

Red, White and Green!
Pass the Bill!

The Common Cause.

The Organ of the Women's Movement for Reform.

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ONE PENNY.



R. A. Marshall.

WOMAN AT THE OPEN DOOR.

"Mr. Asquith has left the door ajar, and he knows it. It is for us to throw ourselves against the door—a heavy door—and its hinges are rusty with prejudice and cant. We must use all our strength and all our sense."—(Mrs. Fawcett, Queen's Hall, June 28, 1910.)

The News of the Week.

Democratic Methods.

The policy of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies is meeting its reward. That policy has been based upon a firm belief in representation and education. To educate the electors, that they may understand the justice and urgency of women's need for the vote, equally with,—nay even more than men; to induce the electors to put pressure upon Members of Parliament; to induce Members and Candidates to pledge themselves publicly to our cause; to help our friends to get into the House and to try to keep our enemies out; these have been the methods of the National Union, and we have steadily pursued them. Ever since 1867 propaganda has been carried on, and about five years ago a determined effort was made to bring the question more vividly before the electors. At the General Election of 1906 a large number of promises were made, but subsequent events proved that there had not yet been propaganda enough, that many of the pledges were not public enough, and that the electors were not yet awake to the urgency and intensity of the women's demand. Since then the National Union has intervened in every by-election, and at the General Election of 1910 secured the favourable mention of Women's Suffrage in 255 election addresses and pledges from over 400 sitting Members. In addition to this, the Electors' Petition, worked partially in about one-third of the constituencies, revealed an enormous amount of support for the enfranchisement of women ratepayers, the number of signatures being over 290,000. It is all this hard work which has filled the House of Commons with a majority of Suffragists, and which will make them feel that, in voting for the women and in pressing for further facilities they will indeed be voicing the electors,—will, in truth, be acting democratically.

Progress of the Bill.

Lord Robert Cecil not only spoke at the reception of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association last week, but wrote a letter to the "Times" on the 30th, in which he said that if Mr. Shackleton's Bill were taken on an early day (which it will be), and the House pass the second reading, the Bill will "automatically go to a Grand Committee. The only further stages in the House itself would be those of report and third reading, and it has yet to be proved that time could not be found to dispose of those stages before the holidays.

Whatever opinion may be held on the subject, the Suffrage is a question of first importance. If the Bill is defeated or amended by the Legislature after debate, no one has any right to complain. But if the Bill is stifled by the exercise of Parliamentary "tactics" on the part of his Majesty's Ministers, that is a substitution of the will of the Cabinet for the will of the House of Commons, and is as unconstitutional as it is provocative to those who feel deeply on the subject."

It is stated that Lord Hugh Cecil is also prepared to vote for the Bill, and Mr. Arthur Balfour and Mr. Lytton are other distinguished Conservative Suffragists.

While there's Life there's Hope.

With the promise of an autumn session, the possibility of the drawing out of suspense is increased. The Bill, when it has passed its second reading, will then be referred to Committee, and it is for our friends to see that it is a Grand Committee, and not a Committee of the whole House, for that means death. Then, with the granting of the small amount of time necessary for the further stages, the Bill should be sent up to the Lords before the summer recess. But politicians are slow with non-party questions, and they may choose to drag out the stages into the autumn session. If there is time then it is no great matter; but woe betide them should they tell us then that there is no time! For there is time now; as our readers will see, under Parliamentary News, the House is rising early, night after night. Members of Parliament "have no work to do," and it would be a kindness to give them employment.

More Support for the Bill.

Speaking at a Labour demonstration in Blackburn on the 25th, Mr. Shackleton, M.P., said that "despite all that had been said by the Prime Minister and others, he knew of no good or sufficient reason why the Bill should not become law this session."

Resolution for Trafalgar Square.

The following resolution will be put on the 9th:—"That this meeting calls upon all Members of Parliament to vote for the Second Reading of Mr. Shackleton's Bill, and to secure its passing through all its stages in the House of Commons this session."

Among the speakers will be Mrs. Allan Bright, Mrs. Cooper, Miss I. O. Ford, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Miss Sterling, Mrs. Ayres Purdie, Miss Chrystal Macmillan, Dr. Elsie Inglis, Miss Margaret Robertson, and, it is hoped, Dr. Anna Shaw.

The Divorce Commission.

Mrs. F. T. Swanwick gave evidence before the Divorce Commission last week. She held that the civil contract of marriage should be concerned only to encourage monogamy in the interests of the children and of family life. When, therefore, infidelity on the part of either or both of the partners could not be followed by divorce, the law actually encouraged polygamy. She advocated compulsory civil marriage and the extension of the facilities for divorce, believing that this would work in the direction of a decrease of immorality. The double standard was unjust and immoral; it was injurious to motherhood, and constituted a danger to single women. Mrs. Swanwick put in a plea for the representation of women on juries and the magisterial bench, and said that until women were allowed to practise as lawyers and more opportunities were given to women to practise as doctors, women generally were at a great disadvantage. The whole tendency of modern law and administration was to put married women more and more at the mercy of their husbands by taking away their means of earning. Marriage and motherhood were held to be the chief end of women's existence; yet the one might be defiled and the other imperilled with impunity under the present law. She deprecated the consideration of divorce as a "punishment"; she was thinking of the race.

Dr. Massie and his late Constituents.

Speaking at Bristol last Friday, Mrs. Snowden referred to Dr. Massie's boast that his late constituents did not care about Women's Suffrage. The working men of Swindon had, she said, invited her, through their Trades Council, to speak to them, and over 2,000 of them had greeted with ringing cheers her scathing criticisms of Dr. Massie's anti-suffragism.

The Anti-Suffragists.

A great effort is being made by the Anti-Suffrage Leagues to "pack" (in their own naive language) a meeting in the Queen's Hall on the 11th. They have a difficult task to perform, for, true to their well-known methods, they call it a public meeting, and then refuse to sell tickets to any but their supporters. They even postulate that tickets given away by them should not be transferred.

In the House an Anti-Suffrage Committee has been formed, whose whip is Mr. Arnold Ward; it is said that they have found among the Unionists 99 unfavourable to the Bill, 64 favourable, and 29 doubtful. What price that? Lord Cromer has been congratulating Mr. Asquith on his "moral courage." One wonders how Mr. Asquith enjoys it. Sir F. Banbury took the chair at a recent Anti-Suffrage meeting of Members. We wish them joy of their distinguished leader.

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

ADVERTISEMENTS should reach the office by first post on Tuesday.

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

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

3 MONTHS	...	1	9
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 beforehand as possible. Monday is only mentioned as the last possible day, not as the one upon which all news should arrive.

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

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The Present Situation.

It shows an immense advance in the Suffrage cause that the Government has consented to give two days of Government time for the debate on the second reading of Mr. Shackleton's Bill.

But let there be no shouting until we are out of the wood. The enemies of Women's Suffrage in Parliament will do their best to strangle the Bill on the second reading. They will persuade such Liberals as are easily led astray, that they must oppose the Bill because it is "undemocratic"; and in the same breath they will persuade weak-kneed Conservatives that they should oppose the Bill because it is "democratic."

Every nerve, every fibre of our strength will be needed to make the debate and division on the second reading what they ought to be. I repeat what I said at the Council meeting, that our policy is to concentrate on one thing at a time. We have got the early day for which last week we were pressing. We must now set our whole strength to the task of bringing about a good division on the second reading and a further good division in favour of sending the Bill to a Grand Committee and not to a Committee of the whole House. A Committee of the whole House was the grave of Mr. Stanger's Bill. We will have no more of that.

The autumn session is another advantage to us, for that takes away the last shred of the excuse of want of time. The growing conviction that the General Election cannot be postponed beyond next January is another point in our favour. Members of all parties will think twice before they take a course which will thoroughly disaffect many of the most active and strenuous of their women supporters, and give an enormous encouragement to the winning of Women's Suffrage candidates. The National Union demonstration in the support of Mr. Shackleton's Bill, which is to be held in Trafalgar Square next Satur-

day, at 3 o'clock, will show what the National Union can do in the way of a single week's work. I urge our members in all the Societies to put everything on one side and join the demonstration, and thus open the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf to the needs of unrepresented womanhood.

MILLCENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

The Open Door.

The Prime Minister's statement of the proposed order of business, made on the afternoon of the 30th, caused the most tremendous relief. It had seemed to many of us incredible that a Liberal Prime Minister should actually slam the door in the face of a majority of his own party and, of his own initiative, put a veto on his own House, while endeavouring to stir up feeling in the country against the veto of the Upper House. We had his statement on the 23rd that "the Government recognize that the House ought to have opportunities, if that is their deliberate desire, for effectively dealing with the whole question," and we took it that this really meant something. On the other hand, there was the further statement that they could not "afford further facilities to the Bill this session," and that the second reading would not be taken at an early date. Suffragists all knew that, unless there was to be an autumn session (which, as far as the lifetime of a Bill is concerned, counts as part of the same session), there would certainly not be time for the remaining stages of the Bill if the second reading were not taken soon. Further, they knew that only by the granting of "further facilities"—that is to say, Government time—could the Bill pass its remaining stages. Therefore the one thing needful was to press for an early date and for further facilities.

The Conciliation Committee addressed themselves whole-heartedly to this task, and, with the enthusiastic aid of the Suffrage Societies, secured the signatures of 196 Members of Parliament to a Memorial to the Prime Minister. We give elsewhere the names of the Memorialists, and we would urge that not only the Conciliation Committee, but these 196 gentlemen deserve the warm thanks of Suffragists for this effort. It may seem a small thing to some women that men should ask merely that a few days should be given by Parliament to the consideration of a question for which women have worked for forty years. But we must remember that in the complexity of interests and the cross-currents of political parties, any question which tends to cut across parties may seem to weaken the causes which the electors and therefore the Members have at heart. We know, of course, that nothing could more surely sap the confidence and the enthusiasm of a party whose watchword is Reform, than the suspicion that, after all, the leaders of the party did not care about ideals or principles in the very least, and we know that it would rend the party from top to bottom if the foundations were to crumble, as indeed they will, should the cry of the women be smothered. But the meaner sort of politician is not farsighted; he has no real faith in human nature; he thinks great causes can be won or lost by chicanery and wire-pulling and dishonesty. The "Spectator" apparently thinks that such men are in the majority and that their counsels will prevail. We hope, and we have good cause to hope, that this is not so. We know that, even if such counsels did prevail for a time, they could not permanently defeat our great and irresistible march. They could delay it; they could cause waste of effort, agony of mind, bitterness of spirit; they could emphasize the sense of loneliness which comes over women when they find men who cannot see the beauty of their vision of equality—men who would make freedom a privilege for one half of the race, not a condition necessary for the full development of the whole. Stupid, cruel, tyrannous children we women held such men to be. Were we to think they were actually in the majority? We knew they were not. Were the majority of right-minded men to be, then, so feeble and uncertain that they would allow themselves to be muzzled and overridden by a reactionary minority? We hoped not. These 196 Members have shown Mr.

Asquith that besides all the men who are pledged to vote for us in the House, there is a very considerable section who regard further delays as unstatesmanlike, and who desire a speedy settlement.

The situation now is that the debate on the second reading will take place on the 11th and possibly 12th July, and the vote then registered will determine the further fate of the Bill. We of the National Union have no fear; we have worked so hard and so steadily to fill the House with our friends; we have so educated the electors to support us; we have so built from the bottom up, in honesty of purpose and moderation of argument, in faith, in hope and in charity, that we submit our cause with joy to the free arbitration of the House. We have always felt that men would, when they once understood, be glad to give us freedom with both hands, and with all our hearts we wish it to be so.

In previous debates, held as they always have been in the fragments of time allotted to private Members, the best gift a friend could give us was that of a silent vote, lest in his ardour he should help the enemy to "talk out" the Bill. The Anti-Suffragists made most of the speeches, and by the nature of them did, perhaps, the best service to the women's cause. Now the question is no longer "academic." A vote will be taken, and a vote that will matter enormously. We have had a majority of 179 for the Bill "on the same terms as men." But that, said our enemies, was merely academic. What will this vote be? Enough, we hope and believe, to make the necessary further stages a certainty.

For there is to be an autumn session. This is the best of news for us. If the House rises too soon to accomplish the Committee, Report, and Third Reading before the recess, there will be time between November and Christmas to complete these stages. It is for us to see that they are completed. How?

There is no motto more useful for every-day life than "It's dogged as does it." Enthusiasm is good, fire is needed to keep us going, but steady, wise and continuous work is what tells in the long run. We are now seeing the value of organization and decentralization. A network of Societies all over the country, composed largely of people of weight and standing in their own district, can put that sort of pressure upon Members which must and should count for much. We can now, also, keep the whole country informed of what does actually happen and of its meaning; we rely no longer on a Press mainly interested in keeping us and our demand in the background. Silence must kill a great popular movement. We must see to it that every stage in this struggle is thoroughly explained to the country. Politicians and newspapers may say the question has not been "before the country"; the people know better. Women have put it before the country as no other question has ever been put and women will see to it that the country shall follow every step of the fight and shall not be deceived.

We do not fear the light. The more the people know of our demand, the more they are with us. The country watches with intense interest the issue of the vote to be taken next week in the House. A tremendous muster of Members is expected. Then, ours will be the duty of carrying on the propaganda in the country so that further stages may be a necessity and this great democratic struggle may be brought to a peaceful and triumphant conclusion.

A Democratic Measure.

The question of the enfranchisement of women has at last entered the sphere of practical politics—so much is conceded even by its opponents. The second reading of the Bill to enfranchise women occupiers is fixed for July 11th and 12th, and we begin to ask ourselves what practical objections can be raised against it. The text of the Bill is given elsewhere.

It will be seen at once that whereas a man may claim to be placed on the register in respect of property, occupation, residence, lodging, service or University qualification, under this Bill women may claim in respect of occupation only.

An "occupier" is a person who uses his or her premises as a dwelling-house or as a place of business, and for the purposes of voting the clear yearly value must be not less than £10. Joint occupation qualifies for the Parliamentary vote except in the case of husband and wife.

It is worthy of note that the only objection made to the Bill by those who profess to support the principle of Women's Suffrage is that it is not sufficiently "democratic." We may, therefore, assume that this question will be raised in the debate on the 11th and 12th, in so far as the time is not occupied by Anti-Suffragist speeches, with whose tenour we are so familiar that we will not comment on them here. The question as to whether this Bill is, or is not, "democratic" is, on the contrary, extremely interesting; to answer it, it is necessary to understand exactly what is meant by the word, and it is obvious from the utterances of various politicians that they believe it to mean very different things.

We suggest the following amongst some of the meanings:—

To be democratic is:—

- (1) To vote with the party of the person using the word.
- (2) To act in accordance with the supposed wishes of the working classes.
- (3) To act in accordance with the wishes of persons with small incomes.
- (4) To carry out the wishes of the present electorate; and
- (5) (This is the meaning assigned to the word by the dictionary) To insist on equal rights and privileges for all.

Now it is quite clear that when Mr. Asquith talks about being democratic he is not using the word in the dictionary sense, as he has never even pretended to insist on equal rights and privileges for all. As far as we can gather, he means rather that he is concerned about the wishes of persons with small incomes and with the wishes of the present electorate.

In respect of both these classes, the present Bill is calculated to satisfy him and others who use the word democratic in the same sense. The large majority of the women enfranchised will undoubtedly be persons with small incomes; and though it is easier to appreciate the inconvenience of a small income than the saving grace it bestows upon its possessor, we submit that if a small income is a qualification for the vote, then the women householders will stand the test.

On this point we have definite statistical evidence. It has been quoted before, but it is worth while to quote it again; and in this connection it may be mentioned in passing that one of the merits of this Bill is that the status of the women it proposes to enfranchise can be determined pretty exactly.

Miss Clara Collett has made an exhaustive inquiry into the social status of the women occupiers in London, which she summarises as follows:—

Occupied in trade or business	51 per cent.
Housewives only, without servants	38 " "
" " with one servant	5 " "
" " with 2 or more servants	6 " "
	100

An inquiry has also been made by the I.L.P. as to the number of women belonging to the working classes on the municipal register in fifty towns, and their returns show that the percentage of working women voters is 82.5. This proves pretty conclusively that not only are the majority of women occupiers persons with small incomes, but that considerably more than half of them belong to the working class, and so a measure which would enfranchise them is found to satisfy yet another interpretation of the word "democratic."

To take another and very widespread use of the word—"to act in accordance with the wishes of the present electorate"; in this sense it would be impossible to frame a Women's Suffrage Bill of a more democratic nature than this one. Those members of the National Union

of Women's Suffrage Societies who stood outside polling stations day after day last January asking electors to sign their petition know very well that the electors of this country are willing that women who pay rates and taxes should be enfranchised, but the majority are still opposed to Adult Suffrage. If our legislators think it would be good for them to thrust Adult Suffrage upon them, that is quite another question, and Women Suffragists are ready to meet them on that ground, too. But the fact remains that if it is democratic to maintain that the will of the electorate shall prevail, then the proper course for the democrat with respect to Women's Suffrage is quite clear.

There remains lastly the small number of persons who do genuinely believe that to be democratic is "to insist upon equal rights and privileges for all," and who object to this Bill because all women are not included in its scope. We would ask them whether it is not more truly democratic to take at least one step towards the extension of those rights and privileges (especially towards their extension to a whole sex which has been deprived of political rights) rather than to sacrifice a present gain to a very uncertain hope of something better in the "dim and speculative future."

K. D. COURTNEY.

In Parliament.

The Accession Declaration Bill.

This Bill to amend the wording of the Declaration made by a new Sovereign upon his accession, was brought in and read a first time on the 28th. The new Declaration is to safeguard the Protestant succession, but to leave out the qualifications of the Roman Catholic religion as "blasphemous" and "idolatrous." In the course of the debate Mr. Belloc suggested that "unless a Catholic member for a Protestant constituency voiced Catholic opinion in these matters, that opinion would not be represented at all." Strange, how he can see that Catholics need a Catholic to voice their opinion and yet cannot see that women need women! That he and other Catholics feel insulted when they are classed with blasphemers and idolaters, and have not the intelligence to understand that women feel insulted when they are classed with criminals, children, and lunatics.

Women's Suffrage.

On the 29th Mr. Ellis (Rushcliffe) asked the Prime Minister whether, having regard to his acknowledgment on the 23rd inst. with respect to the Parliamentary Franchise (Women) Bill that the circumstances are exceptional, he would fix a reasonably early date for its second reading.

To this Mr. Asquith replied that he would deal with the matter in his usual statement next day, and he made no reply to the facetious knight, Sir G. D. Rees, who asked whether the right hon. gentleman would consider the suggestion that the Greek Kalends would be an appropriate date.

Next day Mr. Asquith made his promised statement, in the course of which he said:—"The Government have thought it their duty, as we are now at the end of June, to make a careful survey of the work which has to be got through before the prorogation and the time available for it, the necessary business of course being increased in volume by the demise of the Crown. We find that if the House were to sit on continuously there is no prospect of its accomplishing its task at the earliest before the end of August. In these circumstances, and in view of the fact that with the interval of the General Election the House has been sitting for the best part of eighteen months, we have come to the conclusion that the best course will be to adjourn at the end of July, or at the latest the first week in August, until a date some time in November. There are certain measures, such, for instance, as the Regency Bill, the Civil List Bill, the Census Bills, and the Judicature Bill, which must be disposed of before we adjourn. Others, such as the later stages of the Budget, possibly the later stages of the Accession Declaration Bill, the Bill for the removal of the

pauper disqualification for old-age pensions, and the Naval Prize Bill, we should propose to take after the adjournment."

And he concluded with these words:—"I may perhaps state, for the convenience of the House, that we propose to give Monday, July 11, and, if the promoters desire it, Tuesday, July 12, to the second reading of the Parliamentary Franchise (Women) Bill. (Laughter and cheers.)"

The Time of the House.

The House rose on the 27th June at 11.5 p.m.; on the 28th at 7.40 p.m.; on the 29th at 11.10 p.m.; on the 30th at 10.10 p.m.; and on the 1st July at 3.45 p.m.

Members' Memorial to the Prime Minister.

Last week a memorial was drawn up by the Conciliation Committee, calling upon Mr. Asquith to grant facilities for Mr. Shackleton's Bill. This memorial was successful in impressing Mr. Asquith with the importance which the House attributed to the Bill, and led to his reply on the 30th. The text was as follows:—"The undersigned members of the House of Commons, believing that the present session offers a unique opportunity for the passage of a Women's Suffrage measure, beg to record their desire that facilities be granted to Mr. Shackleton's Bill."

It was signed by 196 gentlemen; 30 out of 40 of the Labour party signed it, with Mr. Barnes at their head. The chairman of the Welsh group, Sir Alfred Thomas, and several distinguished members of the Irish party also signed. The full list is as follows:—

Abraham, W. ("Mabon") (Lab., Glamorgan, Rhondda Valley); Abraham, W. (N., Dublin, Harbour); Adam, Major W. A. (C., Woolwich); Addison, Christopher, M.D., F.R.C.S. (L., Shoreditch, Hoxton); Ainsworth, John, Stirling (L., Argyllshire); Alden, Percy (Lab., Middlesex, Tottenham); Arbutnot, Gerald A. (C., Burnley); Atherley-Jones, L. (L., Durham, North-West); Attenborough, Walter A. (C., Bedford); Baker, J. Allen (L., Finsbury, East); Barclay, Sir Thomas (L., Blackburn); Barlow, Sir John Emmott, Bart. (L., Somerset, Frome); Barnes, George Nicoll (Lab., Glasgow, Blackfriars); Barrie, Hugh T. (C., Londonderry, North); Barton, William (L., Oldham); Bathurst, Charles (C., Wilts, S.—Wilton); Bentham, George Jackson (L., Lines, W.—Gainsborough); Bethell, Sir John Henry (L., Essex, Romford); Boland, John P. (N., Kerry, South); Bowerman, C.W. (Lab., Deptford); Brace, William (Lab., Glamorganshire, S.); Brady, Patrick J. (N., Dublin, St. Stephen's Green); Brigg, Sir John (L., Yorkshire, W.R., Keighley); Bull, Sir William (C., Hammersmith); Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas (L., Morpeth); Buxton, Charles Roden (L., Devon, Mid-Ashburton); Buxton, Noel E. (L., Norfolk, North); Cameron, Robert (L., Durham, Houghton-le-Spring); Carr-Gomm, Hubert William Culling (L., Southwark, Rotherhithe); Cavendish-Bentinck, Lord Henry (C., Nottingham, S.); Chancellor, Henry G. (L., Shoreditch, Haggerston); Channing, Sir Francis A., Bart. (L., Northamptonshire, East); Chapple, William Allan (L., Stirlingshire); Clancy, J. J. (N., Dublin, Co., North); Clough, William (L., Yorks., Skipton); Clynes, J. R. (Lab., Manchester, N.E.); Collins, Godfrey P. (L., Greenock); Condon, T. J. (N., Tipperary, East); Corbett, A. Cameron (L.U., Glasgow, Tradeston); Craig, Capt. Jas. (C., Down, East); Crossley, Sir William J., Bart. (L., Cheshire, Altrincham); Davies, Ellis W. (L., Carnarvonshire, Eifion); Davies, Sir W. Howell (L., Bristol, South); Dawes, James A. (L., Newington, Walworth); Delany, W. (N., Queen's Co., Ossory); Devlin, Joseph (N., Belfast, West); Duncan, Charles (Lab., Barrow-in-Furness); Edwards, E. (Lab., Hanley); Elverston, Harold (L., Gateshead); Esmond, Sir T. Grattan, Bart. (N., Wexford, North); Esslemont, George Birnie (L., Aberdeen, South); Evans, Laming Worthington (C., Colchester); Fenwick, C. (Lab., Northumberland, Wansbeck); Ferens, Thomas Robinson (L., Hull, East); French, Peter (N., Wexford, S.); Field, William (N., Dublin, St. Patrick's); Foster, Harry Seymour (C., Suffolk, Lowestoft); Foster, J. Kenneth (C., Coventry); Glanville, Harold J. (L., Southwark, Bermondsey); Glover, T. (Lab., St. Helens); Goulding, Edward Alfred (C., Worcester); Greenwood, Granville George (L., Peterborough); Greig, James William (L., Renfrewshire, W.); Griffiths, Ellis J. (L., Anglesey); Gwynn, Stephen L. (N., Galway, City); Hall, E. Marshall (with a verbal reservation) (C., Liverpool, E. Toxteth); Hall, Fred (Lab., Yorkshire, Normanton); Hammersley, Alfred St. George (C., Oxfordshire, Woodstock); Hancock, John G. (Lab., Derby, Mid); Harcourt, Robert Vernon (L., Montrose Burghs); Hardie, James Keir (Lab., Merthyr Tydvil); Harwood-Banner, John Sutherland (C., Liverpool, Everton); Harris, F. Leverton (C., Tower Hamlets, Stepney);

Harvey, Alexander Gordon Cummins (L., Rochdale); Harvey, Thomas Edmund (L., Leeds, West); Harvey, W. E. (Lab., Derbyshire, N.E.); Haslam, James (L. Derbyshire, Chesterfield); Haworth, Arthur Adlington (L., Manchester, S.); Healy, Timothy M. (N., Louth, N.); Heaton, J. Henniker (C., Canterbury); Helme, Norval Watson (L., Lancs., N. Lancaster); Higham, J. S. (L., Yorkshire, Sowerby); Hindle, Frederick George (L., Lancs., N.E.—Darwen); Hodge, John (Lab., Lancashire, Gorton); Hope, Harry (C., Buteshire); Hope, John Deans (L., Fifeshire, W.); Howard, Hon. Geoffrey William Algernon (L., Cumberland, Eskdale); Hudson, W. (Lab., Newcastle-on-Tyne); Jardine, Sir John (L., Roxburghshire); Jones, Sir D. Brynmor (L., Swansea District); Jones, Edgar Rees (L., Merthyr Tydvil); Jones, Henry Haydn (L., Merionethshire); Jones, William (L., Carnarvon, N., Arfo); Jowett, Frederick William (Lab., Bradford, West); Joyce, Michael (N., Limerick, City); Keating, Matthew (N., Kilkenny, Co., S.); Kemp, Lieut.-Colonel Sir George (L., Manchester, N.W.); Kennedy, Vincent (N., Cavan, West); Kettle, T. M. (N., Tyrone, East); Lardner, James Carriage Rush (N., Monaghan, N.); Law, Hugh A. (N., Donegal, West); Leach, Charles (L., Yorks., W.R.S., Colne Valley); Lewisham, Lord (C., West Bromwich); Lynch, Arthur (N., Clare, W.); McArthur, Charles (L.U., Liverpool, Exchange); McCallum, J. (L., Paisley); McCurdy, Charles A. (L., Northampton); McKean, John (L.N., Monaghan, South); McClaren, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles B. Bright, Bart. (L., Leicester, W.—Bosworth); McClaren, Francis W. S. (L., Lincs., Spalding); McClaren, W. S. B. (L., Crewe); MacNeill, J. G. Swift (N., Donegal, South); McVeagh, Jeremiah (N., Down, South); Meagher, Michael (N., Kilkenny, North); Middlebrook, William (L., Leeds, S.); Millar, J. Duncan (L., St. Andrew's Burghs); Mond, Alfred (L., Swansea Town); Morgan, George Hay (L., Cornwall, Truro); Morrison, Captain James A. (C., Nottingham, E.); Munro, Robert (L., Wick Burghs); Muspratt, Max (L., Liverpool, Exchange); Nannetti, Joseph P. (N., Dublin, College Green); Neilson, F. (L., Cheshire, Hyde); Nuttall, H. (L., Lancs., Stretford); O'Grady, James (Lab., Leeds, East); O'Malley, W. (N., Galway, Connemara); O'Neill, Charles, M.D. (N., Armagh, S.); Ormsby-Gore, the Hon. William G. A. (C., Denbigh District); O'Shea, James John (N., Waterford, West); Palmer, Godfrey Mark (L., Durham, Jarrow); Parker, James (Lab., Halifax); Peto, Basil Edward (C., Wilts., E.—Devizes); Pickersgill, Edward H. (L., Bethnal Green, S.W.); Pointer, J. (Lab., Sheffield, Attercliffe); Pollard, Sir George H. (L., Lancs., Eccles); Pollock, Ernest Murray, K.C. (C., Warwick and Leamington); Ponsoby, Arthur A. W. H. (L., Stirling Burghs); Price, Charles Edward (L., Edinburgh, Central); Radford, George Heynes (L., Islington, E.); Raffan, Peter Wilson (L., Lancs., S.W.—Leigh); Randles, Sir John Scurrell (C., Cumberland, Cockermouth); Rankin, Sir James, Bart. (C., Hereford, Leominster); Redmond, William (N., Clare, East); Rendall, Athelstan (L., Gloucester, Thornbury); Roberts, Charles Henry (L., Lincoln); Roberts, Samuel (C., Sheffield, Eccleshall); Robertson, John Mackinnon (L., Northumberland, Tyne-side); Roch, Walter F. (L., Pembroke-shire); Roe, Sir Thomas (L., Derby); Rolleston, Sir John Fowke Lancelot (C., Herts., E.—Hertford); Rowntree, Arnold Stephenson (L., York); Rutherford, William Watson (C., Liverpool, West Derby); Sanders, Robert Arthur (C., Somerset, Bridgwater); Scanlan, Thomas (N., Sligo, N.); Schwann, Sir C. E., Bart. (L., Manchester, N.); Scott, Alfred Henry (L., Ashton-under-Lyne); Shackleton, David James (Lab., Lancs., N.E.—Clitheroe); Sherwell, A. J. (L., Huddersfield); Snowden, Philip (Lab., Blackburn); Spicer, Sir Albert, Bart. (L., Hackney, Central); Stanley, Albert (Lab., Staffs., N.W.); Sutherland, J. E. (L., Elgin Burghs); Sutton, John E. (Lab., Manchester, E.); Taylor, J. W. (Lab., Durham, Chester-le-Street); Taylor, Theodore Cooke (L., Lancs., Radcliffe-cum-Farnworth); Thomas, Sir Alfred, Kt. (L., Glamorgan, East); Thomas, D. A. (L., Cardiff); Thomas, James H. (Lab., Derby); Thorne, George Rennie (L., Wolverhampton, E.); Twist, Henry (Lab., Wigan); Vaughan-Davies, M. (L., Cardiganshire); Venables-Llewellyn, Charles D. (C., Radnorshire); Verney, Frederick William (L., Bucks., Buckingham); Vivian, Henry (L., Birkenhead); Walsh, Stephen (Lab., Lancs., Ince); Walton, Sir Joseph (L., Yorks., W.R., Barnsley); Wardle, George James (Lab., Stockport); Wason, Rt. Hon. Eugene (with a verbal reservation) (L., Clackmannan and Kinross); Watt, Harry Anderson (L., Glasgow, College); Weir, J. Galloway (L., Ross and Cromarty); White, Sir George (L., Norfolk, N.W.); White, Major Godfrey Dalrymple (C., Lancs., S.W. Southport); White, Sir Luke (L., Yorkshire, Buckrose); White, P. (N., Meath, North); Whitehouse, John Howard (L., Lanarkshire, Mid); Whyte, Alexander F. (L., Perth); Wiles, Thomas (L., Islington, South); Wilkie, Alex. (L.R., Dundee); Williams, Aneurin (L., Plymouth); Williams, J. (Lab., Glamorganshire, Gower); Williams, Henry (L., Middlesbrough); Williams, W. L. (L., Carmarthen District); Wilson, T. F. (L., Lanarkshire, N.E.); Wing, Thomas E. (L., Great Grimsby); Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart, K.C. (C., Sheffield, Hallam); Yerburch, Robert A. (C., Chester); Yoxall, Sir James H. (L., Nottingham, West).

With the memorial was sent a letter from Lord Lytton, which ran as follows:—

The enclosed memorial records the opinion of members of the House of Commons that the present session offers a

unique opportunity for the passage of a Woman Suffrage measure, and records their desire that facilities be granted to the Bill which Mr. Shackleton has introduced on behalf of the Conciliation Committee. In forwarding it, we venture to set forth the reasons which have led this committee to the conclusion expressed in the memorial.

It is the decision of all parties to abstain during the present summer from joining issue on the main questions that divide them which has made this unique opportunity. In any normal session, Woman Suffrage must compete with Bills which have behind them the direct pressure of great masses of electors. For forty years it has failed in this unequal competition. But this year has brought with it a situation in which the Government has renounced the intention of itself introducing party measures. Every section of the House understands that during this pause its own claims must be suspended. The consequence is that even those most closely identified with the various party questions that await solution, among them the chairman of the Labour Party and of the Welsh Liberal group and an influential body of Irish Nationalists, have joined us in urging that while their own demands are held back, the claims of the women should receive attention. Our Bill is certainly controversial, but only in the sense in which the Government's Bill dealing with the Royal Declaration is so. It divides the House, but not on party lines. Both subjects may properly be considered in a session of peace, because both are designed to remove an insult which earlier generations imposed on a section of the community. The undertaking of the Government to refrain from itself introducing contentious legislation would not in our view be broken, if at the desire of private members it should, after the second reading, provide time for the further stages of a non-party Bill. That undertaking had its origin in the desire to abstain from any legislation which might make fresh matter for controversy between the Government and the Upper House. Our Bill could not be considered as a Government measure, and no party would bear the responsibility either for its passage or for its rejection. It is the general impression alike in the House and outside it that there is time to spare for our Bill. The matters at present before the House require neither elaborate debate, nor late sittings, nor a full attendance. We concede that the opponents of our Bill would justly demand a full and careful debate on the second reading, but the details of its two brief clauses are so simple and its drafting so careful, that only calculated obstruction could prolong the committee stage. A week should suffice for its full discussion, and a week can with ease be granted in a session so little arduous as this. The moment, in short, is singularly favourable to a Woman Suffrage measure, and we see no reason to hope that this unique opportunity will for many years recur.

We desire to recognise the Government's wish to meet us by promising full consideration for our Bill in a Second Reading Debate. But our Bill differs from others, chiefly in this, that it is advanced, not as an ideal solution, nor as a statement of theory, but rather as a working compromise. It is for most of us a "second preference," which represents considerable sacrifices in theoretical consistency. In any debate which had a prospect of yielding a practical result, and which could, therefore, be described in your own words as "an opportunity of effectively dealing with the question," we are satisfied that we should receive the support of a large majority of the House. But if the House is to understand that nothing can issue from its labours, save the mere registration of an opinion, we should decline to put our Bill into competition with the "other proposals" which you have invited it at the same time to consider. These other proposals are enunciations of theory eminently suited to an academic discussion. Our Bill is a practical measure, which it would be a waste of time for the House to discuss, if it is to be barred from action. A division taken after a second reading discussion which would leave to the Bill no chance of proceeding further than the first Suffrage Bill which passed its Second Reading in 1870 would have no new value. It has often been said that other Suffrage Bills have been carried at the Second Reading by an irresponsible majority which voted lightly because it knew that nothing would result from its vote. A division taken under the conditions suggested in your statement of Thursday would be open to the same doubt. We are eager to court debate and to challenge a division, but we ask that it shall be in an atmosphere of reality and at a time when the will of the House, if it should decisively express its will, could still be carried into effect.

The omission of Governments in the past to allow effect to be given to the opinion in favour of Women Suffrage, which the House of Commons has so often expressed, has created among the ablest and most public-spirited women of the country a growing sense of grievance and a not unreasonable impatience, of which the Government cannot fail to be aware. After the sacrifices, the efforts and the hopes incidental to the present compromise, a repetition of the familiar academic debate could only aggravate this discontent. To women, who are more concerned to get the vote than to hear the opinions of politicians about it, it would be no consolation that a discussion which could have no practical result should be prolonged for two or even three days. Sir, it is in the firm conviction that this question is ripe for settlement, that the present session offers a unique opportunity, and that women would not unnaturally consider an academic discus-

sion, however thorough, as an aggravation of their grievance, that we venture respectfully to urge upon you our request that the debate on the second reading may be set down for an early date.

The Bill to Extend the Parliamentary Franchise to Women Occupiers.

The text of the Bill promoted by the Conciliation Committee is as follows:—

Be it enacted:—

1. Every woman possessed of a household qualification, or of a ten pound occupation qualification, within the meaning of The Representation of the People Act

(1884) shall be entitled to be registered as a voter, and, when registered, to vote for the county or borough in which the qualifying premises are situate.

2. For the purposes of this Act, a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being registered as a voter, provided that a husband and wife shall not both be qualified in respect of the same property.

3. This Act may be cited as "The Representation of the People Act, 1910."

This Bill does not give the vote to women on the same terms as men, for it does not give the vote to owners of property (unless they also occupy the property) nor to lodgers nor to servants nor to graduates, and it specially provides that husband and wife shall not qualify as joint occupiers.

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 the country. (b) The organisation of Women's Suffrage Societies on a non-party basis.

Hon. Secretaries: Miss EDITH DEMOCK. President: MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D. Hon. Treasurer: Miss BERTHA MASON (Parliamentary). Miss BERTHA MASON (Parliamentary). Secretary: Miss T. G. WHITEHEAD, M.A. Telephone: 1980 Victoria. Telegrams: "Voiceless, London." Offices: Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

PASS THE BILL! Great Demonstration in Trafalgar Square.

SATURDAY, JULY 9TH, 3 P.M.

MESSAGE FROM MRS. FAWCETT: I most earnestly appeal to all our friends and Societies to strain every nerve to make our demonstration in Trafalgar Square on July 9th a triumphant success.

M. GARRETT FAWCETT.

The Resolution at 4.30 p.m.

PLATFORMS.

Three by the Lions.—No. 1, facing North. Chairman: Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., President of the National Union.

No. 2, facing East: National Union Societies. Chairman: Councillor Margaret Ashton (Manchester).

No. 3, facing West: Industrial and Professional. Chairman: Miss Eva Gore Booth.

Three under the National Gallery. No. 4, middle. Men's League for Women's Suffrage. Chairman: Mr. Herbert Jacobs.

No. 5, Western end. Women's Liberal Federation. Chairman:

No. 6, Eastern end. Temperance Societies. Chair-

After the Second Reading.

There will be a meeting at St. James's Hall, Great Portland Street, on Wednesday evening, July 13th, at eight o'clock, when Mrs. Fawcett and others will speak on "The Present Position of the Movement." Admission free.

Arrangements for Banners for all Societies, with exception of the London Society.

Banners Already in Existence.

Societies of the N.U. are requested to bring their banners, with poles, etc., quite ready for immediate use, and to provide a bearer for each banner (or two when necessary).

New Banners.

Societies are requested if possible to make small banners, one for each constituency in which they have collected petition signatures. The name of the constituency and the correct number of signatures should be plainly printed. In case there is any difficulty in obtaining the material, it can be obtained from R. Burnett, 22, Garrick Street, Covent Garden, W. (as supplied to Varney, King's Road, Chelsea).

Banner Bearers are requested to collect with their banners at 2 p.m. in Spring Gardens (entrance at Whitehall end of new road, top of Whitehall, three minutes from Trafalgar Square).

A procession of banners will here be formed up, and will march across to the Square, where the banners will be placed in their appointed positions. The bearers will remain in charge until the end of the meeting. After the resolution is passed, the bearers will roll up their banners in the Square and carry them quietly back to Spring Gardens.

Small Decorated Wands will be on sale in the Square, price 2d. each.

Important Notice.—In order to allow of the banners being suitably placed, it is urgently requested that a list of banners is intended to bring (whether petition banners or others, with statement as to number of bearers provided for each one) be forwarded to Miss P. Strachey, 58, Victoria Street, S.W. Victoria Street, S.W.

Notice to London Members.—Banner bearers urgently needed. Volunteers write at once to 58, Victoria Street. Help is wanted to distribute leaflets advertising the demonstration. Volunteers, come to 58, Victoria Street for supplies and instructions. All friends who are able to do so are asked to chalk the pavements in their own localities.

Selling the Paper in Trafalgar Square.

We are pleased to be able to announce that the arrangements for selling "The Common Cause" at the great demonstration on the 9th will again be in the hands of Miss Mildred Ransom, and will be on the same lines as those which worked so successfully on June 18. The London Society are providing the sellers with their smart scarlet-and-green bags, which were much admired both on June 18 at the procession and again at the Queen's Hall at the National Union meeting on June 28.

Miss Ransom will be on the North side of Trafalgar Square, with the supplies of papers, bags, and instructions, at an early hour on Saturday afternoon, and the sellers are asked to go there before two o'clock, if possible, and look for a car decorated with the colours of the National Union. Many helpers have already sent in their names, but it would be impossible to have enough to sell to the great crowd that is expected, and it is hoped that many others will communicate with Miss Ransom, either beforehand at 195, Edgware Road, W., or on the day itself in Trafalgar Square.

The Parliamentary Situation.

Events march in the present day with such rapid strides that already the condition of things at the date of my last letter seem relegated to the past.

Last week I drew attention to the reception by the Prime Minister of the deputation from the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies on June 21st, and to his announcement on June 23rd that "the Government had decided to give time during the session for a full debate and division on the Women's Suffrage Bill promoted by the Conciliation Committee," and introduced in the House on June 14th by Mr. Shackleton, M.P.

To-day we chronicle another milestone passed, and welcome with the utmost satisfaction the announce-

ment made by the Prime Minister to the House on June 30th, that "the Government propose to give Monday and Tuesday, July 11th and 12th, for the debate and division on Mr. Shackleton's Bill."

The fate of the Bill, so far as its second reading is concerned, now depends upon the support and votes of Members of Parliament.

It is, therefore, of supreme importance that all Women's Suffrage Societies and all friends and supporters of the enfranchisement of women should at once, collectively and individually, call upon every known supporter to be in his place in the House on July 11th and 12th, to support and vote for the second reading of the Bill. Known opponents should be asked, if they cannot support, to abstain.

Doubtfuls should have special attention, for many of these doubtless recognise the justice of the claims of women. They are probably only waiting to be convinced that women are in earnest.

Let every Society and every individual member make their wishes known to every member in the House before July 11th by letter or by telegram so that the division on the Bill may fully represent the strong feeling which exists in the country.

The pressure and help of friendly electors just now is of inestimable and special value. Make it impossible for any Member to rise in the House during the debate and say "that the women in his constituency do not care for the reform, that no one has asked him to vote for the Bill."

Time is short, but the work can be done if we determine it shall be done.

We do not want this great and golden opportunity to be lost. We want the Bill to go through the House, and it will go through, if our friends and supporters within the House stand firm, and if our friends and supporters in the country will rally to the help of the women at this crisis.

Once again let us remember that in calmness and confidence lies our strength, and that it is "dogged that does it."

BERTHA MASON, Parliamentary Secretary.

Treasurer's Notes.

Our cordial thanks are due and are hereby given to the numerous friends who so splendidly responded to our appeal for funds made at the Queen's Hall demonstration, on Tuesday, June 28th. We have the satisfaction of reporting that more than half of the sum promised, which amounted to £1,679 13s. 6d., has already been sent, and we have no doubt that the remainder will quickly follow. The receipts at this critical moment, when the sinews of war are so specially wanted, of this welcome addition to our war chest is very welcome and greatly appreciated.

We also thank the friends who have sent contributions this week to our general funds for the kind words of sympathy and encouragement which accompany their gifts. Especially do we appreciate and value the donations of 6s. from the three school-girls, who in Switzerland have been thinking of us, and not only thinking of us, but practising self-denial in order that they might send to the National Union a practical proof of their sympathy and interest.

A Suggestion and an Appeal.

We would suggest to women who cannot possibly be present in person at the demonstration in Trafalgar Square on July 9th, that they may take a very real and effective part in it by contributing towards the expenses.

There are thousands of women in Great Britain and Ireland who care for the Suffrage. We ask them now, at this critical moment, to send to us a practical proof of how much they care.

This is an occasion on which we are justified in calling on every woman who has any sympathy in our great and righteous movement to rally round our standard—to make any and every sacrifice which can be made to take part in the demonstration.

We urge those who can to come in person to join in our cry, "Pass the Bill"; we beg those who are not able to be present in the body to unite their thoughts and prayers with ours; to send us letters of sympathy and encouragement; to give us material as well as moral support.

BERTHA MASON, Treasurer.

[Editor's note: We omit regretfully the magnificent list of contributions, which we hope to print shortly.]

By-election.

EAST DORSET
Polling Day—June 30.

RESULT.

Major H. Guest (L.)	6,967
Col. J. S. Nicholson (U.)	6,375
Liberal majority	592

The East Dorset by-election campaign has been a triumph for Woman's Suffrage on non-militant lines. At all the immense meetings which I have held in parts where I was told I should be risking life and limb if I went, although some of them began with opposition, when the crowd realised that I was speaking on a law-abiding and constitutional platform they gave a most attentive and sympathetic hearing, and when I drove off at the end of some two hours and a half it was delightful to hear the men cheering and wishing me "Good luck" and "God bless you." Even the ultra-Radicals no longer resented the reading of Miss O'Shea's letter about Major Guest's views on our question, although the "Tories" had taken advantage of it by issuing a poster worded "Major Guest is too young a politician! Who says so? His agent and he ought to know." They also drilled the boys and girls to cry "Mammie!" when they saw anyone wearing red. They quite understood that I had only done it to explain the position with respect to the two candidates' views on the question. Indeed, numbers of Liberal youths came and bought badges and wore them in their caps, and groups of them would hail us as we (Miss Harden and I) walked down the High Street at night, when all the work was over, with "We've got the badges on, Mrs. Mayer." And many asked if we would come down when there was no election, and promised all kinds of help.

I held a last meeting on Friday evening at Wareham Market Place, and spoke for an hour and a half to a most attentive and interested crowd; and when it was over people told me it was the best-behaved meeting that had been held since the election began. It terminated by the triumphal arrival of Major Guest and Lady Wimborne in their motor-car to address my crowd.

C. MERIVALE MAYER.

The Bristol Council Meeting.

Never before had the Council met in better spirits. Success was in the air. We all believed in it and we all felt intensely that it was indeed the reward of immense work and much sacrifice. But this did not make any of us inclined to sit down and watch success drop into our lap. We know that these things don't happen in this wicked world, and the keen interest shown in using all our ingenuity and effort to press forward the remaining stages of the Bill were symptomatic of the vigour of our movement and the faith in our methods.

Mrs. Fawcett was in admirable form and carried the Council with her absolutely heart-whole and devoted, when she urged the necessity for making our demonstration on July 9th a great and impressive one. All Great Britain will play up, we feel sure, on that historic day.

She emphasized the need for us to make our friends in the House feel the support in the country, and wittily alluded to the cynical opinion expressed by the "Spectator" that men were prepared to break their pledges and yet were, in some mysterious way, the only persons fitted to be the repositories of political power. She explained the nature of the proposed demonstration on the 9th, which was received with the utmost satisfaction.

Miss Mason, as Parliamentary Secretary, reported the Deputation to the Prime Minister, and was cordially thanked by the Council for her efforts in obtaining this. She then moved the following Urgency Resolution, which was carried unanimously:—

"That the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, in Council assembled, thanks the Prime Minister and the Government for their announcement that they propose to give Monday, July 11th, and, if the promoters desire it, July 12th, to the second reading of the Parliamentary Franchise (Women) Bill, and calls upon its affiliated Societies and all friends and supporters of the enfranchisement of women to urge, by all legitimate means in their power, Members of Parliament to be in their places on July 11th and 12th to support and vote for the second reading of the Bill."

Mrs. Fawcett then invited suggestions as to ways of working in support of the Bill, and a large number of practical suggestions were made. For the Societies the following were suggested:—

1. That in constituencies where there was no Society, the nearest Federation should do the local work.
 2. That the Societies should press other organizations, both political and philanthropic, to work for the Bill.
 3. That open-air meetings should be held everywhere, large and small, to explain the Bill and show that it was democratic.
 4. That electors should be urged to write to their Member or go to him in small deputations.
 5. That the local Press should be kept well informed. It was pointed out that the Queen's Hall meeting was [for the most part] shockingly badly reported, and in several cases the London papers actually mutilated the resolution.
 6. That everyone should bring all the personal influence possible to bear upon Members, and that those Members who were known to be antagonistic from real conviction should, if possible, be urged by their constituents to absent themselves from the division, out of regard for their constituents' convictions.
 7. That everyone should wear the colours and a round ticket-badge saying "Support the Bill."
 8. That Mr. Brailsford's letter to the "Westminster Gazette" be re-printed if possible and circulated as a leaflet by the Union.
 9. That a very simple and clear leaflet be drawn up by the Executive explaining the Bill, and that it be circulated broadcast in London and the provinces.
 10. That the Open Letter to Mr. Asquith (Men's League, 1d.) be widely sold by the Societies.
 11. That window bills saying "Support the Bill" be shown all over the country by everyone who can be induced to do so, both in private houses and shops.
 12. That the National Union send a copy of the "Common Cause" to every Member of Parliament.
- With regard to the Trafalgar Square demonstration, it was suggested:—
1. That special trains be run where possible. Manchester and Bristol reported that they were already arranging for this.
 2. That everyone should, as far as possible, provide herself with a small light banneret of the colours, with some appropriate device on the white band. It was pointed out that a forest of these would look well in the Square and would show that people were demonstrators and not mere spectators.
 3. That Societies should bring their own banners and, as far as possible, add a strip saying "Pass the Bill."
 4. That large posters should be displayed on the hoardings of every town, saying "Pass the Bill"; the National Union to defray the cost and the Societies to put them in hand.
 5. The Artists' League was reported to be very busy designing effective devices. They asked for boughs of ilex.
 6. Societies were asked to make a personal canvass of their members and to induce those who could not go themselves to pay the expenses of someone else.
 7. That many banners should be prepared stating the numbers of signatures to the Electors' Petitions in various places, as thus: "7,560 electors of Barnsley demand the vote for women!" And that men should hold these, standing all round the Square. The Societies to provide these and bring them.
 8. That the pavements should be freely chalked wherever permissible.

9. That everyone should do the impossible, give up every engagement, abandon every holiday, make every sacrifice to demonstrate in force and support our friends in the House.

Reception and Public Meeting at Bristol.

The Bristol Society gave a delightful reception to the delegates and committee of the National Union on the evening of June 30. The good spirits which prevailed on all hands informed the speeches by Mrs. Fawcett, Miss Sterling, Miss Ashton, Miss Macmillan, and Mrs. Swanwick, and the pretty decorations (arranged by Miss Duncan), music, and recitations, and admirable arrangements, made the evening a great social success.

Mrs. Randall Vickers welcomed the company in a kindly speech. The refreshments were contributed by members of the Society, and the hospitable corps of waitresses was organized by Mrs. Usher. Miss Mary Lock, A.R.A.M., Miss Winnie Howell, Mr. Rogers, and Mme. Lelsson were the artists who gave their services.

The joint hon. secretaries, Miss Tanner and Mrs. Cross, had good reason to be satisfied with the results of one of the brightest and happiest gatherings we have to be grateful for.

On the evening of the 1st July a very good public meeting was held, at which Mrs. Fawcett presided, and Mrs. Philip Snowden, on the eve of her departure for America, was the chief speaker, and made a truly magnificent speech.

Mrs. Fawcett was received with much enthusiasm, and made a speech full of good hope and cheer. She commented on the way in which the newspapers stuff away Suffrage news in holes and corners, and remarked that the Prime Minister's pronouncement of the early date for the second reading had been not nearly so prominent as the lawn tennis championship. This was a most important occasion; never before had the Government given a day for our Bill. Suffragists might differ as to methods, but they all agreed as to what they wanted, and "what unites us is more important than what separates us."

We must do one thing at a time; we had now got our "early day," and we must concentrate on getting a good vote on the second reading; then, with the autumn session before us, we must press for the remaining stages. She dealt trenchantly with the objections that the Bill was "not democratic," and the question had not been "before the country," and made good fun of Lord Cromer's appeal for signatures of "persons over sixteen," while Captain Guest, M.P., was "too young" to have an opinion.

It was a wonderful thought that this for which we had worked so long was at last within our grasp. When we were successful many would press round us to congratulate us; let us not forget the men who in the past had stood by us when the world was not on our side. Thinking of them, she ended, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget its cunning."

Mrs. Snowden advised her hearers to watch the debate next week and mark what the members said. Sitting up in the "Gorilla's cage" (the Ladies' Gallery), she said, would be women, listening to some of the most "unconscionable twaddle" which the lips of man could utter. She gave some amusing foretastes of the lines this "twaddle" would follow. She made merry over the phrase that women "aspire to be like men," "It's not all aspiration!" was her comment. "Our work is peculiar to ourselves, and must be honoured. It is our discovery of the estimate in which it is held that makes us so hot." The question we ask is: "Shall the children be well-born? I should not like to have the place in history that the women will have who try to keep back this cause." Let men say, "We have tried alone to improve society, and we have not been altogether successful; we will call in the women to help." Let us women take up the cry, "For Zion's sake, I will not hold my peace."

The resolution was carried unanimously, and votes of thanks were moved and seconded by Canon Haig and Mr. Rogers.

The Council and "The Common Cause."

Many kind references were made to us at the Bristol Council. In her Presidential Address and again in the evening, Mrs. Fawcett alluded to the usefulness of the paper for purposes of information and propaganda. There is no doubt whatever that no member of the Union can really keep up to date who does not regularly take the organ of the Union. For no other paper publishes all Union, to say nothing of other Suffrage, news.

Mrs. Snowden also spoke appreciatively of the work the paper was doing, declaring that it was worth six times the price. We hope this special number will be distributed very largely by all who believe in the policy of the National Union, and who wish to see it better understood.

The Queen's Hall Demonstration.

In our brief report of the great demonstration on the 28th June, some unfortunate slips occurred in telegraphing. One was the absurd mistake of printing "the highly moral Spectator" with a small s. The other errors occurred in the summary of Lord Lytton's admirable speech. He said that Mr. Asquith was "trifling," not "trimming"; he said: "The Conciliation Committee would not accept this as Mr. Asquith's last word."

It was a capital meeting and full of fight; considering the amount of money that is being raised and spent locally by the 200 Societies in the Union, running in several cases to over £1,000 a year, we may hold that the sum of £1,500 raised on the spot was a very healthy indication of interest and enthusiasm.

On the platform were Canon Scott Holland, the Master of the Temple, C. Mansell Moullin, Esq., Professor Westlake, Ford Madox Hueffer, Esq., Sir Vector Horsley, H. V. Esmond, Esq., Mr. Malcolm Mitchell; also several members of the Conciliation Committee. There were also official representatives of the Women's Liberal Federation, the Conservative and Unionist Franchise Association, the National Union of Women Workers, the Association for the Registration of Trained Nurses, the Association of Head Mistresses, the Women's Group of the Fabian Society, the Union of Ethical Societies, the Artists' Suffrage League, the Women's Liberal Metropolitan Union, the Liberal Christian League, the Actresses' Franchise League, the Association of Medical Women.

Letters and telegrams of sympathy were received from many members of the Conciliation Committee, including D. Shackleton, Esq., M.P., Philip Snowden, Esq., M.P., A. Williams, Esq., M.P. Also from Sir Fredrick Pollock, Mrs. Meynell, Hon. Mrs. Bertrand Russell, Sir George Gibb, Richard Whiteing, Esq., John Galsworthy, Esq., Lord Robert Cecil, Lady Selbourne, Bernard Shaw, Esq., A. C. Benson, Esq., the Bishop of Gloucester, Sir Edward Busk, Mr. Granville Barker, and others.

Federation Notes.

Surrey, Sussex, and Hants.

Since the Council met last Friday the societies are concentrating all their energy in preparations for the great demonstration on July 9th. Particular responsibility lies with the *Surrey Societies* to bring their members and sympathisers to swell our ranks and show the Government

that women in their thousands demand this vote and the removal of the disability which, to use Sir Oliver Lodge's description, "impertinently" excludes them from legitimate control of public affairs. Access to town is easy, and this compels us to look to these societies to give us "of their best." No one who knows the enthusiasm of their hon. secretaries can look with anything but perfect confidence to the result. All other societies are wishing success to their efforts.

Miss Barbara Duncan's work has been at Horsham. She reports: "The meeting at Horsham Park (kindly lent by Mrs. Hurst) was a great success in spite of bad weather. Miss Merryfield took the chair, and Mrs. Robie Uniacke and I spoke. The resolution was carried without dissent, though most people voted. A good many people are ready to join the new society. A committee is in process of formation, and the new society will probably include Crawley in its boundary."

Yorkshire.

On May 30th I went to Harrogate, where I remained for three weeks. During my stay, two At Homes, two open-air meetings, two meetings at the Women's Co-operative Guild, and one public meeting in the Church Institute were held, and at all of these, save one, the resolution demanding facilities for Mr. Shackleton's Bill was passed unanimously. The one exception was an out-door meeting, when the resolution was carried, but not without several dissentients. I afterwards went on to Pickering, an extremely quiet and out-of-the-world little market town. There the work was very up-hill, but I held two of the largest out-door meetings that Pickering has ever had. The one held on June 30th showed both by its size and attitude that the men of the place are converted to Woman Suffrage. The meeting lasted from a quarter to eight until nine o'clock, and I was told the following morning by a man who was present that the crowd did not disperse until after ten, but stayed on in the Market Place discussing the question amongst themselves. I take this as a very promising sign.

R. LE CLERE PHILLIPS.

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

40, Museum Street, W.C.

On June 29 a letter was sent to Mr. Asquith urging him not to deprive the elected representatives of the people of the opportunity of making the Bill law, should they so decide, and urging him to receive a small deputation from them. This was signed by the following:—S. Alexander, LL.D., Professor of Philosophy, Manchester; Archdeacon Arbutnot, Coventry; J. H. Badley, Headmaster of Bedale's School; F. A. Bather, D.Sc., F.R.S.; F. W. Bussell, D.D., Vice-principal, Brasenose College, Oxford; Ronald M. Burrows, D.Litt., Professor of Greek, Manchester; Norman R. Campbell, Trinity, Cambridge; Rev. J. Estlin Carpenter, D.D., Principal, Manchester College, Oxford; Rev. Hugh Chapman, Chaplain of the Savoy; S. J. Chapman, Professor of Political Economy, Manchester; Robt. F. Cholmeley, Headmaster, Owen's School, Islington; Rev. W. F. Cobb, D.D., Rector of St. Ethelburga's, E.C.; F. M. Cornford, Trinity, Cambridge; Rev. F. Lewis Donaldson, Vicar of St. Mark's, Leicester; Rev. James Drummond, LL.D., ex-Principal, Manchester College, Oxford; Very Rev. M. Moore Ede, Dean of Worcester; Johnstone Forbes-Robertson; W. M. Goldart, Vinerian Professor of Law, Oxford; Chas. H. Herford, Litt.D., Professor of English, Manchester; Dennis Hird, J.P., Warden of Central Labour College, Oxford; Alfred Hughes, Professor of English, Birmingham; W. E. Johnson, King's College, Cambridge; Rev. Hon. Edward Lyttelton, Eton College; J. S. Mackenzie, Professor of Philosophy, Cardiff; C. Mansell-Moullin, M.D., F.R.C.S.; Canon J. Moore Lister, D.D., Newcastle; Rev. James Hope Moulton, D.Litt., Professor of Hellenistic Greek, Manchester; John L. Myres, Wykeham Professor (elect), Oxford; Rev. Arnold Pinchard, St. Jude's, Birmingham; C. Grant Robertson, All Soul's College, Oxford; M. B. Sadler, Professor of Education, Manchester; Canon R. T. Talbot, D.D., Bristol Cathedral; E. Seymour Thompson, Cambridge and London Universities; James Ward, Professor of Mental Philosophy, Cambridge; Rev. T. Rhondda Williams, Brighton; Canon James M. Wilson, D.D., Worcester; Alfred E. Zimmermann, New College, Oxford.

A similar letter, slightly different in wording, has been signed by:—Granville Barker; J. B. Bury, Professor of Modern History, Cambridge; Hall Caine; Joseph Conrad; Sir Arthur Wing Pinero; William Pett Ridge; G. Bernard Shaw; T. F. Tout, Professor of Mediaeval and Modern History, Manchester; Israel Zangwill.

The Men's League is joining in the National Union demonstration on Saturday, 9th, and is having another in Hyde Park on the 10th.

On Thursday, July 7, they are holding a meeting in support of the Bill in Caxton Hall at 8 p.m. Speakers: Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., Mr. W. S. B. McLaren, M.P., Mr. H. G. Chancellor, M.P., Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., Mr. Percy Alden, M.P., and Mr. H. N. Brailsford (hon. secretary of the Conciliation Committee).

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.

IN SUPPORT OF THE BILL.

On the 1st July this Association held its annual reception at the Wharnclyffe Rooms, Hotel Great Central, the hostess being Lady Willoughby de Eresby. Lady Selborne presided, and among those present were Lady Fingall, Mrs. Percy Boulnois, Winifred Lady Arran, Lady Castlereagh, Lady Dillon, Lady Middleton, Lady Mary Cooke, Lady Emily Wyndham-Quin, Lady Robert Cecil, and Miss Balfour.

Lord Robert Cecil said he thought no meeting connected with the Suffrage movement would begin without uttering a note of profound congratulation that their cause had advanced so far as it had up to the present day. The most striking incident of any had been the concession of the vote for and the right of sitting on local government authorities. Nothing was more astonishing than the inconsistency of the Prime Minister, who resisted to the uttermost the granting of the Parliamentary vote to women while he was himself proposing a Bill to create in a certain event a most illustrious woman Regent of the United Kingdom.

Lady Betty Balfour proposed the following resolution, which was passed:—"That this meeting realises the acute position which the question of the enfranchisement of women has now assumed, and, while fully conscious of the onerous and effective work of the Conciliation Committee in the House of Commons, earnestly urges all supporters of the movement to use every effort to secure the passing of the Bill through all the stages of the House without delay."

Mr. Ormsby Gore, M.P., also spoke.

The International Women's Franchise Club.

A general meeting of the International Women's Franchise Club was held on Tuesday, June 21st, at 66, Russell Square, Mr. C. A. V. Conybeare presiding.

A committee was elected, and it was decided that new premises should be chosen either in the neighbourhood of Charing Cross, Piccadilly, or Oxford Circus, and the committee was recommended to avoid rooms attached to an hotel.

At the next committee meeting the officers were elected as follows:—Chairman of committee, Mr. C. A. V. Conybeare; vice-chairman, Mr. R. P. Cholmeley; hon. treasurer, Mr. Goldfinch Bate; hon. secretary, Miss C. D. Corbett. The election of president and vice-presidents was postponed.

It was decided that the Club should take official part in the demonstrations organized in favour of the Conciliation Bill by the National Union on July 9th, and by the N.W.S.P.U. on July 23rd.

Women's Liberal Federation.

PRESIDENT: THE COUNTESS OF CARLISLE.

A representative meeting will be held in support of Mr. Shackleton's Woman Suffrage Bill at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Thursday, July 7, 1910, at 8 p.m., Mrs. Eva McLaren in the chair.

Speakers: Lord Farrer, Lady Pearson, Sir James Yoxall, M.P., Sir Alfred Mond, M.P., Rt. Hon. Thos. Lough, M.P., Rt. Hon. Eugene Wason, M.P., Mr. Percy Alden, M.P., Mr. H. G. Chancellor, M.P., Mr. A. Cameron Corbett, M.P., Mrs. Kate Freeman, Mr. W. S. B. McLaren, M.P., Mrs. Eva McLaren, Mrs. Richardson (London), Mr. Charles Roberts, Mrs. Stewart-Brown, Miss Wallis (Bracebridge), and Mr. J. H. Whitehouse, M.P.

Liberal women are earnestly invited to attend. Admission free. In view of the limited space in the Caxton Hall, W.L.A.'s wishing to secure seats may do so by applying for tickets to the Secretary of the W.L.F., 72, Victoria Street, S.W., on or before Monday, July 4. Seats will not be reserved after 7-45 p.m.

Gateshead Women Liberals.

At a meeting of the Newcastle and Gateshead Women's Liberal Association held on June 30, Dr. Ethel Williams moved a resolution in support of Mr. Shackleton's Bill.

Mr. Shortt, M.P., supported the resolution. He said that although the Suffrage movement was in a better position than it had ever been before, it needed careful handling, and there were dangers to be borne in mind. He said it was impossible for Mr. Asquith to say that he would grant effective facilities for the passing of the second reading of the Suffrage measure unless the House of Commons was prepared to pass the Bill. There were many waverers, and the danger that had to be avoided was the danger of driving these waverers into the enemy's camp. They required as big a majority as possible to carry the Bill through the second reading and on to a successful issue. Mr. Shortt said he would support the measure by

his vote, he would try to influence his friends to support the Bill, and he would speak on it if necessary, but it was no use speaking when they were getting all they wanted.

Sir William Angus also supported the resolution, and said that the question had now entered the field of practical politics. He said it was to the benefit of the nation that some means should be found to make it possible for the will of the people to express itself in the laws of the country, and he hoped that the means would be found in so far as this measure was concerned.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Actresses' Franchise League.

A very successful At Home was held at the Grand Hall of the Criterion Restaurant on Friday last. It was largely attended, and several new subscribers were made to the Actresses' Franchise League, and many new members were enrolled. The speakers were: Countess Russell, Miss Gertrude Kingston, Mr. Mansell-Moullin, and Mrs. Pankhurst, who came instead of Miss Mary Gawthorpe, and who received an enthusiastic reception. Mrs. Bernard Shaw was in the chair. These At Homes will be resumed early in the autumn.

Foreign News.

UNITED STATES.

In our issue of June 16th we reported that Miss Ellis Meredith had been elected election commissioner of Denver, Colorado. It may interest our readers to know what her duties are, and why she accepted a post which in some ways appears unattractive to a woman. The election commissioner has exclusive control of the following matters:—

1. Appointment of registration committees.
2. Selection of polling places.
3. Appointment of judges.
4. Furnishing all supplies.
5. Canvassing the vote.
6. Custody of ballot boxes, etc.
7. Issuing of election certificates.

The commissioners are elected for four years at a salary of £200 a year. In accepting nomination, Miss Meredith said she was influenced mainly by two things: First, a belief that the women would vote for her very generally regardless of party; and, second, because, while women have been held accountable for some of the elections that have disgraced

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Denver, no woman has ever before had an opportunity to have any hand in the management of elections there. Indeed, this is the first time any woman has ever been elected to any municipal office in Denver, or to any purely "political" office in the State.

Miss Meredith has had much previous experience of political organization and elections, and is familiar with the routine work. She received the largest vote cast for any candidate at the election, and as she is regarded as incorruptible it is hoped that a purer administration is in store for the city.

SWITZERLAND.

One step in the right direction is often followed by others. The men in the Cantons of Vand and Neuchâtel lately gave Church Suffrage to their women, and now we learn that the women of Geneva have acquired the same rights. Though the question was an important one only about 3,500 (male) electors out of a possible 13,000 recorded their votes. The women's cause gained the day after a hard struggle by a majority of 803.

An Ode for Women.

Sweet sisters, this
I sing for you in halting harmonies,
For gratitude of mighty blessings done.
Sisters, halt not! Strive on!
We, we are with you!
Each that hath a heart
Doth say to you,
"Strive on! Toil on!
To-morrow comes the dawn."

Yea, for the gratitude of scarlet lips
We toil for you.
Yea, for the love of every one that weeps
We toil for you.
Yea, for the thought of each dear maid that sleeps
We toil for you.
Since time began, my sisters, have you not
Shared the work with us? Nor is it forgot.
Are not our songs but tears from your sad eyes?
Without your beauty every music dies.
Soon now the prize!

We men are humble to you, gentle ones,
We that were once disdainful—so time runs—
Ask for your pardon now, oh, gentle ones,
Ask for your pardon now, your helping hands,
Your tender mind that loves—yet understands.
Long have we stumbled in the pitchy night,
But now, dear women, comes the light, the light.

Sisters, sisters,
Yours ever were the dreams.
It seems
Your dreamings now shall be the future's deeds;
Then shall be mighty music on soft reeds,
And playing of a thousand silver strings,
And choric chants, deep diapasonings;
Then, then shall come triumphant bursts of song,
Exulting for Right's triumph over Wrong.
Meanwhile, for balm of beauty and of kiss,
Dear sisters, this.

Iolo ANEURIN WILLIAMS.

Reviews.

FRENCH MEN, WOMEN, AND BOOKS, a Series of Nineteenth Century Studies. (Chapman and Hall. Pp. 250. Price 10s. 6d.)

In her last book, "French Men, Women, and Books," Miss Betham Edwards again turns the eyes of the British public to the side of French life which is, she thinks, almost unnoticed. She protests in both French and English against the butterfly view of the Gallic character, and is all for emphasising its solid virtues, especially in the domestic line. In her article on French Domestic Poetry she translates very nicely from Merlet's *Choix de Poètes du XIXe Siècle*, which is in use in the French schools. "Here," she says, "the robust morality, the healthy acceptance of life as it is, rather as it can be made, offer a striking contrast to the morbidness and oftentimes suicidal pessimism of the classical school." She is inclined to exult in the fact that in the "new fiction" "French novelists have at last begun to find themselves—that is to say their ordinary selves or their fireside life—absorbing. In any case, the arch pessimistic, psychological, or rather physiological, novel has suffered eclipse." She admits, however, that Maupassant "perhaps unfortunately will live." She visits a *Université populaire* and finds that the "quiet, unassuming, neatly dressed artisan" who took her round "had nothing in common with the fiery French workman of tradition"! It seems probable, however, that John Bull will always prefer the twopenny coloured version of the French character to the penny plain that Miss Edwards would have him substitute for it. The fascinating

frivolousness of the French as a nation is a tradition even more cherished in England than that of the eccentric Englishman in France. Miss Edwards' article on French Views of England is interesting, because it shows that our neighbours' opinions about us are at least as discrepant as ours about them. It must, however, be admitted that the Anglophile is a commoner phenomenon in France than his counterpart on this side of the Channel. One of Miss Edwards' articles is a short memoir of M. Edmond Demolins, who made an apparently successful beginning in introducing the English public school system. Short studies of the story of Balzac and Madame Hanska; of the quaint love affairs of the Englishwoman who became Madame Mohl of the famous salon; of the friendship between Barbey d'Aurevilly and his publisher; of Jean Reynaud, a God-intoxicated Frenchman; and of M. Reinach, the historian of *L'Affaire Dreyfus*, make up a mixed but entertaining volume.

The Magazines.

The *Englishwoman* for July has two articles by Mrs. Fawcett, one a lucid exposition of the Parliamentary situation on Mr. Shackleton's Bill, the other the address on Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, given by her to the students of the London School of Medicine for Women. There is a beautiful sonnet by Lilian Sauter, Miss Marjorie Strachey has some pregnant remarks about the Village Wedding, and there is a delightful set of aphorisms reducing the Anti-Suffrage arguments to the absurd. We quote:—

- Women's labour undersells men's labour; therefore women should not labour to be self-supporting. Many women have no one else to support them; therefore many women should be killed.
- Women are physically incapable of the work that men do; therefore they must be forcibly prevented from doing it. A cripple is physically incapable of running a Marathon race; therefore he must be tied hand and foot into an arm-chair to prevent his doing it.
- A woman's sphere is home; therefore she should never go out of it. A man's sphere is not home; therefore he should never go into it.
- If women have votes men will leave off being civil to them. It is better to have a man offer us a seat in a tram, than to be able to offer a man a seat in Parliament. Therefore women ought not to ask for votes. There are more of these, and we commend them to Suffrage and Anti-Suffrage speakers.

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

A DANGER AHEAD.

To the Editor "The Common Cause"

Madam,—There is often a vagueness about the statements of politicians that leads to grave misunderstanding. Their meaning seems clear enough, but when they are critically examined they are found to be capable of a wider interpretation than was at first apparent. This was strongly impressed upon me at the meeting at Queen's Hall on Tuesday night. Mr. Asquith's reply to Mr. Shackleton regarding the Women's Suffrage Bill was, I thought, a plain intimation that facilities would be given for the second reading only—not for further discussion,—and his reply to Mr. Philip Snowden, that the second reading would not be taken at an early date, confirmed me in this opinion. It now appears that Mr. Asquith's words are capable of a different interpretation. Whether intentionally or not, the door, as Mrs. Fawcett said at the Queen's Hall meeting, has been left ajar, and the Suffrage

societies and their supporters in the House of Commons are taking advantage of this to try to force it open. They have already met with a measure of success. The second reading of the Bill, instead of being put off until too late for further discussion, is to be taken on Monday next, so Mr. Asquith told the House of Commons on Thursday night. This is hopeful. There will still be time to pass the Bill through all its stages, and Mr. Asquith, who has seen the wisdom of modifying his decision to this extent, may deem it wise to modify it still further.

There are, however, dangers ahead that are not sufficiently realised by ardent Suffragists—dangers that arise more from the lukewarmness and unstable support of professed friends than from the opposition of strenuous opponents. Many Liberals, who are friendly to Women's Suffrage, are afraid that if it were granted at the present time it would weaken the power of the Government in dealing with the veto of the House of Lords, and possibly delay legislation dear to Liberal hearts. Therefore, while in favour of the Suffrage Bill, they would gladly see it held over until the veto question has been settled. Mr. Asquith is, no doubt, aware of this, and has traded on it in order to oppose a measure he detests.

The fears of the Suffrage Liberals may be groundless. Probably they are; but there can be no doubt of their existence; and this constitutes a danger. On the very night on which Mr. Asquith replied to Mr. Shackleton I had a discussion with a lady, who is, I believe, a member of the Women's Liberal Association, about the attitude of the Government. We had both read Mr. Asquith's reply as meaning that he would not give facilities for carrying the Bill through all its stages. I had been somewhat hopeful after his interview with the Suffrage deputation, and was correspondingly disappointed with his reply to Mr. Shackleton. She was not. In her opinion nothing more could have been expected. She would have been astonished, she said, had Mr. Asquith held out any hope of granting the required facilities, not so much because of his personal dislike of Women's Suffrage, as because of the opposition of Liberal agents throughout the country. From my friend's account—and she has been to some extent behind the scenes—there is an idea among them that the enfranchisement of women would mean a large addition to the Conservative vote. Hence their opposition.

This belief is not confined to individuals, nor is the attitude resulting therefrom. It is conspicuous in the Press. Take, for instance, the "Daily News." The "Daily News" is a professed believer in Women's Suffrage, and a doughty champion of popular rights and democratic principles. Yet it is willing to postpone Women's Suffrage indefinitely, and to relegate the Bill now before Parliament to the distant future, rather than do anything that might thwart the Government at the present time. Its attitude is entirely dominated by its fear of the result should the Bill become law. Here is what it said the day after Mr. Asquith's answer to Mr. Shackleton: "If the Bill were to be rejected by the Lords after passing through the Commons, who can doubt that that would react upon the constitutional struggle? And, again, if the Bill were to pass both Houses, who can say what would be the influence upon the general issue of its enactment in the particular time and manner? The mere fact that we cannot predict the nearer or remoter reactions upon the main issue of a decision to give Mr. Shackleton's Bill facilities is a strong argument against the giving of facilities, and we are not astonished, and certainly not disposed to criticise the Government for having felt the weight of that argument to be irresistible." Here is the argument in a nutshell: How the enfranchised women would vote is uncertain; they might vote Tory, therefore the vote is for the present to be withheld.

Both the "Daily News" and the Liberals to whom I have referred are professed believers in Women's Suffrage. They believe not only that it is just in itself, but that the power of the vote in the hands of women would be used beneficially in matters of social legislation. In the article from which I have quoted, the "Daily News" professes itself among the firmest believers in the justice of women's claim to the

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franchise; but it cannot bring itself to support it, because of its fears as to what the influence upon the party vote might be. There is a want of robustness in this that puzzles me. The "Daily News" always puzzles me. I know no daily newspaper with higher ideals, nor one that more often falls short of them. It has a strong, if narrow, sense of justice in the abstract; in practice it is frequently unjust. It would fain do what is right, but its outlook is so dimmed by its prejudices and predilections that it is too often afraid to do it. Here is a straight issue. The Bill before Parliament is a measure of which the "Daily News" approves. It knows it to be just; it believes that it would be beneficial; but it has certain unworthy doubts as to its immediate effect, and, therefore, refuses to give it its whole-hearted support.

What I have said shows clearly the dangers to be feared from some of the professed friends of Women's Suffrage. Their attitude is not a very noble one. Their faith is weak, their love of party strong. No matter how much they may profess to believe in Women's Suffrage, they cannot be reckoned among supporters of the Suffrage Bill. While the position, therefore, is hopeful, it is by no means assured. Facilities for the second reading of the Bill at an early date have been secured. It will take a mighty effort to obtain the further facilities necessary to carry it through all its stages, but the object is worth the effort.—Yours,

J. Y. KENNEDY.

[We can assure our correspondent that we are keenly aware of the dangers to which he alludes. But Suffragists at least, singular among political parties, have ideals which they live up to, and we believe in taking men at their best and not at their worst. Even the "Daily News" and the "Westminster" must have a conscience somewhere that can be shamed.—Ed. "C.C."]

Miss Agnes Dawson asks us to state that having been handed some shilling tickets to sell at the Queen's Hall meeting on the 28th, she sold two at 1s. and one at 9d., and gave the rest to people wanting free seats. She handed 2s. 9d. received to Miss Robinson, of the London Society, the lady who gave her the tickets not having returned.

Reports of Societies within the 'National Union.

Secretaries would simplify the work by sending in notices of FORTHCOMING MEETINGS, endorsed with those words, with time, place, and speakers legibly written, on one side of the paper only, and on a sheet of paper separate from other matter. BATH.

An urgency meeting of our Society was called on June 11th to pass a resolution in favour of the Conciliation Committee's Bill. This resolution was forwarded, signed by our own officers and those of the Men's League, to the Members for Bath and to the Prime Minister. Letters were also written by several of our friends and by electors urging the support of the measure.

On June 2 a few of our members took part in the London demonstration, walking in the contingent of the Church League.

On Saturday last, July 2nd, we had a meeting in the Assembly Rooms, at which Mrs. Fawcett most kindly consented to speak on her way back from the Bristol Council. Our president, Lady Lawrence, Miss Bertha Mason, and Mrs. Ashworth Hallett were also on the platform, together with Dr. Beddoe, one of the oldest supporters of the women's movement. We felt it to be a unique occasion, and were very proud of it. The meeting was altogether a great success. We are now working hard to carry out the resolution passed at the Bristol Council with regard to putting pressure upon our members of Parliament. Some of us intend to go up for the demonstration of July 9th.

BIRMINGHAM.

We are hard at work selling tickets for the pastoral play on July 15th at the Botanical Gardens. Mr. Harcourt Williams has kindly undertaken to make a Suffrage speech. Volunteers to sell tickets are wanted.

Every effort is being made to take people up to the Demonstration on July 9th. We have secured special train arrangements at 5s. return, on condition that we take a certain number of tickets. No effort should be spared to obtain the required number. Particulars can be obtained from 10, Easy Row. Donations for this are urgently needed. At this crisis we must not be handicapped for lack of funds.

Miss E. M. Gardner has resigned her position as Secretary to the Society, as she is going to America. She hopes to return in time to work for the Suffrage candidates—if necessary—at the General Election. Her place will be taken by Mrs. F. T. Ring, whose wide experience and capacity render her admirably fitted for the post. BIRMINGHAM—N. WARWICKSHIRE.

Mr. Newdegate, M.P., received a deputation of electors and would-be electors of his division on Saturday, July 2nd, at his house. The organization of the deputation was entirely due to Miss Pugh, of Erdington. It was introduced by Mr. Joseph Ansell, of Erdington. Others present were Mr. and Mrs. Rathbone, Mr. and Mrs. Burman, Mr. and Mrs. Smedley (Aston), Mr. and Mrs. Usher, Miss Pugh, Mr. Locker, and Miss E. M. Gardner. The meeting was entirely informal; the arguments for the Suffrage and the points of the Bill were discussed fully. Mr. Newdegate was most courteous, and promised to give the matter serious consideration.

CHELLENHAM.

A small private At Home was given on Tuesday, June 28th, by Mrs. and Miss Browett, at which Mrs. Frances Swiney gave an interesting address on "The Present Position of the Women's

Suffrage Movement." There was a very good attendance, and several supporters spoke. During tea two new members joined, and literature was freely sold.

Copies of the letter received from headquarters are to be sent to the Mayor, Councillors, and other leading men, requesting them to write to Lord Duncannon, borough member, and ask him to bring pressure upon Mr. Asquith with regard to the Bill. Lord Duncannon has declared himself in favour of the Bill, but promised no support. A garden party is being arranged for July 16.

DRIFFIELD.

The secretary of this Society has received a letter from Sir Luke White, the Member for Backrose, dated June 30th, in which he says: "Your Association may rely on my doing all I can in support of the Bill. I have joined with a large number of other members in support of the course you mention. I understand some announcement will be made by the Prime Minister to-day." In this particular case asking for support is merely a matter of form. We have every confidence in Sir Luke. He is a true Liberal in the broadest sense of the word, therefore an essentially democratic measure could not fail to have his whole-hearted support. Moreover, he is a man who fulfils his promises.

DUNDEE.

On June 7th we had the pleasure of an address from the international sociologist, Dr. Rodolphe Broda, on "The Results of Women's Suffrage in Finland and Australia." Professor Patrick Geddes took the chair, and we were glad to welcome the presence of so distinguished a member of the local University. Although the time of year is unfavourable for indoor meetings, about fifty were present, and a respectable sum was collected.

Next day our special work in support of Mr. Shackleton's Bill began. Seventy of the electors who signed our voters' petition in January were written to and urged to send letters to the Prime Minister. A special meeting of the Society was held, and a resolution in support of the Conciliation Bill passed unanimously. Nine open-air meetings were held by the organizer, Miss Alice Crompton, seven of which were very satisfactory, whilst one was spoiled by a crowd of little half-timers clamouring for handbills. The local political and other organizations were approached, but without much success as far as the passing of resolutions was concerned, the Labour Representation Committee and the Factory Operatives' Union being the only bodies to pass and send up a vote of support of the Bill. The women's political organizations, both Liberal and Unionist, refuse as associations to stir a step to help us.

On June 27th we made our first serious attempt to raise funds. Mrs. and Miss Stephen lent us their lovely garden at Broughty Ferry for a garden party. Miss Low, of Edinburgh, came over to speak for us, accompanied by Miss Fowler, who gave her services as pianist. A cake-and-candy stall, to which contributions were sent from members of over twenty English Suffrage Societies, and a flower stall, helped to swell our profits, which at the end of the afternoon amounted to over £24. An even more satisfactory result was the addition to our ranks of nine new members.

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We are now hoping that our Society will be represented by at least three or four members at the great demonstration on July 9th. We sent a delegate to the Council meeting at Bristol, and one of our members, Mrs. Mill, was on the deputation of Liberal women to the Prime Minister.

KNUTSFORD.

In spite of very wet weather a large crowd assembled in the open air on Tuesday evening, June 28th, to hear Miss Margaret Robertson deal with the present situation of the Women's Franchise Bill, and propose a resolution, which was seconded by W. Eller, Esq., that Mr. Asquith be urged to grant full facilities for the passing into law of the Bill to enfranchise women householders. Though three times interrupted for several minutes by violent storms of rain, the crowd showed no signs of dispersing. The resolution was carried unanimously. J. R. Tomlinson, Esq., of Knutsford, took the chair, and stated very clearly how the Bill was now being handled, and the real need there was for pressure being brought to bear on Mr. Asquith to grant the necessary time for the question to be dealt with in all its stages.

LEEDS.

Miss Fielden was favoured with a very good and attentive audience of women at the P.M.E., Belgrave Lecture Hall, on Monday evening. Rev. J. Sutherland presided, and the resolution was passed without a dissentient.

On Wednesday evening Miss Perry invited thirty of her friends to meet Miss Fielden, and for two hours there was an animated discussion, the majority of the guests taking part in it. Mrs. Perkins gave a charming tea party on Thursday. Mrs. Parrish and Miss Fielden were among those invited. In place of a set speech, we had two and a half hours' informal and most interesting talk. In the evening Miss Fielden spoke at the Institute on "Women's Work and Wages."

On Sunday a large Trade Union demonstration was held on Holbeck Moor, and we seized on this as a good opportunity to get in a word or two on our account. Several members of the Leeds Society set off with Miss Fielden, and after waiting an hour she had the opportunity of speaking, the organizing secretary of the Trade Union having kindly announced our meeting. The resolution was passed with enthusiasm.

Miss Fielden had the opportunity of speaking at a women's meeting at Trinity Schools, Harehills Lane, on Monday, June 27th, when the resolution was moved and carried. On Tuesday afternoon a drawing-room meeting was given by Mrs. Hargrove. Mrs. Parrish took the chair, and Miss Fielden was the speaker. The resolution was well carried, many questions were asked, and new members joined. By the kind invitation of Mrs. Thompson our members and friends were invited to tea at The Mansion, Potternewton Park, on Thursday, June 30th. It was intended to hold an open-air meeting in the Park later in the evening, but the weather was bad, and the meeting was abandoned. There was an excellent rally of members, and after tea we adjourned to another room and had a splendid meeting. The chair was taken by Mrs. J. R. Cross, Mrs. Parrish explained the Bill, and Miss Fielden made an earnest appeal to members to do their utmost to be present at the demonstration in London on July 9th. She then spoke briefly on the need for Women's Suffrage, and moved the resolution, which was seconded by Mrs. Moorhouse in an interesting speech, in which she referred to some of the difficulties which beset the path of Women Poor Law Guardians. The resolution was carried with enthusiasm. Many "Common Causes" were sold, several new members joined, a good collection was taken, and those unable to go up to London on the 9th gave in the amount of their railway fares to help the expenses of others.

(We are obliged to hold over many reports of societies this week.)

Forthcoming Meetings.

JULY 7.	Bradford—Mrs. T. R. Hill's Drawing-room Meeting—Mrs. Gray Head.	
	North Berwick—Miss Alice Low.	
	London (Bermondsey)—Settlement Lecture Hall—Rev. Scott Lidgett, Miss Edith Palliser.	
	London (S. Kensington)—Mrs. Dodd's Drawing-room Meeting—Mrs. Grant Richards.	8.30
	Leeds—Institute—Miss Fielden.	8.30
	London (Hampstead)—Hampstead Heath—Miss I. O. Ford, Mrs. Stanbury.	8.0
JULY 8.	Bradford—Miss Gregson's and Miss Rendall's Meeting—Mrs. Gray Head.	
JULY 9.	London (Highgate)—Parliament Hill—Miss Margaret Hodge, Miss Janet Thomson.	
	London—Trafalgar Square—Great Demonstration.	3.0
JULY 11.	Leeds—Gildersome—Open-air Meeting—Miss Fielden.	7.30
	Brighton—Hemfield—Miss M. F. Basden—Miss Duncan.	8.0
JULY 12.	Leeds—Mrs. Grosvenor Talbot's Garden Meeting—Miss Fielden.	7.30
	Brighton—Steyning—Mrs. J. E. Frances, Miss Duncan.	8.0
JULY 14.	London (N. Hackney)—Mrs. Coumbe's Garden Party, 69, Lordship Road—Mrs. Fawcett.	6.30
	Shrewsbury—Mrs. Harley's At Home and Garden Meeting—Miss Taylor.	
	Leeds—Mrs. Hess' Drawing-room Meeting—Miss I. O. Ford, Miss Fielden.	4.0
	Brighton—Beeding—Miss Basden, Miss Duncan.	8.0
JULY 15.	Birmingham—Botanical Gardens, Edgbaston—Pastoral Plays.	3.0
	Brighton—Rottingdean—Miss Bryan, Miss Duncan.	8.0
JULY 16.	Birmingham—Solihull—Morris Dances and Folk Songs.	3.30
	Cheltenham—Garden Meeting—Sandford Lawn, Bath Road.	
	London (Highgate)—Parliament Hill Fields—Mrs. Bowden Smith.	8.0

JULY 19.

Farnham—Annual General Meeting.
London (Sydenham)—I.L.P. Women's Suffrage Meeting—Mrs. Archibald Little.
London (Hampstead)—Library, Prince Arthur Road—Lady Strachey, Lady F. Balfour. 3.30

JULY 20.

Southsea—Garden Meeting and Cake Sale—Mr. Cameron.

JULY 25.

London (Windsor)—Grove Road Schoolroom—At Home—Miss Cockle. 8.0



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