

The Common Cause,

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Women's Suffrage

Societies.

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ONE PENNY.

Notes and Comments.

Preparation for the Second Reading.

We publish this week several articles summarizing several aspects of the question which will again be before the House of Commons on May 5th and we urgently beg members of the National Union to send a copy of this number to their local Member of Parliament in order that he may have before him the facts about our movement. Political clubs and institutions should also be provided with this number, for our case is so strongly based on labour and truth, that men have only to know, for their judgment to be secure.

Compromise, Labour and Sacrifice.

We publish in full the text of a memorial drawn up by the Conciliation Committee shewing how hard they and all Suffragists have worked to meet the objections made to the Bill of 1910. The new bill has an "open title" and can be amended; it has also, in deference to opinion on the Liberal side of the House, dropped the £10 occupier qualification. Investigations have shewn that the objection to the bill on the ground that it would enfranchise chiefly "ladies" is totally without foundation, and have proved that the majority of those enfranchised would be married women.

Another article deals with the attitude to the Bill of the woman municipal voter and disposes conclusively of the pretensions of the Anti-Suffragists that their investigations have any statistical value. On the other hand the support of the men and women of the country is

established by the array of resolutions passed by all the largest town councils.

Again another article summarizes the steady, plodding, educational work done by the Suffrage Societies, the oldest of which is the National Union (founded 1867). This work has been prosecuted by the militant societies also, but, owing to the sensational bias of the press it has never had adequate recognition.



MISS K. D. COURTNEY.

(Hon. Sec., National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.)

Urgency.

Turning to the necessity for dealing at last with this question in a statesmanlike manner, we urge Members of Parliament to consider the subjects that have been before the House this session and will be before it in the near future. We remind them that the payment of Members will come out of women's pockets as well as out of those of men and that if "representatives of the people" misrepresent women, this will be the worst of tyrannies. We ask them to remember how the Shops Bill, the Aliens Bill, the Invalidity and Unemployment Bills will affect women directly or indirectly. We remind them how the administration as well as the making of the law affects women and recall the McCann case and the Woolmore case and the Holmes circular. When they proceed, as they will, to deal with education and poor law, and marriage and the liquor traffic, let them remember how all these

great race questions will be more wisely and soundly treated when women, the preservers of the race, are called into council. In all great social reforms women must co-operate with men; voluntary, enlightened heart-whole co-operation is surely to be preferred to the sullen

acquiescence of the helpless, the exasperated criticism of those who know and the revolt of those who declare that men are past reasoning with.

Some Women or All Women.

In our correspondence columns there is a letter in reply to a correspondent who asserted that every household should have a vote "but to give man and wife a vote is ridiculous in the extreme." We do not, of course, agree with this view; there is nothing "ridiculous" about the franchise in Australia and New Zealand. But there is little doubt that in England at present very many men are at the stage of our correspondent, "only a voter," and since he and they are ready to back the Conciliation Bill, but are not yet ready to back a wider one, we say we will take what we can get now and see how this instalment of the franchise will educate the women and through the women, the men. There is nothing in the Conciliation Bill to compel men either to stand still or to go on. Those who think only women householders should be enfranchised will be in a stronger position when they have done what they consider to be just than they are now when they are refusing to do justice for fear of the unknown future. Those who wish for a wider measure, on the other hand, should be glad to give some women the opportunity of shewing how wisely they can use liberty.

The I.L.P. and Women's Suffrage.

There had been rumours assiduously spread that the I.L.P. would withdraw its support from the Conciliation Bill. The resolution passed on the 18th by an overwhelming majority at Birmingham is therefore all the more to be welcomed. This Conference is perhaps more thoroughly democratic in its character and more directly representative of working-class opinion than any other held in Great Britain and its resolution ran, "That this Conference, believing that the question of the Enfranchisement of Women on the same terms as men is ripe for solution, asks the Party to press for its immediate settlement." Those who introduced it and Mr. Keir Hardie who supported it, stated that this must be taken as being support of the Conciliation Bill, which is the only Bill that can receive "immediate settlement." The Labour Party inside the House will be strengthened in its support on the 5th May by the knowledge that the Bill, though limited in its scope, is regarded by the rank and file as sufficiently democratic in its character to be welcomed by the workers. The Conference shewed, by subsequently passing a resolution in favour of a great Reform Bill, that in their opinion the Conciliation Bill need not be a bar to what they consider progress.

The Government and the Bill.

There was a most sympathetic article in the "Daily News" of April 24th pointing out our peculiar difficulties and the various ways of meeting them. It is suggested that the Bill, if passed, need not come into force until a General Election (a point the women have always been ready to concede) and suggesting that "the Government doubtless realizes that the pressure for facilities, if resisted to-day, will be renewed next year, and it might be well to get the Bill out of the way before that heavy session commences." This is undoubtedly true. The Government might indeed, if they were wise, rejoice to be relieved of this riddle of the Sphinx which they seem unable to solve themselves.

We are glad also to hear that Mr. Lloyd George is receiving a deputation of Welsh Liberal women.

Cornish Liberal Women.

At the Annual Conference of the Cornish Union of Women's Liberal Associations at Liskeard on the 19th April, a letter was read from the President, Mrs. Ruth Homan, in which she stated that she could not continue to be President. Her letter contained the following words:—"The principal reason which has led me to this conclusion is that I am very disappointed at the attitude of the present Government with regard to such an important Liberal measure as Women's Suffrage. This attitude has taken away my enthusiasm for the Liberal party, to whom I have always belonged and for whom I

have always worked. While I do not wish to join, nor do I approve of the general policy of the militant Women's Suffragette party, I cannot work enthusiastically for a Cabinet whose policy is opposed to Women's Suffrage. While we are regarded as of no value by our politicians, our only dignified position is to stand aside."

Mrs. F. D. Acland, wife of the Member for Cambridge, was elected President. She "supported" a Women's Suffrage resolution, but added that "she would never join in any Liberal women's strike against the Government, even supposing the Conciliation Bill did not pass."

The Suffragist Procession.

We hope to say a great deal more in future issues about the Procession on June 17th, in which the National Union is joining. When our Bill has passed its Second Reading it will assuredly be necessary to shew the continued interest that it commands in the country and also to point the moral that all the Suffrage Societies are united in supporting it. London will be full of visitors and we must demonstrate by tens of thousands. Last week, in a letter, Miss O'Shea reminded members of the National Union how much more effective action is when it is directed heartily to further a line of policy which has been adopted by the Union. We fritter away our energies when we act as individuals or as single societies. We hope the National Union portion of the Suffragist Procession will be worthy of the principles of the Union and the great object for which it exists.

Homes—Clean or Dirty.

The question of the Miner's Bath is again before the public. Mr. Henry Davies, Director of Mining Instruction, has issued a pamphlet in advocacy and the Coal Mines Bill introduced last March contains a clause making the provision of baths and facilities for drying clothes compulsory. A speaker lately addressing an audience of working women and alluding to the establishment of such facilities (and also the enormous extension of public laundries with crèches attached) was greeted with an ecstatic sigh and the exclamation, "Eh, 'twould be Heaven on Earth, that would!"

We are considerably behind Germany in this respect and a decent German workman would feel himself disgraced to have to appear in the streets as our miners and engineers and stokers do. No one can blame the men for not doing what they cannot do, but it is an offence to decency that men should travel in trams and trains, covered with coal and dust and oil and bring into their homes all the filth of their employments. When adequate provision was once made, we think opinion among the women would tend to encourage its use. "The Home" should not be polluted or made unwhomelike in any preventable ways and the penny the men would be required to pay for their bath at the mine would save much more than that in wear and tear of the housewife. In many subtle ways also it would raise the men's own self-respect and we can even imagine it helping to discourage the practice of spitting, which is due to a wholly imaginary necessity and popularly supposed by working men to indicate virility.

Memorial to Florence Nightingale.

It seems to have been decided to raise a statue of this great woman and to spend the rest of the money subscribed to her memorial in a scheme of annuities for nurses. There is some difference of opinion about the suitability of the annuity scheme. Mrs. Fenwick, in a letter to "The Times" objects to the annuity scheme as "parochial and unworthy"; she does not deny that annuities are needed "and will be, so long as many nurses are so poorly paid and their earnings are so widely exploited by charitable institutions."

Because much has been done it does not follow that there is not yet very much still to do to secure adequate remuneration and humane treatment for these devoted women, many of whom stand in need of annuities because their health has been broken down by excessive work and bad housing and feeding. Anything that would further raise the status of the nurse would be a more fitting memorial than pensions.

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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Conciliation Committee for Woman Suffrage.

Chairman—THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF LYTTON.	
PERCY ALDEN, M.P.	C. S. GOLDMAN, M.P.
A. W. BARTON, M.P.	E. A. GOULDING, M.P.
G. J. BENTHAM, M.P.	E. MARSHALL HALL, M.P.
THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS BURT, M.P.	J. S. HARMOD-BANNER, M.P.
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WALTER S. McLAREN, M.P.	GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.
MAJOR G. McMICKING, M.P.	J. B. O'GRADY, M.P.
SIR ALFRED MOND, M.P.	PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.
C. E. PRICE, M.P.	SIR T. GRATTAN ESMONDE, M.P.
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G. TOUTLIM, M.P.	VINCENT KENNEDY, M.P.
SIR JOSEPH WALTON, M.P.	J. C. LARDNER, M.P.
SIR GEORGE WHITE, M.P.	HUGH A. LAW, M.P.
SIR J. YOXALL, M.P.	DR. LYNCH, M.P.
H. T. BARRIE, M.P.	J. P. NANNETTI, M.P.
LORD HENRY BENTINCK, M.P.	WILLIAM REDMOND, M.P.
SIR WILLIAM BULL, M.P.	
CAPTAIN CRAIG, M.P.	

Hon. Sec.—H. N. BRALLSFORD, 32, Well Walk, Hampstead, N.W.

Text of the Bill.

On Friday, May 5th, Sir George Kemp will move the second reading of the Woman Suffrage Bill promoted by the Conciliation Committee. Its text is as follows:

A BILL TO CONFER THE PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE ON WOMEN.

Be it enacted, etc.:

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

3. This Act may be cited as The Representation of the People Act, 1911.

Explanatory Memorandum.

A General Election has intervened since the Conciliation Committee drafted its Woman's Suffrage Bill, but the conditions of the problem remain in essentials what they were last year. Two factors govern it. The Prime Minister, while his Government declines itself to assume the responsibility for a settlement, has declared that he is prepared to give full facilities in the present Parliament "for effectively proceeding" with a Woman's Suffrage Bill. The initiative must come from private members, and the majority, however composed, must rest on a basis of voluntary agreement. The distribution of Woman Suffrage among the several parties in the House can be ascertained with some approach to accuracy. There is once more a substantial majority for the principle. But this majority would disappear if the Bill were so framed or so amended as to draw support from suffragists on one side of the House only. A settlement is possible only on a basis of compromise, which commends itself to all parties. Such a compromise must meet the objections of Ministerialists to any increase of the ownership or plural vote. It must satisfy Unionists as a cautious and moderate advance.

THE NEW BILL.

The debate of last year served as a guide to the modifications which it seemed desirable to introduce into the Bill. (1) The former limited title, designed (like the titles of several Government measures) to save time by restricting the scope of debate, has been abandoned in obedience to the condition laid down by the Prime Minister. In its present form the Bill is "so framed as to permit of free amendment." (2) While the franchises which commonly lead, in the case of men, to the creation of plural and faggot votes, had been eliminated in last year's Bill, influential critics held that the £10 occupation franchise, which was included in it, was liable to abuse. Wealthy men, it was argued, might have created such qualifications for their "female dependents." In obedience to the governing condition of its compromise, the Committee decided to remove the last possibility of faggot voting by omitting the £10 qualification. (3) The proviso in regard to married women in the second clause is designed, in its modified form, to prevent a man who possesses two alternative qualifications (a house and a stable, or a house and an office) in the same constituency from using one of them to create a faggot vote for his wife. These modifications have been made with the assent of all the members of the Conciliation Committee, which is unanimous in its desire to make the Bill a settlement that every sincere advocate of Woman Suffrage may accept without the fear that it may create any artificial party preponderance among women voters.

HOUSEHOLD SUFFRAGE.

The Bill as it now stands is a proposal to confer the parliamentary vote upon women householders, who number in the three kingdoms about one million persons. Their claim to the vote is readily admitted by public opinion. They are rated and taxed. They are subject to the same liabilities and fulfil the same obligations as male citizens. They are the self-dependent women who are facing their burdens unaided, and for that reason stand peculiarly in need of the protection of the vote. The household franchise is, moreover, the one existing qualification which is not the subject of party warfare or the object of party suspicion. It includes only responsible women who bear the full burdens of citizenship; but it makes no distinction between rich and poor. It imposes no property test. A woman who inhabits even a single room, provided she has full control over it, may rank as a householder. The household franchise was in a special sense the creation of the House of Commons, which voted in the peculiar conditions that prevailed in 1867 with little regard to party ties. The credit of conferring it belonged in almost equal degrees to the daring genius of Disraeli and to the perseverance of the Radical group. There is an historic fitness in the proposal that it should now be extended to women by the concerted action of all parties.

MARRIED WOMEN.

Some critics considered it a serious flaw in last year's Bill that it conferred the vote upon comparatively few "mothers and wives." The Bill expressly provides that marriage shall not disqualify. If comparatively few married women will be qualified, it is only because they are rarely ratepayers or householders in their own right. An appreciable number, however, will be qualified. In Scotland, where marriage is not, as it is in England, a disqualification for the municipal vote, it is a common practice for men engaged in migratory trades, notably seamen, fishermen, and commercial travellers, to arrange that their wives shall be placed in their stead on the register. In Dundee, for example, nine per cent. of the women voters who will be qualified under our Bill are married women. But apart from this direct emancipation, the standpoint of the mother and wife will be sufficiently represented by the widow. Of the women voters in Dundee, over 52 per cent. are widows, and only 37 per cent. single women. In all questions affecting children and maternity, the experience, the instincts, and the interests of the widow cannot differ from those of the wife.

WORKING WOMEN.

The Bill has been oddly misrepresented as a proposal to confer "votes on ladies." It is limited in its scope, but within its limits it is fair to all classes of the community. A house-to-house enquiry, conducted in 1905 by the Independent Labour Party, showed that of the female voters on the municipal roll in fifty selected districts in England 82 per cent. were working-class women. A canvass, conducted in 1904 in eight places, chiefly in the North of England, by the Women's Co-operative Guild, yielded an average of 91 per cent. of working-class women. Further enquiries were conducted in January and February of this year in three typical towns to ascertain, on the exact basis of our Bill in its present form, what the distribution of classes will be among the women whom it will enfranchise. The places chosen were Dundee, a manufacturing town with several women's industries, which might be expected to show a high working-class percentage, and Bangor and Carnarvon, small residential towns with no industries, where the middle-class element is necessarily larger. Every care was taken to make the enquiry at once impartial and thorough. It was supervised in each town by non-party committees of leading citizens, who checked the figures and signed the reports. The Dundee Committee included an ex-Provost, a Professor, two leading Ministers, two Trade Union leaders, and several City Councillors. In Bangor and Carnarvon the two Mayors gave their help, and the Committees also received assistance from several of the overseers, who have an expert knowledge of registration. In Dundee the facts were gathered as far as possible by postcards, and thereafter by paid canvassers, who were responsible to the Committee.

The main object was to ascertain as exactly as possible the social stratification of the women householders, after eliminating those married women who would be disqualified by the proviso in Clause II.

The final result in Dundee was as follows:—

	Number.	Percentage.
I. Women of independent means ..	288	7.5
II. Professional or business women ..	129	3.4
III. Weekly wage earners ..	1,690	43.8
IV. Working-class housewives ..	1,759	45.3
	3,866	100

The first two classes together give the middle-class element—10.9 per cent. The two latter classes are the working-class element—89.1 per cent.

The method adopted of discriminating between the working-class housewife and the woman of independent means was by a room test. It was found that the housing conditions of the women householders were as follows:—

Inhabiting one or two rooms ..	2,177
Inhabiting three or four rooms ..	1,178
Inhabiting five rooms ..	183
Inhabiting six or more rooms ..	328
	3,866

The size of the family was taken into account, and a sliding scale established. It will be noted that more than half of the women who would secure a vote in Dundee live in one or two roomed tenements.

These figures dispose of the suggestion that our Bill would enfranchise an "unrepresentative" selection of women mainly of a "dependent" class. The Dundee wage earners (1,690) are employed, to the extent roughly one half, in mills and factories (803). There are only 238 engaged in casual occupations, including the charwomen. The proportion in this electorate of those who earn their living by paid labour is higher than in the whole population of adult women.

The class test adopted in Bangor and Carnarvon was the employment of a domestic servant. Women engaged in no paid work were classed as of independent means, if they kept one or more servants, and by the same criterion the business or professional women were distinguished from the wage earners. The results were as follows:—

	Car. Bangor.	Joint narvon.	Per-centage.
I. Women of independent means ..	36	63	12
II. Professional or business women ..	61	29	12
III. Wage earners ..	163	174	45
IV. Working-class Housewives ..	144	79	30
	404	345	100

The middle-class element, taking Bangor and Carnarvon together, is 25 per cent.; the working class element 75 per cent. The result of these elaborate canvasses is in short to confirm the conclusions based on previous enquiries. On an average out of ten women enfranchised by the Bill, eight will belong to the working-class.

POPULAR SUPPORT.

Evidence of the favour with which the Bill is regarded by public opinion is to be found in the large number of city or town councils, which have petitioned or passed resolutions in support of its passage into law. Among the fifty councils which have supported the Bill are those of:—

Cardiff.	Birmingham.	Bradford.
Devonport.	Cork.	Derby.
Glasgow.	Dublin.	Dundee.
Leicester.	Hull.	Leeds.
Nottingham.	Liverpool.	Manchester.
Sheffield.	Oldham.	Preston.

Several parish and rural district councils, 46 trades councils, and 35 trades unions have taken the same course.

FACILITIES THIS YEAR.

It remains to record the emphatic opinion of this Committee, that the facilities promised for some session of this Parliament should be granted this year. We recall with satisfaction the speeches in which three Ministers—Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Birrell, and Mr. Runciman, expressed last autumn (subject to certain reservations), their personal opinion that full facilities ought to be provided for our Bill "next year." Next year is now this year. The luck which has assigned to Sir George Kemp the first place in the ballot, is not likely to be repeated. Time can with goodwill be found when the Parliament Bill has passed through the House of Commons. Grave though the issue is, the Bill is brevity and simplicity itself. It is worth recalling that only nine days were spent upon the Committee stage of the Reform Bill of 1884, with its eleven highly technical clauses, of which the briefest is longer and more detailed than the whole of our Bill. A week ought to suffice for all the stages of our Bill. Next year will probably present a more overloading legislative programme, and no subsequent year, if the Parliament Bill should be carried, and if the two Houses should chance to disagree, would serve to enable the Bill to be passed into law before the next General Election.

Six Women's Suffrage Bills have since 1870 been read a second time, and denied further consideration. The movement has now reached a stage at which a repetition of this treatment would argue levity, and would be regarded by women as a deliberate aggravation of their grievance. It cannot be the general wish of the House

to add to the growing discontent among them, or to impose upon them the needless labour of further propaganda.

The amount of work done to further this cause is such as has been exacted from no similar movement. No less than 4,220 public meetings were held in support of the Bill during last autumn, most of them within a period of eight weeks. In the twelve months ending last November some 45 meetings in support of Women's Suffrage were held in three large halls of which the records have been submitted to us (Albert Hall, Queen's Hall, London, and Free Trade Hall, Manchester). In the same period only two meetings were held in these same halls against Women's Suffrage, and only 28 meetings in connection with all other political questions. The demand is incomparably more active and more urgent than any other proposed reform can boast. Women have done enough to prove their zeal, and more than enough to merit the attention of Parliament. To exact a further period of agitation from them would be to decree a waste of public spirit, and to dissipate energies which women would prefer to spend in constructive work for the public good.

(The above is a leaflet published by the Conciliation Committee.)

An Armoury of Facts.

Besides the pamphlet on the Women Municipal Electors, printed in full on page 38, the National Union has issued a short "History of the Women's Suffrage Movement in Parliament," which we recommend everyone to get. It gives a number of useful dates and figures.

DEBATES.

Women's Suffrage has been debated in the House no less than twenty times. There have been altogether twelve Bills, and a measure has passed its second reading six times. Since 1886 there has been a declared majority in favour of Women's Suffrage in the House.

PETITIONS.

Between 1851 and 1905 there were 1,747 petitions, containing 486,747 names. These have included petitions signed by—

33,184 men textile workers of Yorkshire,	
29,300 " " " Lancashire	
4,300 " " " Cheshire,	
8,600 tailoresses of the West Riding of Yorkshire,	
8,000 working-women of Rossendale, Lancashire,	
1,530 Women Graduates,	
600 Women members of Local Governing bodies,	
538 (out of 553) Women Doctors.	

To these must be added an Appeal signed in 1896, by 257,000 Women. And in 1906, a Declaration signed by 52,000 Women, chiefly professional and working-women.

In 1909 and 1910, petitions were presented, signed by over 280,000 Men, who were all Parliamentary Voters. Of these the most remarkable were:—

Barnsley ..	7,550
Blackburn ..	6,463
Radcliffe-cum-Farnworth ..	4,672
Newcastle-on-Tyne ..	4,500
Portsmouth ..	4,103

Most striking of all, perhaps, was the petition sent up from the Attercliffe division of Sheffield, at a by-election in May, 1909, which was signed by 5,020 Voters, while the total poll of the successful candidate was only 3,521 votes.

To obtain these signatures, work was done in only 250 constituencies, and even in these nothing approaching to a complete canvass could be attempted, owing to the enormous number of workers who would have been required for the work. In most cases, the signatures were obtained on polling-day, by women standing outside the polling-stations and asking the voters to sign as they came out.

In 1911 (February), 1,800 men (electors) of the University of London signed a Memorial to the Prime

Minister protesting against the exclusion of women members of the University from the Parliamentary franchise.

PUBLIC MEETINGS AND DEMONSTRATIONS.

These have been organised in great numbers. For example:—

- In February, 1907, 3,000 women marched in procession in London, from Hyde Park to Exeter Hall.
- In October, 1907, 3,000 women marched in procession through Edinburgh.
- In October, 1907, 2,000 women marched in procession through Manchester.
- In June, 1908, 15,000 women marched in London, from the Embankment to the Albert Hall.

Peaceful demonstrations were also held by other Women's Suffrage Societies.

Public Meetings have been held all over the country by all the Suffrage Societies. It is obviously impossible to enumerate them. We content ourselves with a rough estimate of meetings held in support of the "Conciliation" Bill. These (from very incomplete records) amount to, at least, 5,000 Meetings, including a Demonstration in Hyde Park, attended by a Quarter of a Million People, a Demonstration in Trafalgar Square, attended by 10,000 People. Also six Albert Hall meetings (two in one week), and Demonstrations held in other cities than London, e.g.—

Manchester (2), Edinburgh, Bristol, Newcastle, Guildford, etc., etc.

These figures include meetings held by the N.U.W.S.S. and by other societies; but leave out of account Outdoor Meetings held in such numbers as to make even a rough estimate impossible. We can only state that during the summer and autumn of 1910, there were held at least two or three hundred every week.

GROWTH OF THE MOVEMENT OUTSIDE THE N.U.W.S.S.

Many other Societies have been formed, having Women's Suffrage as their sole object. Such are—

- The National Women's Social and Political Union.
- The Men's League for Women's Suffrage.
- The Women's Freedom League.
- The National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society.
- The New Union.
- The New Constitutional Society.
- The Men's Political Union.
- The Church League.
- The Free Church League.

The League of Members of the Roman Catholic Communion (in process of formation).

The League of the Society of Friends (in process of formation).

The Tax-Resistance League.

Besides such groups as the Artists' League, the Suffrage Atelier, the Actresses' Franchise League, the Society of Women Graduates, the Women Writers' Suffrage League, the Younger Suffragists, the Cambridge University Men's League, the London Graduates' Union for Women's Suffrage, the Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society, etc., etc.

There is also the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association.

Within the Political Parties, there have been formed:

- The Forward Suffrage Union (within the Women's Liberal Federation).
- The Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.

The People's Suffrage Federation (which demands the suffrage for all adult men and women).

The following organizations have officially identified themselves with the demand for some measure of Women's Suffrage:—

The London Liberal Federation.
The Women's Liberal Federation.
The Women's National Liberal Association.
The Welsh Women's Liberal Federation.
The Independent Labour Party.
The Fabian Society.

Other Societies have repeatedly petitioned Parliament, or passed resolutions asking for a measure of Women's Suffrage. Among them—

The National British Women's Temperance Association (110,000 members).
The Scottish Union of the above (42,000 members).
The National Union of Women Workers. (The largest Women's Union; numbers not exactly known.)
The International Council of Women.
The Association of Headmistresses.
The Association of University Women Teachers.
The Incorporated Assistant Mistresses in Secondary Schools.
The Society of Registered Nurses.
The Nurses' International Congress.
The Women's Co-operative Guild (the only organized body representing the married working-women of this country).

Resolutions in favour of the "Conciliation Bill" have been passed by

49 Trades and Labour Councils, and 36 Trades Unions and Federations.

Reference is also made to the resolutions of Town Councils (quoted elsewhere).

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

The Suffrage Movement has now become world-wide. The International Women's Suffrage Alliance, which meets quadrennially, includes societies in Austria, Australia, Belgium, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Russia, Cape Colony, Natal, Sweden, Switzerland, the United States.

Women's Suffrage was granted in—
Wyoming, U.S.A. in 1869 New South Wales in 1902
Colorado, U.S.A., 1893 Tasmania, 1903
New Zealand, 1893 Queensland, 1905
South Australia, 1893 Finland, 1907
Utah, U.S.A., 1895 Norway, 1908
Idaho, U.S.A., 1896 Victoria, 1909
W. Australia, 1899 Washington, U.S.A., 1910
The Commonwealth of Australia in 1902

It will be noticed that all the Australian States have now granted Women's Suffrage. That they have done so proves that they realized its beneficial effects, where they could actually see it in working, as State after State came into line.

On November 17th, 1910, the Australian Senate passed the following Resolution:—

"(i.) That this Senate is of opinion that the extension of the Suffrage to the women of Australia for States and Commonwealth Parliaments, on the same terms as men, has had the most beneficial results. It has led to the more orderly conduct of Elections, and at the last Federal Elections, the Women's vote in the majority of States showed a greater proportionate increase than that cast by men. It has given a greater prominence to legislation, particularly affecting women and children, although the women have not taken up such questions to the exclusion of others of wider significance. In matters of Defence and Imperial concern, they have proved themselves as far-seeing and discriminating as men. Because the reform has brought nothing but good, though disaster was freely prophesied, we respectfully urge that all Nations enjoying Representative Government would be well advised in granting votes to women.

"(ii.) That a copy of the foregoing Resolution be cabled to the British Prime Minister."

[NOTE.—Paragraph (i.) was carried unanimously; paragraph (ii.) by 15 votes to 4.]

In The House of Representatives, on November 25th, 1910, a similar Resolution was passed, in almost identical words.

Existing voting rights of women in Great Britain and Ireland are given and the pamphlet ends with the remark:—

"Justice and Logic alike demand that they should be given

The Parliamentary Vote."

Women Municipal Electors and the Parliamentary Vote.

The Bill for the enfranchisement of women, which will come up for its second reading in the House of Commons on May 5th (1911), confers the Parliamentary Franchise (roughly speaking) on those women who already have the Municipal Vote. The National Society for Opposing Woman Suffrage has therefore attempted, in some few selected districts, a canvass of the women municipal voters, in order to get their views on the proposed reform. They claim that those women who would under the terms of the Bill be granted the Parliamentary Vote, are strongly opposed to their own enfranchisement, and they have published figures by which they seek to prove this assertion. We maintain, however, that

These figures are entirely worthless, for the following reasons:—

(1.) The canvass was in many cases conducted by means of reply-paid postcards. It is impossible to know whether the woman addressed ever received the card, or by whom it was filled up, and returned. In many instances women declared afterwards that they had not received cards, and supposed that (if returned) their brothers or sons had filled them in "for a joke." In far more cases, the cards were not returned at all, the women not knowing in the least by what authority, or for what purpose, they were sent out, and being naturally, and rightly, reluctant to sign anything at all under such circumstances. In Liverpool, only 25 per cent. of the cards sent out were returned! The National Society for Opposing Woman's Suffrage makes the ludicrous assumption that those who did not reply were "mostly—probably almost entirely—unfavourable to Women's Suffrage." A greater knowledge of the extreme caution of the working classes (to which most of these women belong) would have suggested that the average woman municipal voter has too much sense to write answers to questions of whose origin and purpose she has but scanty, or no information.

(2.) The canvass was in other cases conducted by paid messengers, of whose intelligence and reliability nothing is known. These were provided with a list of women on whom to call, and expected to return the list filled up. In Cambridge, the women were not even asked to sign, or put a cross. The canvasser marked the paper himself! It is not possible that any serious person should attach any value to so grotesque a form of canvass, and Lord Cromer has himself publicly admitted that, at least in the case of Cambridge, the figures are worthless.

(3.) The printed questions were almost invariably open to grave misunderstanding. We do not accuse the N.S.O.W.S. of intentional dishonesty when we point out that it is almost impossible for the best-intentioned person to frame a written question on this subject which (without further explanation) cannot be misunderstood. Thus the widely used form:—

"Do you wish political power to remain in the hands of men?"

or

"Do you wish it to be given to women?"

obviously suggests that to give votes to women means to take them away from men!

The form:—

"I desire the Parliamentary vote, and so, I believe, do the majority of women in the country,"

or

"I do not desire the Parliamentary vote, nor, I believe, do the majority of women in the country"

introduces a sweeping statement which any honest person would hesitate to commit himself to, whatever his convictions on the subject.

In almost any form, the questions put could be (and were) interpreted as asking an opinion on Adult Suffrage, women Members of Parliament, or Militant Tactics. The answers varied accordingly, and had nothing at all to do with the "Conciliation Bill."

Besides all this, the N.S.O.W.S.

Did Not Canvass Thoroughly.

In Cambridge, numbers of women were never asked at all. In Hampstead, known Suffragists were severely let alone. In Haslemere, 61 women out of 181 were not canvassed, and all who had at any time signed an Anti-Suffrage petition were counted as "opposed" without further question, regardless of the rapid growth of the Suffrage movement. Several wrote to the local papers, complaining that they had "never been asked." So also in Southampton, in Bristol, and in Bath, the canvass was admittedly incomplete. In Bath, a form of question was used which, by the Bristol Anti-Suffragists, had been rejected as unfair. In Scarborough, postcards were sent out bearing no address or name of senders.

We are of course aware that no canvas gives unassailable results. A personal canvass cannot be entirely free from personal influence; a postal canvass is, as has been seen, hopelessly unreliable. Since, however, the N.S.O.W.S. has made its figures public, it is only fair to give examples of those collected by other canvassers than theirs.

A personal canvass of seven wards in Liverpool resulted in signatures being given to a Women's Suffrage petition by

75 per cent. of the women seen.

In Bolton, the results were equally favourable. Out of a total number of 5,750.

2,660 were in favour of Women's Suffrage.

610 were against.

340 indifferent.

83 ill.

93 dead.

576 removed.

71 disqualified.

This was, it will be seen, a really thorough and systematic canvass. Nothing was "assumed," and nothing "taken for granted."

But we have yet more impressive evidence to offer as showing the unreliable nature of the Anti-Suffrage canvass.

The National Society for Opposing Woman Suffrage Repudiates Its Own Figures!

In the February number (1911) of its official organ, the "Anti-Suffrage Review," the Editor comments on the passing of Suffrage resolutions by City and Town Councils. He writes:—

"It is significant that these resolutions come almost exclusively from bodies which depend to an appreciable extent for their election upon the votes of women. The pressure exerted upon the Councils may be unconsciously, but is none the less real."

How is it that "strong pressure" has been brought to bear on the women's representatives in Municipal Councils, to pass Women's Suffrage resolutions, if the women voters themselves are Anti-Suffragists? The answer is, that they are not Anti-Suffragists, and the Editor of the "Anti-Suffrage Review" knows it. So do we.

They and their representatives in one Municipal Council after another are calling upon the Government to

give facilities for the passage of the "Conciliation Bill," which will enfranchise them, into law. Here is a list; it is a growing one every day:—

ENGLAND.

Adel-cum-Eccup.	Folkestone.	Oldham.
Barnsley.	Huddersfield.	Preston.
Birmingham.	Hull.	Ramsgate.
Bradford.	Leeds.	Sheffield.
Burton.	Leicester.	Southport.
Cuckfield.	Liverpool.	Stoke Newington.
Derby.	Macclesfield.	Warrington.
Devonport.	Manchester.	West Bromwich.
Dover.	Nottingham.	Wolverhampton.
Falmouth.		

SCOTLAND.

Arbroath.	Haddington.	Lerwick.
Brechin.	Hamilton.	North Berwick.
Broughty Ferry.	Hawick.	Perth.
Cumnock.	Inverness.	Saltecats.
Dundee.	Inverurie.	Stromness.
Forfar.	Kilmarnock.	Thurso.
Fraserburgh.	Kilwinning.	Tranent.
Glasgow.	Kirkwall.	

WALES.

Bangor.	Cardiff.	Llangollen.
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IRELAND.

Cork.	Dublin.	Limerick.
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[This is a leaflet issued by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and to be obtained from its Offices. See advt. on page 43.]

In Parliament.

THE PAYMENT OF MEMBERS.

The House of Commons again sat late over the Parliament Bill last week and there were the usual "breezes" between the Home Secretary and the opposition. Amendments restricting the scope of the bill in various directions were negatived. On the 18th the Prime Minister (who had, in answer to a question, said that there was no foundation for the statement in the press that the Government had decided not to proceed this session with its scheme for the payment of Members) said that "as a matter of fact no bill was needed for the payment of Members; the thing could be done by the insertion of a clause at the end of the Appropriation Bill." An amendment to exclude a Bill providing for the payment of Members from the scope of the Parliament Bill was negatived by a majority of 58.

PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS.

On the 20th two amendments whose effect would be to exclude private members' bills from the operation of the Parliament Bill were discussed. One was withdrawn, Mr. Asquith stating that he would consider the matter before the Report stage; the other amendment was opposed by Mr. Churchill, who said that by exempting the Bills of private members hon. members were practically inviting the House of Lords to use their Veto against them when the opportunity occurred. Further, the amendment would prevent a private member from dealing with the subject of Woman Suffrage, and it exposed the cause of Woman Suffrage to the unalterable Veto of the House of Lords without any of the protection provided by this Bill. The amendment was rejected by a majority of 82.

BUSINESS.

The Prime Minister on the 18th declared his intention of dealing with the abuse of the system of "blocking" motions and also claimed the Wednesdays up to Whitsuntide for Government business, with the exception of the 19th and 26th April.

The Home Secretary on the 18th introduced the Aliens' Bill for dealing with criminal aliens and the prevention of crime. The Government also intend to secure Second Reading before Whitsuntide for the Insurance Bill and a Bill dealing with the Osborne Judgment.

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.

Hon. Secretaries: Miss K. D. COURTNEY.
President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. AUERBACH.
Miss Edith Palliser (Parliamentary).
Secretary: Miss T. G. WHITEHEAD, M.A. Telephone: 1960 Victoria.
Telegrams: "Voiceless, London."
Offices: Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

From Headquarters.

ALL SOCIETIES which have not yet sent in the names of their delegates to the National Convention on May 3rd are urged to do so without delay. The effect of the meeting will be spoiled unless all the Societies are represented, even if only by one delegate. We, therefore, appeal to every Society to make a special effort on this occasion, so that it may take part in signing the resolution to be sent to the Prime Minister and to Members of Parliament.

Full instructions will be sent to delegates this week as soon as names and addresses are received.

Mrs. Fawcett will take the chair, and the speakers will be Miss Sterling, Councillor Margaret Ashton, Miss Clementina Black, Miss Margaret Robertson, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Miss Chrystal Macmillan and Mrs. Viriamu Jones.

FEDERATION SECRETARIES who have not yet sent in information as to the work in their districts are asked to do so as soon as possible, otherwise the speakers will be put to considerable inconvenience.

The generosity of subscribers will enable the Executive to carry on a very active campaign in support of the Bill. The by-elections give an excellent opportunity and we intend to take advantage of it in every case. There are many other constituencies where work is needed, and more organisers are being appointed as quickly as possible. Every week more Societies apply for affiliation, adding to the strength and to the extent of the Union. To meet the increased work, it is necessary to widen the scope of the office, and here again funds are urgently needed.

The Press Department, organised by Miss Catherine Marshall, has already done most valuable and important work; it is cramped for want of space and workers, and at the present moment particularly requires a typewriter. CAN ANY READER PRESENT A REMINGTON MACHINE TO THE OFFICE? We can promise the donor that it would be in constant use. VOLUNTARY WORKERS would also be most welcome at the office. There is much work in which they could help, and which would relieve our hardworked staff, whose members constantly stay many hours overtime. If helpers would be kind enough to send a card to say when they are coming, we should be especially grateful to them.

COMMON CAUSE ORGANISER.

Societies which would like the services of the Common Cause Organiser, Mrs. Darlington, are asked to apply immediately. We want to double the circulation of the paper in the next few months.

K. D. COURTNEY.

Great National Convention.

On Wednesday, May 3rd, at 3 p.m., Mrs. Fawcett will take the chair at the Convention of the National Union, to take place in the Portman Rooms, Baker Street.

It is intended that this Convention of delegates from every one of the Societies in the National Union shall represent the body of support all over the country, and the work done in the constituencies in support of the Conciliation Bill by the Union.

The strength of the National Union is distributed all over Great Britain, and the idea is to gather this strength for one day in London, in a representative form, and so focus and concentrate for one day what is throughout

the year distributed into every nook and outpost of the Kingdom. Numbers we hope to have for the Procession on June 17th; on May 3rd the provincial Societies will join with the London Society to shew London,—the home of Royalty and the seat of Government—an epitome of the work of this truly national Union.

The Societies are invited to send each two accredited delegates, one of whom will sign a resolution to be sent to the Prime Minister and the Members of Parliament. Speeches will be directed to shewing what has been the nature of the work done by the National Union in educating the country and in organizing public opinion and making it manifest to the representatives of the people. The meeting will be free.

Press Department.

A donation towards the Press Department has been received from the Hon. Mrs. Wilkinson, of York. This is most welcome, as expenses will be considerable, and many appliances are needed in the office for facilitating a quick output.

The attitude of the editors we have seen has been friendly and helpful, and a large choice of Suffrage news is essential to meet the demand of particular papers. Picturesque details and amusing incidents will also be specially acceptable.

Mrs. Fawcett's admirable article in the "Morning Post," April 19th, on the Divorce Commission Evidence should be circulated widely. "The Queen," April 22nd, publishes spontaneously a preliminary account of the arrangements for the great meeting of the National Union on May 3rd, and announces plans for the United Procession on June 17th.

Good notices have appeared in the following papers:—"Sussex Daily News," April 15th, a full report of Lord Robert Cecil's speech at Horsted Keynes; "Kensington News," April 15th, account of the letter of women rate-payers regarding the deputation, and of the debate arising on it in the Kensington Borough Council.

EMILY M. LEAF (Hon. Press Sec.)

Treasurer's Notes.

The wide-spread and ready response to my appeal for funds to carry on the special work in the near future, in support of the Conciliation Bill, should fill us all with feelings of deep thankfulness. The lists of those who have sent us donations is thoroughly representative of the whole Union, and we are alike grateful to those who are fortunate enough to be able to spare large sums and to those who have given smaller sums according to their power. I have heard that the manner of arranging the lists of donations according to the amount given and not alphabetically might seem discouraging to the people who give small sums, and I want to point out that the lists are made out in this way simply because it is the easiest and most convenient way of doing so, and also because it enables the reader to get more detailed information at a glance. It would distress me very much if this arrangement conveyed the impression that because the larger sums head the lists, therefore the smaller amounts were received with less gratitude and appreciation, because we know only too well that very often the smaller sums represent far greater sacrifice and devotion to our cause than the large sums that others may be able to afford to give without effort. All who have sent us money at all will have the satisfaction of knowing that, thanks to their help, special work will now go forward in as many constituencies as possible, and we hope before long

to be able to have an increased number of organisers available for this campaign.

HELENA AUERBACH.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO GENERAL FUND.

April 13th to April 20th, 1911.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged since November 1st ...	651	14	9½
Subscriptions—			
Miss Robinson	0	10	6
Mrs. W. H. Patterson	1	1	0
Affiliation Fees—			
Reigate W.S.S.	2	9	0

£655 15 3½

FOR SPECIAL WORK IN SUPPORT OF THE CONCILIATION BILL.

April, 1911.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	285	17	4
Mrs. Alfred Illingworth (for special or general purposes, as required)	525	0	0

Mrs. Helen P. B. Clark	30	0	0
Mrs. Henry Sargent	10	0	0
A. B.	10	0	0
R. F. Cholmeley, Esq.	5	0	0
Miss K. A. Raleigh	3	0	0
Miss M. R. Courtauld	1	1	0
Mrs. William Rogers	1	1	0
Miss White, LL.D.	1	0	0
Miss M. B. Alder	1	0	0
Mrs. Galland	1	0	0
Mrs. Daniel (result of an order for embroidery)	1	0	0
Miss Robinson	0	10	6
Gateshead W.S.S.	0	10	0
Arcadian W.S.S. (part proceeds of entertainment)	0	10	0
Miss G. E. Daniel	0	5	0
Miss Esther Hatten	0	2	6
Mrs. Ralph Durand	0	2	6
Mrs. Manning Prentice	0	2	6
Mrs. Gertrude Wild	0	2	6
Miss Palmer	0	2	6

£877 7 4



Scottish Pictorial News Agency.

Mr. Balfour signing our letter to Lord Haldane.

By-elections.

EAST LOTHIAN (HADDINGTONSHIRE).

Polling Day, 19th April. Electorate 8,184.

Result:—Mr. J. D. Hope (L.)

Mr. B. Hall Blyth (C.)

Liberal majority

Our 26 days' campaign has closed with the return to the House of Commons of a very sincere Suffragist, whose wife, too, is whole-hearted in the cause. All 12 stations were staffed on polling-day, and over 1,800 signatures were obtained for

our letter urging Lord Haldane to press the Government for facilities this session for the Conciliation Bill. Amongst the signatories were the ex-Premier, Mr. A. J. Balfour (who had travelled from London on purpose to vote), both the candidates, fifteen clergy, seven doctors, two provosts, and various other local magnates. The number of men who voted was 6,836, and considering the difficulties under which we worked—standing all day in insufficient numbers in a hurricane of dust and wind, and approaching voters, often impatient to return to the motor-cars which allured them to the poll,—the percentage of signatures is not unsatisfactory. The country folk did not lag behind the townsmen in their zeal, the shepherds, ploughmen, grieves, fishermen, and foresters of the East, recognis-

no less than the artisans and miners of the West, the justice of our claim. Conspicuous has been the appreciation expressed for our constitutional methods. In numberless talks, both public and private, with East Lothian men of all classes I have met only four avowed sympathisers with militancy.

Two difficulties we had to meet—first, shortage of funds, which debarred us from holding more than 25 meetings (8 in halls, 17 out of doors), since to reach remote country villages costs money; second, the refusal of chairmen at all candidates' meetings to allow questions to be asked save by "voters in the constituency." On these important occasions, therefore, we had to content ourselves with inducing electors to heckle for us, and with distributing the "Opinions of Leaders" of the appropriate colour.

The local societies of Haddington and Dunbar vied with one another in providing kindest hospitality and in arranging meetings, and we trust that their election experiences will bear fruit in the increased zeal of their members.

ALICE CROMPTON.

Councillor Margaret Ashton's Campaign in Ireland.

The eight meetings arranged by Mrs. Haslam for the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association, and addressed by Miss Margaret Ashton, have aroused considerable fresh interest in the Suffrage movement in some quarters where it has never been publicly advocated before, and have had an encouraging effect in others. Notwithstanding the difficulty of holding meetings in the Easter Holiday Week, good public meetings were held in Limerick, Cork, Waterford, and Dublin, and drawing-room meetings in Killarney (2), in Mallow and in Dublin. As a result it is hoped to form a good Society or Societies for County Kerry and the Killarney district under the fostering care of Miss Hussey and Dr. Bruner; and in Mallow, at the end of the meeting kindly arranged and held by Miss Norreys at the Castle, 31 members joined and will form the nucleus for a Society there. In Dublin and the other towns it is hoped that the existing societies may be materially strengthened and vivified as a result of the week's work. Miss Ashton commented on the fact that many of her hearers were still ignorant that there were any but militant Suffragists, and that, disliking such tactics, they inquired no further, and supposed themselves to be averse to Women's Suffrage altogether, while when the objects and need for this great reform were explained, they were willing to join in the movement.

The great need of the Society and its branches is for funds to enlarge the sphere of work, and for active members and speakers to make the question better known and understood. In Ireland we must stick to the old watchword of Reform,



QUAKER BLOUSE

(as sketch), thoroughly well made in our own work-rooms, from extra fine Cotton Voile, tucked and hand-veined, with hand-veined or hemstitched white lawn collar and cuffs; a very practical and inexpensive Shirt, in grey, saxe, navy, heliotrope, pink, sky, rose du barri, white and black, also in white with black spots.

12/9

Debenham & Freebody

Wigmore St., London, W.

and for this educational work funds and paid workers are absolutely essential.

Good reports appeared in the "Belfast Daily Express" (April 22nd), the "Freeman's Journal" (April 22nd) and the "Limerick Chronicle" (April 20th) and the latter had a sympathetic leader.

Federation Notes.

West of England.

DEPUTATIONS TO MEMBERS.

A deputation waited upon Mr. Jardine (M.P. for East Somerset) on April 19th. It was a curious interview. The member began by a definite declaration in favour of the Conciliation Bill, and then tried to show clearly why he had voted against it. Common sense and justice, he said, demanded the enfranchisement of women, but no "thinking man" could vote for the Bill after Mr. Shackleton's speech. "Clear thinking," in Mr. Jardine's opinion, is not a characteristic of members of Parliament. For his own part he saw so clearly the trend towards Adult Suffrage in the Conciliation Bill that he was unable to vote for it. Miss Von Donop (C. and U.F.A.) then spoke for the deputation, and some interesting discussion followed, but we failed to extricate Mr. Jardine from the web of difficulties in which, by clear thinking, he has become involved. At the same time, we do not feel that the interview was, in any sense, thrown away.

Mr. Peel, at Taunton, has refused to receive us, but one of his constituents, Mr. Van Tromp, has kindly undertaken to interview him.

The Gloucester Society, backed by letters from influential electors, has approached Mr. Terrell, M.P., asking him to give his continued support to the Conciliation Bill.

E. G. WHEELWRIGHT.

S. Wales.

DEPUTATION TO LORD NINIAN STUART.

On Wednesday, April 19th, Lord Ninian Stuart received a deputation from the Cardiff and District Women's Suffrage Society. The deputation consisted of Mr. Lewis Morgan, Canon Beck, Dr. Robinson, Alderman Trounce, Mr. Owen Owen, Mrs. Lewis (President), Miss Price (Organising Secretary), Miss Collin, Miss Eric Evans, Mrs. Robinson.

Mr. Lewis Morgan, who introduced the deputation, said he took for granted that Lord Ninian was in favour of Women's Suffrage, and reminded him that he (Mr. Lewis Morgan), when a candidate for Parliament, had declared himself to be an advocate of Women's Suffrage.

Miss Collin, B.A., said, that as Lord Ninian had declared himself in favour of Women's Suffrage at the time of the General Election, she would not spend time in urging our reasons for wanting the vote. She carefully and fully explained the "Conciliation Bill," and compared it with the Bill of last year. She asked Lord Ninian to promise—(a) To bring pressure to bear on the Government to grant facilities for passing the Bill into law; (b) to support the third reading of the Bill; (c) to support any amendments which may be brought forward, if approved by the Conciliation Committee.

Canon Beck urged the claims of Women's Suffrage, and declared that he considered there is less reason for withholding the Parliamentary vote than for withholding the municipal vote, which grants to women the administrative control of the police, etc.

Miss Eric Evans, M.B., supported Miss Collin. She emphasised the fact that the Conciliation Bill is not the measure asked for by us, but that we urge its claims as the Bill considered most practicable by the Conciliation Committee, because we feel there is urgent need for some measure of enfranchisement for women this year. If, however, it appears possible that a broader measure can be carried, we look to Lord Ninian to support it.

Mrs. Lewis, President of the Cardiff and District W.S. Society, further emphasised the need, and appealed strongly to Lord Ninian to support the Bill.

Lord Ninian, in replying to the deputation, expressed his sympathy, and said he would promise—(a) To do all he could to bring pressure to bear upon the Government; (b) to support the third reading of the Bill; but he could give no promise in regard to amendments to the Bill until he knows what those amendments may be.

In subsequent discussion it was pointed out that Lord Ninian's statement at the time of the General Election—that he would support a measure to enfranchise women on the same terms as men, covers amendments which would greatly enlarge the scope of the Bill, and Lord Ninian was asked to state what amendments he would be unwilling to support. He replied to the effect that he would not support adult suffrage either for men or women, and that he is particularly in favour of the Bill in its present form.

CANVASS OF MUNICIPAL VOTERS.

The Penarth Women's Suffrage Society has just completed its canvass of municipal voters. There are 318 women on the register; 60 of these could not be seen. Of the 258 who were interviewed, 206 signed a petition urging the Urban District Council to pass a resolution in favour of the new Conciliation Bill, while only 52, from hostility or indifference, refused to sign it. The petition is to be presented by a deputation on May 1. More than half the women on the municipal register are widows, who work for their living by washing, letting

NATIONAL UNION LITERATURE.

Stocktaking Sale, First Fortnight in May.

PAMPHLETS.

MRS. CHAPMAN CATT'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

3,400. Usual Price, 3d. each; Sale Price, 1½d.

WHERE WOMEN HAVE THE VOTE.

3,000. Usual Price, 2d. each; Sale Price, 1d.

THE OUTCAST.

8,400. Usual Price, 2d. each; Sale Price, 1d.

IS WOMEN'S ONLY SPHERE THE HOME?

3,150. Usual Price, 2d. each; Sale Price, 1d.

PHYSICAL FORCE.

3,150. Usual Price, 2d. each; Sale Price, 1d.

OPINIONS OF LIBERAL LEADERS.

3,100. Usual Price, 2d. each; Sale Price, 1d.

OPINIONS OF CONSERVATIVE LEADERS.

1,450. Usual Price, 2d. each; Sale Price, 1d.

MEN ARE MEN, WOMEN ARE WOMEN.

1,700. Usual Price, 2d. each; Sale Price, 1d.

THE TABLET ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

8,000. Usual Price, 1d. each; Sale Price, ½d.

MEMORIAL OF HEADMISTRESSES.

8,000. Usual Price, 1d. each; Sale Price, ½d.

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

8,000. Usual Price, 1d. each; Sale Price, ½d.

EXTRACTS FROM MRS. FAWCETT'S SPEECHES.

8,000. Usual Price, 1d. each; Sale Price, ½d.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES.

3,000. Usual Price, 1d. each; Sale Price, ½d.

MRS. SNOWDEN IN AMERICA.

500 only. Usual Price, 1d. each; Sale Price, ½d.

PARLIAMENTARY VOTE AND WAGES.

10,000. Usual Price, ½d. each; Sale Price, 1s. 6d. per 100.

PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE LEADERS.

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LEAFLETS.

LEADING FACTS.

55,000. Usual Price, 1s. per 100; Sale Price, 3d. per 100.

WHEN SHOULD WOMEN WORK AT PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS?

59,000. Usual Price, 6d. per 100; Sale Price, 1d. per 100.

ADULT SUFFRAGISTS.

5,000. Usual Price, 6d. per 100; Sale Price, 1d. per 100.

LABOUR LEADERS.

30,000. Usual Price, 1s. per 100; Sale Price, 3d. per 100.

WOMEN'S VOTE IN AUSTRALIA.

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lodgings, etc. This is very remarkable in a town like Penarth, which is in a purely residential neighbourhood, of the sort one would have expected to find occupied by a large proportion of single women and widows of the leisured classes. That there should be such a large proportion of working-women on the register in Penarth is very strong evidence that the leisured class is in a minority among women municipal voters everywhere.

North-Eastern.

A committee meeting of the Federation was held at Sunderland on March 25th, at which eight Societies were represented. It was decided to accept Birmingham's invitation for the next Provincial Council. With regard to the conduct of elections within its area, the committee resolved that the Federation would itself undertake all responsibility provided an organiser were attached to the Federation at the time and that necessary monetary help were given by the Union. It was reported that Mr. J. Wilson, M.P. for Mid-Durham, and Mr. J. Cameron, Houghton-le-Spring, had promised to vote for the Conciliation Bill in all its stages, and that Sir H. Havelock-Allan, M.P. for Bishop Auckland, had promised that in no case would he vote against it.

It is a great pleasure to report that Mrs. Chrystal Macmillan has kindly consented to be the representative of the executive of the N.U. on our Federation Committee.

FORMATION OF A SOCIETY AT TYNEMOUTH.

A new Society has been formed at Tynemouth with a membership of forty. The member is a Liberal and an opponent, and a public meeting has been arranged with a prominent Liberal in the chair.

Kentish.

FORMATION OF A SOCIETY AT ASHFORD.

I have spent sixteen days in this Federation. During that time I have addressed meetings at Hildenborough, Tonbridge, Sevenoaks, Leigh and Ashford, and am glad to report the formation of a Society at Ashford. Miss Morgan of the County School very kindly gave a drawing-room meeting, at which there were fifty ladies present; as a result of the meeting the Society has begun with a membership of twenty, which I hope will soon be increased. Twenty-two copies of "The Common Cause" were sold at this meeting, and also some satisfactory work was done in getting promises from interested people to write to Mr. Hardy, the member, urging him to support our Bill. Mr. Hardy apparently voted against the Conciliation Bill because he had received letters from people in his constituency urging him to do so. I hope that by now it has been demonstrated to him that there are Suffragists in his constituency. I spent two days in Canterbury, but found work rather difficult there.

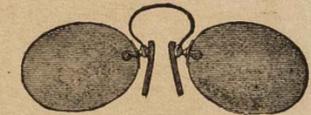
M. H. RENTON.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

Important New Publications for use in connection with the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill on May 5th.

1. A Brief Review of the Suffrage Movement since its beginning in 1832.
Price - - 1d. each.
2. Women Municipal Electors and the Parliamentary Vote: Being a refutation of the figures quoted by Anti-suffragists as the result of their canvass.
Price - - 1/6 per 100.

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PHILIP A. PRESTON, Eyesight Specialist,
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Local Councils and Women's Suffrage.

At the *Widnes Town Council* on Tuesday, 11th, Alderman Neil proposed the following resolution:—"That the Town Council of this borough petition Parliament in support of the Women Householders' Bill and urge the Government to grant facilities for its passing into law this session." Councillor Smith seconded and it was passed unanimously.

Battersea Borough Council on April 12th passed a resolution in favour of Sir George Kemp's Bill.

Llandudno, Penmaenmawr, Llanfairfechan, Holyhead and Bethesda Urban District Councils have all passed resolutions in favour of the Bill. One of the West Lancashire Federation organisers has been working in North Wales and was instrumental in helping to get this done.

Enfield Urban District Council passed on April 19th a resolution calling upon the Government to give facilities for the Conciliation Bill.

Letchworth Parish Council has passed a resolution asking for facilities for the Conciliation Bill.

Sunderland Town Council.—On Wednesday, April 12th, a deputation consisting of Mrs. Johnson (hon. sec.), Mrs. Walford Common, and Mrs. Jaques waited on the Council with a request that they would petition the Government in favour of the Conciliation Bill. The deputation was received, and Mrs. Johnson addressed the Council. Councillor J. S. Nicholson moved, and Alderman Harrison seconded, that the Council should petition the Government in favour of the Bill. All the speakers were in favour of the principle, but the feeling of the meeting was against the introduction of a resolution of such a character. Councillor Hope said he was in sympathy with the prayer of the petition, but against it being presented to that Council for support, and he moved the previous question. Councillor Forster seconded, and this amendment was carried by 24 votes to 13.

Ambleside Urban District Council.—Seventy-six out of 120 women ratepayers signed a memorial asking the District Council to petition the Government in favour of facilities for the Conciliation Bill, and all but one of the Councillors promised to support the memorial, which was also signed by a number of leading men residents. But when the business came on, the one opponent managed to side-track the discussion and, by a majority of one vote carried an amendment to the effect that the matter was outside the scope of municipal affairs. The Suffrage Society will, however, be able to use the facts of the case in urging the member of Parliament for the constituency to vote for facilities.

Britain Overseas.

CANADA.

On March 4th Sir James Whitney received a deputation of Women Suffragists, who begged him to support the Bill before the Legislature. The local press describes the women as using "the usual arguments" while the Premier stood "waiting patiently for the end." He then "got off a few more or less complimentary pleasantries," and the interview terminated. On the 22nd, when the Bill, introduced by a Labour member, came before the House, the Premier and the leader of the Opposition, "while expressing sympathy with the proposal" (how familiar this sounds!), "spoke against it chiefly on the ground that the time was not yet ripe," and it was lost. We recommend Canadian women to study the reports of the recent attempts to regulate vice in Montreal if they desire to "ripen" the minds of women upon the question of giving women a say in the making and administration of law.

Foreign News.

DENMARK.

CHARLOTTE EILERSGAARD, a noted author and wife of the editor of a daily paper, writes comparing the way in which the political parties in Denmark have treated the question of Women's Suffrage.

The Radical Government proposed to give Suffrage to women in connection with an amendment of the constitution, which would at once abolish all privileged Suffrage. It demanded that the Landstinget (the Upper House) should be completely altered and believed that this House would be willing—if only the Lower House insisted upon it. In other words, it demanded of the Upper House that it should with its own hands saw off the branch that keeps it up. But this cannot be accomplished if it is not preceded by a long and exhausting constitutional struggle, during which women would be idle onlookers. Of course the present Upper House is so antiquated in its composition that it must be remodelled on principles more adapted to the spirit of the age. But this will take a long time, and "while the grass is growing the horse will die"—as the Danish proverb says!

The present Government and its political friends will effect a constitutional amendment. First those proposals which can be carried out, among which can be classed (1) an amendment in the composition of the Lower House to give Suffrage at the age of 25, (2) full political Suffrage to women and (3) an amendment fixing the number of the members of the House of Representatives. And when a House of Representatives elected in this way has been sufficiently put to the test, the claim to get the Upper House reformed can be met.

This arrangement offers the women the advantage that they can help to decide the direction in which the reform of the Upper House is to advance.

Mrs. JOHANNE MÜNTER, who sends the above communication, explains that in Denmark a constitutional amendment has to be carried by two Parliaments. To avoid an extra election it is considered desirable that the above mentioned amendment should be made just before the expiration of Parliament.

The Danish Minister in America is investigating the working of Women's Suffrage in Colorado.

THE WOMEN'S DAY.

The International Social Democratic Congress in Copenhagen conceived the plan of setting apart March 19th as a special day of grand demonstrations for Women's Suffrage. Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, and Denmark responded to the idea, and the result was very impressive.

For the Austrian women it was a day of particular rejoicing, as the right to belong to political organisations has at last been accorded to them, and they celebrated their victory by a procession, in which 25,000 women took part.

In Berne the proceedings were also most enthusiastic. Berlin and the neighbourhood was the scene of 41 meetings, six were held in Munich, and the wave of enthusiasm spread simultaneously all over Germany.

The following resolution was passed at all the various meetings: "All those present place themselves in the ranks of the Social Democrats, and will work with might and main for universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage to all publicly elected bodies for all citizens over 20 years of age (men and women); they will also do all in their power to further the aims of the Social Democratic party."

GERMANY.

The constitutional question of Alsace-Lorraine was specially discussed on March 19th at Strassburg, Colmar, and Metz, and the removal of the sex disability was urgently pressed.

The women have been taking an active part in the sick insurance scheme elections in Saxony, at which they have been entitled to vote since the autumn of 1909. A great deal of propaganda work was most successfully conducted amongst factory and home workers, and the newly enfranchised voters were also educated to a sense of their responsibilities by means of lectures given by members of the different political parties. The result at the elections was very gratifying.

ITALY.

The Parliamentary Commission which has recently been considering the extension of municipal suffrage to women, has declared itself in favour of Women's Suffrage. The authorities appear inclined to extend municipal franchise to all women who have passed four standards in the elementary schools, or who pay a minimum tax, these being the qualifications necessary for male electors.

Conference of the National Union of Teachers.

The Conference which took place at Aberystwyth last week was specially interesting. The presidential address given by Miss Cleghorn was a most characteristic and vital contribution to educational thought. It was the ripe fruit of experience and of a sympathetic and practical mind.

"It may be disappointing," she said, "to some whose minds are bent on reforms in matters professional, financial, political; but to the woman teacher, more perhaps than to the man, the child assumes the most important place in the vast field of education. To women teachers, school is not so much an institution, a part of a great national system, as a gathering together of little children, a garden wherein we can watch and help the growth of the human flower, the training of the mind, the uplifting of the soul, the development of the body of the child."

She spoke of how teachers are "hindered by ever-recurring, ever-uprooting educational quarrels, by ever-changing codal requirements, by ever-increasing fads and fancies of people in power" and she alluded to the frequent lack of sympathy and understanding in inspectors. "They are imbued not with the facts of experience, but with the theories due to the want of it." She then passed rapidly through the various stages of elementary education, pleading for more baby schools and a more maternal system of train-

ing. Later she pleaded for an extension of school life and more practical and industrial training; but up to the age of twelve, school work should all be primary and no special classes should interfere with the curriculum. She believed parents would be much more willing to allow children to stay on a few years later if they were really receiving an education which fitted them for life and earning. She urged the immediate raising of school age and abolition of half-time and the compulsory attendance up to the age of seventeen at continuation schools. A full report is given in "The Schoolmaster" for April 22nd, to which we refer our readers.

With regard to the Women's Suffrage resolution, which the Conference declined to discuss, we are much indebted to Miss Cleghorn for the following communication:—

In reply to your enquiry, the opposition was not so much to Women's Suffrage as to the manner in which it had been brought forward.

Owing to letters, etc., received by myself and others, also to similar letters in "Votes for Women," the advisability of expressing sympathy with our members, who by reason of their sex only, are debarred from exercising the vote, was discussed at our executive meeting in March. It was then almost unanimously decided that we would put on our Conference agenda a resolution embodying our sympathy with those of our members who (justly, I think) consider themselves unfairly treated. It was too late to refer the matter in the usual way to the local associations, but as we were anxious to prevent disaffection in our ranks, we put the resolution on the agenda in the name of the Executive. The only method of discussing it was by obtaining a suspension of standing orders—and it was on the motion for suspension that the trouble arose. The opposition was mainly against the way in which the matter had been brought forward (without reference to the local associations, who have the right of voting the place on the agenda of the various resolutions) and because the subject itself was political.

There were present about 1,200 men and 500 women. The interruptions were mostly from the men; the women kept themselves in fine restraint and the Suffrage cause gained tremendously by their attitude. It was an apparent defeat, but I think a moral victory.

I cannot but think the ultimate result will be good, as it shows the women they must work through their local associations, making their influence and power felt not only as Suffragists, but as educationists.

Probably, smarting under the rejection of the motion for suspension, misled by exaggerated reports of the stormy nature of the interruptions, and not fully understanding the position, some of our women may feel tempted to resign their Union membership. This would be a most unwise step, and a matter of great regret to me personally. It would greatly destroy the increasing power and limit the usefulness of those who by their official positions in the N.U.T. are able to do so much for the cause of education. The only right attitude at present is to remain in the Union, using in it their influence to promote the social and moral uplifting of both teachers and taught. Then, next year, send up resolutions on the subject of the Suffrage in the constitutional way, and then I fully believe both men and women would be ready to debate the matter and arrive at a just conclusion.

ISABEL CLEGHORN.

Review.

THE NEW MACHIAVELLI. By H. G. Wells. (John Lane. Pp. 52s. 6s.)

It is not sure that Mr. Wells' story will carry the full weight of all the philosophy which he hangs on to it. The story is autobiographically told, and early in the book the writer says: "Love has brought me to disaster because my career had been planned regardless of its possibility and value." Not knowing or not believing all that a great passion might mean, Remington, who tells the story, marries without it, and then gradually is consumed by it, breaking not only his career, but his life's work. Had he been an artist or some craftsman working in things, such a passion would not have broken up his life, but modern history has shown us that in England at the present time political leadership cannot be maintained under the stress of a catastrophe of this nature. Remington from the beginning of his career, is preoccupied with statecraft. "Whatever you do, boy, whatever you do," says his father, "make a Plan. Make a good Plan, and stick to it." And the son's life is occupied in making one "plan" after another—curiously inhuman sort of doctrinaire plans, they seem, based on abstractions and calculations, with little humanity in them. "I meant," he says, "to leave England and the Empire better ordered than I found it, to organise and discipline"—and at that very time he is leading an absolutely anarchic existence in his relations with the other sex. To a woman his early relations with women read as almost incredibly inhuman—he frankly and cynically uses women as a convenience, and never for one instant appears to grant them equal humanity or even take them into account as having a life to live and a value of their own to themselves and the nation. Yet he suggests that four out of five men of the "educated" classes have this standpoint, and "this is how it will remain

until men and women have the courage to face the facts of life." It is probable that it is this imputation which has raised the anger against the book, of which we see traces in the public press, and which will probably give it a wider vogue than, on its merits, it would have had. For it is not a first-rate book. It is not a little sour in tone and the ideal which Remington hits out, the phrase which is to inspire the progress of which he dreams—"Love and fine thinking"—remains, unhappily, something of a phrase only. Remington does not strike one as a statesman, nor even as a man filled with love and knowledge of his fellow-men. The picture he gives is a credible picture of a politician, and the notion that so tremendous a scheme as the "endowment of motherhood" could be put upon the political market by a man of his fibre is one that suggests the delusion that a "plan" can be made to "work" without considering the material in which it will have to work. But though it does not strike one as a great book, it is most characteristic: teeming over with notions, truthful and arduous in its seeking, "immoral" in the Shavian sense that it strikes at accepted conventions, and will therefore shock the average man and woman into thinking over those conventions. Mr. Wells presents us with the history of a catastrophe; he does not deny that it is a catastrophe and he does not justify his actors; he claims that a more wisely ordered world and especially a more rational education might have prevented the catastrophe.

J. W.

Letters to the Editor.

Correspondents are requested to send their names and addresses, not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of good faith. The Editor is not responsible for any statement made in the correspondence column.

Correspondents are requested to write on one side of the paper only.

"WHAT WE WANT."

I was amused by the curious view advocated by your correspondent, "Only a Voter," who says that to "give a man and wife each a vote is ridiculous in the extreme." For the life of me I cannot see why! And it would have been most interesting if your correspondent, instead of using his last despairing effort in demanding to know what women think of this point, would instead have explained his reasons for his own views. He evidently believes it is the house which should have the vote, and not the human being. Or can he mean that man and wife are actually and in all things one, and that it is "ridiculous" for them to think independently? In that case, which shall be the one? Would he be willing that the wives should go halves with the votes, and if so, would he be willing to be one of the husbands who should be voteless? Or is it only women who are wives who must occupy this position?

Suppose his wife had serious convictions and a grave sense of her duty as a citizen. It is of course safe to assume that he himself can claim these distinctions. But suppose he and his wife differ as what their sense of duty leads them to demand. Unless both have means of putting their convictions into effect, how can both be represented?

A man is not supposed to merge his identity in that of his wife; can your correspondent tell us of any reason why a wife should merge hers into her husband's? A man is not supposed to be without the need of a vote when he marries. Why should a woman? Is it not a survival of the old idea of possession—of the wife becoming the property of the husband on marriage? It was somewhat of a shock to me to run tilt against this huge stumbling block in the way of women's enfranchisement in your paper. May we hope that "Only a Voter" (it is only those who are "only" voters who can thus lightly designate themselves) will kindly tell us what he really means by the somewhat inadequate statement that it is "ridiculous" for both man and wife to want a vote?

ADA NIELD CHEW.

Kilnerdeyne, Rochdale, April 19th, 1911.
[We refer to this letter in "Notes and Comments."—Ed. "C. C."]

VILLAGE MEETINGS.

Your readers may be interested to hear that during the past winter I have organised and arranged meetings in support of Woman Suffrage in eight villages in Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire, within eight or nine miles of my home. At four of these meetings I was fortunate enough to obtain the assistance of Mrs. Rackham, of Cambridge, and Miss Pullen-Burby, of London, as speakers, and the other four I took myself.

The meetings were held in the elementary schools, and on two occasions the rooms would not hold those who wished to be admitted. In two small villages the audiences numbered less than 40, but on the other four occasions the schools were quite full. The speeches were always listened to with interest and attention, and questions were invited and replied to.

Ignorance as to the whole question is perhaps the most noticeable feature in the villages; and this is not to be wondered at when we consider that the only information available is such as is contained in short paragraphs in the Press, oftener than not dealing with the question in a partial and misleading manner. Judging from private conversations, etc., I consider that there is a steadily growing and deeply

rooted conviction amongst the village women that the cause of Woman Suffrage is a right and just one; and it is generally for economic and social reasons that they fear to give expression to their convictions. But the ignorance is gradually lifting, and courage is growing; and much may be done by a generous attitude on the part of a speaker towards the men. It is a fatal mistake to allow it to be thought or felt that the woman is against the man; and the earnestly expressed statement that women do not claim to be better or more clever than men, and are only asking to be allowed to take their share in trying to make the world happier and better for men, women, and children, will always be received with expressions of approbation by the village working-women.

CONSTANCE COCHRANE.

(Rural District Councillor and Guardian; Member County Education Committee; Mem. R. San. I.; Member Advisory Committee on Housing to House of Commons; Treasurer Rural Housing Association; President Local Nursing Association; School Manager; Hon. Sec. (for 24 years) of Boarding Out Committee.)
The Downs, St. Neots.

MILITANCY: A PLEA.

As an interested reader of your paper, I should like to add something to the views expressed in this week's issue as to the "effect of militant tactics on the average voter." We are told that abundant proof that militant action has kept the cause back is to be found in the common attitude of the average electors at the polling-booths. I should like to point out that the man who bases his objection to Woman Suffrage on the militancy of those who want it very badly is not worth conversion. Such a man belongs to that large class which will grudgingly admit the justice of the claim, but has no enthusiasm, and would do nothing for it even if there were no militants to provide him with a convenient excuse for opposing.

But what at the present time constitutes a going forward or a going backward in this matter? Is it a growing or diminishing number of converts among the electorate? Were petitions effective I should answer, "Yes"; under present conditions most decidedly "No," for the Government has not the slightest intention of asking the country its opinion on the matter. I submit that were every man in the country in favour of this reform we should still be no nearer its accom-

plishment, unless behind that academic approval there were enthusiasm, passion, deep anxiety to bring it about, which is the only driving force which moves Governments. Now that driving force is abundantly present among the women of the country, but not, except in a very small section, among the men. It is human nature to cling to power and to dislike sharing it, and although I firmly believe that the sense of justice among men is so strong that a referendum on the question would certainly result in our favour, yet there will never be enough enthusiasm to induce them, in any considerable numbers, to set aside at an election, where so many issues are presented, their own claims and to think first of women. No; the matter lies not between the women and the electorate, but between the women and the Government. The opinion of the electorate may be taken as expressed in the majority of 110 in the House of Commons. But of what avail is even that if the Government continue to ignore it?

The measure of our progress, then, will be the measure of our success in inducing the Cabinet to remove its Veto. How are militant methods going to do that? Every time there is an outbreak of militancy the unfair attitude of the Cabinet towards this question is emphasised, their flouting of the House of Commons' majority is driven home. They hate these outbreaks, for every time they occur their position becomes more false; for we have to remember that even in the Cabinet it is only a minority which is confessedly Anti-Suffragist.

By militant methods, then, women can show the Government that every blow struck at the advancement of their cause is not the death-knell of their hopes, under which they meekly sink, oppressed with a horrible sense of helplessness. They have one weapon left which, if it does nothing else, at least enables them to express the freedom of a soul which refuses to submit tamely to injustice.

But though not employed to convert individuals to the principle of Woman Suffrage, but rather to exercise pressure on the Cabinet, what shall we say of the loyalty and passionate devotion towards the cause, and towards those who sacrifice so much for it among those who for various reasons cannot take an active part? From those women who realise the true inwardness of militant action gratitude is poured forth in the form of money and service, which makes the withdrawal of approval among a certain class of men a trivial matter indeed. In the words of the writer of the pamphlet, "Homo Sum": "For long, very long, I was half-hearted as to the woman's movement. From that inertia and stupidity I was

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confer on
A Bill to extend the Parliamentary Franchise to Women Occupiers.

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

The alterations shown above have been made to allow of free amendment in Committee, and to overcome the objection that the Bill as it originally stood rendered the creation of fagot votes possible.

SEND TO-DAY TO—

THE
MEN'S LEAGUE
FOR WOMEN'S
SUFFRAGE,

159, ST. STEPHEN'S
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who will supply (free) copies of this advertisement for exhibition and distribution by suffrage workers.

roused by the militant Suffragists. I read of delicate and fastidious women who faced the intimate disgust of prison life because they and their sister-women wanted a vote. Something caught me in the throat. I felt that they were feeling, and then, because I felt, I began to understand."

I cannot help thinking that whatever increases in women that intensity, that devotion and self-sacrifice, however expressed, to this great movement, is giving strength and impetus to the force which will eventually sweep away all opposition and carry us to victory.

ELEANOR A. ARMSTRONG.

Fairholme, Jarrow-on-Tyne, April 15th, 1911.

[Our correspondent writes—nearly all militants do—as if there were no alternative between "meekly sinking" under rebuffs and having recourse to riot. The fact remains that constitutional Suffragists have redoubled their efforts after each of the last three Second Readings and have brought on the electors enormously, as is seen in the Town Council resolutions. This we believe is the sound political and social method. It may seem slower than active rebellion, but there is less to undo. If we believed, as our correspondent seems to do, that the voters count for nothing, we should not want the vote!

This correspondence must now cease.—Ed. "C. C."]

HAVE WOMEN SOULS?

As this question has been referred to in your issues of the 6th and 20th, the following passage from the Journal of George Fox, the Founder of the Society of Friends, will, I think, be of interest to your readers:—

[A.D. 1647.] I met with a sort of people that held women have no souls (adding in a light manner), no more than a goose. But I reproved them, and told them that was not right; for Mary said, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour."—Journal I, 8, 9 (8th edit., 1901).

Even now many Anti-Suffragists take up a position which seems to me founded on the underlying assumption that the moral nature of a woman is essentially inferior to that of a man, at least in its scope. For able and highly educated Anti-Suffragists frequently assert that politics and legislation are outside woman's sphere. As legislation is to a large extent the national interpretation of what is righteous in regard to such parts of our moral life as the nation deems may be fitly regulated by Act of Parliament, it seems to me to follow that if this department of national life is outside the sphere of woman, the moral nature of women must be not only essentially different to the moral nature of men, but also very inferior, at least in range.

The Anti-Suffragist position therefore seems to me necessarily to imply, in a country which is democratically governed, one or both of these two propositions:—(1) That laws and government are outside the realm of morals; (2) that women are, at least in one very important respect, morally inferior to men.

Moral questions for the most part appertain not to sex, but to humanity, and even in that department of morals where sex comes in, these moral questions belong not to one sex but to both.

CHAS. W. PIDDUCK.

MARRIED WOMEN AND TAXATION.

I think you will be interested to hear of a test case which our League has taken up in order to establish the status of the married woman in this country. A bailiff has been "put in possession" for non-payment of Imperial taxes by Mrs. Cleeves, of Swansea, for which taxes she, as a married woman, was not liable. We served an injunction to eject him, but as he had remained on the premises for three days we are now about to sue for damages in the High Court. We have placed the case in the hands of Mr. Joynton Hicks, who assures us that it is bound to succeed. Nevertheless, we desire to have a large sum of money guaranteed in order to safeguard ourselves in the event of an unexpected failure.

MARGARET KINNON PARKES.

10, Talbot House, 93, St. Martin's Lane, 20th April, 1911.

THE PROCESSION ON JUNE 17th.

Since the National Union has decided to walk in the procession on 17th June, I hope that all our members will combine in making it a huge success. Let us be there in tens of thousands. Let us forget all that divides the two great societies, and let us think only of the cause which unites us. We want the Colonial potentates and other important persons who will be then in London to see such a sight as has never been seen before—such a gigantic procession and two such gigantic meetings in Hyde Park and the Albert Hall as our cause has never even yet produced.

I hope the societies will send up as many of their members as possible, and will devote all their energy to making the National Union's share of the procession most splendid.

I. O. FORD.

Adel Grange.

LETTERS TO MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

I think it may be of value at this present crisis to hear of one proof that personal letters to M.P.'s are of value. I was dining in the House of Commons, on the night of the last Women's Suffrage debate, with Mr. Noel Buxton, M.P., when

"ARTOX" CONTAINS 100 per cent. OF THE WHOLE WHEAT.

(that is, the whole of the wheat berry), not 80 per cent. as in so-called Standard Bread.

Anything less is not really wholemeal. The objection to much of the brown bread is that it contains bran in a coarse, indigestible form. By a special process



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he told Mr. Brailsford (who was one of our little party) how much he had been convinced of the real desire that women have for the Suffrage by the very large number of letters he had received from women asking him to be present at the debate; "and what so impressed me was that these letters were not mere circulars, were not even typewritten, but the women had actually given themselves the trouble to write the letters personally in their own handwriting. Few things have impressed me so deeply on the subject."

EMILY FORD.

44, Glebe Place, Chelsea.

TOWN COUNCILS AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

The principal difficulty in getting a Town Council to pass a resolution in support of the Conciliation Bill appears to be that the Councillors object to the introduction of politics in the Council. May I suggest to the Societies who meet with this difficulty that it is open to them to call a town meeting, which can be done on the requisition of a certain number (I believe, twenty) of ratepayers. The business-like Town Councillor would probably prefer to settle the matter by half an hour's discussion in the Council.

MAUD SLATER.

April 21st, 1911.

Work of Societies in the Union.

EASTERN FEDERATION.

NORWICH.—A large and sympathetic gathering of the Norwich Women's Suffrage Society was held on March 31st at the Thatched Assembly Rooms, on the occasion of the annual meeting. Mrs. Stewart took the chair, and gave a very humorous and capable address. The chief speaker of the evening was Mr. Langdon, K.C., who spoke of the wisdom and desirability of the Conciliation Bill as marking the turning of the road in the right direction.

On March 30th the members of the YARMOUTH Society held a meeting in the Town Hall, to hear an eloquent address from Miss Abadam, who urged all women to stand firm for the recognition of their rights as citizens, and thereby possess the power to help and uplift their own sex. The chair was taken by Dr. J. Ryly. A resolution in favour of Women's Suffrage was passed with only one dissenter.

NORTH HERTS.—The annual meeting was held on March 30th, in the Workman's Hall, Hitchin, the chair being taken by the Rev. P. M. Wather, rector of Welwyn, in the absence of the president, Lord Lytton. The report showed most satisfactory work, the membership having grown from 186 to 370. Forty-five meetings of various kinds have been held, and resolutions carried by large majorities. It was noticed with regret that the member for this division (Dr. Hillier) had refused to pledge himself on behalf of the cause at the last election, although he had voted for the Conciliation Bill. A good balance-sheet was shown. Speeches were made by several of the members, one of whom, Mrs. F. Taylor, commented upon the unfair conduct of the London Press in suppressing, or only giving meagre accounts, of all important transactions connected with Women's Suffrage. On Friday, April 1st, Mrs. Nairn, speaking from a non-party point of view, gave an address on the Conciliation Bill in a discussion which was held on the subject of Women's Suffrage at a meeting of the Women's Liberal Association in Stevenage. Other Liberal speakers pointed out the democratic nature of the Bill. A meeting of the North Herts. Society was held in the Small Public Hall, Stevenage, on the same date, when Mrs. Nairn made a very excellent speech on the desirability of the vote as a means to an end, and pointed out how much of importance in modern life turned upon the women's question.

LEICESTER AND DISTRICT.—An afternoon meeting for associates was held on April 11th. The attendance was small, owing to so many of them being specially busy just before Easter; but it was an enthusiastic little gathering, and all present listened with close attention to Miss A. Villiers, of Stevenage, who gave an earnest and very interesting address. Tea was afterwards given, which afforded opportunity for little talks with the women who, all, at the conclusion of the meeting, promised to give help in one way or another.

MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT FEDERATION.

On Saturday, April 1st, the Manchester and District Federation held an "At Home" in the new Y.M.C.A. Buildings. Representatives from nearly all the Societies were present to welcome Miss K. D. Courtney and Mrs. Philip Snowden (the latter being in the middle of her Lancashire campaign), also the officers of the Federation. After tea, Miss Margaret Ashton, who presided, spoke of the present situation, and was followed by Mrs. Snowden, who urged all present to further efforts. Miss Ashton then presented Miss Courtney with a beautiful necklace and brooch of moonstones, on behalf of some of her friends and co-workers for the Cause in Manchester. In returning thanks, Miss Courtney spoke of her pleasant associations with Manchester, and of the pride she felt in the strength of the Federation, which had been started under her guidance when in Manchester.

ALTRINGHAM.—A White Elephant Tea was held on March 29th to raise funds for the Federation. Mrs. Alfred Haworth kindly lent her house for the occasion, and the substantial sum of £14 6s. was raised. A sub-committee had also been at work trying to get resolutions passed by the District Councils in this division, and the Hale Council has already done so, as reported in last week's "Common Cause."

ECCLES.—We have been very busy in the Eccles Division for the last six weeks working up a good meeting for Miss Ashton and Mrs. Snowden on March 31st. To do this it was thought advisable to have an "At Home" in the Burgon's Hall, Monton, March 7th, our chairman (Miss Thirza Potts, M.A.) and the Rev. Neander Anderton giving us very interesting addresses. Miss Sarah Potts, M.A., organized a canvass of some of the Eccles and Monton streets with good results, and about ten members promised to give out bills at the stations and in their different local organizations. Mr. Rowley, Miss Swindells, and Miss Walsingham entertained us with

music, Miss Swindells singing "The Awakening." Mrs. Rowley and friends undertook to provide tea. The Town Hall meeting was a splendid success; the room was full, and looked very gay with the Society's banners. The secretary has painted a string of banners, with Suffrage propaganda on, which were hung at the back of the platform, and looked very effective. They created quite a discussion in the audience before the meeting began. Councillor Lightfoot, of Flixton, occupied the chair, and very stirring and convincing speeches were delivered by Mrs. Snowden, Councillor Margaret Ashton, M.A., and Mr. W. Field-Bill. The resolution asking the Government to provide facilities this session for the passing of the Bill was carried, with only three adverse votes. Seventeen new members were enrolled, and eighty-seven copies of "The Common Cause" were sold—thanks to the splendid organization of the stewards by Mr. Ackroyd Potts.

KNUTSFORD.—The Knutsford Society has issued postcards for men and women voters to send to the member for this division, asking his support to the Bill. It is hoped that he will receive a thousand of these before May 5th.

LEIGH.—On Wednesday, March 29th, a public meeting was held in the Co-operative Hall. The speakers were Councillor Margaret Ashton and Mr. C. H. Burden, of Hyde; and the president (Mr. J. H. Stephen) was in the chair. About a hundred people were present, and a few new members joined the Society. An effort is being made to get the Borough Council to pass a resolution petitioning Parliament to grant facilities for the Conciliation Bill.

MANCHESTER.—The Manchester Society has been fully occupied during the last month in bringing special pressure to bear on the local members of Parliament to support Sir George Kemp's Bill through all its stages into law. A memorial, petitioning the Mayor of Salford to bring a resolution in favour of Women's Suffrage before the Salford Town Council, has been organised in Salford, and very largely signed. The Mayor's Council has been organised in Salford, and after some opposition, we have been successful in getting the resolution on the agenda, and it will come up at the next meeting of the Council on May 3rd, when we feel confident it will pass. It is felt that the Society ought to have a suitable library for reference and circulation, and efforts have been made to start it on proper lines.

OLDHAM.—We were fortunate in having Mrs. Philip Snowden and Mrs. J. B. Duckworth on April 7th at a public meeting in support of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. The Mayoress presided, and in the course of her remarks said she hoped the resolution which would be submitted to the meeting would be as well received as the Town Council resolution, which two days before was carried without a dissenter. The audience listened with pleasure and attention, and the resolution was carried *nem. con.*

ROCHDALE.—On April 6th there was a splendid meeting in the Town Hall, Rochdale, in support of the Conciliation Bill. Lady Beatrice Kemp was in the chair, and the speakers were Mrs. Snowden and Mr. F. Stanton Barnes (hon. treasurer of the Federation).

STOCKPORT.—A public meeting was held in the Wellington Road Council Schools on Wednesday, April 5th. Mrs. Rayner, the president of the Society, was chairman; and most interesting speeches were given by Mrs. Philip Snowden, Miss Margaret Robertson, B.A., and Mr. C. H. Burden, M.A. There are many people in Stockport still to be convinced, and many more to be persuaded to act up to their convictions; but the bright humour, the eloquence, enthusiasm, and sound logic of the addresses on the 5th must have valuable results in this way. The room was fairly well filled with an interested audience, twenty-nine of whom signed membership cards. A vote of thanks to all the speakers was proposed by Miss Barradale, and seconded by Mr. Arnold Little.

NORTH-EASTERN FEDERATION.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.—On April 4th a most successful reception was given at the office by Dr. Charlotte Brown and Miss Ericsson. Excellent speeches were made by Miss C. M. Gordon and Mr. Ericsson, which were well reported in the "Newcastle Daily Chronicle." Seven new members joined. A meeting was held at Benwell on April 10th, at which Miss Gordon made a spirited speech. Notices appeared in three of the Newcastle papers. On March 31st Miss Gordon had a fighting evening with the Congregationalists of Heaton Road, who were specially prepared with questions for the occasion. The weekly meetings have been held regularly, and have been much better attended this month. On March 22nd Dr. Macgregor made an original and striking speech on "The Story of the Franchise." On March 29th Mrs. Harrison Bell dealt with the economic aspect of the Suffrage in her usual capable and convincing way. On April 7th several short speeches were made by different members, advancing and answering the well-worn objections to Women's Suffrage.

SUNDERLAND.—In addition to the larger meetings, fortnightly meetings have been held at Meng's Café, Fawcett Street. On March 9th Mrs. Charlton Wilkinson, of Newcastle, spoke on "The Work of the N.U." On March 23rd Miss Weddell, of Newcastle, spoke on "The History of the Movement." On April 6th Mrs. Walford Common dealt with the anomalies of the laws affecting women, and Mrs. Mundella the collection, amounting to 20s., was given to the N.U. special fund for the Conciliation Bill. The meetings are to be renewed after Miss Ford's meeting on May 5th. A meeting of Young Liberals was held on March 16th to discuss Women's Suffrage. At their invitation Mrs. Walford Common took the chair, and Miss C. M. Gordon addressed the meeting. Questions were asked, and, though no vote was taken, the feeling of the meeting was strongly in our favour. A deputation, which Mr. E. Hooper kindly consented to introduce, arranged to wait upon Mr. Hamer Greenwood, M.P., to ask his support for the Conciliation Bill. Unfortunately, he was ill and unable to come North. Miss Johnson is arranging a deputation to Mr. Frank Goldstein, our junior member.

DARLINGTON.—A very successful drawing-room meeting was held in the Temperance Institute on Wednesday, March 22nd, by kind invitation of Mrs. Kaynes and Mrs. Foster. Mrs. Gray dealt with the question of women's emancipation from the earliest ages to the present day in the most delightful and convincing manner. Tea was served, and many new members enrolled.

SHELDON.—On April 5th the president (Mrs. Brown) gave an "At Home" to members and friends in the Dean Street Schools. More than seventy were present, and we gained nine new members. Mrs. Gray spoke on "Suffrage and Anti-Suffrage Ideals," and was listened to with great interest.

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HEXHAM.—Mrs. Graeme Thompson, of Stocksfield, gave a most successful drawing-room meeting on March 30th, at which Miss C. M. Gordon gave an excellent address, and Mrs. Pumfrey presided. At a meeting held at Mrs. Walton's house it was decided to have meetings at regular intervals, to which members might ask their friends, and thus try to increase the membership.

SOUTH WALES FEDERATION. **CARDIFF AND DISTRICT.**—We have had a series of very interesting meetings addressed by Miss Royden. That organized by the Park Ward was especially successful. At the end of the meeting two men raised some objection to her thesis, but the extent of their objection and the ground of it was not apparent. At the close of the meeting a resolution in favour of the Conciliation Bill was carried *nem. con.*, and one of the objectors above referred to seconded the vote of thanks to Miss Royden. At these meetings thirty-nine copies of "The Common Cause" were sold, 103 have been sold over and above the usual circulation, and four more permanent subscribers have been obtained. About 350 leaflets were given away, and several members volunteered to sell "The Common Cause" outside public meetings. A deputation has been received by Lord Ninian. This is reported elsewhere.

EXETER.—A pleasant gathering took place at the Small Barnfield Hall, when the president (Mrs. Walter Pring) and the committee of the Exeter branch were "At Home" to the members. The hall was prettily decorated with spring flowers, and tea was served at small tables. The new hon. secretary (Mrs. Frank Fletcher) was present to be introduced to the members. Miss Montgomery (late hon. secretary) spoke on "How to Prepare for the Vote," and urged the members to study social and industrial questions. Miss M. P. Willcocks observed that the last time she had addressed them it was with a request for money, to which Exeter had responded nobly. There was much need for it, because Devon and Cornwall were the most backward part of the whole community on the Suffrage question. Cornwall, however, "took fire" much more quickly than Devon, and the West of England organiser had lately added two energetic branches of the Society in Penzance and Falmouth. At present she was having rather a disheartening time at Newton Abbot, struggling against much indifference. Mrs. Frank Fletcher, who was received with warm applause, referred to a proposed meeting in support of the Conciliation Bill, which it is hoped to hold shortly, and of the preparatory work among the women ratepayers of Exeter, which she asked members to undertake. She also urged the formation of a lending library of Suffrage books and pamphlets, and expressed a hope that Miss Montgomery's plan of study would be carried out. The women ratepayers of Exeter are to be canvassed by the members in order to interest them in the Conciliation Bill, and they will be invited to a tea and public meeting on May 2nd.

PLYMOUTH.—Our members are very grateful to Mrs. and Dr. Ramsay for welcoming a large party of census invaders, who took shelter under their roof. Every room was occupied, and the comical appearance of the drawing-room, strewn with recumbent forms wrapped in blankets, kept some of the invaders awake from laughter. The report that the Suffragists were counted after all is certainly untrue as far as we are concerned, as we had it from the Registrar that the house was not watched. There was also some resistance at Exeter and Topsham.

At the annual meeting of the THREE TOWNS AND DISTRICT branch Mrs. Daymond took the chair, and all the officers and committee were unanimously re-elected. Dr. Mabel Ramsay, hon. secretary, moved the adoption of the report, which shows a gradually increasing membership. Thirty meetings of different kinds have been held in the district during the year, with an expenditure of £56 9s. A jumble sale will shortly be held to clear the deficit. Miss Norma Smith gave the address, which was much appreciated, and described the pioneer work she is doing at Newton Abbot.

Other Societies.

YOUNGER SUFFRAGISTS.

FORMATION OF A SOCIETY AT CAMBRIDGE. A social meeting was held on April 6th at the C.E.Y.M.S. Rooms with a view to starting a Younger Suffragists' branch in Cambridge. The organisers of the meeting had made a special point of distributing invitations to girls in business, as it was felt that an interest in Women's Suffrage could be more easily aroused if the speaker could deal with the question in one definite aspect directly appealing to the audience. The evening began with a little music, after which Mrs. Eaden, who very kindly acted as hostess, introduced Miss Ray Costelloe. Miss Costelloe gave a quite informal and thoroughly delightful speech on "How the Vote will Affect the Business Woman." Questions were asked, and there was time for discussion when the refreshment stage was reached. Twenty-two girls joined the Society as associates and two as members. There appears to be a really good opening for a Junior Suffrage Society in Cambridge, and much useful propaganda could be done with an adequate body of workers.

L. M. WHITEHOUSE (Acting Secretary).

Forthcoming Meetings.

APRIL 27.	Time
Oldham—Music Room, Werneth Park—Social for members and friends.	7.30
Leeds—Co-operative Guild, Burley—Mrs. Parrish.	7.30
Goole—St. Mary's Hall—Miss I. O. Ford.	Evening
Redhill—King's Hall, Colman Institute—Annual Meeting of Redhill, Reigate and District Society—Miss Nina Boyle.	8.0
Sunderland—Mrs. Jaques' Drawing-room Meeting—Miss Alice Low.	3.15
Sunderland—Miss Milbank's Drawing-room Meeting—Miss Alice Low.	7.45
West Bromwich—Y.M.C.A. Rooms—Debate—Miss E. Gardner, B.A.	Evening

APRIL 28.	Letchworth—Ashwell County Council School—Mrs. Rackham.	8.0
	Middlesbrough—Mrs. Howell's Drawing-room Meeting—Mrs. Merivale Mayer.	3.30
	Newcastle—Miss Louise Davies' "At Home"—Miss Alice Low.	3.30
	Banbury—Town Hall—Mrs. Fawcett, LL.D., Mrs. Osler, Rev. F. A. M. Spencer, M.A.	8.0
APRIL 29.	Sunderland—Girls' High School—Variety Entertainment—Tickets, 2s. and 1s.	8.0
MAY 1.	Leeds—Salem Congregational Chapel—Mrs. Parrish.	8.0
	Matton—Adult School—A. Taylor, Esq., J.P. (chairman), Mrs. Merivale Mayer.	8.0
	Eastbourne—Town Hall—Mass Meeting in support of Sir G. Kemp's Bill—Lady Stout.	8.0
	Newcastle—Forest Hall—Mrs. Mackenzie's Drawing-room Meeting—Miss Alice Low.	3.30
	Newcastle—27, Ridley Place—Committee's Reception—Miss Alice Low.	8.0
MAY 2.	Shrewsbury—Co-operative Hall—Mrs. Timpany.	7.30
	Bristol—111A, White Ladies Road—Lecture, "Reincarnation"—Miss Ley.	5.0
	Jarrow—Women's Liberal Association—Miss Low.	7.30
	Tynemouth—Parish Hall—Miss I. O. Ford.	7.30
MAY 3.	Darlington—Temperance Institute—Miss I. O. Ford.	3.0
	Shildon—Friends' Meeting House—Miss Ford, M. Watson, Esq., J.P. (chairman).	7.30
	Bristol—3, Mortimer Road—Working Party.	3.0
	Stocksfield—Institute—Miss Alice Low, Miss C. M. Gordon.	7.30
MAY 4.	Cambridge—Guildhall—Sir J. Cockburn, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Mr. G. Lansbury, M.P., Mrs. Nevinson.	8.0
	Croydon—Large Public Hall—Mass Meeting of Suffrage Societies.	8.0
	Leamington—Birch's Music Room—Franchise Club.	3.0
	Gateshead—Bewick Hall—Miss I. O. Ford.	7.30
	Hexham—Café—Miss Alice Low.	3.30
	Salford—Oldfield Hall—Members' Meeting.	7.30
MAY 5.	Sunderland—Edward Hall—Miss I. O. Ford, Mr. Murrills, Councillor J. S. Nicholson (chair).	8.0
	Sutton Coldfield—"Orotava," Station Road—Monthly Meeting.	3.30
MAY 6.	Newcastle—Barras Bridge Assembly Rooms—Mr. Murrills, Miss A. Maude Royden.	3.30
MAY 8.	Tynemouth—Mrs. Nisbet's Drawing-room Meeting—Miss Alice Low.	Afternoon
MAY 9.	Bradford—Mechanics' Institute—"How the Vote Was Won," "Change of Tenant"—Speaker, Miss I. O. Ford.	7.15
	Tunbridge Wells—Opera House—Actresses' Franchise League.	3.0
	Nottingham—Circus Street Hall—Councillor M. Ashton, M. Mitchell, Esq., Miss Horniman (chair).	8.0
MAY 10.	Camberley—Porterberry Hill—"White Elephant" Tea—Address by Mrs. Renton.	Afternoon
	Manchester—Memorial Hall—Debate on Tax Resistance.	7.30



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MAY 11.	Manchester—Hulme Town Hall—Mrs. F. T. Swanwick, M.A.	3.30
	Dublin—35, Molesworth Street—Irish W.S. and Local Government Association—Committee Meeting.	11.30

LONDON.

April 27.	Lambeth, Moffat Institute, Miss J. H. Thomson, B.A.	3.30
	Esher and E. Molesey, The Fountain, Open-air Meeting, Miss A. Dawson.	8.0
	Camberwell, Grove Lane, Miss Thompson.	8.0
	Esher and E. Molesey, Mrs. Willis's Drawing-room Meeting, Rev. N. Simmes.	3.15
April 28.	Camden Town, The Tabernacle, Mrs. Rogers.	8.0
April 29.	Highgate and N. St. Pancras, Cobden Statue, Camden Town, Miss Ruth Young, Miss Davies.	7.30
May 1.	Balham, Assembly Rooms, The Lady Frances Balfour, Mr. Chancellor, M.P.	8.0
	Camberwell, Grove Lane, Mr. Stephen.	8.0
May 2.	Willesden, Furness Road Council Schools, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Mr. L. Housman, Mr. Philip Snowden, chair W. B. Luke, Esq., J.P.	8.0
	Wimbledon, Mrs. Dewey's Drawing-room Meeting, Miss A. Maude Royden.	3.30
May 3.	Highgate and N. St. Pancras, Cobden Statue, Camden Town, Miss A. Maude Royden, Miss O'Malley.	7.30
	Portman Rooms, Baker Street, N.U. Demonstration in support of Sir G. Kemp's Bill, Mrs. Fawcett (chair), Miss C. Black, Miss C. Macmillan, and others.	3.0
May 4.	Wandsworth, Mrs. Badcock's Drawing-room Meeting, Miss Sheepshanks.	3.30
	Esher and E. Molesey, The Fountain, Open-air Meeting.	8.0
May 5.	Kingston, Market Place, Open-air Meeting, Mr. Gugenheim.	8.0
May 6.	Highgate and N. St. Pancras, Stabington Street, Camden Town, Open-air Meeting, Mrs. Stanbury.	7.30
May 8.	Stoke Newington, Raleigh Memorial Young Women's Guild, Debate, Miss Ransom.	8.0
May 10.	Wimbledon, St. Mark's Hall, Mrs. P. Snowden, J. C. Minchin, Esq. (chair).	8.30
	Portman Rooms, Baker Street, "At Home," Lady Stout, Hon. Mrs. Spencer Graves (chair).	3.30
May 11.	Esher and E. Molesey, The Fountain, Open-air Meeting, Mr. Kennedy.	8.0

SCOTLAND.

April 28.	Edinburgh, 40, Shandwick Place, Miss F. Raeburn.	4.30
April 29.	Glasgow, 202, Hope Street, Opening of New Offices, Cake and Candy Sale.	2.0
May 1.	Edinburgh, 40, Shandwick Place, Mrs. Guyer, Miss E. Foggo.	8.30

SCOTTISH FEDERATION.

CAMPAIGN IN SUPPORT OF THE CONCILIATION BILL.			
Date.	Place.	Speaker.	Organizers.
April 27—Tain.		Miss Abadam.	The Misses Matheson.
April 28—Dingwall.		Miss Abadam.	The Misses Matheson.
May 2—Aberdeen—Miss Abadam—Local Society.			
May 24—East Edinburgh—Miss Nina Boyle—Local Society.			
May 4—Montrose Burghs, Forfar—Miss Abadam—Miss Kirby.			
May 4—Montrose Burghs, Brechin—Miss Abadam—Miss Kirby.			
May 5—Montrose Burghs, Montrose—Miss Abadam—Miss Kirby.			
May 6—Montrose Burghs, Arbroath—Miss Abadam—Miss Kirby.			
May 5—Kirkcaldy Burghs, Kinghorn—Miss Boyle—Miss Swan.			
May 6—St. Andrews Burghs, Anstruther—Miss Boyle—Local Society.			
May 8—St. Andrews Burghs, St. Andrews—Miss Boyle—Local Society.			
May 8—St. Andrews Burghs, Cupar—Miss Abadam—Local Society.			
May 10—St. Andrews Burghs, Crail—Miss Abadam—Local Society.			
May 9—Dundee—Miss Abadam and Miss Boyle—Local Society.			
May 10—12—Glasgow Campaign—Miss Boyle—Local Society.			
May 11—Kirkcaldy.		Miss Abadam.	
May 12—15—Border Burghs and Melrose—Miss Abadam—Misses Smith and Barber.			
May 16—Berwick.		Miss Abadam.	Local Society.

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May 18—Port Glasgow.	Miss Abadam.	Local Society.
May 19—Kilmarnock.	Miss Abadam.	Local Society.
May 20—Thornhill (Dumfries County)—Miss Abadam—Miss Wright.		
May 22—Inverleithen.	Miss Abadam.	Miss Beauchamp.
May 23—Selkirk.	Miss Abadam.	Miss Beauchamp.
May 1—Nairn—Miss Abadam—Northern Federation.		

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THE NEW CONCILIATION BILL.

Amended to meet objections, will be introduced on May 5th. To counteract MISREPRESENTATION, Suffragists and the general public should be made acquainted with its provisions and effect. Broadcast distribution of the two-colour explanatory leaflet just drawn up by Miss Margaret Robertson, B.A., is the best means of doing so. To be had only from THE WILLIAM MORRIS PRESS, 42, ALBERT STREET, MANCHESTER, at the prices following:—250 3s. 6d., 500 5s., 1,000 9s., 2,000 17s., 3,000 24s., 5,000 37s. 6d., all carriage paid.

ROYAL ABBEY LAUNDRY AND CLEANING WORKS,
CHISWICK PARK, W.
All Workers in Receipt of Living Wage.
Telephone: 588 Hammersmith.

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Manchester and Salford Cars to all parts pass close to the Hotel.
PASSENGER LIFT. TWO NIGHT PORTERS.
Re-decorated and re-furnished.
National Telephone 5538 & 5539 City, Manchester.
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Oxenford Hall Boarding Establishment,
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(Opposite Martyr's Memorial in centre of city).
Terms Moderate.

THE TEA CUP INN,

1, Portugal Street, Kingsway, W.C.
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Light Luncheons, Hot and Cold.
Afternoon Teas. Home Cookery.
Moderate Charges.

Hull Society.

A Suffrage Stall will be held in the Market, on Tuesday, May 2nd.
At Home, 17, Jameson Street, Tuesdays, 3to 6.

PREPAID ADVERTISEMENTS.

Not exceeding 10 words: 1 insertion, 9d.; 2 insertions, 1s. 6d.; 3 insertions, 1s. 6d.; 4 insertions, 2s. 9d.; 5 insertions, 3s. 6d. Every additional ten words, 6d. extra per insertion. All payments for Advertisements should be made to the Manager, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester.

BICYCLES.—Lady Cyclists desiring to purchase on Favourable Terms, either Cash or Deferred Payments, can save money, and secure a really High-grade Bicycle, bargain, for £4 10s. and 25 5s. With 3-speed gear, £5 15s. and £6 10s. Marvellous value. Beautiful Catalogue free. Supplied to 20 Royalties.—New Rapid Cycle, Co., Ltd., Birmingham.

BONELESS CORSETS, unbreakable. Illustrated List Free.—Knitted Corset Company, Nottingham.

DORA MOLES' Home-made Shampoo Balm.—Use it when you wash your Hair. Miss Irene Vanburgh says: "I shall never use anything else." In Jars, 1s., 1s. 6d., and 2s. 6d.—Trebovir House, Bar's Court, S.W.

LADY, having let her house for the London season, wishes to find temporary situations for her staff—four altogether,—from May till July 30th. Housekeeper, cook, housemaid, young footman; wages £20 per month, and travelling expenses. A young under-housemaid also, if desired.—G. 22.

OLD FALSE TEETH.—We give highest possible prices for above. Offers made; if unacceptable, teeth returned. Dealers in Old Gold or Silver in any form. Bankers' references. Straightforward dealing.—Woolfall and Company, Southport.

REMNANTS!—Genuine White Art Irish Linen! Big pieces; suitable for d'oyles, tea-cloths, traycloths, etc.; per bundle only 2s. 6d.; postage 4d. extra. Catalogue free.—Write to-day to Hutton's, 159, Lame, Ireland.

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MISS MORRIS, Typist.—Prompt; moderate charges.—3, Westbourne Road, Sydenham.

SECRETARY Cardiff Women's Liberal Association seeks Secretarial Post; 24 years' experience; £80.—Miss G. S. Milner, 25, Llanbleddian Gardens, Cardiff.

SHORTHAND, TYPEWRITING, RE-DUPLICATING; experienced.—M. E. Phillips, 50, Temple Road, Croydon.

THE POST of Literature Secretary and Saleswoman to the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies is now open. Salary 30s. a week. Some business training essential.—Apply by letter to Miss O'Malley, 51, Poulton's Square, Chelsea.

WHERE TO LIVE.

BRIGHTON.—Board-residence. — Miss Turner, W.S.P.U., "Sea View," Victoria Road.

CADOGAN SQUARE (Close to).—Lady wishes to sub-let, for season; two Sitting and two Bedrooms, first and second floor, beautifully furnished; 84s. weekly, including good cooking and attendance.

COUNTRY NURSING AND CONVALESCENT HOMES, Penn's Lane, Erdington, near Birmingham. For Paying Patients. (Under the distinguished patronage of the Countess of Bradford). Medical, Surgical, Massage. Permanent Patients received in Homes. (Care of one delicate child). Fully certified. Hospital-trained Nurses sent out on application.—Miss C. Fallows, Matron. Telephone: 537 Erdington. Telegrams: "Nursing, Erdington."

HOSTEL FOR LADIES.—Central. Highly recommended.—Miss Sullivan, 50, Osnaburgh Street, Portland Road Station, W. Terms moderate.

HOSTEL FOR PROFESSIONAL WOMEN.—27, Swinbourne Grove, Withington, Manchester.

MEMBER N.U.W.S.S. wants small Unfurnished Bedroom in London private house or flat. When occasionally occupied would require breakfast. Small sum quarterly, or by mutual arrangement use of cottage in lovely country, week-ends, etc., in exchange.—"W," Office of "The Common Cause," 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester.

NORMANDY.—Chalet de la Vierge, Villerville, Calvados. Monsieur and Madame le Métayer receive ladies en famille. No English spoken. Good drinking water. Piano. Garden, safe bathing, good cycling, charming walks. Motor buses to Trouville and Honfleur. From six francs daily.

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QUANTOCK HILLS, SOMERSET.—Lady's newly-furnished Cottage to let for summer; 10s. weekly.—Alpha, 6, St. John's Terrace, Weston-super-Mare.

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TINTAGEL, N. CORNWALL.—Charming stone-built Bungalow, five rooms, bathroom, hot and cold water, small garden, to let, unfurnished; rent £20 a year. Apply Homan, Tintagel.

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TREBOVIR HOUSE, Earl's Court.—High-class Board Residence, very highly recommended. Close to Piccadilly Tube and District Railway.

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NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES, 14, Gt. Smith St., S.W.

President

Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, 58, Victoria Street, S.W.

President

The LADY FRANCES BALFOUR.

PROGRAMME
OF
THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

AT THE

Portman Rooms, Baker Street, W.,

ON WEDNESDAY, MAY 3rd.

Admission FREE.

Entrance in Dorset Street.

THE CHAIR WILL BE TAKEN AT 3 p.m., BY

Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.,

WHO WILL DELIVER A

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

Miss STERLING will then speak on the
Constitution and Policy of the N.U.W.S.S.,

FOLLOWED BY

Councillor MARGARET ASHTON, M.A.,

ON

Recent Developments in its Financial Position,

AFTER WHICH

Miss CLEMENTINA BLACK, Mrs. CORBETT ASHBY,
Miss CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN, Miss MARGARET ROBERTSON,
and Mrs. VIRIAMU JONES,

WILL GIVE BRIEF ACCOUNTS OF THE

WORK of the N.U.W.S.S.

In the various districts of Great Britain.

From 3 p.m. onwards

The National Delegates will sign a Resolution

DEMANDING FACILITIES FOR SIR GEORGE KEMP'S

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE BILL,

TO BE SENT TO THE

PRIME MINISTER

AND

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

Special Badges and Bannerets for the occasion. The Public are welcome.