

The Common Cause,

The Organ of the National Union of

Women's Suffrage

Societies.

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ONE PENNY.



An Impression of the National Convention,

Wednesday, May 3rd, 1911.

Notes and Comments.

Number Seven.

The number seven is supposed to be a lucky number. Last week saw the seventh Second Reading of a Women's Suffrage Bill. May Sir George Kemp's luck continue.

Behind the Times.

It is comic to see how out of it some of our great papers are. One can only suppose that their prejudices blind them. Some of them still go on writing as if it were possible for the House to go on reading Women's Suffrage Bills a second time to the crack of doom. This is a cynical view which we do not share. Sir George Kemp and our friends in the House mean business and the "Times" will get badly left if it cannot wake up to what is happening under its nose. The good old days of stagnation are over. We are often told that our winning is merely a "matter of time." Well, the time is very short now. We know what we want and all our forces are concentrated.

Another Bill.

On Monday, 8th, the House went formally into Committee on the Conciliation Bill, Mr. Gulland in the chair. On the motion of Sir F. Banbury, progress was at once reported and the House rose.

The same day Mr. A. Henderson brought in the Bill which is understood to represent the views of the People's Suffrage Federation. This curious association scarcely seems to do any great public educational work, but it is adept at pulling wires and it is much used by journalists and politicians who do not wish to enfranchise women, but feel it impolitic to say so. We are well aware that the prime movers in it are absolutely single-minded in their desire really to extend the franchise widely, but the fact remains that those who do not desire this result use them as cat's-paws. It really is necessary to hand on to them Mr. Lloyd George's advice to us: "Let them convert the country. They really have not done it." Meanwhile we, who have converted the country, really cannot afford to wait till—if ever—the adultists come up with us.

The Monkey Cage.

In Friday's debate, curiously enough, it fell to an anti-suffragist to protest against the grille in front of the Ladies' Gallery, to which the chivalry of Parliament (in the days, remember, when women had not the vote!) relegated the "fair sex." It has always struck us as odd that Members of Parliament, if they could not understand the ignominy of sticking their women in a cage, had not some pity for the really considerable physical discomforts to which they subjected the "weaker sex" while they lolled in comfort below. It is dark in the Ladies' Gallery and stuffier even than anywhere else and you have to crick your neck and make your back ache if you want to see anything at all and hearing is difficult. When any Hon. Member on the floor of the House ever repeats the old song that "Members are only too ready to consider all the wants of women," we do wish some other Hon. Member would ask him (merely as a very trifling instance) if he thinks women want their backs and necks and eyes and ears to ache.

One-sided Reports.

Another point made by Sir George Kemp is a serious one and we have found it so. It is not fair that women writers for the press should be practically excluded from the House, as they are. It is no use telling us we can rely on men reporters. We work with them on nearly all other occasions and we know we cannot rely on them. With the best will in the world a man sees and hears with a man's eyes and ears and all honest men know it and admit it. They would not like having all their news presented to them by women only. It is good for women to know what men think but it is also good for men to know what women think and for women to think their own thoughts and learn to express them.

Mr Lloyd George's Insurance Bill.

There is so much of interest before the country and before Parliament that we wish we had space to describe and comment upon very many more things than are possible. We hope next week to publish an article, long overdue, upon various Bills dealing with public morals. This week, besides the suffrage debate, which must take first place, there was before the House the vital matter of compulsory insurance for sickness and unemployment. The scheme was received in a non-party spirit which is the best augury for its careful consideration and we are glad indeed to see that it contains a provision for maternity insurance, which is surely among the most necessary and far-reaching of all forms of insurance. The Bill is so large and complex that time and study will be necessary to understand it in all its bearings. The portion dealing with sickness makes a determined effort to cut at the root of an immense amount of suffering, unemployment, pauperism and decay. We can scarcely imagine anything more beneficent than a measure which should really give poor people something like the same chance of recovery from sickness as rich people.

Democracy and Education.

No doubt many points will become clearer when the Bill has been more canvassed. We wish most earnestly that women might be enfranchised speedily so that they might all approach this great measure in a spirit of co-operation and comprehension. Every measure of popular reform and betterment depends upon the hearty co-operation of the people whom it affects and there is no way of securing this heartiness but that of liberty and education. Mr. George surely wishes to make his schemes work, and work with the least possible friction. The people must be educated to understand such schemes. It is worth a politician's while to educate the voters. This is one of the strongest arguments for making women voters. The Chancellor of the Exchequer must see this. Surely it will weigh with him.

Awaiting the Text.

An immense number of questions arise in connection with the different rates of pay and rates of benefit by men and women respectively; whether if a man's insurance includes (as we presume) his wife and young family, a woman's would include those who might happen to be dependent upon her and so forth. But for the moment we feel disposed to greet the Bill with acknowledgments of what it attempts, to await the full text, and to expect enlightenment and hope for amendment.

A Dress Reformer.

Lady Harberton died on the last day of April. She was a genuine dress-reformer in her day, not one of the modern humbugs who swagger about in "harem-skirts" with a music-hall pretence of being "advanced," because the vulgarer newspapers have found copy in it. Lady Harberton really tried to inaugurate the fashion for comfortable clothes and it almost seemed as if the bicycle might make them possible. But the chance slipped by and modern women are too busy with a great reform to make themselves conspicuous in a minor matter. We hope the day will come when those who do most of the carrying of lamps, and coals and babies and tea-trays upstairs will be able to do so without having to hold their skirts up with their teeth or their elbows. We think nothing shews women's courage more than their patience with the dirty, obstructive, and dangerous skirt. One year's compulsory wearing of such would take the heart out of the bravest man!

A Women's Hostel at Huddersfield.

The Huddersfield Town Council has passed a resolution to consider the establishment of a women's hostel in the borough. The Women's Suffrage Society and the Women's Liberal Association have been pressing for it and it is hoped something will be done.

The A. B. C. of Women's Suffrage.

THE SEVENTH TIME.

For the seventh time since 1870 a Women's Suffrage Bill has passed its second reading in the House of Commons, this time by an

ABSOLUTELY OVERWHELMING.

majority.

During those 41 years NO Women's Suffrage Bill has ever been defeated on the second reading.

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN?

It means that for 41 years the People's House has

SEEN THE JUSTICE

of the women's demand.

That seven times over it has

ADMITTED THE JUSTICE

of the women's demand; but that it has never yet been able to bring itself to

DO JUSTICE

to women.

1870 is 41 years ago, and the women think that when you have admitted the justice of a principle for 41 years, no one can say you are in too much of a hurry if you then proceed to

ACT UPON IT.

The best men agree with the women. Mr. Birrell declared unequivocally last November that "the time for shuffling and delay in this matter has gone by, and time should certainly be given."

TIME FOR WHAT?

Time for the further stages which are necessary before a Bill can become law. Now that it has passed its second reading, the Bill will have to be

DISCUSSED IN DETAIL.

—amendments will be brought forward, and the Bill will finally be presented to the House of Commons, that they may sanction its enactment. This may mean a few days off the vacation of members of Parliament. Have not the women a right to demand that the enfranchisement of a million women, and the consequent raising of the status of a whole sex with all the infinite hopes for women and the nation which hang thereon, should weigh more heavily than a week more or less at the seaside, in Switzerland or at Monte Carlo, for 670 men (who may, before then, actually have enacted that the women whom they flout shall be compelled to help to maintain them).

Does

THE COUNTRY AGREE

with the House of Commons as to the justice of this Measure? There is little doubt of that—witness the resolutions sent up by 74 Town and District Councils in favour of the Bill, whilst NOT ONE has petitioned against it.

Moreover, your own experience will have shown you that not one man in twenty will deny that a woman who

PAYS RATES AND TAXES

should have a vote.

And this Bill will enfranchise only those women who pay rates and taxes. More than half of them will be widows, and something like four-fifths of them will be women who work either outside their homes for wages, or in their homes, doing all their own house-work.

Politicians have always found the

POOR WIDOW

useful when their own interests were in danger and public sympathy had somehow to be roused. Let them now show the genuineness of their desire to help poor widows by giving to half a million of them the power to promote, in the only way possible in a democratic country, those schemes which will alleviate their lot.

For the seventh time the House of Commons has expressed its convictions, deliberately and unmistakably. Remember that 255 men voted in favour of the Bill, and only 88 against. Is 167 not a

SUFFICIENT MAJORITY?

They have declared emphatically that women

SHOULD HAVE VOTES.

Let us have no dishonourable fooling from the men in whom the nation puts its trust; but let them, if they know the meaning of truth and honour and justice, by demanding immediate facilities for the Bill, declare, once and for all, that

WOMEN SHALL HAVE VOTES.

THIS WEEK'S STORY.

BRUCE AND THE SPIDER.

Six times defeated, the fugitive Bruce took refuge in a cave, and despair fell on him, so that he was minded to give up the struggle. But, as he lay there, he saw a spider swinging at the end of its delicate thread, and trying again and again to attach it to a point of rock, that it might weave its web. Six times it tried, and failed, and Bruce mentally compared its lot to his. But, as he watched, it tried again; and the seventh time it reached its destination—the thread held and the patient spider set to work to weave the desired web. And Bruce went forth to victory.

THIS WEEK'S MOTTO.

"Then she plots, then she ruminates, then she devises; and what they think in their hearts they may effect, they will break their hearts but they will effect."

Merry Wives of Windsor, II., 2.

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

ADVERTISEMENTS should reach the office by first post on Tuesday. THE PAPER WILL BE POSTED to any address in Britain or abroad for the following prepaid payments:—

3 MONTHS	...	1	9
6 MONTHS	...	3	3
12 MONTHS	...	6	6

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 before-hand as possible. Monday is only mentioned as the last possible day, not as the one upon which all news should arrive.

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

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The Lucky Number.

As everyone knows, who knows anything about the political situation with regard to Women's Suffrage, it was the division on the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill of 1911 which was the object of prime interest. It was so like the Bill of 1910 and the debate on that Bill was so full and so important,—almost all the distinguished men on both sides of the House having spoken on that occasion,—that it was not only improbable but undesirable that another full-dress debate should be held at this stage, and after Sir George Kemp's clear and moderate statement of the case, and Mr. Goulding's whole-hearted seconding, even the House of Commons, with its long practice in the art of vain repetition, could not care very greatly to use the rare privileges of a Private Members' afternoon. The whole thing was a foregone conclusion; the debating battle has been won, the huge majority re-affirmed the conscientious and steadfast conviction of the elected representatives of the men of the country that women should be enfranchised, and it is impossible to conceive that this Government can venture to leave the question just where it was.

Last year Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Churchill objected to the Bill on certain specified grounds, all of which have now been removed, and Mr. Lloyd George fulfilled his pledge that he would vote for the Second Reading. What will he do for us now? We hope he will do what he can, and that is—everything!

Let us consider for a moment the position of this measure compared with other measures about which members of the Government have been waxing very indignant. On Tuesday, 2nd May, in the House, Mr. Churchill complained that "for three Parliaments running" there had been a substantial majority in favour of the settlement of various great controversial questions, and yet, "while the present constitutional situation continues, we have absolutely no power to pass measures." The three Parliaments in question date from 1906, since when the present Government has been in power. But there has been a "substantial majority" for Women's Suffrage since 1886, and this is the eighth Parliament we

have seen paralysed by the forms of the House and the inertia of Governments which see no party profit in women. Whatever the feeling of the country may be now with regard to Home Rule (and we express no opinion whatever) no one will deny that for years after 1886 there was not a majority for Home Rule. Will Mr. Churchill still be found to plead that a question which for a long time suffered eclipse should have immediate settlement, while he remains indifferent to the claims of a question that has commanded an unbroken majority for 25 years, and has now passed its Second Reading for the seventh time? We know now from his own lips that when he left the army, "without much knowledge of or contact with politics," he felt himself obliged, at a few months' notice, to "get up the ordinary clap-trap"; but will he still find this good enough for the women, although he has found it necessary to become a profound statesman in matters affecting men? And if so, why? Is it not because people who are being refused a demand wish for an honest reason and are apt to resent being fobbed off with "the ordinary clap-trap"? But that women's resentment, being voteless, can be with impunity (or so he thinks) neglected and derided? He is mistaken. We work under prodigious disadvantages: it costs voteless women immensely more time, money, devotion and constancy to get justice done than it costs men; but justice does prevail in the end, and although they must at present work only indirectly, their hopes are high that the sense of fair play in Englishmen is at last aroused.

There was no passage in Sir George Kemp's speech which more truly expressed the thoughts of women than that in which he challenged the House on its sincerity. On the Second Reading it is mainly the principle that is in debate, and this principle has now been debated *ad nauseam*. It is known that considerable differences of opinion arise as to the best ways of applying the principle, and in Committee stage these differences could, for the first time, be thrashed out, and we should know where we stand. The most careful and laborious investigations have led to the Bill being drafted in the form in which it was presented by Sir George Kemp; it is believed that, in this form, it will receive the maximum of support in the House, and that this faithfully reflects the feeling in the country. To refuse, as Mr. Asquith has hitherto refused, to allow the Committee stage to be reached, is to express fear of the representatives of the electors and to override their will by a personal prejudice. Nothing could be more opposed to all the principles which he professes and for which he endeavours to retain the confidence of the country.

The Anti-Suffragists of course try to twist the Second Reading debate against us, but they make as sorry a show over this as they do with their forlorn sandwichmen pathetically parading with the figures of the discredited canvasses. When the Anti-Suffragists can explain away the resolutions of between 60 and 70 great Town Councils by some argument which will not admit that women municipal voters want the Parliamentary vote, they will have performed a feat which they have not so far attempted. The "Times" contrasts the vote on this Bill with the majority for Mr. Stanger's Bill in 1908; this majority, as Suffragists will remember, was 179, and was almost exactly in the same proportion of those voting as this division, that is to say nearly 3 to 1. The "Times" professes to find in the rather smaller attendance a symptom of diminishing interest. Surely it is possible to have one's interest somewhat diminished for what the "Times" rather unkindly calls "platitudinous repetition of threadbare arguments," and yet to wish even more ardently than ever that the platitudinous stage might be at last abolished by the logical process of proceeding to the next. New illustrations of the disabilities of women occur every week, but the poor Antis are in a parlous way indeed, as regards speech-making, now that public opinion is no longer pleased with their antediluvian jokes.

The "Times" recognizes that the conditions under which women live have changed since the days of John Stuart Mill, and sees in the opening up of professions and industries to women a proof that political power is

unnecessary for them; men "are ready to grant any reasonable request which lies in their power". What a strange conjunction of ideas! Women, admitted to responsible professions, labouring in wealth-producing industries, are still to have "requests granted" by men and at the good will and pleasure of men, as a favour and condescension, not as plain right! And men are to be the sole arbiters of whether the request is "reasonable"!

Another desperate effort has been made to capture Mr. Balfour by the simple device of declaring he had been captured. It was simple in more senses than one, and this is how they did it. Mr. Balfour said in last year's debate that he should feel very differently if he were convinced that women did not want the vote. The Anti-Suffragists having said that women did not want the vote then said that obviously Mr. Balfour must have become an Anti-Suffragist. But Mr. Balfour's letter of May 4th (which we print on this page) and his pairing for the Bill have again deferred their hopes. Meanwhile, having filled vast masses of paper with figures collected by many and devious ways, they spend much money in disseminating these figures, but—

"What gave rise

To no little surprise

Nobody seemed one penny the worse!"

Every man of sense feels that, if figures have been compiled in a wholly unscientific manner, they gain nothing by being quoted nor even by being printed.

No. Women have shown that they not only want the vote, but they need it, and the country needs it; the men are ready for a moderate measure; the House is sick of debating it. By every Liberal and democratic principle the Government is bound to give a definite pledge of definite action at a definite time. We expect this.

Mr. Balfour's Letter.

We are glad to publish the reply which Mrs. Fawcett received on the eve of the Second Reading from Mr. Balfour. It is as follows:—

"4, Carlton Gardens, Pall Mall,
May 4, 1911.

"Dear Mrs. Fawcett,—You ask me whether you are to attribute my absence next Friday from the debate on Women's Suffrage to any change of opinion on that subject. The proper inference is exactly the opposite. Had my views undergone any alteration I should have thought it necessary to express and justify the change. As things are, there seems nothing to be gained by repeating arguments to which I gave expression last year in debate and with which the great majority of the present House of Commons are familiar.

"There is indeed a strong House of Commons reason why I should pursue a different course. The debate cannot last much more than four hours and a half. If any one member of the late Government were to take part in it, another member holding (on this subject) different opinions would certainly feel it necessary to express them, and the limited opportunities of speech possessed by private members on this private members' day would be still further curtailed. In these circumstances my colleagues and I have resolved to abstain from occupying the time of the House on Friday next.

"I have of course taken care that so far as my individual vote is concerned the case of Women's Suffrage shall suffer nothing by my absence.—Yours truly,
(Signed) "ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR."

The Prime Minister in Manchester.

THE THIRD REASON.

On Saturday afternoon the Free Trade Hall was packed from floor to ceiling to welcome the Prime Minister, honouring Manchester by his first public speech since this Parliament was elected. All the great achievements of the Liberal Party were duly expounded and applauded, and its immediate task defined, "the establishment on a sure basis of representative government." What matter

though the speaker only designed representation for half the nation? Very few of the outlawed sex were there to hear; and the rafters rang with applause. Were they going to permit the degradation of the House of Commons to the level of a debating society, and the ultimate destruction of representative government? "or should the will of their elected representatives prevail? Since May 5th the women wait to see! "Justice," "freedom," "a truly representative first chamber." From the speaker's lips it seemed a hollow mockery. But Mr. C. P. Scott was in the chair, and it fell to the lot of Sir George Kemp to propose a vote of thanks to him. This he did, with pleasure, he explained, for five reasons. "First because he is a good Liberal. (Cheers.) "Second because he is a good Free Trader." (Cheers.) "The third reason I will not mention." "Fourth"—"the third! the third!—give us the third!" roared the great audience. "Fourth because"—"Third, Third!" they roared again, drowning the speaker's voice. Again and again he made the attempt, and at last, smiling, gave in. "Well, third, because" (very deliberately) "he is not averse to the extension of the franchise." (Cheers.) Reasons 4 and 5 duly followed. The resolution was seconded and carried with enthusiasm, and the Chairman rose to reply. He would not, he said speak of the reasons Sir George Kemp had given for proposing the vote of thanks, but he must say that he was glad the meeting had "dragged the third reason from him." He knew that here he differed from some members of his own party, but he must make his confession of faith, that for his part he should never consider that we had truly representative government until the whole nation was represented." (Cheers.)

Strange that the last word of Asquith's great meeting should be a plea for Women's Suffrage!

The Debate on the Second Reading.

Sir George Kemp in moving the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill pointed out that the Bill differed in two points from the Bill which was read a second time last year. (1) The title had been so altered as to admit of free amendment and (2) the £10 occupier qualification had been omitted.

A CLEAR PRINCIPLE.

In reply to the criticism of the Prime Minister that there was no clear principle, Sir George said it was to give the franchise to women householders. The householder had some right to consideration if the householder—the head of the house—were a woman, because she had to deal with the daily difficulties of the household, she came into touch with the rough and tumble of the world, she was responsible for carrying on the household, she was responsible for paying all rates and taxes in regard to the household, she had, in fact, to deal with the problems of life.

A DEMOCRATIC FRANCHISE.

Referring to the investigations made in Dundee, Bangor and Carnarvon he said they shewed that this would be a democratic franchise, about 80 per cent. being women who worked for their livelihood or were the wives of working men. Unionist Members were anxious to proceed on moderate lines and no one would deny that this Bill proceeded on moderate lines. There was also "the man in the street," who had a rough-and-ready sense of justice and who felt that some consideration should be shewn to women who paid rates and taxes.

WOMEN'S DISABILITIES.

Sir George Kemp then alluded to sundry disabilities under which women suffer,—disabilities with regard to the pay they receive for the labour they do, with regard to the number of posts they occupy under the Government, with regard to Marriage Laws. "There is one small point," he added, "which has occurred to me now. No woman owning or managing or directing a newspaper is allowed to come into this House to take any record of the debate that is going on." With regard to Mr. F. E. Smith's contention that women occupy in some

respects a preferential position under the marriage laws, he said they did not ask for a preferential position; they ask for a fair field and no favour.

But leaving aside these disabilities he contended that women should have the vote (1) because they own an enormous stake in this country, (2) because they are subject to the laws of this country and (3) because they pay a great proportion of the taxes of this country. He did not hold that representation must necessarily always go with taxation, but he did think that there was some weight in the argument that there are millions of women paying millions of pounds in taxes and there is not one single vote in respect of them. By this Bill one woman would have a vote to every seven men,—not an extravagant measure, and as to the objection to the "thin end of the wedge," it would have been fatal to every measure of reform that had ever been brought into the House. What we had to ask was—"Is this particular Bill at this particular time conducive to the general good of the country?"

ADULT SUFFRAGE.

Alluding to the threatened opposition of adult suffragists, he argued that if this had prevailed before, we should never have had the Reform Bills of 1832, 1867 and 1884. Were there no supporters of adult suffrage then? Was there no difference of view with regard to the extension of the franchise at those times? Was that any reason for denying the vote to the men who were enfranchised on those occasions?

EXPERT KNOWLEDGE.

He held that the nation wanted all available talent and that it suffered from the exclusion of capable women. If we want to compete successfully with other nations we wish all those who are fitted to take part in any process to be able to do so without any restriction. Women had special spheres and expert knowledge which men did not possess and he believed they would gain greatly in the administration of the laws if they had women voting; so long as there was a distinct sense of grievance and injustice in any considerable portion of the community, so long they would not have zealous co-operation in carrying out the laws. Referring to the assertion that the women's cause had made very good progress without the vote, he admitted that since the present agitation had assumed the proportions it had assumed, points affecting women had been much more carefully dealt with than they were before.

PHYSICAL FORCE.

He believed the reluctance to give the vote to women was due to something which had its roots far back in the ages. It was because the vote was the last outward and visible sign of subjection and dependency that they had this extreme reluctance to grant it to women. This was due to physical force in the first instance, and who was going to argue in that House, at that time of the day, that they should make physical force the basis of their laws? "It is not so very long ago when it was thought a right and natural thing that every man should remain in the class and position in which he was born. Now we believe that every scope should be given to talent. Now men can rise from any class and hold the highest offices in the State so long as they have the talents required. We believe, all parties believe, in the unrestricted use of ability. Why are we to exclude women from this belief?"

INSINCERITY.

As regarded eligibility for Parliament he considered that this might be decided by "our children or our children's children, or earlier, if the nation wishes it." It was only the "accidental geographical position" of the support of this Bill which had prevented it from becoming law, and he asked Members to imagine a foreigner coming to this country and asking what was the opinion of the House of Commons with regard to women's suffrage. He would be told that it had been debated in this House for forty years, that for the last quarter of a century it had had a permanent majority in this House, and he would very likely say—"I suppose this is a representative and democratic Assembly. Why

has it not become law? Are the members sincere in their expressed opinions? Do they really believe what they say? Do they merely express a belief which they are most reluctant to carry into law?" He thought that that charge of insincerity this House ought to take the first opportunity to remove.

PROCEDURE.

He alluded to the Prime Minister's pledge to give facilities during this Parliament for effectively proceeding with the Bill, and he said that in deference to the feeling of the House it had been decided to give way to the general sense that the Bill should remain on the floor of the House, and they would not ask that it should be sent to Grand Committee; further, should this Bill become law, he was authorised to say that those responsible for it and for the women's suffrage societies would not demand a dissolution after the passage of the Bill, but would be quite content to wait until the next general election to exercise the vote under the Bill.

SUPPORT IN THE COUNTRY.

Personally he had felt encouraged by his own constituents and by those who represented the same city as himself and by the fact that the City Council of Manchester had passed a resolution last year by an overwhelming majority of more than four to one in favour of giving facilities for further procedure with the Bill.

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

"My hon. friend on the other side of the House (Mr. Arnold Ward) has brought forward a petition signed by 50,000 men and women against and we have had figures given with regard to those women who are supposed to be opposed to the Bill. All such figures, both for and against the Bill, I think should be liable to suspicion. They may be all right, but they are liable to suspicion unless taken under official supervision. But you cannot say that with regard to town and city councils. There are 69 of the town and city councils of the country who have passed resolutions in favour of Women's Suffrage and of effective procedure with it. You cannot get over those figures. Those are the representatives of the people, and if you believe in representative government you must believe that it is the desire of the representatives of those parts of the country.

A JUST BILL.

Even if I had not had the support I have had in my constituency I should still feel it was my duty to do all that I could in favour of this Bill, because I believe it to be a just Bill. I have always been in favour of giving the vote to women, but I believe that now, when there are obvious signs of discontent and unhappiness throughout the kingdom, it is our duty to deal with the disorder effectively, to cure indifference, and not drive it inward to the hurt and harm of our Constitution. I believe that women possess qualities which men do not possess, or they possess qualities to a greater degree than men. I believe that they have a greater sense of intuition, a subtler perception, and a greater capacity for self-sacrifice. Perhaps they do not see so much as men do the value of compromise, for they have higher ideals. I think we in this House might sacrifice a certain amount of the spirit of compromise if only at the same time we might raise the level of our ideals."

Mr. E. A. Goulding (U., Worcester) seconded the motion. He quoted Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Birrell in support of his contention that the question ought to be settled this year. The question could not be side-tracked by delay and it was intolerable that the regulations and conditions of women's employment should be entirely settled by the opposite sex. He attributed no importance to the contention that women did not want the vote. He held that men had in the past erred through ignorance of the needs of women and he referred with admiration to the high administrative capacity of women.

Sir M. Levy (L., Loughborough) objected to the Bill because it would enfranchise "property, widowhood and immorality" and excluded the "wives and mothers of the nation." Women were physically inferior to men and for that reason man must always be more or less

the ruling spirit. The majority of men and of women were opposed to the Bill.

Mr. H. J. Mackinder (U., Glasgow) differed from Sir M. Levy, in holding that the movement was a genuine one, but not till men approximated more to the condition of angels would his objections be removed. There was too much claiming from the State and too little rendering what was due to the State. The vote was an inferior thing; what he valued was the influence of women.

Mr. G. Lansbury (Lab., Bow and Bromley) characterized the physical force argument as "out of date." He thought men did not protect women and he thought women had ability enough to defend themselves if they were allowed.

Mr. W. L. Burdett-Coutts (who brought in the "thin end of the wedge"), Mr. Haviland Burke, Mr. Maccallum Scott (who protested against the "grille" of the Ladies' Gallery as a "symbol of the zenana and the harem"), thought women should sit in the House, but be elected by men, and held that "physical force is justice," and the Earl of Kerry all spoke against.

Mr. A. Henderson (Lab., Barnard Castle) said that supporters of the People's Suffrage Federation would vote for the Second Reading but in Committee they would seek to extend its provisions by recognising the claim of all women to have the vote, instead of merely one million included in the scope of this measure. If they failed in this effort they must seriously consider their attitude in regard to the final stage of the measure.

Mr. Hugh Law (N., West Donegal) maintained that it was impossible to separate the home and politics. Mr. Ellis Griffith (L., Anglesey) alluded to the Town Councils in favour. He said the Conservatives had taken a very generous and liberal view of the situation and if this Bill was not "logical," what Reform Bill ever had been? It was a Bill which, on the whole, would be fair to the two great political parties. There were gentlemen of eminence who last year took the view that this was an undemocratic Bill and who said, "You must give the vote to all women." It was to be doubted whether in the House as now constituted a Bill for the extension of the franchise to all women would pass at all. If they were going to give the vote to women at all they must give it in some such Bill as this. He had not much sympathy with those members who were too generous to give them what they wanted and too anxious to give them what they could not get. Mr. Mackinder had said that he was unwilling to give the vote to women until men were angels. But surely that was to put off this reform to a very remote date. He had himself no fear of the "thin end of the wedge" argument. Let them do what was right for the moment and trust the consequences to the future. Nothing but good could come of the co-operation of men and women in the affairs of the State in solving the problem of human misery and in working together for the joy and happiness of the homes of the country.

Lord Hugh Cecil and Mr. J. King also spoke in support of the Bill.

An Impression of the Debate on May 3rd.

The dominating impression of the debate on Friday last was the academic futility of it all. Only when the hour of five approached did the House assume a busy and workmanlike appearance, giving one the idea that the Members themselves, no less than the women outside, have had enough of words, and would fain see them translated into deeds. This impression was deepened into certainty when the magnificent majority was announced.

Many generous tributes were paid to women by both sides during the debate, many interesting and valuable points were made, and yet one felt, this year like last, that the women themselves could have put their case far more strongly than even their best friends in the House. Perhaps this is as it should be in a discussion on the claims of women to this very right to speak for themselves.

A rather ominous note was struck by Mr. Henderson, who made it clear that he, and a certain section of the House were not willing to do justice to women unless their own party could be gainers over the transaction. Apparently no extension of the Franchise will content Mr. Henderson and the People's Suffrage Federation, except that of full Adult Suffrage, or something very like it.

Apart from this, there was a distinct feeling of hopefulness. Extracts from the various pronouncements of the Prime Minister were made by several speakers, and all pointed strongly to the impossibility of facilities for the present Bill being refused.

To one unaccustomed to being present at the deliberations of the House, the ease with which it was possible to raise a laugh seemed remarkable. One could not tell if it is usual, or was a special feature of the occasion. An allusion to widows being brought to the poll in bath-chairs provoked much mirth. (By the way, it was assumed throughout the afternoon that no one became a widow until she had reached the bath-chair stage of life.) Then there was the phrase "A woman may be a cook but she need not be a mutton chop," and several others less witty which were received with shouts of delight. Perhaps a woman may be pardoned if her sense of humour is blunted where this question is concerned.

Two of the speakers, Mr. Lansbury, for the Bill, and Mr. MacKinder, against it, seemed quite as impassioned and earnest as any woman could wish, but what can one say of the Member who asked "if it is so very important after all that working women are badly paid"?

Finally the prevailing note was that the speeches did not matter much, but that Members had come to the House determined to fulfil their pledges to the women, with the glorious majority of 167 as the result.

ROSAMOND SMITH.

The Division.

AYES.

Abraham, William	Crooks, William
Adamson, William	Crumley, Patrick
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte	Dalziel, Sir Jas. H.
Ainsworth, John Stirling	Davies, M. Vaughan-
Allen, Percy	Dawes, J. A.
Allen, Arthur A.	Delany, William
Amery, L. C. M. S.	Denman, Hon. Richard Douglas
Armitage, R.	Devlin, Joseph
Atherley-Jones, Llewelyn A.	Dickinson, W. H.
Baker, Joseph A.	Duncan, C.
Balfour, Sir Robert	Edwards, Allen C.
Banner, John S. Harwood-	Edwards, Enoch
Baring, Captain Hon. G.	Edwards, Sir Francis
Barlow, Sir John Emmott	Edwards, John Hugh
Barlow, Montague	Elverston, H.
Barnes, G. N.	Esmond, Dr. John
Barton, W.	Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Beale, W. P.	Falle, Bertram Godfray
Beauchamp, Edward	Fell, Arthur
Benn, Ion Hamilton	Ffrench, Peter
Benn, W.	Fisher, William Hayes
Bennett-Goldney, Francis	Flavin, Michael Joseph
Bentham, G. J.	Fletcher, John Samuel
Bentick, Lord H. Cavendish	Foster, Philip Staveley
Beresford, Lord Charles	Furness, Stephen
Bethell, Sir J. H.	Gastrell, Major W. Houghton
Bird, Alfred	George, Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd
Black, Arthur W.	Gibson, Sir J. D.
Boland, John Pius	Gill, A. H.
Bottomley, Horatio	Ginnell, L.
Bowerman, C. W.	Glanville, H. J.
Boyle, W. Lewis	Goldman, C. S.
Boyton, J.	Goldstone, F.
Brigg, Sir John	Greene, W. R.
Burgoyne, Alan Hughes	Greig, Col. J. W.
Burns, Rt. Hon. John	Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas	Griffith, Ellis J.
Buxton, Noel	Guest, Hon. Frederick E.
Buxton, Rt. Hon. Sydney C.	Gulland, John William
Byles, William Pollard	Gwynn, Stephen Lucius
Carlisle, Edward Hildred	Hall, Fred
Carr-Gomm, H. W.	Hall, Marshall E.
Cawley, Sir Frederick	Hardie, J. Keir
Cawley, Harold T.	Harvey, A. G. C.
Cecil, Lord Hugh	Harvey, T. E.
Chancellor, Henry George	Harwood, George
Chapple, Dr. William Allen	Havelock-Allan, Sir Henry
Clancy, John Joseph	Haworth, Arthur A.
Clough, William	Hayden, John Patrick
Collins, Stephen	Hayward, Evan
Condon, Thomas Joseph	Helme, Norval Watson
Cooper, Richard Ashmole	Henderson, Arthur
Corbett, A. Cameron	Henderson, J. McD.
Craig, Norman	Higham, John Sharp
Crichton-Stuart, Lord Ninian	Hillier, Dr. A. P.

Hill-Wood, Samuel
Hinds, John
Hoare, S. J. G.
Hodge, John
Hope, John Deans
Horne, Chas. Silvester
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hughes, S. L.
Hume-Williams, W. E.
Hunter, Sir Chas. Kodk.
Hunter, Wm.
Illingworth, Percy H.
Ingleby, Holcombe
Isaacs, Sir Rufus Daniel
John, Edward Thomas
Johnson, W.
Jones, Sir D. Brynmor
Jones, Edgar
Jones, Leif Stratten
Jones, W. S. Glyn-
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Keating, M.
Kelly, Edward
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
King, J.
Lambert, Richard
Lansbury, George
Lardner, James Carrigo Ruche
Law, Hugh A.
Lawson, Hon. H.
Lawson, Sir W.
Leach, C.
Lewis, J. H.
Lough, Rt. Hon. T.
Lowther, C.
Lynch, A. A.
Macdonald, J. R.
Macdonald, J. M.
Maclean, D.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
McCallum, John M.
McCurdy, C. A.
McKean, John
M'Laren, H. D.
M'Laren, F. W. S.
M'Laren, Walter S. B.
M'Micking, Major Gilbert
Marks, George Croydon
Marshall, Arthur Harold
Mason, D. M.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan, Francis E.
Menzies, Sir Walter
Millar, James Duncan
Montagu, Hon. E. S.
Munro, R.
Murray, Capt. Hon. Arthur C.
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newdegate, F. A.
Newton, Harry Kottingham
Nicholson, Chas. N.
Nield, Herbert
Norman, Sir Henry
Norton-Griffiths, J.
O'Grady, James
O'Malley, William
Orde-Powlett, Hon. W. G. A.
Ormsby-Gore, Hon. William
O'Shaghnessy, P. J.
O'Sullivan, Timothy

TELLERS FOR THE AYES.—Sir G. Kemp and Mr. Goulding.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Rt. Hon. Sir A. F.
Addison, Dr. C.
Agar-Robartes, Hon. T. C. R.
Agnew, Sir George William
Archer-Shee, Major M.
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Bagot, Lieut.-Colonel J.
Baker, H. T.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barran, Sir John N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beach, Hon. Michael Hugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. W. Gervase
Bigland, Alfred
Brunner, John F. L.
Bryce, J. Annan
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Burke, E. Haviland.
Cameron, Robert
Campion, W. R.
Ceill, Evelyn
Chaloner, Col. R. G. W.
Craig, Herbert J.
Craik, Sir Henry
Croft, H. P.
Cullinan, John
Dewar, Sir J. A.
Doris, William
Elibank, Lt. Hon. Master of
Essex, Richard Walter
Gardner, Ernest
Gretton, John
Hackett, J.

Paget, Almeric Hugh
Paimer, Godfrey Mark
Pearce, Robert
Pease, Herbert Pike
Peto, Basil Edward
Phillips, John
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pointer, Joseph
Pollard, Sir George H.
Pollock, Ernest Murray
Ponsonby, Arthur A. W. H.
Pryce-Jones, Col. E.
Radford, G. H.
Raffan, Peter Wilson
Ratcliff, R. F.
Rawson, Colonel Richard H.
Rea, Rt. Hon. Russell
Rea, W. R.
Redmond, W.
Rendall, A.
Richardson, T.
Roberts, C. H.
Roberts, Sir J. H.
Roberts, S.
Robertson, Sir G. S.
Robertson, J. M.
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rolleston, Sir John
Rowlands, James
Rowntree, Arnold
Runciman, Rt. Hon. Walter
Rutherford, W.
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Samuel, J.
Sanderson, Lancelot
Scanlan, Thomas
Schwann, Rt. Hon. Sir C. E.
Sherwell, Arthur James
Shortt, Edward
Simon, Sir John Allsebrook
Smith, Albert
Smith, H. B.
Snowden, P.
Strauss, Arthur
Summers, James Wooley
Sutton, John E.
Swift, Rigby
Taylor, Theodore C.
Thomas, Abel
Thomas, J. H.
Thorne, G. R.
Touche, George Alexander
Toumlin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Verney, Sir Harry
Walsh, Stephen
Wardle, George J.
Wason, Rt. Hon. E.
Watt, Henry A.
White, Major G. D.
White, Sir George
White, Sir Luke
Whitehouse, John Howard
Whittaker, Rt. Hon. Sir Thos. P.
Whyte, A. F.
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J.
Williams, P.
Wilson, W. T.
Wood, John
Worley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

Ronaldshay, Earl of
Boyd, Edmund
Samuel, S. M.
Scott, A. MacCallum
Seely, Col. Rt. Hon. J. E. B.
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Starkey, John Ralph
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, Edward A.
Talbot, Lord E.
Terrell, Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES.—Sir Maurice Levy and Mr. Mackinder.

OFFICIAL LIST OF PAIRS.

The following is the official list of those who paired for and against the Bill:—

For the Bill.	Against.
Balfour, A. J.	Asquith, H. H.
Parker, J.	Gibbs, G.
Pirie, C. V.	Bathurst, A. B.
Falconer, J.	Barnston, H.
Weir, J. G.	Hambro, A. V.
Collins, G.	Guest, H.
Neilson, F.	Grant, J. L.
Clynes, J. R.	Pretzman, E. G.
Sanders, R. A.	Kirkwood, J. H. Morrison
Harcourt, R.	Chamberlain, A.
Acland, F. D.	Lee, A.
Haddock, G. B.	Mansfield, H.
Yerburgh, R.	Mount, W. A.
Law, A. Bonar	Peel, W.
Benn, J. Shirley	Baldwin, S.
Jones, William	Hills, Sir C.
Gelder, W. A.	Fleming, V.
Hope, H.	Scott, Leslie
Rose, Sir C.	Herbert, Sir Ivor
Ferens, T. R.	Hamilton, Marquis of
Astor, W.	Bathurst, C.
Fenwick, C.	Willoughby, C.
Masterman, C. F. G.	Sandys, G.
Davies, W. Howell	Middlemore, John T.
Birrell, A.	Finnes, A.
Harwood, G.	Williamson, Sir A.
Kyffen-Taylor, G.	Hobhouse, C.
Spear, J. W.	Tobin, Alf A.
Brace, W.	Scott, Sir S.
Barrie, H.	Weigall, Capt.
Olive, Capt.	Gilmour, Capt.
Mitchell-Thomson, W.	Rothschild, Lionel de
Walton, Sir J.	Anson, Sir W.
Lamb, E.	Goddard, Sir D.
Crawshay-Williams, E.	Steel-Maitland, A. D.
Dickson, C. Scott	Younger, G.
Pearson, W. H. M.	Winterton, Earl
Taylor, J. W.	Dixon, C. H.
Burn, C. R.	Jardine, E.
Jones, Haydn	Chaplin, H.
Wiles, W.	Priestley, Sir W.
Craig, C. C.	Eyres-Mousell, B.
Craig, Capt.	Lonsdale, J. B.
Spicer, Sir A.	Pearce, W.
Stanley, A.	Staveley-Hill, H.
Remnant, J. F.	Guinness, Hon. W.
Peel, R. F.	Clay, Capt.
Newman, Pretzman	Samuel, H.
Bull, Sir W.	Hope, J. F.
Chambers, J.	Wood, E.
Kerr-Smiley, P.	MacCaw, W. J. M.
Malaby-Deeley, H.	Hohler, G. F.
Haslam, L.	Gwynne, Rubert
Money, Chiczza	Lyell, C. H.

Mr. A. R. Rainy, Mr. Philip Morrel, Mr. Frederick Hall, Mr. A. B. Markham, and Mr. C. T. Needham, all in favour of the Bill, could not be provided with pairs.

In Parliament.

SECOND READING OF THE CONCILIATION BILL.

On Friday, May 5th, Sir George Kemp (L., North-West Manchester) moved, and Mr. Goulding (C., Worcester) seconded the motion that the Bill to confer the Parliamentary Franchise on Women be read a second time. Mr. M. Levy (L., Loughborough) proposed, and Mr. H. G. MacKinder (U., Glasgow) moved its rejection. On being put to the vote, there were:—

For the amendment	88
Against	255

Majority for the Bill 167

The Bill was then read a second time without a division, and on the motion of Sir George Kemp, was referred to the Committee of the whole House.

A summary of the debate appears on page 77.

THE PARLIAMENT BILL.

Progress with the Parliament Bill was greatly speeded up so that on Wednesday, 3rd, the report stage was

reached. On this division the Government majority was 118.

In the course of the debate on the motion that Clause 2 stand part of the Bill, which took place on the 2nd May, Mr. Churchill was twitted with a former election address, and said in reply: "It is quite true that I used those words, eleven years ago. I came out of the army without much knowledge of or contact with politics, and at a few months' notice I had to get up the ordinary clap-trap which used to do duty in those days for Conservative electioneering and which I am bound to say does duty still."

He went on to say: "For three Parliaments running there has been a substantial majority in favour of the settlement of various great controversial questions, all of which have been fought out in the ordinary way at the polls, and yet on all those questions—Home Rule is one of them and Welsh disestablishment and the abolition of plural voting are others—on all those matters it is well known that while the present constitutional situation continues we have absolutely no power to pass measures. The education controversy has been utterly unsettled, and we are still at the present time unable to offer any remedy to the classes who felt themselves aggrieved by the Education Act. Individuals are still being sent to prison, are still being punished under a law which the great majority of their countrymen decided should be redressed, if not indeed repealed. That is the grievance. There has been a complete paralysis in the whole working of the Constitution, and there has been a denial of all forms of constitutional redress to those who have associated their politics with other parties than the Conservative party."

THE INSURANCE BILL.

On Thursday, 4th May, Mr. Lloyd George, in a speech of 2½ hours' duration, brought in a Bill for insurance

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

OBJECT: To obtain the Parliamentary franchise for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men.
METHODS: (a) The promotion of the claim of women to the Parliamentary vote by united action in Parliament and by all constitutional methods of agitation in this country. (b) The organisation of Women's Suffrage Societies on a non-party basis.

<i>Hon. Secretaries:</i>	<i>President:</i>	<i>Hon. Treasurer:</i>
MISS K. D. COURTNEY.	MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.	MRS. AUBREACH.
MISS EDITH PALLISER (Parliamentary).	<i>Hon. Press Secretary:</i> MISS EMILY M. LEAF.	
Telegrams: "Voiceless, London."	<i>Secretary:</i> MISS T. G. WHITEHEAD, M.A.	Telephone: 1960 Victoria.
	<i>Offices:</i> Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.	

From Headquarters.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

This has been an exceptionally busy week. The National Convention on May 3rd, arrangements for the Procession on June 17th, and the work entailed by the Second Reading on May 5th, have all thrown a strain upon the office, and we have been especially grateful to those volunteers who were able to give time to help.

A full account of the National Convention will be found elsewhere. We should like here to mention that the excellent organisation of the meeting which contributed so much to its success was almost entirely due to the London Society, which undertook an immense amount of difficult and detailed work.

The Executive passed a hearty vote of thanks to the London Society, as well as to the stewards, who carried out the work without a hitch. Votes of thanks were also passed to the Artists' League, whose decorations were, if possible, more effective than ever, and to Miss Bompas, who was personally responsible for many of the arrangements.

The signed resolution was sent to Mr. Asquith, and every Member of Parliament received a fac-simile on Friday morning. The list of signatures, each representing a different Society, was extremely effective, and is a remarkable testimony to the ubiquity of the National Union.

The delegates who attended the meeting at much inconvenience to themselves will feel compensated by the success of the meeting, which could never have been held without the hearty co-operation of the Societies in the Union.

against sickness and unemployment. The Bill was favourably received and read a first time. The scheme is compulsory and falls into two parts. That dealing with sickness is levied on all earning wages or salaries under £3 a week, with a few exceptions. The rate of contribution is 4d. a week from men and 3d. a week from women, 3d. from the employer and 2d. from the State. If the wages are 2s. a day or less, the worker pays 2d., and if 1s. 6d. the worker pays 1d., the difference being made up by the employer. Payment is to be made through the employer. People who "employ themselves" will pay 7d. if men, 6d. if women; this is voluntary. Married women not working for wages are excluded, but 30s. maternity allowance is made for every child, provided the mother does not return to work for four weeks after child-birth. The sick allowances are to be: For men 10s. and for women 7s. 6d. a week for the first three months; 5s. for the next three months. There is to be a disablement pension of 5s. a week. In addition to the sick allowance, there is to be free medical attendance, and for consumptives treatment in sanatoria.

The unemployment scheme is quite separate and much more controversial. It is suggested that, for the present, only two trades should be included in the compulsory section, engineering and building.

RESOLUTION OF THE AUSTRALIAN SENATE.

On the 4th, in reply to a question from Mr. Snowden as to whether the Prime Minister had received the resolution of the Australian Senate urging the claims of women to enfranchisement, Mr. Asquith replied:—"I received from the President of the Senate the resolution referred to, which is entitled to and has received attentive consideration. I regret to say, however, that the minds of the members of his Majesty's Government are still divided as to the expediency of woman suffrage."

GIFTS OF FURNITURE WANTED.

We have just arranged to increase our accommodation, at least temporarily, by taking three additional rooms, adjoining the present offices. Gifts of plain solid furniture, such as writing tables, cupboards, drawers, etc., would be most welcome. We shall also need floorcloth or rugs.

GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING.

The half-yearly Council Meeting of the Union will be held at Edinburgh on July 7th and 8th. Concurrently with the ordinary meeting a special meeting will be held, at which the policy of Tax Resistance and the question of its adoption by the National Union will be considered. As the meeting will therefore be particularly important, it is hoped that all Societies will make an effort to be represented, also that in the meantime they will discuss the question of Tax Resistance amongst themselves, and carefully consider how many of their own members would be in a position to carry out the policy if it were adopted. Of course, we hope that before July the Government may have taken up our Bill or may have given a satisfactory pledge that they will do so. Our big majority on May 5th justifies this hope, and if it were fulfilled Tax Resistance would obviously be unnecessary.

THE PROCESSION ON JUNE 17th.

Many difficulties have occurred in the negotiations with the police.

As we go to press we hear that the National Union contingent of the Procession on June 17th is to assemble at 5 p.m., start at 6 p.m., and march to the top of Exhibition Road and there disperse down the road without a

meeting. Details will be sent to the Societies in the course of the week.

Treasurer's Notes.

A majority of 167 for the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill! This great news is the proof which we knew would be forthcoming of the success of our unceasing work. But it is far more than that: it not only justifies all our past efforts but it spurs us on, refreshed and buoyed up with hope, to the last and hardest part of the great struggle that now lies before us. Now we can truly feel that no part of our work has been in vain and that there is no one of the many branches of our growing expenditure that is not amply justified and that is not already beginning to bear goodly fruit.

The powerful speech, on the financial aspect of our work which Councillor Margaret Ashton delivered at last Wednesday's crowded and impressive Convention, must have enlightened many of our own members as well as the general public by its accurate and illuminating survey of this all-important question.

Miss Ashton will have helped us to realize, better than ever before, how much the whole great fabric of our work depends for its stability on the financial support which is the tangible symbol of the devotion which women are giving to this cause.

It is good to hear from all quarters of the success of the recent campaign in the constituencies on which we have had to spend so freely of those funds which are given so generously but on which alas! there are such countless calls. The next great task which we have to undertake is the organization of our section of the colossal procession of June 17th. Next week I hope to be able to give some details of our plans to show that we intend to make our section worthy of our great Union. Remember that every member must help us to achieve this result.

HELENA AUERBACH.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO GENERAL FUND.

April 27th to May 5th, 1911.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged since November 1st ...	668	5	3½
Subscriptions—			
Mrs. Conybeare.....	0	5	0
Mrs. F. Wilson.....	0	1	0
Miss L. James.....	0	1	0
Mrs. Laycock.....	0	10	0
Miss M. L. Ramsay.....	1	0	0
Mrs. J. Ward.....	0	5	0
Mme. Paul Hamélius.....	1	0	0
Miss Pearce.....	0	1	0
Miss G. Hucheson.....	10	0	0
Miss Ursula Thompson.....	0	5	6
Donations—			
Miss Spence, collected in Selby.....	0	10	0
Miss E. M. Gardner, half profits, White Elephant tea.....	1	0	0
Miss Jean Stone.....	1	16	3
Albert Hall Meeting, balance of share of profits.....	3	2	6
Affiliation Fees—			
Notts. W.S.S.....	6	5	0
Liverpool W.S.S.....	0	5	0
Heywood W.S.S.....	0	5	0
Darwen W.S.S.....	0	7	9
Hockwold-cum-Wilton W.S.S.....	0	5	0
Galashiels W.S.S.....	0	16	9
Preston W.S.S.....	0	5	0
E. Berks W.S.S.....	1	0	0
Radcliffe-cum-Farnworth W.S.S.....			
	£697	13	0½

FOR SPECIAL WORK IN SUPPORT OF THE CONCILIATION BILL, April, 1911.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged.....	906	8	10
Mrs. F. E. Marshall.....	10	0	0
Miss Davies-Colley.....	5	0	0
Miss E. D. Higginson.....	5	0	0
Mrs. Norman McElhose.....	5	0	0
Miss L. A. Rose-Innes.....	2	2	0
Mrs. Borrey.....	1	1	0
Miss R. Christy.....	1	1	0
Viscountess Dillon.....	1	1	0
Mrs. Gerard Dowson.....	1	0	0
Miss D. E. Hecht.....	1	0	0
Miss A. S. Verrall.....	1	0	0
Mrs. Slingsby.....	0	10	0
Mrs. de Bunsen.....	0	10	0
Miss Tennant.....	0	10	0
Miss G. E. Mosely.....	0	10	0
Miss Brook.....	0	10	0
Mrs. Wycliffe Wilson.....	0	10	0

Miss Bessie Cosens, collected.....	0	7	6
Miss L. Wilson.....	0	5	0
Miss M. Hickson.....	0	2	6
Mrs. Attlee.....	0	2	6
Miss Jane Bumstead.....	0	2	6
Miss Margaret Hare.....	0	2	6
Collection, Convention, May 3rd.....	35	10	0
Share of profits, Queen's Hall Meeting.....	67	3	1
	£1,046	9	5

Press Department.

Though the attitude of the large London daily papers, during the week, has not shown itself hostile to Women's Suffrage generally, and though news has been well circulated, it is disappointing that there has not been more active support of Sir George Kemp's Bill, and a more definite demand for further facilities.

The accounts of the debate in some cases still make it apparent that a woman reporter is needed in the House on these occasions.

In the provinces we have to report much good press notice. The members of the Worcester Society have recently been particularly active. Letters from their members have been published in London anti-suffragist papers, statements have been corrected, and the tone of their local papers considerably improved.

EMILY M. LEAF.
(Hon. Press Secretary).

National Convention.

The great National Convention which was summoned by the National Union to attend in London on the 3rd May and sign a requisition to the Government, was an unusual and an impressive sight. We have often, of course, had gatherings of twenty times the size, but the peculiar character of this was its representative nature. From all parts of England, Scotland and Wales they came, from Durham and Norwich, Falmouth, Llangollen and Keswick to Edinburgh and Elgin. From Land's End to John o' Groat's the National Union has spread its net and though there are still constituencies that have not yet been drawn into its net, they are getting fewer almost daily. The resolution was signed by 278 names and runs as follows:—

RESOLUTION.

"We the undersigned representatives of over 225 Societies and Federations of Societies, this day in National Convention assembled, urgently call upon the Government to grant facilities for the passing into law this Session of the Bill to confer the Parliamentary Franchise on Women, which will be moved by Sir George Kemp on Friday, May 5th.

"In the opinion of this Convention the exclusion of women, otherwise legally qualified, from voting in elections for Members of Parliament is injurious to both men and women, and contrary to the principle of just representation and to that of the laws now in force regulating the election of town and county councils.

"The great public interest shown in this proposed measure of reform proves that the time is now ripe for the removal of an anomaly so inconsistent with the great advance which has been made in the fields of social, industrial and professional work by women, and that further delay will only tend to increase the feeling of resentment and dissatisfaction among a large body of women, and seriously to retard that general progress in social legislation, which it should be the aim of every Government to encourage."

(Signed), MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT,
President of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

and 278 other representative signatures.

The efforts made to render the convention striking to the eye and picturesque were eminently successful. The London Society and the Artists' League well understand how to carry out such detailed schemes of organisation and decoration; the banners made a fine effective background to the platform and draped across the room, while the forests of little red, green and white shields each with the name of a society and carried by a delegate, told their own story of work and effort and organisation. As the delegates filed by the platform, pausing to sign, the various speakers told of the Union, its constitutions and its aims and methods and achievements and it speaks volumes for the tact of the stewards and the discipline of the delegates that the whole process should have been carried through so quietly as barely to disturb the speaking at all.

MRS. FAWCETT, who was in the chair, made a speech full of good cheer. She spoke of the many hopeful auguries for the passage of their bill—signs which led her to think that as they had shown fortitude in disappointment they would soon be called on to show fortitude in success. She said that she had always attributed great importance to Mr. Asquith's promise that if the Conciliation Bill were so framed as to allow opportunity for amendment he would give facilities for it in this Parliament. Lately, no less than four other Cabinet Ministers—Sir Edward Grey, Lord Haldane, Mr. Runciman and Mr. Birrell—had said that they saw no reason why the bill should not pass into law in this session. Some members of Parliament were afraid that if this bill passed, those enfranchised by it would immediately press for a dissolution in order to be able to record their votes. She thought this Convention might assure those gentlemen that if the stigma of political disability were removed from women they would be content to wait a little for the opportunity of voting—(Cheers.) A precedent for such a course might be found in Norway, where the women were enfranchised in June, 1907, and did not actually vote till October, 1909.

She quoted the numbers of the National Union to show the great increase in vitality. A few years ago there were 30 societies; 2 years ago there were 70; now there were about 230. Alluding to the Anti-Suffrage canvass she quoted from an article in the Anti-Suffrage Review recommending "arguments" for use "in poor districts" and she raised an appreciative laugh by asking, "If they publish such things in their paper, what may they not say in the privacy of their canvass?" She appealed to her hearers to be active, firm and courageous, to keep their common sense and their reason and do nothing which might react injuriously on their cause. "We are bound to win. No one can hurt us except ourselves."

MISS STERLING, Chairman of the Executive, made a very fine speech in which many must have felt, perhaps more keenly than ever before, what love and loyalty the older members of the Union have for this great organization with its fine history. She asked us if we knew what a wonderful Union ours was and how utterly unlike any other body. It had grown slowly, beginning with a small number of far-sighted people and from its earliest days, although its principle had been embodied in different Bills, its claim and its demand had been the same,—equality with men.

She shewed the two great features of the Union to be, first, its democratic nature,—every society being represented whether old or young, large or small, experienced or inexperienced and able to make its voice felt—and second, that unlike party organizations for women which had been formed after the party was created, the National Union was the party, the core of the party itself. Standing thus, unaided and new, we had to learn our business, to unlearn the individualistic traditions of the past. By our Councils we are enabled to thrash out every view and every opinion and we have learned to abide by the result even when we are in a minority.

There had been a time of great strain and pressure. With the jump from 3 to 30 societies came danger and stress but now we were getting on for 300 we were no longer afraid of growth. We were one great body speaking with one voice, each part doing its own work in its own way, but in accordance with one policy. Women of every class and shade of opinion and kind of experience were working together in harmony and comradeship. We had avoided being "collared" by any party (cheers) and we were too big now to be in danger. She held that it had been a marvellous training for citizenship. We had learnt cohesion, self-forgetfulness and to bear a great principle in mind while attending to details, in a way not often displayed by the big parties. In a short fifty years women had learned all this and having achieved the almost impossible, they felt that all things are possible now. Men had worked side by side with us (cheers) yet they would be the first to admit that the spirit of the Union had been evoked by women.

MISS MARGARET ASHTON,—quoting a man who, when asked "how much he cared," replied "I care £10;

how much do you care?"—said the National Union during the past year had "cared £20,000." This £20,000 recorded in its accounts was far from representing all that its members had given and taking the income of the different suffrage societies together the amount that had been given to the cause in the last year could not be estimated at less than £80,000. It represented an enormous sacrifice made by women, for nearly all of it was given by women. It meant that many women were ready for the sake of their freedom to forego every scrap of pleasure, every scrap of refreshment and rest. Men ought to realise what immense waste this involved. It was like sinking money in war, and women ought to be

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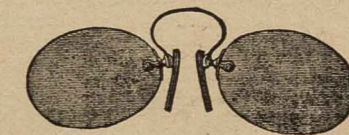


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spared this fight. Their work was being taken away from the philanthropic, charitable life of the nation. It was waste not only of money, but of people's lives. There was nothing in the world she hated so much as waste and it was a shame that women should be compelled to waste themselves in this struggle. Still, while the money was needed, it must be raised and though it became harder and harder to do it, it must be done.

MISS CLEMENTINA BLACK, MRS. VIRIAMU JONES, MISS MARGARET ROBERTSON, MISS CHRYSAL MACMILLAN and MRS. CORBETT ASHBY spoke for the Federations. There was an overflow meeting in another room addressed by Miss A. Maude Royden and Mrs. Rackham.

Copies of the resolution and the fac-similes of the signatures have been sent to the Federation Secretaries. It has been found impossible to send them to every Society as the expense incurred would have been too great.

The Common Cause.

A CONFERENCE.

The Directors of "The Common Cause" held a Conference with the Federation Correspondents last week, by the kind invitation of the London Society, at 58, Victoria Street, and many useful suggestions were made and discussed. Among those which were adopted was one for a "Personal" column, and we hope to start this next week. Personal announcements of all kinds will be welcomed and inserted at the same prices as the small advertisements (see page 91). Mrs. Darlington, the National Union "Common Cause" Organiser, was present; also Mrs. Fyffe, who has just become secretary of the London Society's Selling Corps, and among other subjects discussed were "Common Cause" Weeks, street selling, "Common Cause" organisers for the Federations, and the colour of the posters. As "Common Cause" Weeks have already been held in Manchester and Bristol, it was interesting to hear from the Federation Correspondents of those districts that a "Week" is a satisfactory combination of large and striking results and comparatively little work or expense.

THE LONDON SELLING CORPS.

Mrs. Fyffe asks us to say how welcome more sellers will be in London. The work is very encouraging and successful just now when there are so many strangers in London, and is most important. All inquiries respecting the London Society's Selling Corps should be sent to Mrs. Fyffe, at the London Society's Office, 58, Victoria Street, S.W.

"COMMON CAUSE" WEEKS.

Birmingham is having a "Common Cause" week for the issue of May 18th. Several other Societies are contemplating one. Enquiries should be addressed to the Manager, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester.

NATIONAL UNION ORGANISER.

Mrs. Darlington has been appointed by the National Union and will be ready to help societies in this special branch of National Union work. Application for her services should be made to the Secretary, at the offices of the National Union.

Receptions at the Portman Rooms.

Miss Clementina Black was in the chair on Wednesday, April 26th, and during the afternoon made an earnest appeal to all present to do their best to make a great success of the National Convention on May 3rd.

Miss Boyle, of Johannesburg, in the course of an interesting speech, told, amidst laughter, of her own professional experience as a journalist in South Africa, where her editor objected to paying her as a man would be paid because night work would not be "safe" for her. When she finally proved that it was quite safe, she, being only a woman worker, was expected to come down in the morning after night work, while the men on night shifts never, of course, did so. Continuing,

she spoke at length on the Conciliation Bill, and pointed out the shame of forcing women to pay for Members of Parliament who misrepresented them and in whose election they had had no part. She urged women not to be drawn aside on any other issue save the direct one of the granting of the Parliamentary vote; the other questions of sex equality would follow. She urged all sections of the suffrage movement to stand together. "Let us say," continued the speaker, "no suffragist is my foe. Let us leave abuse of different sections of the suffrage movement to the anti-suffragists." (Cheers.)

Miss Adler, L.C.C., said the vote was only a means to an end. By keenness in public questions, in education, etc., women must prove their suitability to be electors. Women should stand ready to take up such vital questions as, for instance, the employment of children in factories—Bradford alone had 5,000 half-timers, working under the most terrible conditions. Again, there was the question of the prevention of accidents in factories, and the protection of young girls in the street. There were not nearly enough Home Office inspectors throughout the country, and she considered that women should visit all public institutions for boys as well as those for girls. There were even now reformatories for girls on the Committee of which no woman sat. Women's societies should take up and urge these matters forward. They should show that the mere technicality of votes was not the end of the women's movement.

Miss Ford and other speakers also gave interesting addresses. PATRICIA HOEY.

On Wednesday May 17th the joint reception of the National Union and the London Society will be from 3.30 to 6.30. Mrs. Auerbach (Hon. Treasurer N.U.W.S.S.) presiding. The speakers will be Mrs. Rackham P.L.G. (Ex. Committee N.U.W.S.S.) Mrs. F. T. Swanwick M.A. (Editor "Common Cause," Ex. Committee N.U.W.S.S.) and Councillor Eleanor Rathbone (Ex. Committee N.U.W.S.S.).

Mrs. Swanwick intends to speak about the Procession to take place on June 17th.

By-election.

BARNSTAPLE.

Result of the poll:—	
Sir G. Baring	6,239
C. S. Parker	5,751
Liberal majority	488

The successful candidate goes to Westminster pledged to support our Bill.

The Executive Committee having decided that propaganda work only should be done, we proceeded with our educational campaign, which has excited great interest. In two and a half days I have addressed eight large meetings in different parts of the constituency. Our motor-car was decorated with red, white and green and a large placard on the back, and people living in the country villages realised for the first time that Women's Suffrage is a living movement.

On Wednesday evening we had a large open-air meeting in the Square in Barnstaple, the first that had been held in the town. Although the party feeling was very intense and the town very excited we were treated with the utmost good feeling from first to last, and listened to with genuine interest. At 12.30 on Thursday we held a meeting at Lynton. The audience there was mostly composed of men, who showed their approval and appreciation throughout my speech, and one announced at the end of the meeting: "Miss, you have talked more sense to-day than all the men who have been down here electioneering." We drove away happy that a statement of our case had made such a good impression. By 2.30 we were at Coombe Martin, a long straggling village. Our car soon brought the village women out of their houses, and they listened for the first time to an explanation of the meaning of our movement. At 4.30 we held a large and enthusiastic meeting in the main street in Ilfracombe. A drunken man was a little troublesome, but the people were so keen to hear that they effectively silenced him. Questions were asked and answered and literature given away, and the people cheered us as we left.

At night we had another meeting in Barnstaple. On Friday we visited the western half of the constituency and had a splendid meeting in Bideford, where we again drove away amidst cheering and the waving of hats.

In Appledore we had a mixed audience of townspeople and fishermen. When I asked for questions, a man remarked: "There is nothing to say; it is all so plain and straightforward." The vicar of the town, who stood in the crowd to listen, came and spoke to me at the end and said he was "entirely in agreement with our whole movement." In the evening again we had a still larger meeting in Barnstaple, and a lively discussion followed.

During the week I have interviewed several M.P.s who have been in the constituency to support the candidates. An interview with the Hon. Lionel Walrod, M.P. for Tiverton, won from him a promise to support our Bill in the Committee stage and on its third reading.

Major Morrison Bell (M.P. for Honiton Division) promised me to write at once to the Whip to ask him to get a pair for him for Friday. At the last minute Sir Reginald Pole-Carew wired the Whip to ask him to pair him if possible.

My appeal to the electors has been that they would make it clear to their Member that in supporting Women's Suffrage he has their full approval and sympathy.

M. NORMA-SMITH.

Federation Notes.

Scottish.

BIG DEMONSTRATION IN EDINBURGH.

The open-air campaign which the Edinburgh Society carried on all last week in conjunction with the other Suffrage Societies reached a climax on Thursday night when a general united demonstration was held in Princes Street. The five different platforms, which were brightly decorated with the various tri-colours of the Societies, were surrounded with great crowds of attentive and sympathetic hearers. Papers sold well, and thousands of postcards in support of the Bill, urging electors to post them to their members, were disposed of.

The red, white and green banners of the E.N.S., whose platform was stationed at the corner of Charlotte Street and Princes Street, attracted one of the largest throngs, which was addressed by Miss Hilda Cotterill and Miss Nina Boyle. Miss Cotterill dealt chiefly with the economic position of women, and in a stirring speech pleaded for equal payment for men and women for equal work. Miss Boyle dealt with the unpaid work of women of which men got a share and part benefit. There was a strange want of chivalry and generosity in men. They denied to women the political rights which they desired and felt so necessary for themselves. At the close of the meeting a resolution was carried in favour of the Conciliation Bill, copies of which were forwarded immediately to the M.P.s for Edinburgh and to the Prime Minister.

The meetings during the entire campaign have been well attended, and during the last few days the Press boycott appears to have been broken down.

Miss Boyle's strong, inspiring speeches have everywhere been received with enthusiasm, and we cannot be too grateful for the splendid work she has done for the Society this week.

MEMORIAL TO LORD HALDANE.

Miss Inglis has received the following acknowledgment from Lord Haldane:—"I have received the Memorial sent by 2,044 of my former constituents. I shall gladly do all I can. The question now rests with the House of Commons and not with the Cabinet, which is as much divided as is the Front Opposition Bench opposite."

Midland.

CANVASS OF WOMEN OCCUPIERS AT WEST BROMWICH.

The Town Hall Ward of the borough was canvassed and the result was as follows:—

Total Number on Register: 291.	
Removals	25
Dead	6
Too ill or too aged to be questioned	25
Not found at home though called on several times ..	29
Signatures to petition	155
Refusals	51
Total	291

Manchester and District.

This Federation has been occupied mainly during the past week or two in arrangements for sending delegates to the convention on May 3rd. Twenty-four societies of the Federation were represented—only three by proxies. In all, twenty-eight men and women travelled up from Manchester and the neighbourhood for the meeting.

FORMATION OF A SOCIETY AT DARWEN.

On Tuesday, May 2nd, a new society was inaugurated at Darwen. Notice was sent to all those who gave in their names at Mrs. Snowden's meeting, and they turned up famously. Seventy-two paid their subscriptions on the spot, and an influential and representative committee was elected with officers as follows:—Secretary, Miss Hilston; assistant secretary, Miss G. Harwood; treasurer, Miss Berry; press secretary, Miss Holgate; "Common Cause" secretaries, Miss Nutta and Miss Davis. Mrs. George Jepson was elected delegate to the Convention in London on May 3rd.

West Lancashire, West Cheshire, and North Wales.

DEPUTATION TO MR. RIGBY SWIFT.

The St. Helens Society joined with the Liverpool Branch of the C. and U.W.F.A. in a deputation to Mr. Rigby Swift on April 23rd. Mr. Swift having listened to the speakers, declared himself in favour of the principle of Women's Suffrage and promised to vote for the Bill, but confessed to a dislike of the clause which permits married women to vote and hoped that it would be altered in Committee.

In order to disprove a doubt expressed by Mr. Swift that there was any strong feeling in St. Helens about Women's Suffrage, a petition was got up and signed by eight-five of the principal inhabitants, including sixteen Town Councillors. C. LEADLEY BROWN.

MR. HAROLD SMITH, M.P., AND THE BILL.

Since receiving the deputation of Warrington Suffragists, Mr. Harold Smith, M.P. for Warrington, has written to the Warrington hon. secretary saying that he will not vote against the Conciliation Bill nor against its chances of being discussed in Committee.

It will be remembered that at the time of the deputation he said he would certainly vote against the Bill.

Eastern.

DEPUTATION TO DR. HILLIER, M.P.

A joint deputation of the Suffrage Societies in North Hertfordshire was received by the member, Dr. Alfred Hillier, on Monday, May 1st. The deputation, consisting of members of the North Hertfordshire W.S.S. (N.U.), the Conservative and Unionist W.F.A., the Women's Social and Political Union, and the Women's Freedom League, was introduced by Mr. Tudor, of Hitchin, a prominent supporter of Dr. Hillier. The opening speech was made on behalf of the North Herts. W.S.S. (N.U.) by Miss A. Villiers. Seven members of this Society were present, representing Hitchin, Stevenage, Letchworth, Ashwell, Knebworth, and Welwyn. After short speeches from each of the ladies present, and an excellent statement of our case by the Rev. P. M. Watken (Welwyn), Dr. Hillier replied. He declined to give any pledge, saying that the very importance of the question made it impossible for him to do so. He promised, however, that the whole subject should receive his careful consideration.

The Lady Constance Lytton thanked Dr. Hillier for his courtesy in receiving the deputation, but added that it was his active support for which we appealed, and assured him that his action would be watched with the keenest interest by those desiring this reform, and begged him not to vote against the Conciliation Bill unless compelled to do so by very serious conscientious conviction.

North-Eastern.

DEPUTATION TO MR. HERBERT SAMUEL.

On Saturday, April 29th, Mr. Herbert Samuel received a deputation of the local Suffrage Societies at the Station Hotel, Newcastle. Miss Annie Williams, local organiser, and Mrs. Atkinson, represented the Women's Social and Political Union; Dr. Ethel Williams (chairman of the Newcastle-on-Tyne Society) the local branch of the National Union; and Mrs. Harrison Bell, the Co-operative Women and the Women's Labour League. The deputation was introduced by Mr. Edward Shortt, Member for Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Mrs. Atkinson urged the necessity of settlement of this question owing to the unrest it was causing among women in all classes of society.

Dr. Ethel Williams pointed out that whether the women's grievance was real or fancied time for full discussion and settlement by Parliament was equally necessary, as to refuse free ventilation and opportunity for settlement of any matter agitating large numbers of citizens was surely to make an end of all civil liberty and of the possibility of peace. Further, in urging the notice of the women's claim, she pointed out that women were a class with their own interests and own point of view, and to leave such a class in a democratic state without any direct political representation was to leave them without the protection which every other order within the State possessed.

Mrs. Harrison Bell said that she represented the greatest organisation of married working women in the country, and she wished to urge upon Mr. Samuel the great need of this most important class in the community for political representation.

Miss Annie Williams urged on Mr. Samuel to use his influence with the Government to allow time for passing the Women's Bill into law this session.

In replying, Mr. Samuel said that he had listened with much interest to the views of the deputation, which had been urged with force and moderation. As they had doubtless anticipated, he could not say whether the Government would grant facilities for the Bill this session; that was for the Cabinet as a whole to decide. The Prime Minister had already said that time should be given during the lifetime of the present Parliament so far as the Government was able to control the course of events. As to his own views on the subject, he had related them very fully to his constituents during three elections. His views were well known, and stood on record; he had come there to hear the views of this deputation, not to declare his own, and he must refuse to answer any questions as to his own views or as to his intentions with regard to the Bill. He was responsible for his views to his own constituents and himself and to no one else. In answer to a remark that women were never constituents, he said that if a woman living in his constituency asked him a question he would send her an answer. It was further urged by the deputation that as a Cabinet Minister he might be said to be responsible to the whole country. To this appeal he merely repeated his refusal to answer any questions. He said that his views and those of the legislature would undoubtedly be greatly influenced by the attitude taken towards Women's Suffrage and the interest displayed in public affairs as a whole, not merely by groups of women here and there, but by the 11 or 12 millions of adult women in the country.

Had any further demonstration been needed of the contention that the legislature as at present constituted does not represent women nor hold itself responsible to them, Mr. Samuel's reception of the Newcastle deputation would furnish it. It will hardly be contended that a deputation of men interviewing a Cabinet Minister on a Bill of prime importance to their class would have been met by his blank refusal to answer any questions or to enter into his own point of view.

Local Councils and the Bill.

West of England.

DEPUTATION TO MR. HICKS BEACH AND MR. TERRELL, K.C.
Miss Palliser kindly arranged a small deputation which waited upon Mr. Hicks Beach, M.P. (Tewkesbury), at the House of Commons on May 3rd; Miss Kelly and Miss Welch having gone up from Cheltenham as delegates. The member would not promise to abstain from an adverse vote, but said that he would be guided by the course of the debate on the second reading.

A deputation, quickly organised by the Gloucester Society, waited upon Mr. Terrell, K.C., M.P., last week. Mr. Terrell expressed himself heartily in favour of the present Bill, which he would continue to support as long as it "went no further."

DEPUTATION TO MR. BIRRELL.

In addition to the ladies who went on deputation to Mr. Birrell, as reported last week, there were Councillor A. P. Cotterell, Mr. Harold Hicks (one of the Liberal candidates) and Mr. Gordon.

North Western.

Press work is being reorganized in the Federation area. There are thirty-eight papers circulated within this district, for some of which it is impossible as yet to find anyone to act as Press secretary. If the "Common Cause" has any readers in Barrow or Millom willing to help the cause, will they write to Miss L. Walker, Brettagh Holt, Kendal? There are several newspapers in both these towns, and as Mr. Duncan, M.P. for Barrow, is very favourable to Women's Suffrage, there should be a friendly feeling for us in these districts.

The Press.

Many of our newspapers are very timid with regard to non-party matters and they seem to be suspiciously watching to see which way the cat will jump. Some however had the courage to speak out.

The *Daily Telegraph* May 6th said, "But what mattered the poverty of the debate to the suffragists? The dulness of the speeches will be forgotten. The size of this record majority will be proudly and tenaciously remembered. . . . However the majority was 167 and 'twas a famous victory."

The *Daily News* had an excellent leader, ending, "No more convenient occasion could be asked than the end of the present Session. Next Session and the succeeding Sessions will be heavily weighted with complicated and contentious legislation. This Session, apart from the Parliament Bill now practically through, there is no contentious measure to occupy the House. The Suffrage Bill contains two clauses only, and a very few days would see it through the Commons. It is as certain as anything can be that the House of Commons will have ample leisure towards the end of the Session, and it could in any case be asked to sit a few days longer to put through a Bill which it has repeatedly sanctioned. There is an overwhelming case, therefore, for the granting of facilities, and we trust that Mr. Asquith will see the justice of appointing this Session for the carrying out of his pledge.

In the same number, "P. W. W." wrote, "It cannot be said that the division was taken under any misapprehension as to the reality of the issue. The promoters openly stated their determination to obtain facilities if possible, yet there could hardly have been any abstentions from the Aye lobby."

The *Manchester Guardian* May 6th, said in a leader, "There are no doubt difficulties, but when will there not be difficulties? The Government's programme of law-making is already overcrowded; when was it ever known not to be crowded? What is needed is that a definite term should be put to the period of indecision and suspense. Let a time be fixed when this matter can at last be brought to an issue. Best of all, let the time be now; but if not now, let it be soon, and let us know that it will be soon."

Dr. Inglis writes from Edinburgh, "I couldn't get a 'Manchester Guardian' for love or money last night. All sold out!"

The *Scotsman* in a leader takes for granted we have won: "Within a very short time, a million new voters will be added to the Poll."

The *Nation* writing before the result of the debate says, "We feel easy about the future of the Suffrage. It might be denied for a time; its final concession seems as inevitable as any other consequence of national culture. But we should not feel so comfortable if women had reason to feel that their cause was being played with—yielded in principle, but denied in practice—as a matter of party tactics. The House of Commons cannot go on passing the second reading of Suffrage Bills, and then letting the whole Parliamentary benefit of that admission slip out of the women's hands. Such a proceeding is as exasperating to many women as the proceedings of the suffragettes are exasperating to many men. A reasonable woman suffragist may object to a respectful refusal of the vote; but she naturally resents a hypocritical assent, coupled with a liberal mental reservation as to the Committee stage of Suffrage Bills."

The *Edinburgh Evening News* published on May 4th a photograph of Mr. Brailsford and devoted three-quarters of a column to an account of his work as hon. secretary of the Conciliation Committee. It also gave nearly a column to an account of the Edinburgh demonstration.

The *Edinburgh Evening Dispatch* gave an entire column well displayed and its posters on May 5th had "Votes for Women."

The *Westminster Gazette* also had Women's Suffrage on its bills on Friday evening and *The Morning Leader* was friendly.

At a meeting of the *Edinburgh Town Council* held on Tuesday, May 2nd, a letter was read from the secretary of the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage asking the Magistrates and Council to petition Parliament in favour of the Conciliation Bill. Mr. Rose moved that the Council petition in favour of the Bill. He pointed out that the Council had in previous years already voted eight times on the subject. In 1896 it had unanimously declared in favour of Women's Suffrage. Mr. Bruce Lindsay seconded. The resolution was carried by 24 votes to 2.

For the third time within the last four months a resolution in favour of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill was presented in the *Birkenhead Town Council* on May 3rd. On this occasion it had proper discussion, and was carried by 21 votes to 4.

Newcastle-on-Tyne City Council at the request of a deputation of women ratepayers has passed a resolution urging the Government to give facilities for Sir G. Kemp's Bill this session by 46 votes to 7.

Chester Town Council has passed a resolution in support of Sir George Kemp's Bill.

Wallasey Town Council passed, on May 4th, a resolution asking the Government for facilities for Sir George Kemp's Bill. The request for the resolution was backed by a petition of women ratepayers, 70 per cent. of the women canvassed being in favour of Women's Suffrage. A deputation of three members of the local N.U. and W.S.P.U. Societies was received on April 27th by the Council sitting in committee. The speakers were Miss Mahler, Miss Eleanor F. McPherson (Wallasey and Wirral Women's Suffrage Society), and Mrs. Caldwell (W.S.P.U.).

Altrincham Urban District Council passed a resolution on May 2nd urging the Government to grant facilities for the passing into law of Sir George Kemp's Bill this session. The committee of the Altrincham Society for Women's Suffrage wish to record their appreciation of the prompt and courteous way in which the Altrincham Council responded to their request that such a resolution should be considered by them.

Penarth Urban District Council has passed a resolution in favour of the Conciliation Bill in response to a petition signed by a majority of the women municipal voters in Penarth.

Bredbury and Romley Urban District Council on May 3rd passed a resolution unanimously asking the Government for facilities for Sir George Kemp's Bill.

Keswick Urban District Council at their last meeting received a petition signed by ninety municipal women asking the Council to pass a resolution urging the Government to give facilities for the passing of the Conciliation Bill. The resolution was moved by Mr. Watson, a member of the Keswick Suffrage Committee, seconded by Mr. Townley, and carried with three against it.

Utbridge Urban District Council held a special meeting on May 1 to receive a deputation of men and women Suffragists. Councillor the Very Rev. Dean Brady introduced the deputation and Miss Harris (N.U.) was spokesman. A resolution urging the Government to give facilities this session for Sir G. Kemp's Bill was carried by 10 votes to 4. The opposition was opposition to such a question being discussed by the Council.

Hackney Borough Council has passed a resolution by 30 votes to 5 asking the Government to grant facilities for the further stages of Sir George Kemp's Bill this session. This result is most gratifying as, even by friends in the Council, Hackney was considered hopeless. A joint deputation of the N.U., W.S.P.U., and W.F.L., waited on the Council and presented a memorial signed by 600 voters. The members of the Council had been previously canvassed and presented with copies of the Conciliation Bill leaflet.

Wandsworth Borough Council (the largest in London and including Clapham, Balham, Tooting, Earlsfield, Southfields, Putney, Roehampton, and Streatham) has passed a resolution by 36 to 7 asking the Government for facilities for Sir George Kemp's Bill.

Filey Urban District Council passed a resolution on May 2nd by 8 votes to 1 asking for facilities for all the stages of Sir George Kemp's Bill.

Radcliffe District Council has passed a resolution, with 7 dissentients, asking for the necessary facilities for Sir George Kemp's Bill. An amendment that, as the motion was a political one, the Council should take no action, was defeated.

The question of Women's Suffrage was brought before the *Salford Town Council* on May 3rd. Mr. Hailwood moved a resolution asking for facilities for Sir George Kemp's Bill. Alderman Snape, though in favour of Women's Suffrage, opposed the resolution because he did not approve of such a political subject being discussed by the Council. On being put to the vote, the resolution was lost by 17 votes to 20.

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

DINNER TO MISS VIDA GOLDSTEIN.

The dinner given by the Men's League to Miss Vida Goldstein on May 4th at Pagani's was a most festive occasion. Among those present were Mr. Pember Reeves (in the chair)

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At West Heath School the Boys and Girls share each other's pursuits, whether in work, games or leisure (with certain obvious exceptions). They have, in fact, in this respect the freedom of a large family, in conjunction with the help due to the supervision of a staff of experienced educationists.

At the same time, the even proportion in the staff of men and women gives ample opportunity for the association of boys with men and girls with women, which must be an inherent characteristic of any true system of co-education. Where boys and girls are thus brought up, false ideas as to predominance find no acceptance, and a standard, honest in being alike for all, is upheld.

Particulars can be had from the Principal.

Reference is allowed to the

REV. CANON SCOTT HOLLAND, D.D., St. Paul's, E.C., and
MISS JANE WALKER, M.D., 122, Harley Street, W.

and Mrs. Pember Reeves, Miss Emily Davies, Mrs. and Miss Fawcett and Miss Garrett, Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Pethick Laurence, Miss Pankhurst, Mrs. Ayrton, Miss Ashton, Mrs. Snowden, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mrs. Spring Rice, Lady Gibb, Mr. and Mrs. Brailsford, Mr. Nevinson, Mr. Malcolm Mitchell, Mr. J. Arthur Price, Mr. Jacobs, Mr. McLaren, Mr. Lawrence Housman, Mr. Cholmeley and Mr. Joseph Clayton.

Mr. Pember Reeves, in proposing the toast of the guest of the evening, said that he could remember the time when an after-dinner speech on such a toast would have been of a certain kind now happily extinct. He had the honour of proposing the health of a paradox,—of an energetic, capable, refined and charming lady who had been in close contact with that sordid and debasing thing, politics. One would suppose that her bloom would have been rubbed off, her lustre dimmed, her charm vanished—at least, it would have been so in this country! But she had kept her friends and conciliated her enemies. In the colonies the battle had not been so hard or so long as here, but there was still something to be done and he hoped that Miss Goldstein might be the first lady to sit in the Senate. The result of the women's vote in Australia had been to disprove every single argument brought against it. Women in politics were treated with the same courtesy as in private life; there were no symptoms of physical decay among the cricketers of Australia or the footballers of New Zealand; a greater interest had been taken in imperial affairs and national defence; material prosperity had increased; and in fact "woman has done less than no harm." He suggested that whatever our view of the Referendum, it was not fair to pick out one measure only to be submitted to it; the best way parliaments can "preserve their prestige" is by having the courage of their opinions.

Miss Vida Goldstein, in replying to the toast, said that as a non-party politician she could appreciate this gathering and it was a good thing that, on the eve of victory—(cheers)—men and women of different shades of opinion should meet. In reply to those who contend that the vote had done nothing for women in Australia, she said these were those who expect the millennium. There was equal pay for equal work in the Federal Public Service and under the Education Acts and the Wages Boards had greatly helped women. The women, she said, were great believers in physical training and she remarked drily that "the sort of bloom that would be taken off by going to the poll, could be put on again very easily." They had found the attitude of men towards women's suffrage a pretty good indication of their views on other women's questions. She believed in a non-party organization to make a "thinking vote."

Mr. Lawrence Housman, in proposing "The Cause and the Bill," said he had to deal with something great and something little—and good. He was reminded of "the Duck and the Kangaroo," the Kangaroo being the women's movement, going by leaps and bounds, and the Duck being the Bill. He worked out his simile very wittily amidst roars of laughter. In coupling with the toast the names of Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Pankhurst he related how, twenty-five years ago he heard Mrs. Fawcett "and she made me a militant," and twenty years later he heard Mrs. Pankhurst "and she woke me up again." If the women represented the Cause, let them also drink to the Duck—Mr. Brailsford and the Conciliation Bill.

Mrs. Fawcett began by remarking, "I am very gratified to see my little boy getting on so well." (Laughter and cheers.) But while we laugh, deep in the bottom of our hearts we are very serious. This great women's movement is one of the biggest things in the history of the world, if we look at the extent it covers and at our aims—nothing less than the lifting of a whole sex to the freedom and valour of womanhood. It is a tremendous thing, second to nothing in history. There are many men who have the names of freedom and liberty on their lips and yet who are not standing by our side. They think of freedom as something that was won many years ago! But we want freedom here and now. Why could not those who backed Mazzini and Garibaldi back us? And she quoted—

"We all believe in Freedom's cause
As far away as Paris is."

Mrs. Despard said that what made men start the Men's League was "chivalry," a quality women could have as well as men and which had in fact inspired Suffragists. She thought John Bull "a little difficult to understand," but perhaps he didn't quite mean all that he had done.

Miss Pankhurst confessed to a feeling of optimism about the Bill. She took comfort in Mr. Churchill's speeches on the Parliament Bill; still there were more ways of killing a dog than choking it with butter. She warned her hearers that if the Conciliation Bill did not come within the benefit of the Parliament Act it was lost. How strained and anxious we should feel if we had not all been working so hard! She was most happy that all the suffrage societies were gathered together on the eve of the second reading.

Mr. Jacobs in proposing The Chairman, pitied the Antis who are still seeking for a New Zealander who will say that the woman's vote is a failure and he forecast Macaulay's New Zealander standing in the ruins of the House of Commons and saying "That is where men used to meet and deny women the vote, and they never gave in till 1911."

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