view of ethics and law when they have woman suffragists to deal with.

Anti-Suffragists and the Insurance Bill.

We have noted with satisfaction for some time past the growing solidarity of the ranks of womanhood. And our satisfaction is very much increased this week by the fact that for certain purposes we find ourselves able to include the prominent women of the anti-suffrage party. Our protests against the unjust provisions of the Insurance Bill with regard to women have been emphatically endorsed in many important particulars in a letter addressed to the press by Lady Jersey, Lady Wantage, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Mrs. Somervell, Miss Gertrude Bell and several other well-known anti-suffrage women. The signatories select four of the most glaring defects of the Bill and ask for amendment. They ask (1) that the cost of providing for widows should fall not, as in the Bill, on the women's fund but on the men's fund, (2) that a woman who leaves paid employment to keep house for a relative should not be penalised in consequence, (3) that in the case of domestic servants, hospital nurses, etc., a useful benefit, such as a retirement annuity, should be substituted for the useless benefits of the Bill, and (4) that a modification should be made of the provision by which women unable to keep up to at least 75 per cent. of their contributions are cut out from benefit. They also ask that the presence of women on the Insurance Commissions, Advisory Committees, and the local Health Committees should be expressly provided for. The anti-suffrage signatories express confidence that these grievances once put forward will be remedied in Parliament equally with the grievances of men who are voters.

Other Protests.

The Women's Local Government Society are urging upon the attention of members of Parliament amendments on clauses 41, 42, 43 and 59, so as to insure that at least one woman be placed on the Insurance Commission, that

at least one-fifth of the Advisory Committee shall consist of women and at least one-fourth of every Local Health Committee. The National Union of Women Workers of Great Britain and Ireland has passed a series of resolutions dealing with the Bill, in particular urging that: (1) Married women should be entitled to become voluntary contributors; (2) the State should contribute 2d. a week on behalf of every married woman whether she pays the voluntary insurance or not; (3) 2d. to secure medical benefit and treatment in sanatoria; (4) that women doctors should be empanelled as well as men doctors, and that a woman in confinement shall have the option of employing a doctor of either sex or a certified midwife. The *British Medical Journal* for July 22 contains an important article by a medical woman exposing the grave defects of the Bill as regards women. Miss Constance Aston in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, published on July 22, compares the treatment of employees at the time of childbirth by the French and British Government, showing the far more generous treatment accorded by the former.

Does a Man Support His Wife?

The question propounded by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in this paper last week has already created considerable interest and discussion. The *Daily News* published a leading article on the subject in its issue of Friday last, which we reproduce on page 710; it has also opened its columns to correspondence and interesting letters have already appeared, including one from Mr. MacCallum Scott, M.P., who, though an avowed anti-suffragist, entirely supports Mrs. Lawrence's contention. The economic fallacy into which those who take the opposite side have fallen is to confound money payments with the value of services rendered. They also seem to think that because marriage is entered into by women with joy, and not as a piece of sublime self-sacrifice, that that disposes of the suggestion that women are supporting themselves and contributing to the support of the home after marriage. Is not the case of the husband precisely the same? Our readers will be glad to know that Mrs. Lawrence's article has been prepared as a leaflet, and is obtainable from *The Woman's Press*, 158, Charing Cross Road, at 9d. a hundred, 6s. a thousand, post free.

Tax Resistance.

Though the decision of the Government to grant facilities for the Conciliation Bill next year has brought about a suspension of direct hostilities against them on the part of militant Suffragists, the ground for the woman is far stronger. In the first place, it was their sole means of introducing the subject of Woman Suffrage, which, up to the time the policy was adopted, had been consistently boycotted by politicians and by the Press. In the second place, they did not interrupt the speakers until it had been proved by experience that the more courteous method of asking questions at the close of the speech was invariably met by ignoring the question. In the third place, while men as electors, and still more as Members of Parliament, have votes with which to render effective their opinions, women, who are voteless, have no constitutional means of bringing pressure to bear on those in authority.

A Disgraceful Sentence.

We have had occasion lately to remark upon the disgracefully lenient sentences inflicted upon men who have committed unnatural and horrible offences against little girls. A correspondent from Aberdeen calls our attention this week to a case reported in the *Aberdeen Free Press* of July 19, in which a deekhand, William Willis, pleaded guilty to an indecent assault upon a little girl of ten years old. The sentence, inflicted by Judge Barron, was ten days' imprisonment—less than that given in many cases of trivial theft. At what a poor price do those men in authority hold the sacredness of a girl's life!

The Case of Miss Malecka.

The Speaker of the House of Commons refused a motion brought forward by Mr. Morrell in the House of Commons on Thursday last week to raise the question of the continued imprisonment of Miss Malecka, a British subject, in a Russian prison. Mr. Morrell pointed out that Miss Malecka had now been 15 weeks in gaol in Warsaw, that no trial had been accorded her, and that her health was suffering. The Speaker refused the adjournment on the ground that Sir Edward Grey had stated that the British Ambassador had been instructed to ask for particulars of the charges against Miss Malecka or alternatively for her release. The reply to the Russian Government has not yet been made known.

"Votes for Women" Week.

According to our confident expectation, members of the W.S.P.U. easily surpassed the figure of a thousand new readers whom we sought to obtain by Votes for Women Week, and now the total of new subscribers and promises mount up to the fine figure of 1,200. We are quite certain that many who have not actually promised to obtain new readers on their holidays will find when the occasion arises that they cannot resist the temptation of doing some propagandist work in the interval between the seasons, and that there is no other better way of convincing those who are still on the fence than by seeing that they have a copy of the paper week by week.

THE DEPUTATION.

An American friend has written from New York saying that she hopes soon to be in London, and is prepared to join the deputation. The name of another volunteer is sent by Mrs. Saul Solomon (herself a member of the deputation), who feels, as does every member of the Union, that the hostility to the Conciliation Bill displayed by Mr. Lloyd George at the recent meeting of Liberal M.P.'s is a warning to continue preparations for the militant protest which would be necessary if his scheme of wrecking the Bill were to succeed. Members of the Union and readers of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* generally are urged to decide as soon as possible to join the deputation.

F. W. P. L.

THE INSURANCE BILL.

Questions Answered.

1. What should be the position of a person in regard to the proposed Insurance Bill who, whilst living on own income and receiving no wages, decided to remain in domestic service?

The employee would be compulsorily insured, the employer paying the whole of the premium. (See page 69 of the Bill, first schedule, line 13 and 14, also page 72 Clause 6 of schedule 3.)

2a. Is it not the case that the State gives men and women alike 2d., and that the contributions of the women and their employers are to be used exclusively for women?

No. The State pays 2d. only on behalf of those entering the scheme either compulsorily or voluntarily. It will not pay it on behalf of any married woman who devotes her whole care to the household; nor, as a matter of fact, will it pay it on behalf of more than a small percentage of widows. The division of the fund into the women's half and the men's half is one of the most unjust provisions of the Bill, because while the insurance of such widows who are able to be insured falls on the woman's fund, the contributions made out of the family purse during marriage are credited solely to the men's fund. These contributions can only be paid because both husband and wife are giving their labour for the upkeep of the household.

2b. Is it not the case that the average amount of sickness is higher among women than men, and therefore sick benefits must be slightly reduced to cover the extra amount of such pay required?

There are no reliable statistics on which to base an answer to the first part of the question. The real reason that the sick benefit for wage-earning women is lower than that for men is that the whole burden of insuring widows falls on the unmarried women during the few years in which they are in receipt of wages.

2c. Is it not the case that from 16 to 30 most of the serious illnesses are developed, such as consumption, tuberculosis, cancer, nervous troubles, fever, typhoid and other serious troubles, and that with free medical service many of these illnesses could be prevented, and that in future the insured woman will be able to take sick pay before she breaks down and becomes a burden to her family or has to go to the workhouse?

I know of no statistics which would enable me to give an answer to this question, but I know that Mr. Lloyd George has himself stated that if the insurance of those under 24 were alone under consideration, a mere fraction only of the present insurance premium would be required. The insured woman will be able to take sick pay and get medical attendance, but the trouble is that the majority of women will not be able to become insured under the bill.

2d. Is it not true that if married women who are not wage-earners come into the insurance scheme it will cost £24,000,000 more a year, £16,000,000 to the State, £29,000,000 to the employer, and 6d. a week to the husband, instead of 4d. as at present proposed?

If married women were simply added to the bill in its present form the cost would be in the aggregate equivalent to 8d. a week for 5,000,000 women or about £8,000,000 a year, of which about £2,000,000 would fall on the State. The total cost of insuring the 15,000,000 persons who come under its provisions as it stands is similarly about £25,000,000 of which a little less than a quarter falls on the State. If it is found to spend £25,000,000 to insure a portion of the adult population it is sound to spend £8,000,000 more to insure those who above all others are entitled to insurance.

2e. Is it not the case that wage-earning women in the future who pay 1d., 2d., or 3d., per week, according to their wages, will receive free medical service, 7s. 6d. a week when ill and 5s. a week if permanently unable to work through ill health, that if they marry their husbands will have sick pay when ill to help to support them and their families, and in many trades unemployment pay when out of work, and that if left widows they can become again, if wage earners, insured as before?

Women who earn wages will get benefits as described when ill, though they will not get 7s. 6d. sick benefit unless their wages are over 11s. 3d. a week. The husbands of women who are ill will get benefits as described, but if the wife be ill she will get neither sick benefit nor medical attendance. She will therefore have to do her household work in spite of her illness, at great injury to herself and family. Only a very small proportion of widows will be able to re-enter the scheme.

2f. Is it not the case that in 15 years the insurance finances will be in a position to greatly add to the present benefits, and propose to give free medical service to wives and families of insured men and women and increased or earlier old age pensions when required?

There is no undertaking in the Bill to do anything of the kind. If there had been it would not justify the exclusion of married women for 15 years from insurance.

2g. Has any other Bill ever been passed that will do so much good to the working men and women of any country as this one? There are a total of 14,700,000 people insured under this scheme; of these over 4,400,000 are women and girls, 700,000 being wage-earning married women.

The opinion of a great many persons well qualified to judge, including members of the Labour Party, is that the Bill will benefit the aristocracy of labour, but will be detrimental to the poorer classes, and in particular will press with special hardship on married women, widows with children, and domestic servants and shop assistants.

3. When a woman pays her subscription will she be entitled to have a woman doctor to attend her? It will depend on whether a woman doctor is placed on the panel of doctors for the locality.

4. What is the provision of the Bill relating to charwomen. Does the person who employs her on Monday have to bear the whole premium?

Yes. The third schedule on page 71, clause 4, provides that the first employer during the week is reckoned as the employer for the purpose of the Bill.

Sir William Lyne and Mr. W. F. Roeb, M.P., are speaking at the London Pavilion on Monday next (see page 707).

MAGNA MATER.

Some Royal Academy Impressions.*

There is in the Royal Academy Exhibition a piece of sculpture which every woman and every man in the woman's movement ought to see.

It is not in a very conspicuous place, nor is it likely to attract the crowd. Moreover, it looks as if the artist, Mrs. K. E. Maltwood, had deliberately chosen a medium not lending itself to fine and delicate modelling, for the stone is rough-grained, and there is not the least pretence to beauty in the central figure. Yet this strange, imaginative piece of work, more than anything else in the Exhibition this year, makes one think. For out of the hard uncompromising stone the artist has hewn an elemental truth—the truth of Motherhood. Not Motherhood in the ordinary individual sense, but in a big universal sense.

At the top is the figure of the Great Mother. She is facing you, but you do not see her features, because her face is hidden in her arms, which are crossed on her knees. The figure, brooding thus, is almost square. On the left is a cascade of baby forms—"I cannot describe it in any other words. The little bodies seem to tumble from the rock out of which they are hewn in all kinds of attitudes, and although they, like the central figure, are unfinished (deliberately so), some of these baby faces convey surprise and wonder. "Whence do we come?" they seem to ask. "And whither tending?" On the right of the central-figure men are climbing up a rock; some in their struggle have fallen under the feet of others; it is a picture of one aspect of Life: fear is there, and greed, and hate, and ambition, and success and failure.

Under the central figure are the words:—
Great travail is created for every man, from the day that he goes out of his mother's womb, till the day that he returns to the mother of all things.

One does not want to talk about it; only to stand in front of it and let it suggest what it will. To some it will suggest the perpetual miracle of creative force—the force that makes not only children, but poems, and pictures, and books, and statues, and music, and machines, and roads—the force that takes Nature's gifts and welds them into shape, the force that makes something out of the apparent Nothing.

On a mountain in the Austrian Tyrol last summer I saw a little peasant girl touch an artist's brushes with a strange reverence. There had been nothing on the white paper until the brushes made something come, so she paid homage to the brushes. That homage many who spend a few minutes in front of number 1731 in the Central Hall at Burlington House will pay to Mrs. Maltwood's poem in stone.

Of the hundreds of pictures and statues this year not many are so full of food for thought, but among those that are is Mrs. Laura Knight's marvellous "Daughters of the Sun," singled out by no less a critic than Mr. Laurence Housman as one of the pictures of the year. Women are proud that it is the work of a woman! The impression of tremendously brilliant sunshine as it were shining through the lithic, strong, young bodies of girls, of freedom, of joy of living, is one to lighten the dark days of winter when they come.

There are other pictures by women—Mrs. Walter Donne, Miss H. Fearson, Miss W. O. Ford, Mrs. E. M. Margeson, Miss E. Walker, Miss Ethel Wright, among others, and of course, as always, there is notable work by men—of which there is not room to speak. And as an antithesis I must plead guilty to having smiled aloud (there was no one near) at a picture called "The Sonnet," in which a very personable young man with uplifted explanatory hand is reading (presumably) his own composition to a group of admiring and gracefully posed ladies, who are evidently only waiting the correct moment at which to break into applause.

No doubt the picture is technically a fine one. But are women really sitting at the feet of men, waiting to applaud their poems? Are they not rather making their own poems, using their own godlike gifts of creation in many ways? Not as Mothers only, but as Makers, women are coming into their own.

G. V.

IN MEMORIAM.

We much regret to record the death of Dr. Beddoe, F.R.S., M.D., LL.D., one of the earliest supporters of the movement for obtaining Parliamentary votes for women. Dr. Beddoe died at the Chantry, Bradford-on-Avon, on July 19, at the age of 84. A correspondent says, "It was so long ago as January 24, 1868, that Dr. and Mrs. Beddoe attended a meeting at the house of Mr. Commissioner Hill, at Clifton, to consider the question of Parliamentary votes for women. If anyone present had ventured to prophesy that Dr. Beddoe would never live to see the cause won, even though he might live nearly half a century longer, such a prophesy would have been scorned!" Our sympathies and those of all our readers go out to Mrs. Beddoe, left now without the comrade who, as she writes to Mrs. Pankhurst, was, in spite of his great age, "so full of life and energy, and always a supporter of our cause." A beautiful wreath of flowers was sent from Bristol and Bath Suffragists as a tribute to Dr. Beddoe's memory. The funeral was at Edinburgh, service being held in the Cathedral.

* The Academy closes on the first Monday in August. † No. 670. By Harold Knight.

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CATHERINE OF SIENA.
 Mystic and Politician.

In an age famous for its religious and political corruption no figure stands out more prominently for purity of conduct and spirituality of thought than that of Catherine of Siena. Women of the fourteenth century, especially Italian women, were not distinguished for their education, and until Catherine attained full womanhood she could not even write. Daughter of a Siena tradesman, with practically no education, this wonderful woman, gifted spiritually and intellectually far beyond the common, was yet to become the dictator of Popes, and the rebuker of a corrupt priesthood. Gregory XI. sought her intervention between himself and religious communities in rebellion against ecclesiastical authority. This proud pontiff can well be likened to men in high places of modern times, for in seeking Catherine's aid he at the same time made the reservation that if she failed "he could easily repudiate a woman's pledges." In truth there is nothing new under the sun!

The author, Mrs. Aubrey Richardson, of this latest book on St. Catherine's life and work has in a certain measure given us a sympathetic picture of this woman's life and wonderful achievements; but the reviewer finds her many digressions and opinions on latter-day political and social affairs and other extraneous subjects both irritating and distracting.

In her early youth Catherine had to overcome the bitter opposition of her family, who considered it a woman's chief duty to marry, and as the result of her refusal to walk in the path pointed out to her by her parents, punishment was inflicted in the form of having to do all the menial work of the household. Eventually, by her constant cheerfulness and courage Catherine triumphed, and won the consent of her parents to follow out her vocation. Once more, in later life, she came in conflict, as does many a modern woman carving a career for herself, with her mother, who was imbued with the idea that the unmarried daughter should be at the beck and call of her parents. In the year 1376, when Catherine was absent from Siena, endeavouring to bring about the dearest wish of her heart—that of the return of the Papal Court from Avignon to Rome, Lapa, her mother, bitterly complained of her long absence from home. Catherine answers her:

"You, like a good, sweet mother, must be content, and not disconsolate, enduring every burden for the honour of God, and for your and my salvation. Remember that you did this for the sake of temporal goods, when your sons left you to gain temporal wealth, now, to gain eternal life it seems to you such an affliction.

Furthermore, the author points out "that it was Catherine, the seeker of spiritual riches, and not the sons who pursued material goods, who made a permanent home for their mother in widowhood and age."

Catherine, although a mystic of a highly contemplative order, was a woman with an essentially practical and sensible nature. Combined with this went a rare insight and deep sympathy for the sufferings of humanity. All forms of hypocrisy and strivings after mere worldly successes earned her scorn and contempt; her main object in life was the achievement of what she in her "Dialogues" calls "the very truth," in the application of which she saw the true freedom and redemption of humanity.

She came under the sway of the Catholic idea because of the strongly unifying instinct that was in her, and because the Catholic Church and the Papal domination yet represented, although it had long ceased to realise, the idea of universal brotherhood.

Catherine died at the age of 33, but she has left her mark on history, and remains one of that large army of great women who, as types, go to prove no limit has yet been reached as to what great-souled women can do and accomplish.

K. Douglas Smith.

SUFFRAGETTE SALLY.
 The experience of the past few years has taught Suffragettes that the boasted freedom of the Press is not always exercised on behalf of liberty, and that in the case of the women's battle it has been used to retard the coming of reform. But this lesson, which has been one of disillusionment, has been followed by another of a very different kind. Women have learnt that by sticking together and working with energy they can overcome every obstacle, including even that of the Press boycott; and this new knowledge has filled them with hope and self-confidence. Recently I was invited by one of the leading daily papers to review a book by Mr. Colmore—"Suffragette Sally." Books on various subjects have passed through my hands for the same journal, and in no instance has the Editor altered my reviews. In this case only did he find it necessary to do so. I had written solely from the standpoint of an impartial critic, as my review, which I here quote, will show:—

"Who will read 'Suffragette Sally' without feeling anew that verily the pen is a mightier weapon than the sword? All honour to Mr. Colmore that he uses his in defence of the weak and struggling, waging war on their behalf against the injustice that oppresses them. The theme of this book, as the title implies, is the fight for freedom by the women of England, and as he carries us step by step through one of the greatest movements of modern times, he convinces us that we are witnessing no passing game, but a battle that is being fought in grim earnest at our doors. The book is full of incidents with which we are all familiar, but which strike us with fresh significance when described by Mr. Colmore's able pen, and we shrink in horror from the knowledge of what our

"The Mystic Bride," by Mrs. Aubrey Richardson. London: E. Werner Laurie, 12s. 6d. net.

countrywomen have suffered—things which done to women in Russia would have aroused in England a blaze of indignation, with mounting passions of those who sacred liberty. "We only hope 'Suffragette Sally' will be read as widely as its merits deserve, and we strongly advise all to get it, if only to make the acquaintance of the little Cockney Sally, the household drudge, large of heart and soul, who responds to the call of duty as did the martyrs of old, and gives up her love, her home and life itself, suffering imprisonment and death with the sublime unconsciousness of heroism which is the distinguishing mark of all true heroes.

The Editor on reading the above remarked that I had taken rather a strong line, and that it was better to avoid partisanship. I understood he might make some slight alteration, but was not prepared to see my notice mutilated so as to become a thoroughly adverse and hostile criticism of the book. Apparently it is not partisanship which matters, but the side on which it is exercised.

Mr. Colmore's books are too well known and appreciated to need any commendation by me, but I hope that Suffragettes and others with a sense of fair play will take the opportunity of proving once more that the boycott of the Press can be overcome by those who believe in justice, and that this interesting novel will find a place on their shelves.

[A notice of this book, which is on sale at the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, price 6s., appeared in VOTES FOR WOMEN for May 12.—Ed. "V. F. W."]

WORKING WOMEN AND DIVORCE.

In the space of the seventy odd pages comprising this little book there is contained an immense amount of valuable matter relating to working women's views on divorce. When the Commission was sitting last year, evidence was given on behalf of the Women's Co-operative Guild, a society of working women numbering 27,000 members. This evidence, representing an immense amount of careful inquiry among women who have worked in mills, shops, or domestic work before marriage, is reproduced here. They are women who keep the strict tradition of the duty of the duty of a housewife and mother. Neglect of the home is not tolerated, and there is no disposition to be hard on husbands or to look lightly on the faults of women. Moreover, these women are not of the class which readily takes the law of marriage relations into its own hands. All the more touching are some of the appeals received from these women, who with one voice demand an equal standard of morals for men and women, and equal divorce facilities for the poor with the rich. "There is," says one correspondent, "great need for it among the poor, but they never ask for or speak about it because they realise it is a luxury of the rich." Here is an instance quoted:—

In one case the man always thrashes his wife and has put her life in danger in his anger on discovering her condition. The very fact that they can become pregnant, instead of making them more valuable, makes for their misery. Is it not more rewarding for these women to be living in what is, after all, legalised prostitution than for them to be divorced?

Those who are studying this important matter should certainly secure a copy of this little book.

TWO BOOKS OF VERSE.

Love of nature, imagination, a capacity for seeing the inmost spirit in the commonplace, and an ear for music, characterise the "Songs of a Factory Girl," by Ethel Carnie (published by Headley Bros., Bishopsgate, price 1s. net). Indeed, an author must have unusual poetical feeling to rhyme so sweetly in a round of dreary town labour. For this gift Ethel Carnie is herself grateful:—

"My soul hears melody in many things—
 For this I thank the gods each hour I live."

Her poems will appeal to all women, as witness the fine one on "Motherhood," p. 17. We cannot resist a few quotations which show the Suffragette spirit:—

Better pour out the blood in a swift crimson flood
 As to music we march to the grave,
 Than to feel day by day the slow drops ebb away
 From the chain bitten heart of a slave.

And of Freedom:
 Her flesh oft faints beside the roadside hard,
 The spirit cannot die—'tis made of flame.

It is seldom that a little volume of "minor poetry" contains so much real talent as "Hints and Flashes," a collection of verse by E. H. Visiak, whose strong and original poems have already attracted attention in the *New Age* and other periodicals. The book is worth more than a short review; it is worth buying and keeping. One of the poems, "The Suffragettes," written in the darker days of the Movement, runs:—

(I.—To the Mob.)
 You jeer these women in your own despite:
 You always have jeered the bearers of light
 Since ever your darling race was begun . . .
 Go, try a new joke and jeer at the sun!
 (II.—To their Masters.)
 Now whether you be stricken blind,
 Or rattle-sewing Pharisees,
 That these brave hearts you seek to bind,
 And prison with your gaoler's keys
 I know not . . . And I would I knew
 Whether you lead the mob, or the mob lead you.

* Working Women and Divorce: An account of evidence given on behalf of the Women's Co-operative Guild before the Royal Commission on Divorce. London: David Nutt, 6d. On Sale at the Woman's Press.
 † Elkin Mathews. 1s. net.

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PIONEERS IN ART.
 By Maud Stepney Rawson.
 (Author of "Splendid Zipporah," etc.)

All those who assist at the inception of a new scheme, the launch of a new venture, know well that atmosphere of freshness and enthusiasm which makes the special delight of such an occasion. Never were these qualities more striking and salient than at the inaugural meeting of the Society of Women Musicians—the first association of its kind—which took place recently at that important centre of feminine work the Women's Institute, 92, Victoria Street, S.W.

Now this is no ordinary scheme. Directly the chairman, Miss Katherine Eggar, A.R.A.M., a composer whose work in song and chamber music has excited appreciation from the most serious critics, opened her address, it was clear that here was the nucleus not only of a large movement in art, but of a practical, working affair, and one which, while it means to help women professionally and artistically, has a fine moral and ethical purpose behind it. "We want women with brains, but with hearts behind their brains," was the keynote of Miss Eggar's appeal to intending members. And again, "I believe it will be one of the objects of our society to challenge the conventions of music." This shows us that though the new scheme is in no way aggressive, it has many things to fight against. "Once more let me quote from this admirable address: "To some this idea of the sex exclusiveness (as shown by the formation of such a society) is distasteful. There is a suggestion that it has a political significance. We wish the society as a society to have none whatever. We intend it to be a great factor in the development of Art, and we feel that that is a basis broad enough to admit of all varieties of political opinion." In touching on the suffrage movement, Miss Eggar pointed out that the similarity between it and the new society is a similarity of ideals. "The musical world is very like the political in that there is a great deal of wire-pulling and party jealousy in both. One does not need to know much about musical business institutions and transactions in general, to realise that there is a great deal which is insincere and unlovely in these." And just as Suffragists are endeavouring to cleanse politics, so women musicians with their eyes fixed upon the highest and the best in their art are ready, Miss Eggar believes, to combine in purifying musical life and in forming public opinion. These things they have not been able to achieve so far because "as units they have been unable to fight against the monster of commercialism which rules the musical world."

Let us look at the primary practical objects of the society. It is to have, by the way, the immense advantage of connection with the Women's Institute, already in excellent working order, and the use of the charming rooms at 92, Victoria Street. Here writers and performers will be able to meet and measure their art in co-operation. New lights will flash upon well-known works, the joy of a first hearing of her composition will infuse courage and vitality into the toil of the musical author. Work done in the study will be no dumbphantom, but a living vital creation. And there will also be co-operation of a more strictly business kind. The Council of the Society "hopes and expects that those of experience will be willing to help the inexperienced with advice in the business side of professional work," and plans to secure, as members of its Executive, the services of women who in art, in experience, and in sympathy have proved themselves to be leaders. Miss Eggar finally touched on the broader issues, which made more demand on the imagination of her hearers—a packed assembly of women musicians and members elect, including such well-known artists and writers as Mrs. Liza Lehmann, Miss Saumarez-Smith, Miss Marian Scott, Mrs. Haas, Mrs. Beatrice Langley, Miss Stella Fife, Miss Mulkie and Miss May Mulkie. "Those of us who have asked you to come here to-day," continued Miss Eggar, "do not want to be content with making things as they are just a little more tolerable," and the spirit of the true pioneer shone in the speaker's face and irradiated the faces of those who supported her on the platform. "We do not accept life as it is as inevitable, nor its conditions as final. We all talk and feel vaguely about the wonders of music, but what do we really make of it in daily life? Have we any convictions, based on study, as to the moral value of music in education, such as the Greeks had? Have we any real knowledge of the harm that bad music does? Can we all prove what is bad in music? If we had any real knowledge of even the physical effects of sound, should we tolerate the tyranny of noise under which we live? If we had any conviction of the sacredness of Art, should we be content with our present artificialities and profanities of concert-giving?" These are big questions, and it is well that they should be incorporated in this pioneer discussion.

It is this spirit, the spirit which "changes convention," that demands action "based on study," which women must bring to every enterprise, artistic and utilitarian. "Wherever we look we see women facing life in a new spirit, refusing to accept trivialities for realities, developing resource under every kind of condition. Surely the movement which has produced such results in character is bound sooner or later to bring a great impulse to art." In other art capacities women, pointed out the speaker, had done well, though possibly their greatest achievements were yet to come. But in musical composition a future still awaits woman. It was the conviction that the time had come for her development in this department which led to the formation of this society. It is "to the potential composer in the heart of every musical woman" that appeal is made. "Her future will be great in proportion as she places her trust in the invisible—say the Inaudible! Great music is not written by juggling with worn-out forms; only by seeking the life which is behind all forms." There spoke the artist, and the whole company responded.

Excellent, convincing, and humorous speeches were subsequently made by Miss Marian Scott, Miss Eaton,

Miss Lucie Johnston, and Miss Emily Raymond, Mrs. Dow (Oxon. Cert.), whose presence and support, in view of her wide experience in teaching and art, as musical professor, were invaluable. At the close of the meeting, following upon the election of officers, it was announced that Miss Katherine Eggar had kindly consented to fulfil the arduous duties of honorary secretary. All applications for membership should be made to her at the Women's Institute, 92, Victoria Street, S.W.

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Mrs. Pankhurst's Meetings.
 Friday, July 28, 8.15 p.m. Town Hall, Llandudno.
 Tuesday, August 1, 8.15 p.m. Albert Hall, Llantrisant Wells.
 Wednesday, August 2, 8 p.m. Victoria Hall, Llanwrtyd Wells.

Friday, August 4, 8 p.m. Assembly Rooms, Gata House, Tenby.

London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus, W.

On Monday next at the afternoon meeting at the London Pavilion the Hon. Sir William Lyne, K.C.M.G., who took the initiative in obtaining Woman Suffrage both in the State of New South Wales and also for the Commonwealth Parliament, will speak. Other speakers will be Walter Roth, Esq., M.P., and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B. (chair). This will be the last Monday afternoon meeting until after the holidays, as both the London Pavilion and Stairway Hall meetings are discontinued during August and September, but will recommence in October.

Albert Hall Meeting, November 16.

Members are reminded that the holidays provide a splendid opportunity for inviting entirely new people to the Albert Hall meeting on Thursday evening, November 16, and in that way gaining many new friends to the cause. Tickets can now be had by members of the W.S.P.U. for themselves and their friends from Miss Cooke, Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Prices:—Stalls, 2s. 6d. Arena-blocks A and F, 2s.; blocks B, C, D, E, 1s.; Balcony—first two rows, 1s.; other rows, 6d.; Upper Orchestra, 6d.; Boxes, 1s. 10s., £1. 1s. and 12s. 6d.

Christmas Fete and Fair.

Particulars of arrangements for the Christmas Fete and Fair will be found on page 710.

The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

The leading article by Mrs. Petrick Lawrence, published in last week's issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN, entitled "Does a Man Support his Wife?" has been prepared as a leaflet, and can be obtained, price 9d. a hundred, 6s. a thousand, post free. Members are asked to note that the Woman's Press have in stock some excellent waterproof bags, which, as they are just the size of VOTES FOR WOMEN, will be most useful for holding the paper while selling at the pitches. These bags may be obtained, price 2s. (post free 2s. 3d.), from Miss Helen Garwood, Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C. (See also page 704.)

All members please note that Mrs. Drummond's Office will be closed during the whole of August.

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The Editors cannot hold themselves in any way responsible for the return of unused manuscripts, though they will endeavour as far as possible to return them when requested stamps for postage are enclosed.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND. FRIDAY, JULY 28, 1911.

THE TACTICS OF THE ENEMY.

The opponents of women's enfranchisement recognise that it is impossible by means of direct and open attack to prevent the Conciliation Bill from passing through the House of Commons next Session. Therefore they intend to resort to less honest methods for the purpose of defeating the Bill.

The plan they have in view is the very familiar one of challenging not the principle of the Bill, but the form which has been given to it by its promoters. Knowing that the Conciliation Committee have brought forward the one and only measure of Woman Suffrage which can command a majority in the present Parliament, the enemy will attempt during the Committee stage to bring about such an alteration of the Bill as will alienate a large body of its supporters and thus destroy the majority for the third reading.

The particular amendment which these opponents of Woman Suffrage propose is the addition of a clause giving votes to electors' wives in virtue of their husband's qualification. That the addition of this clause would wreck the Bill is obvious. Moderate Liberals, probably some Irish members, and nearly all Unionists would vote against a Bill which contained this sweeping provision, adding six million women to the one million householders to be enfranchised by the Conciliation Bill. The enfranchisement of seven million persons has never in our history been undertaken by any Government however strong. Certainly no such task can be accomplished by means of a private member's Bill.

Some of the supporters of the amendment to enfranchise all electors' wives protest vigorously against any suggestion that they are insincere or desirous of wrecking the Bill, but in the judgment of the women whose political existence is at stake these gentlemen will be deemed to have intended the inevitable consequence of their action. They themselves make no attempt to prove that the Conciliation Bill weighted by their proposal could be carried, and they thus tacitly admit that their amendment would wreck the Bill. That is to say, they range themselves for all practical purposes on the side of the opponents of Woman Suffrage.

If the supporters of the amendment in question wish to be regarded as friends of Woman Suffrage, then the only course open to them is to defer the consideration of their proposal until after the Conciliation Bill is carried and the Government's promised Reform Bill is before Parliament. This, we believe, will be the policy adopted by those who sincerely and on the ground of principle advocate the enfranchisement of all married women.

On the other hand, those who are bent on wrecking the Conciliation Bill will use the proposal to give votes to all wives as a means to that end, though, as we believe, without success.

Unsupported as they will be by all genuine Suffragists in the House of Commons, how do they hope to carry this widening amendment? They rely on the

aid of the avowed Anti-Suffragists. Already they are assured of assistance from this quarter. In the June issue of the Anti-Suffrage Review it is stated that Anti-Suffragists will unite with Adult Suffragists and the advocates of votes for electors' wives in altering the terms of the Conciliation Bill, and it is predicted that the Bill in this changed form would command no majority for the third reading.

Representatives of the “Democratic” wing of the Anti-Suffrage army attended the recent meeting of Liberal Suffragists in the House of Commons, and made this the occasion of their declaration of war upon the Conciliation Bill. Their spokesman and leader was Mr. Lloyd George, who supported the startling proposal that Liberal M.P.'s should ballot for a place for a “democratic” measure in order that such measure might get the advantage of the Prime Minister's pledge of facilities for next Session. If, owing to want of success in the ballot, this scheme should fail, then Mr. George advocated that the Conciliation Bill should be widened.

This dishonourable plan of campaign, this attempt at political robbery, had very naturally a reception anything but enthusiastic.

The Conciliation Committee and their allies in the country have fought for and have won the Premier's pledge for facilities. It was a pledge made to the Conciliation Committee, and it was made in respect of their Bill and no other. Mr. Lloyd George's own statement in the House of Commons on May 29, unsatisfactory as it was in other respects, made this clear. But it is proved beyond all doubt by the fact that the Prime Minister's promise was made in a letter addressed to Lord Lytton as chairman of the Conciliation Committee in reply to a letter in which he had asked on behalf of the Conciliation Committee for facilities for their Bill. Persons who have in no way exerted themselves to obtain facilities for the Bill are not entitled to claim at the eleventh hour a concession made to others. There is, of course, little danger that these cuckoo tactics will succeed. The Suffrage bird is not easily dislodged. Moreover, the Prime Minister, having made his promise to the Conciliation Committee, will fulfil it for the benefit of their Bill.

As for the widening amendments by which the safety of the Conciliation Bill is threatened, these will be opposed by all the real Suffragists in the House of Commons. The Unholy Alliance, the Anti-Suffragists and the “democrats” who take the name of democracy in vain, will fight their losing battle alone.

Sir Edward Grey's letter to Mr. Walter M'Laren deals clearly and firmly with the two points at issue. He supports the reintroduction of the Conciliation Bill, and declares that to spend time in introducing another and different Bill that would not command second reading the same support as the existing Bill cannot help the object in view. He also refers to the danger of making amendments in committee, which would seriously divide the supporters of Woman Suffrage.

Now, there must obviously be some responsible body which declares what amendments will seriously divide the Suffrage forces and thus destroy the Bill. In the case of most Bills, the Government perform this indispensable office of issuing warnings against dangerous amendments, but they refuse to bear any responsibility where Woman Suffrage is concerned. Therefore, for the purposes of the Conciliation Bill the Conciliation Committee step into the Government's shoes, and it becomes the duty of the Committee to say, from their knowledge of all the circumstances, what amendments are dangerous.

Accordingly, the W.S.P.U. asks all candidates to promise that they will vote against amendments which the Conciliation Committee declare to be dangerous to the passage of the Bill. Mr. Masterman is one of those who have refused to promise his support to the Committee and accordingly the Union is vigorously opposing his election.

The plain truth of the matter is that those who decline to act with the Conciliation Committee in rejecting wrecking amendments intend to follow another lead—the lead of Mr. Lloyd George—and to vote in favour of wrecking amendments promoted by him.

Apart from all the other reasons for believing that where votes for women is concerned Mr. Lloyd George is not a safe guide, there is a final and very conclusive reason for repudiating his advice which has just come to our notice. It is that he neither expects nor desires that a Woman Suffrage Bill shall pass through the House of Commons next year. We understand that Mr. George has definitely admitted that he is not one of those who intend to utilise next year's facilities for the purpose of carrying a Bill. This admission puts him absolutely out of court as an adviser.

Nothing more is needed to prove that this Union does wisely to call on candidates and Members of Parliament to turn a deaf ear to the counsels of one who would deny justice by indefinitely delaying it, and to support the Conciliation Committee, which is resolved to settle the question of votes for women no later than next year.

Christabel Pankhurst.

CONCENTRATE ON THE BILL!

By SIR ALFRED MOND, M.P.

Extracts from a Speech at the Pavilion Theatre, July 24th, 1911.

I have always been one of those who have felt we require the influence of women in politics just as much for the benefit of men as for women themselves. I have always felt that to eliminate from political power one-half of your population, and that half just as vitally interested in the progress of the race and the prosperity of the country and the future of our progeny, is to commit a political blunder of the first order.

Our work of conversion has by no means come to an end; still we have from a political point of view reached a position which causes me to ask you this afternoon to direct your attention somewhat more closely to the important measures in front of us, which must be taken in order to attain the object for which we have been working so long.

The Conciliation Committee's Task.

The Conciliation Committee, to which I have the honour to belong, has had the invidious task of getting all sections of Suffragists to agree to a measure which will give a large number of women the vote and will not conflict too strongly with the individual views of the members of the political parties on the franchise in general. There never was a more conciliatory committee known! It has sunk its individual views in order to try and obtain universal assent, and, as sometimes happens to those who would act as peacemakers, and I wish here to thank the Women's Social and Political Union for the kindness and support which they are giving to us in the great fight which lies before us, and which makes us feel that we are able to act with the authority of the largest body of those who wish women to have the vote.

In order to obtain the greatest simplicity and the greatest amount of consent we have confined ourselves to the simple franchise introduced by Mr. Disraeli in 1867, which is known as the household franchise. It is the franchise by which women vote for Municipal and County Council elections. It is well known, both to women and to the general public. It is one, I think, which meets with very general acceptance. The number of women who would come under this Bill amounts to something over a million. That is a very considerable addition to our franchise, and would establish in a very general sense the position of women as citizens on the register. Now, what has been our difficulty with many of our friends? They say: “Having had nothing, you do not go far enough. We are in favour of Adult Suffrage. We want every woman to have a vote, and as all men have not got a vote, let us begin with the women.”

Well, I am in favour of Adult Suffrage myself. I am a member of an Adult Suffrage society, and when the time comes to extend the vote to all men I shall certainly insist on its being extended to all women. But I think it is a little unreasonable to ask us to use the enfranchisement of women as a method of reforming the franchise laws of this country. I do not think it is sensible or logical to ask us to postpone giving any woman the vote until all men have the vote, or to ask us to give all women the vote when all men have not got the vote. And that is why I myself—I must confess, with a certain amount of reluctance at first, but now with absolute certainty and clearness—beg all those who want to see something practical done in the life of this Parliament to concentrate on the Conciliation Bill. We have been told—Mr. Lloyd George has told us, I am sorry to say—that our Bill is not a democratic measure. And the other day, at a meeting of the Liberal members in favour of the Suffrage, which I attended, certain members repeated his objections. I have an idea there must be some misconception in the minds of many of those who make this statement. I do not think they can have gone into the matter fully, and I still have hopes of their conversion. I take two typical canvasses which show that in Dundee, Mr. Churchill's constituency, 89 per cent of the women householders are either wage-earners or working-class housewives who keep no servant, and that in Carnarvon and Bangor (in Mr. Lloyd George's constituency, in these two small towns, which are not typical towns for working-men's votes) 75 per cent of the women would belong to the democratic class. I think that is about as democratic a vote as anyone can hope to start with. Certainly I think it would compare favourably with the register of the men if it were analysed in the same way.

Some of my friends want to give every married woman a vote who lives in the house with her husband, and increase the register by six or seven million people. My only objection to that procedure is that I cannot find that they have, either in the House of Commons or out of it, any majority to pass any such Bill. Now that seems to me the determining factor in our action. It is essential that those who want the Suffrage should not delude themselves with the idea that they can get any other Bill, at any rate in this Parliament, than the Conciliation Bill. Mr. Lloyd George, in an

eloquent speech I heard the other day, said that if only a wider Bill were introduced he would put all his energy and his influence at the disposal of that Bill. I daresay he would. And very valuable assistance it would be if he would, but the question is whether even that would enable us to carry such a Bill. I doubt it. And how much longer are we to wait? I find there are so many people in favour of the Suffrage until you formulate definite proposals. Whenever you make one proposal they are immediately in favour of another. If you have a limited Bill, they ask why you don't enfranchise every married woman. If you bring married women into it, they say they don't think married women ought to have the vote at all.

A large number of Liberal friends of mine have said to me that if we pass this Bill the Liberal party will lose many seats, and they seem to think that a conclusive reason why they should not vote for it. Well, I do not believe them to begin with. And if I did it would not make any difference to my action. The idea that you should not enfranchise any section of the population because you do not think they are going to vote in your favour seems to me to be one of the most immoral doctrines you can possibly have. I cannot see any moral difference between disfranchising an opponent who has got a vote and refusing to enfranchise somebody because you think he will be your opponent. And that is why that argument has never appealed to me, although, unfortunately, it is a bogey that still appeals to a good many men who would otherwise be with us. I am quite sure that they are making a great mistake. I do not know how women are going to vote. I do not suppose women know themselves. They will all vote different ways. But I think, on the whole, they will vote for the benefit and the progress of the country.

It is so absolutely important to make a beginning with this question of Woman's Suffrage, and, if possible, to make a beginning with the assent of all political parties. There is a good deal of importance to be attached to that, because it keeps this question from being a party issue, and in my personal opinion the tactics which have been recently followed at by-elections, of endeavouring to obtain from candidates a pledge that they will support our Bill, pure and unadulterated, are the only really right tactics to pursue.

I am not astonished that the anti-Suffragists, having failed to defeat us by argument, are now trying to defeat us by trick, by endeavouring to get their supporters to join with some extremist Suffragist friends in order practically to kill the Bill. Frontal attack having failed, their arguments being met with derision, their demonstrations being failures, their letters to the Times no longer being read, their sand-wichmen no longer being looked at, they now try a much more insidious and dangerous form of attack, trying to kill us by kindness. That is an attack which I will not say I am concerned about, but one we have resolutely to face. And because we have so resolutely to face it, my opinion is that we must keep a very stiff front against those who wish to try experimental legislation.

Suffragists as Political Whips.

If we had a month instead of a week it would not matter much. But unless in that week we can show the Government that we can practically carry our Bill, our facilities have gone, as far as I can see, for years to come. The friends of Woman Suffrage will be taunted with the fact that they themselves cannot agree as to what they want. We want to pass the Suffrage Bill next session. Surely this is not the time to try experiments. It is not a time to introduce tentative proposals. It is the time to pass a Bill. We have got to be for this purpose the Government. You have got to be the Whips. Not necessarily like the Furies of old, “Chasing Orestes night and day!” Perhaps by softer means, sometimes more effective. You have got to concentrate your whole energy and powers of persuasion on getting our friends to pledge themselves to pass this Conciliation Bill as it stands, on getting them to help us in refusing to accept amendments which, however interesting, however specious, will make it more difficult for us to get the Conciliation Bill passed. And you must not be deflected from your aim if you are told that you are ill-Liberal and undemocratic. The Conciliation Committee gladly accept these terms of reproach, even from our colleagues. Radicals like I can stand the charge of not being democratic. We are prepared to face all those objections in order to carry the Bill and get women enfranchised at last.

Now, because I have placed before you difficulties, do not imagine for a moment that we are discouraged. The fact that we are seriously discussing a certain Bill and its passing into law within a definite time is in itself the greatest proof of the enormous strides the Suffrage cause has made. The fact that we are not discussing in the air, but are discussing a practical measure to pass in a definite time, is an advance much greater than many of us to-day always realise. We are really, I think, at the end of a long road. We have reached a point where victory lies in our grasp,

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND.

July 4 to July 17.

Table listing donors and contribution amounts for the £250,000 fund. Columns include donor names (e.g., Mrs. H. Small, Miss Schuster, Miss Deane) and their respective contribution values (e.g., £10.00, £5.00).

Noted:—Last five lines entered in sense of 712. * Per Miss Burns' should have been ** Per Miss Grant for Scottish Contingent.

WOMEN'S TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE.
Central Office: 10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C. (Third Floor left). Hours 10 to 8, or by appointment with The Secretary, Mrs. Kington Parkes. Tel: 3333 City.

On July 20 property of Miss Gertrude Eaton was sold at Messrs. Whitely's weekly sale for Kingstons. Miss Eaton, who is very well known in the musical world, and is hon. sec. of the Prison Reform Committee, sold a few beautiful works of art in the drawing room, and Mrs. Cobden Sanderson explained to the large crowd of bidders the reason why tax-paying women, believing as they do that taxation without representation is tyranny, feel that they cannot by remaining inactive any longer subscribe to the policy which is being carried out by the Government. Her speech was greeted with rapturous applause. A procession and protest meeting followed.

On Monday, July 23, an advertisement and valuable silver tray and pair of snuff-boxes were sold by Messrs. Hawking in district for King's Taxes, from Miss Kathleen Fitzgerald, B.A. Miss Fitzgerald is a member of the Women Writers' Suffrage League, and President of the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society. She protested personally in the sale room and made a very clever little speech which was greeted with loud applause, although only a very small proportion of the crowd gathered later on in Hyde Park, when a time meeting was presided over by Miss Constance Horniman. The meeting was presided over by Miss Nina Boyle, Mrs. Kington Parkes, and Mrs. Emma Spoon, who was released last Friday from Stamford Hill. The resolutions were carried unanimously.

On the following day a seven-stone diamond ring, the property of the Princess Sophia Dolip Singh, was sold at Ashford, by order of the Justice of the Peace, Mr. James Jackson, at the house of Mr. J. P. Jackson, at Ashford, Surrey.

IRISH WOMEN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE.
Office: Antient Concert Buildings, Great Brunswick Street.

Three Irish Parliamentary candidates were approached recently by the League and asked to support the Conciliation Bill. Captain W. M. Monahan and Mr. T. M. Healy did not reply to queries. Mr. T. M. Healy wrote as follows: "Anything I can do to forward the Woman Suffrage Bill will be done. My conviction is that the essential justice of the claim of woman to the vote strengthens with years. On the score of moral expediency also I think all right thinking people should welcome their reinforcement by such an addition of the really better classes to the franchise roll. The Local Authorities (Ireland, Qualification of Women) Bill to confer upon Irishwomen the right to sit upon County Councils and to be eligible for election to them. This Committee fast this week and is expected to become law this session. Mrs. Flanagan has just been appointed Town Clerk in Newcastle West, Co. Limerick, the first case in which a woman has been appointed to this post in Ireland. Very successful operation meetings were held at Middlesbrough on Saturday July 15, and at the Phoenix Park on Sunday, July 16. Dr. Martin Mackinnon, of Scarborough, was the chief speaker at both. An open-air meeting was held at Kingstown on July 22, and was addressed by Mrs. Earl, Mrs. Carson, and Mrs. Cortesena Smith. Also a meeting was held at Phoenix Park on Sunday, July 23, where Miss Laird presided, and Mrs. Carson and other speakers. Several dozen Votes for Women were sold at each meeting.

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THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.
President—Mrs. G. Chapman.
Office—5, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge (opposite Tube Station).

A successful meeting was held in the Public Hall, Wiltan, on Thursday, Mrs. E. Sudd Brown in the chair. Speakers, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Miss Helen Ogden, B.Sc. A resolution urging the members of the division to support the Conciliation Committee was carried unanimously. It was pointed out that the work was continued in Tulse Hill. This week meetings will be held at an open-air meeting, on Saturday, at Hatfield Park and Boreham. Contributions to the £100 fund urgently needed for the carrying on of the campaign throughout the summer.

FREE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.
Hon. Organising Secy. Mrs. E. Sudd Brown.
Office—5, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge (opposite Tube Station).

A Garden Party is to be held on Friday (Friday) from 6 to 9 o'clock, at Cedar Lodge, 203, Upper Clapton Road. Mrs. Phillip Snowden will be chief speaker. Particulars and tickets to be had from Mrs. G. Fleming Williams, 2, Holmby View, Clapton, N. Sir Walter Johnson, who is kindly lending his garden, is a Churchman, so it is hoped that Free Church Suffragettes will make a special effort to show their value this year's uncharacteristically.

CYMRIC SUFFRAGE UNION.
President—Mrs. D. A. Thomas.

As we, the members of the Cymric Suffrage Union, consider our union somewhat on the lines of a Women's Franchise League, we decided to throw our lot in by helping the Welsh organ of the W.S.P.U. to get a good meeting for Mrs. Pankhurst at Colwyn Bay. As we were selling Votes for Women and distributing leaflets, the inhabitants and visitors showed that they understood the terms of the Conciliation Bill very clearly. Two Aldermen (ex-Mayors), one Liberal and one Conservative, and a present Law councillor, gave us some interesting items of information about the women's voters at Aberystwyth. It appears that the highest number of the votes is not represented in Parliament, inasmuch as the majority of the householders are women. All three municipal representatives were unanimous in their desire of having the Conciliation Bill passed. By kind permission of the W.S.P.U., we were allowed to announce the formation of our Cymric Suffrage Union at Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting. Mrs. Davies, the secretary did so, speaking in Welsh, which was received with a good deal of "howdy" by the majority of the audience. During the absence of the secretary, Mrs. Mansell-Moulin, 69, Wimpole Street, W. Vice-President, will be pleased to forward membership forms, etc.

CATHOLIC WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.
Hon. Sec.—Miss Kinnell, Praeger House, Gorey, Jersey.
Hon. Treasurer—Miss Monica Whately, 75, Harcourt Terrace, The Botolphs, S.W.

All Catholics going to the Congress in Newcastle are asked to communicate with the hon. sec., as we hope to send a representative there, also to wear the badge of our society at lectures, meetings, etc., so as to try and interest other Catholics in the cause. During the holidays we all have to work very hard to get new members. This should not be difficult, as most of us are going away and are sure to meet Catholics. Each member should make a point of enrolling a new member in the next two months. Badges are on sale, price 2s.; also pamphlets, "The Views of Cardinal Moran and the late Cardinal Vaughan on Woman Suffrage," published by N.W.S.S., price 1s.

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ASTOLTA Tea Rooms, School of Cookery, & Guildford.—Vacancy for Pupil. Fee, 10 guineas 3 months. All branches of good English cookery; French and American confectionery. Tea Room management; Housekeeping.—Apply Principals.

COMMERCIAL and **POULTRY KEEPING.**—The next 6 weeks' course for Students opens in August. For particulars write to Cecil Platt, Lovgrove's Poultry Farm, Washford, Oxon.

EDINBURGH SCHOOL OF GARDENING FOR WOMEN, CORSTORPHEINE.—Finely situated on southern slope of Corstorphine Hill. Healthy, interesting life in breeding air. Training thoroughly practical. Prospects on application.

GODS WORD TO WOMEN has never been a word of disapproval and suppression. The Bible encourages the development of woman and stands for her perfect equality with man, in spite of the teachings of the contrary. Do you wish to equip yourself with the arguments of those who attempt, with words, to show the Bible to be a mere woman's progress? Do you wish to know WHERE and HOW they misquote and misrepresent? 147 Send 6d. to the Editor, "Gods Word," 4, St. Martin's Place, prepared promptly to solve your perplexities. —Katharine Haswell, Havardens, Chester.

SELF-DEFENCE for Suffragettes. Lessons 10 days from 10.30. 40 lessons, physical culture, fencing taught personally by Earl Harold. Visits and receives pupils.—Madame M. S. Lausonnaud, 4, Argyle Place, Regent St. W. (only address). Tel. 2522 Holborn.

SINGING.—Professional, Pupil of Marchesi (Paris), gives lessons. Best method and style. Excellent vocal accompaniment. Highest references. Visits and receives pupils.—Madame M. S. Lausonnaud, 4, Argyle Place, Regent St. W. (only address). Tel. 2522 Holborn.

TO SUFFRAGET SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LERO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production, and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U. Speakers' Class requests those desirous of joining her private classes (not taking private lessons) to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes: "I have had the pleasure of seeing and hearing you at the Albert Hall without weariness, while any voice carried to every part of the hall."

TWO LADIES (gardening, cycling-keeping) require Part-time, cheaply, lovely, lowly moorland country. Good sketching, cycling centre. Near New Forest, Bournemouth. Terms 30s.—Leslie Currie, Coughtry Cottage, Newwood, Dorset.

VEGETARIAN BOARD-RESIDENCE. temperate, quiet, clean, comfortable. Ladies and Gentlemen. Convenient situation.—Madame Velgée, 63 and 65, Hereford Road, Bayswater, W.

WESTCLIFFE-ON-SEA.—Member recommends lady's house; quiet room; very near front, station and trains; two golf courses; apartments of joint family; excellent cooking.—28, Park Terrace.

YOUNG Professional Lady wishes to hear of partner for small, well-stated flat in Kensington. Excellent light, suit black and white articles. —Write Mrs. VORZ for Women's Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand.

WANTED.
LADIES may be attended at their own residences. Highest class river and canal; wonderful trip; thrillingly interesting tour. Inclusive terms, limited party. August 16, Switzerland—3 weeks in Bernese Oberland. Autumn, Constantinople (overland), Algeria, etc.—Programme from Mrs. Bishop, Haslemere, Wimbledon Park Road, Wimbledon.

SITUATIONS WANTED.
AS Lady Secretary daily, West-end. Short-land, typewriting (115.45), bookkeeping. Physiological, medical terms, good German, some French.—Box 582, VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand.
DISENGAGED this month. Lady experienced, capable, highest references, desires re-employment as Matron, girls' or boys' school.—Box 960, VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand.

YOUNG MAN, age 19, seeks situation with private family or doctor, to live in; has country experience with motor-car, and can undertake repairs; 4 years in present situation.—D. S., VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand.
TO SUPRAGEETTES.—Any lady quickly supplied with reliable Cooks, Generals, House-maids, etc. characters guaranteed.—Pen 20, 64, W. L. Wilson, 75, Caledon Road, Nottingham.

WIDOW LADY, 46, desires position, useful companion, professional woman or invalid. Cooking, needlework, highest references.—Mrs. Creswell, 82, Groveley Mansions, W.C.

BUSINESS, ETC.
ADVERTISEMENTS inserted in all PUBLICATIONS HOME and COLONIAL at lowest office rates. —S. THORNER, ADVERTISING AGENT, 20, IMPERIAL BUILDINGS, LUDGATE GIRCUS, LONDON, E.C. Established at this office nearly 20 years. Central.

BUSINESS ADVICE GIVEN on investments, financial, accounting, partnership, and agricultural or commercial matters. Stocks and Shares Bought or Sold.—MRS. IRELL, AYRES, PURDIE, GROSVENOR HOUSE, KINGSWAY, W.C. Phone 6949 Central.

TO BE SOLD.—Four eight-roomed freehold villas with extensive gardens. Lovely position overlooking sea and Kent coast. Cost £4,000. Price £2,700.—Callow, Hatfield, Essex.

MISCELLANEOUS.
ABSOLUTELY FREE during July—A perfect fitting Tailor-made Skirt and 1s. 6d. in blue or black serge with every costume. Our Lady's Tailoring is Supreme in value. Costumes at 31s. 35s., 42s., 45s. from 60s. Patterns and particulars free. Rawlind, Tailors, Retford, Notts.

A JAPANESE FINE Finger-nail Polish, "ACIDU." NO PADS, NO POWDER, NO LIQUID, NO PASTE. John Strong Winter, the celebrated Author of "The Art and Mystery of Hair Dressing." Post free, 1s. 1d.—Beivior and Co., New Southgate, N.

A MODEL LAUNDRY. Family work a speciality. Dainty fabrics of every description treated with special care. Flannels and silks washed in distilled water. No chemicals used. Best labour only employed. Prompt collections; prompt deliveries. Bullens, Gressy House Laundry, Reynolds Road, Acton Green, W.

BADGES.—Will any kindly suffragist who has spare or unused Badges present them to the collection now being formed by the International Suffrage Shop, 15, Adam Street, Strand. They would be greatly welcomed.

BAGS! VOTES FOR WOMEN BAGS!—Seaside and country sellers should provide themselves with these useful, artistic and waterproof bags, especially made for carrying our paper. Price 2s. 2s. 2d. post free.—Apply Miss Helen Cregees, Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

BLOUSES.—Any number of Cast-off Blouses made into beautiful new ones. —Miss Kate Cutler, 24, Sunninghill Road, St. John's, Lewisham.

BONELESS CORSETS.—New invention, uncut, breakable, Lisle free.—Write, Kaitzed Core Co., Nottingham.

CHATTY SUNDAY TEAS for lonely working girls. Write to Mrs. Hackett, 6d.—Director, 7, Milman Street, W.C. 4 to 8 p.m.

CORONATION CANARIES. direct from Native Islands. Write for free catalogue. Cages, Appliances, Foods, on application.—Rudd, Bird Specialist, Newcastle.

DOWTHWAITE'S UMBRELLA FACTORY. South-east-coast.—Silk and Gloria Umbrellas sent to any part of the Empire, 2s. 6d. to 12s. 6d. Post your Umbrella to us for re-covering, price 2s. 3d., 4d., 6d., 6s. 6d. Made like new. Return post paid.

DRESSMAKER (Suffragette) with wide experience in cutting, fitting, and remodelling best work only; visits ladies' residences. Highest class. —Mrs. L. E. Singer, 125, Marlborough Road, London, S.W. (menting this advert).

ELECTROLYSIS and Face Massage skilfully performed; also expert Lessons. Certificates given. Special terms to nurses.—Address, Miss Theakston, 65, Great Portland Street, W.

ELECTROLYSIS scientifically and antiseptically performed. It is the only PERMANENT cure for superfluous Hair. Highest medical references; special terms to those engaged in teaching, clerical work, etc.; consultation free.—Miss Marion Lindsay, 35, Cambridge Place, Norfolk Square, W. Telephone: 337 Mayfair.

ELECTROLYSIS SKILFULLY PERFORMED. Ladies may be attended at their own residences. Special terms to assistants and professionals.—Write "Vivian," VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand.

EVERIGHT TESTED and Spectacles supplied at Hospital Prices. Recommended by Physicians. From results guaranteed.—L. E. Singer, 125, Marlborough Road. Hours, 3 till 7 (Fridays excepted); and 4 to 8, Kensington Park Road, S.W. 11 to 12.

HAIR DESTROYER.—James Depfleur's instantly removes superfluous hairs from the face, neck, or arms, without injury to the skin. Of most chemists, or free on application, post free on receipt of postal order for 1s. 3d., 2s. 3d., or 5s.—Mrs. D. James, 296, Tottenham Road, London, N.

HAIR FALLING OFF.—Lady who lost nearly all her hair, and has now strong, heavy growing hair, sends particular to anyone enclosing stamped addressed envelope.—Miss V. W. Field, Clewley, Shalfleet.

JANUARY, 46, York Street, Buckingham Palace Gardens, S.W.—We beg to call attention to our Ladies Tailoring Establishment at above address. Costumes made to order from three and a-half guineas.

LADIES' Combings made up in curls, plaits or twists, etc., 1s. or 10s.; workmanship guaranteed; slightly recommended.—Miss Griffin, 63, Stamford Street, Old Trafford, Manchester.

LADIES' Left-off Costumes, Blouses, Dress, &c. purchased; higher prices given for all present; prompt remittance.—Miss Tolkein, Essex Exchange, Station Buildings, W. Croydon.

LADIES who appreciate Stationery in correct style and refined taste are invited to send for samples post free from Direct Stationery Co., Vulcan House, Langley Hill.

LADY, member W.S.P.U., giving up household effects, No dealers.—V. S., VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand.

MRS. KNIGHT, The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C. has a few small, clean, well cut and nicely finished. Prices from 2s. 1/6 to 8s. 6d.

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OLD LACE.—A gentleman writing a book wishes to purchase some old lace for illustration, or would be glad to photograph any fine piece not previously reproduced.—Box 965, VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

PARCEL FREE! containing over 300 patterns of changing Irish Linen Summer Costume Fabric, "Flaxella." Light, washable, wide range of attractive designs, new shades, wears for years.—Hutton's, 167, Leam, Ireland.

PANOLA. by Orchestrated Co. Cost 45 guineas. Bargain 25s. or near offer.—To be seen 77, Belsize Park Gardens, N.W.

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THE W.S.P.U. has for Sale a lovely handkerchief with 25s in border of beautiful hand-made lace; price one guinea. Apply Mrs. Sanders, the Treasury, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand.

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HOLIDAYS.—Delightful, inexpensive Continental Tours, conducted by Ladies. —Write Secretary, Women's International League, 19, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

MISS BISHOP'S PRIVATE SOCIAL TOURS. —Ladies may be attended at their own residences. Highest class river and canal; wonderful trip; thrillingly interesting tour. Inclusive terms, limited party. August 16, Switzerland—3 weeks in Bernese Oberland. Autumn, Constantinople (overland), Algeria, etc.—Programme from Mrs. Bishop, Haslemere, Wimbledon Park Road, Wimbledon.

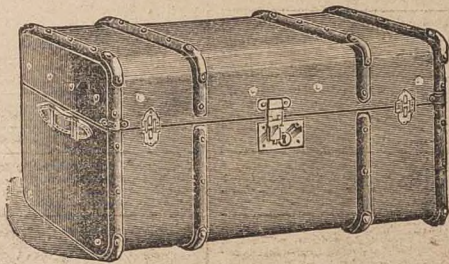
SITUATIONS VACANT.
COMPETENT woman wanted (above 20) in London publishing office, for cash, accounts, and general oversight. —Box 664, VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand.
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LEITCHWORTH (GARDEN CITY).—Furnished house to let for August or longer; highest position. Living room; 4 bedrooms; large garden (pocket); private road.—Apply, Miss Henry, Cloniers Lodge.
SEASIDE COTTAGES (two) in small West coast town. Magnificent views; water-logged sea and inland view; excellent water supply and sanitation; rents £15 and £16 weekly; will be let furnished if desired.—Apply, Mr. Lorrain, East Whiting, Sussex.
STUDIO.—Three rooms, pantry (sink, stove), 1/2 bathroom (hot, cold). Two entrances, garden, room, bath, and breakfast,

DERRY & TOMS

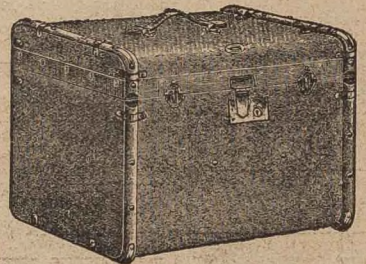
KENSINGTON HIGH STREET, LONDON, W.

SPECIAL SALE OF TRUNKS FOR THE HOLIDAYS.



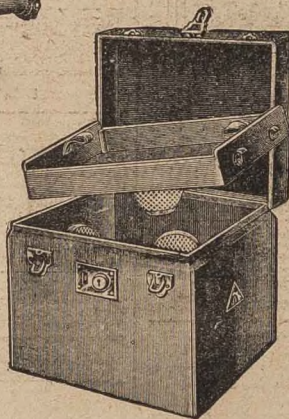
Strong Reliable Trunks, 3-ply Wood, ROTPROOF Green Canvas, Ash Battens, all latest improvements.

	30	32	34	36 ins.
Deep Imperial	32/6	35/9	37/6	39/6
Cabin	29/6	31/6	33/9	35/9



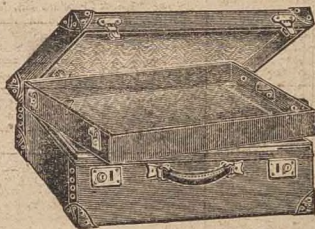
Hat Box, 3-ply Wood, covered ROTPROOF Green Canvas, Ash Battens each end, Strong Brass Lock and Clips.

	20	22	24 ins.
Usual Price	25/9	29/6	35/9
Sale Price	21/9	23/9	25/9

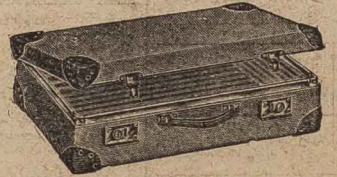


Hat Box, Compressed Cane, Original Make.

	18	20	22	24 ins.
	33/6	37/6	41/6	54/9



Lady's Visite Case, with Tray, FLAXITE FIBRE, lined Green Moire, Steel Frame. Very Special, 15/9



The "DEEANTEE" Suit Case. Looks and will wear equal to leather. A Case weighing 4 lbs. 8 ozs. taken from Stock at random successfully stood the weight of 847 lbs. being dropped on same.

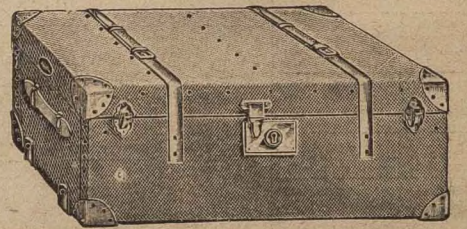
	20	22	24	26	28	30 ins.
	12/11	13/9	14/11	16/9	18/11	21/9

Special Sale Prices.



Compressed Cane Trunks. Original Make.

	38	40	42	44	ins.
Imperial (Deep)	96/-	104/-	112/-	120/-	
	28	30	32	34	36
Imperial (Shallow)	65/-	68/6	72/-	77/-	88/-
Cabin Size	48/-	52/-	56/-	60/-	68/-
					76/-



Flaxite Fibre Trunks. Green or Brown, Steel Frames, But Leather Corners, Lever Locks, Tray, Clips, and Straps.

	27	30	33	36 ins.
Extra Deep	33/6	39/9	45/9	49/6
Shallow	27/6	29/9	33/9	37/6

DERRY & TOMS, Kensington High Street, London, W.