

Mrs. Fawcett on the Political Situation.

The Common Cause.

The Organ of the Women's Movement for Reform.

Vol. II. No. 64. Registered as a Newspaper.

JUNE 30, 1910.

ONE PENNY.



Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, L.L.D.,
President of the National Union.



THE SPEAKERS.
Councillor ELEANOR RATHBONE. Mrs. COOPER. Mr. W. S. B. MCLAREN, M.P. Mrs. FAWCETT.
Miss BERTHA MASON (Parliamentary Sec.)

The Deputation from the National Union to the Prime Minister, Tuesday, June 21, 1910.



Front Row (left to right): Miss I. O. FORD, Miss EMILY DAVIES, Mrs. HASLAM, Mrs. FAWCETT, Mrs. COOPER, Miss BERTHA MASON, Miss CLEMENTINA BLACK.
Second Row: Miss PALLISER, Mrs. ALFRED ILLINGWORTH, Mrs. HENRY SIDGWICK, Mrs. F. T. SWANWICK, Miss E. DIMOCK, Miss HOWELL, Mrs. OSLER.
Third Row: Dr. JANE WALKER, Mrs. RACKHAM, Mr. MCLAREN, Miss MAIR.

The News of the Week.

The Ethics of War.

We publish in our correspondence columns this week a letter containing questions so often asked, that we wish to give a very brief reply. We imagine that there are few of the "constitutional" Suffragists who would say that revolt, at any rate to the extent of resistance to law, was never justified. The constitutional Suffragists have felt that in a land where free speech and writing are allowed, every effort should be made to convince the electors that they ought to enfranchise women, and that, not till every effort had been made and had failed, could the deliberate recourse to rebellion be justified. Our correspondent seems to forget that the denial of the franchise to women is not the denial of a right much used by women in the past; what we have had to overcome is the natural inertia of men and the tradition in which they have been bred up, and that has been slow,—necessarily slow. We believe that it is largely accomplished now, and that any attempt to continue much longer the game of political chicanery will discredit in the country the party that is guilty of it, provided—and this is a most important proviso—that nothing is done to upset the balance of right in this question. Up to now very little indeed has been done that was wrong on the women's side, and there is an enormous balance of cruelty and injustice and selfishness on the side of those who have the power. Let us do nothing to make this balance more even.

We believe that if a so-called Liberal Cabinet allows a small minority of its members to dictate to it and to smother the will of the House of Commons, we shall have the good feeling of all true democrats of all parties with us, and we shall be able by legitimate political weapons to discredit and laugh out of power a Government which will depend for its very existence upon the votes of its opponents. If, then, another party should return to power, should we not be in a much stronger position if we had not made war upon the consciences of men and women? We have never held the doctrine that all methods are good for attaining our ends; but even from that unmoral point of view, we think the method of violence a bad one. Keen political warfare, obstruction, and passive resistance are in another category altogether from deeds which, insignificant as they may appear, start us on the steep slope that leads to the breaking of moral law. We would not give men without understanding or compassion that advantage that they could force us to do wrong as they do.

Humours of the Deputation.

There were several circumstances in the reception by the Prime Minister of the two deputations for and against the Suffrage that were calculated to make one smile. One was the use by Mrs. Burgwin of the figures collected by her League in Manchester, all unconscious that those figures had been discredited half an hour before by Miss Rathbone in her able speech. We give the details of these figures in another place.

Another rather comical incident was the two unsuccessful candidates for Parliamentary honours—Dr. Massie and Mr. Heber Hart—assuring Mr. Asquith that the electors had not cared about the question. We are far from saying that the electors are very ready to put women first, but it was surely unwise to select unsuccessful candidates to voice the views of the electors.

Lord Cromer, Sir Edward Clarke, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain were all absent, but there was another rather absurd situation in the thought of these pillars of the Conservative party, with Mrs. Humphry Ward "preaching to the converted"—i.e., to the Liberal Premier in opposition to a large majority in the Liberal Cabinet.

For and Against the Bill.

Mr. Whitehouse for the Liberals, and Mr. Ormsby Gore for the Unionists have been working hard to circulate a petition in the House praying the Government to

grant facilities for the Bill. More than 200 members signed it. Motions for the rejection of the Bill have been put down by Mr. S. H. Butcher, Mr. F. E. Smith, Mr. Rees, Colonel Chaloner, and Mr. Hicks Beach.

First Catch Your Hare.

On the 22nd, in the House of Commons, Sir Rufus Isaacs made light of any difficulties that might be raised with regard to the payment of the super-tax on the joint income of husband and wife. He stated that if the husband could not ascertain his wife's income, the authorities would apply to the wife for the return, and then "it would be easy to ascertain from the two returns whether the couple were liable to the super-tax."

Quite so. When you have got the wife to state her income, a very simple sum will be all that will be necessary. Those who have read the very entertaining letter by Mrs. Ayres Purdie in the "Daily News" will perhaps think that it may not be quite so simple a matter to get the wife to state her income. Once women are awake (and Mrs. Ayres Purdie is very wide awake indeed), they will not submit, as she says, to any "heads-we-win-tails-you-lose" kind of arrangement. Either a married woman's property is her husband's, and he must make the return if he can and go to prison if he can't, or it is her own, and then it should not be taxed as if it were one with his. Mr. Lloyd George may find in time that the objection is not quite so "sentimental" as he thought it; at any rate, it seems likely to be an objection that will cost the Revenue authorities a good deal of money.

Mrs. Fawcett's Evidence Before the Divorce Commission.

A report of this appeared in the "Times" of June 23rd, and we commend it to our readers. Mrs. Fawcett pointed out that the law now in practice sanctioned concubinage for men, while insisting on monogamy for women. There should be full legal recognition of the physical and moral facts of parentage, and of the joint authority and responsibility of both parents. Men had helped to build up a fairly high standard of domestic morality among women by exacting scrupulous fidelity from their wives. Women should imitate them in this and demand a similar fidelity from their husbands, both before and after marriage. They would thus be rendering in the future the same service to men which men through uncounted generations had been bestowing on women.

Mr. Aneurin Williams, M.P.

Suffragists have all been very sorry to hear of the illness of Mr. Aneurin Williams, and we are glad to hear that he is making good progress, and will be about again shortly. We can't afford to do without him just now when he is particularly needed to present the other side to his fellow member for Plymouth.

Resident Medical Woman Recommended.

At a recent meeting of the Leeds Board of Guardians a report was presented of the special conference held between Dr. Fuller, of the Local Government Board, and the members of the Leeds Board with regard to the Workhouse Infirmary. Among other recommendations, Dr. Fuller expressed his desire to encourage the Board in its proposal to have an assistant resident medical officer, who should be a lady. In the majority of other places this had been found to work admirably. He must say, in fairness to the lady medical officers whom he had met, and whose work he had inspected, that it was better done in detail than by members of the other sex. The lady officers were more unselfish in the way they devoted themselves to the work than the average male officer. He found also that lady medical officers were a great deal more keen about the medical care they gave to the children than almost any male medical officer he knew who was what might be called a specialist in diseases. Dr. Fuller also recommended that the nursing staff should be increased so as to make one nurse for every eight patients. These recommendations have been adopted in committee and ratified by the Board.

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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 Political Situation.

Telegram from the House of Commons, Thursday afternoon, June 23, 1910:—

"Division on second reading promised, but indication no further progress through some ambiguities."

So far so good. Every Suffragist and every Suffrage Society must use every ounce of strength they possess to make the division on the second reading of Mr. Shackleton's Bill worthy of our real strength in the country and of our great cause, and above all to press for an early day for the second reading. An adequate opportunity of discussing the Bill on the second reading has been promised. But we must not let anyone think for a moment that the bone which has been thrown to us satisfies our hunger. We have carried second readings of Women's Suffrage Bills from time to time in the House of Commons ever since 1870. It is time that the farce of carrying a second reading and proceeding no further came to an end. This sort of trifling with a serious question, affecting the very root principle of representative government, is unworthy of the House of Commons. It is the great excuse for the methods of violence which the National Union has condemned, and from which it has repeatedly dissociated itself, that candidates accept our pledges, vote in the House for a second reading or for a resolution affirming the principle of Women's Suffrage, but have no intention in the world of carrying the matter beyond the academic stage. What we want is a Bill carried through all its stages in both Houses and passed into law; in so far as we approach this desired end we are succeeding; but a barren second reading is merely to give us a stone when we want bread.

Mr. Asquith, speaking in the House of Commons on June 23, said that "the House ought to have opportunities . . . of effectively dealing with the whole question." There can be no "effective dealing" if the progress of the Bill is confined merely to a second reading. Effective dealing can only be given if time for the subsequent stages of the Bill is also granted. The excuse of want of time, in the peculiar circumstances of the present moment, is a transparent mockery. There is ample time if goodwill were also forthcoming. But what

if events prove that goodwill is wanting? What, then, should be the course of the National Union? At our Council last March we adopted the policy of running Women's Suffrage candidates. We must be ready before the next general election to carry this policy into effect in a vigorous manner. We must concentrate on those constituencies where the majority at the last election was small, and where the turnover of a few hundred votes would materially affect the result.

To carry out this policy needs both men and money. Money, I believe, we may safely pledge ourselves to provide. Some suitable candidates are known to our Societies already; but we want more. We want men who have already proved their enthusiasm for the cause of women's enfranchisement, who are good speakers and mean what they say when they declare that the task of the Liberal party is "to establish and set upon an unshakable foundation the principles of representative Government." They must be men who are not afraid of giving offence to party leaders, who have no eye, in the present or in the future, to the places of power or emolument, or titles and other gew gaws which party leaders have in their gift. Will it not be possible to find in our universities, nearly all of which have Men's Societies for Women's Suffrage, a group of young men who are willing to undertake this service for our cause? I can imagine that it will not be without an attraction to the sporting instinct of the average young man; and I am also quite sure that it will not be without its appeal to his chivalrous instinct, too.

When Garibaldi evacuated Rome in 1848, he said to the vast crowd gathered round him in the Piazza of St. Peter's: "Fortune, who betrays us to-day, will smile upon us to-morrow. I am going out from Rome. Let those who wish to continue to war against the stranger come with me. I offer neither pay, nor quarters, nor provisions. I offer hunger, thirst, forced marches, battles, death. Let him who loves his country in his heart and not with his lips only follow me." (Trevelyan's Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic, p. 231.) And thousands followed him and became spiritually the fathers of United Italy. What young Italy did for Italian unity, young England can do for the liberty of Englishwomen to-day. The sacrifices we ask for are not so great as those which Garibaldi demanded, but they are real; and so far from being a deterrent, I believe they will prove a real allurements to the brave heart of youth in the cause of spreading wider the bounds of human freedom.

MILLCENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

Dealing Effectively with the Whole Question.

Mr. Asquith is not a lawyer for nothing. He is always intensely aware that all he says will be used in evidence against him, and it is the boast of his followers that he is a man of his word; therefore it is always well worth while to scan carefully his words and note what exactly he says and what he leaves unsaid. We publish elsewhere the exact text of what he said on Tuesday, 21st, in reply to the two deputations and what he said on Thursday, 23rd, in the House of Commons. We propose here to summarize and examine the points of particular value to us as Suffragists.

To the deputation he made several noteworthy admissions:—

1. That the question of Women's Suffrage was one which was exciting "an ever increasing amount of interest" and which stands in a "position of its own from the political and still more from the Parliamentary point of view."

2. That it was a hardship that the question, because it was non-party, should be "left to the haphazard of the ballot" (this means, of course, the private members' ballot for time to bring in Bills).

3. That he adhered entirely to his statement in the Albert Hall that "the new House of Commons ought to have the opportunity of expressing an opinion upon it."

4. That he himself was in a "small minority" in the Cabinet, and "not in a majority" in his party.

In the House on Thursday the most important points of his statement were:—

5. A promise that time should be given before the close of the session for a full debate and a division on the second reading of Mr. Shackleton's Bill.

6. That, in view of the exigencies of other Parliamentary business and their own announced decision not to prosecute contentious legislation, the Government could not afford any further facilities to the Bill this session.

7. 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 the course of the debate may be expected to throw instructive light on Parliamentary opinion both in regard to this Bill and to other proposals.

8. The second reading would not be taken "at an early date."

Now we take it, that although one grievance will have been removed if the House is given a really complete opportunity for thrashing out this question and for recording a considered vote on it, the grievance that would arise if a favourable vote were to be followed by inaction would be so acute as to be positively unbearable. Mr. Asquith said in the Albert Hall that the House ought to be given an opportunity of "expressing an opinion," and he adheres to this; but he must know very well that an opinion recorded on full debate in the open House must, if favourable, be followed by action. The electors do not send Members to Parliament merely to form a debating society.

Mr. Asquith's statements are all pretty plain sailing until we come to the two which we have numbered 6 and 7, and there would appear to be some conflict between these two. With regard to the former we would urge that the "exigencies of Parliamentary business" are at present permitting the House to rise daily after two or three hours' work. There is time now for taking all the further stages of the Bill. If Mr. Asquith really intends to waste time while he has it and then come to the women later with the excuse that there is not time, the women will know what to think of such an excuse. With regard to the "decision not to prosecute contentious legislation," the Government has already abandoned this decision once (with regard to the King's Accession Oath Bill, to which the Irish Unionists are offering "the strongest opposition"), and they may therefore abandon it again.

If we look, now, at the seventh statement, we see that it holds some of the living germs of a possible settlement. "The House ought to have opportunities," says Mr. Asquith, "if that is their deliberate desire, for effectively dealing with the whole question." Now the "deliberate desire" of the House will be known from the second reading. How are we to interpret the phrase, "effectively dealing with the whole question"? We women have our own conception of what it means effectively to deal with a question: we say that when you profess to have a democracy you should take the will of the people; we say that when you are vindicating and establishing representative government you ought to make it representative; we say that when you have government by discussion and according to the vote of the majority, you must not only allow discussion and a vote but you must act upon the vote when it is clearly given; this is our poor feminine notion of "dealing effectively"; but "women are so illogical," and one of the chief functions in logic being the determination of the connotation of names, we meekly consulted a dictionary to see what a man might mean by the terms, and we were entertained to find that our interest in politics had so far "obliterated sex" that we actually held much the same view as a "man-made" dictionary about the meaning of these words: "To deal, verb intransitive, to transact business, to act. Effectively, adv., having power to effect. Effect, verb transitive, to produce, to accomplish."

Even Mr. Asquith can scarcely hold that the House of Commons would have "acted" so as to "produce or

accomplish" something if after signifying its approval of Mr. Shackleton's Bill it then hung up the Bill till it was dead. That is not producing; it is destroying. That is not curing, but killing.

Mr. Asquith's concluding words seem to give the key to the next door, and in this connection we should like to draw the attention of our readers to a leader in the "Westminster Gazette" of June 21st, for this paper has the reputation of being the one most closely in touch with the Government and most acquainted with any probable move. Mr. Asquith spoke of "other proposals"; what may these be? We read in the "Westminster Gazette": "The Prime Minister promised facilities for a Woman Suffrage proposal in a measure which dealt with all the existing franchise anomalies, and in such a measure we should like to see the 'Conciliation' proposal adopted as a beginning of Woman Suffrage." Is this the "other proposal" that will be made to us? If the Bill passes its second reading are we then to be no further on, but told, as we have been before, that when the Government brings in a Reform Bill, a Women's Suffrage amendment would "not be opposed"? Or would the Government give a pledge to incorporate the enfranchisement of women in the Bill itself and also pledge itself to bring in such a Bill and see it through all its stages in an autumn session? We do not know how such a proposal would be taken, but of one thing we are quite sure: the "dim and speculative future" is not the time for "dealing effectively with the whole question."

Why Women Need the Vote.

XIII.—The Lesson from Experience.

1.—Do Women Use the Vote.

Every reform of any importance may be called a leap in the dark. If history repeats itself, circumstances always differ. Nevertheless, the study of past tendencies, experiments, and results, if not looked at through a microscope but in their just relation to other historic factors, is the safest, indeed the only safe guide we possess. With regard to the advance of woman towards social, political, and moral equality with man, the points on which we may profitably examine history are the value attached by woman to these advances; the benefits they have conferred on her specially, and on humanity generally; and the relative weight of any disadvantages which (as in all human affairs) may have accompanied the good accomplished. The subjection of woman is seen in its extreme forms in the East; but even there we find divergencies enough to be instructive. In the adjoining countries of India and Burma we have a startling contrast between the Hindu or Mohammedan occupant of the Zenana, absolutely dedicated to domesticity, and the Burmese woman, who is socially, legally, and economically man's equal. It is possible that the morality (using the word in its most restricted sense) of the Indian woman may be superior (if any merely cloistered virtue can be so described!), but in kindness, family affection, and material devotion the Burmese woman is no less admirable; and in every other desirable characteristic—industry, judgment, cheerfulness, humour,—we must accord her the palm; while as to the comparative happiness and innocent enjoyment of life observable in the two countries, there is a consensus of testimony in favour of the Burmese. Turning to the Western world, whilst it would be invidious to discriminate by name, yet the least acquaintance with European countries will convince us that the foremost in civilization and prosperity are those where women are permitted the widest scope for their mental and physical energies. Some indication has been given in these articles of their steady advance in our own country, which is being followed in other European States and in America, with results admitted to be beneficial by those minds best qualified to judge. The late Professor Romanes is such an authority. He said:

"Among all the features of progress which will cause the present century to be regarded by posterity as beyond comparison the most remarkable epoch in the history of our race, I believe that the inauguration of the so-called

woman's movement in our own generation will be considered one of the most important. For I am persuaded that this movement is destined to grow; that with its growth the highest attributes of the human race are destined to be widely influenced; that this influence will profoundly react upon the other half, not alone in the nursery and the drawing-room, but also in the study, the academy, the forum, and the senate; that this latest, yet inevitable wave of mental evolution cannot be stayed until it has changed the whole aspect of civilization."

To estimate the effects of the crowning step of political enfranchisement, we must look to New Zealand, Australia, Norway, Finland, and certain American States, taking careful note of the racial and political differences, which count for more than those of sex only.

Firstly, is the vote valued and used by women?

The latest statistics from New Zealand (1908) give the total adult male population as 295,446, of whom (in round numbers) 99 per cent. are registered as electors, and 81 per cent. actually vote. Of a total of 243,504 adult females, 99 per cent. are registered, and 78 per cent. actually vote, showing the women's vote to have been about 2 per cent. below the men's. ("Morning Post," May 25th, 1910.) A New Zealand observer comments on the figures as follows: "The women not only recorded their votes—they took pains to prepare themselves to vote with knowledge and with judgment. Every political meeting held before the election consisted largely of women of voting age, all of whom took a keen interest in the subjects under discussion." (Stephen Guyon.)

In Australia, electoral figures published in 1903 showed that while the number of men on the rolls had shrunk in a little over three years from 86,000 to 76,000 (round figures), the women voters had increased from 68,000 to 71,000.

In Wyoming, after twenty years' trial, it was reported that 80 per cent. of women electors voted.

In Norway the numbers voting in the election of 1909 were: Women 72 per cent., men 70 per cent.

In Finland, in 1907, 55 per cent. of the votes given were by women. C. C. OSLER.

("The Lesson from Experience" will be continued.)

National Union Deputation to the Prime Minister.

In last week's issue we were able to give only a brief report of the deputation received by Mr. Asquith at 10, Downing Street, on Tuesday, 21st inst. This was the first deputation of Women Suffragists received by him since he became Prime Minister, and great importance was therefore attached to the occasion. It is no exaggeration to say that upon Mr. Asquith's consent to receive them depended the future of Mr. Shackleton's Bill, and everyone present felt that Mr. Asquith's more sympathetic attitude denoted the possibility that he might give the House the freedom to consider the Bill and to vote on all its stages. We gave the names of those who went to the deputation last week. It had been decided that Mr. Asquith did not want to hear the general reasons for giving women the suffrage, and therefore the speeches were all directed towards showing the strength of public opinion and the reasons for giving facilities to Mr. Shackleton's Bill.

Miss Bertha Mason, Parliamentary Secretary to the National Union, who had been conducting the negotiations and brought them to this successful issue, introduced the deputation as being representative of every part of Great Britain and Ireland, and composed of members of the Union who were interested in and working for the political, social, industrial, and educational advantage of women.

Mrs. FAWCETT, LL.D. (President of the National Union), said:—

"Mr. Asquith, the last time we had the honour of being received by you, perhaps you will remember, was some two and a half years ago, when we ventured to lay before you some reasons for extending the Suffrage to Women. I think you then expressed a wish that

additional evidence should be brought together, indicating the amount of support which this movement is receiving in the country. We have some evidence of that nature to lay before you to-day.

THE GROWTH OF THE MOVEMENT.

I then represented, as I do now, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, which consisted then of only between thirty and forty Societies: I am now representative of more than 200 Societies; and our Executive Committee never meets without receiving the enrolment of three or four more additional Societies. We are constantly growing. The last few years has been a period of quite exceptional growth, both of membership and of numbers of Societies enrolling themselves in our Union. May I refer to the fact that not only our own Societies are growing with exceptional rapidity, but there is a very rapid growth of numerous types of Societies advocating the extension of the Suffrage to Women? I would also refer to figures submitted to you last autumn, which showed that of 31 consecutive by-elections last year that were contested, there were 69 candidates; of these 39 were in favour of the Suffrage, 33 of whom pledged themselves to work actively in its behalf; 21 were not opposed to it, and 9 only were actually opposed. I think these are very remarkable figures, but they coincide with our experience gained during the General Election, when there was a very large proportion of candidates and private members who were prepared to support the principle of Women's Suffrage. During the General Election we approached candidates to see what number of them would make some mention of Women's Suffrage in their addresses, and we found that more than 255 addresses of candidates during the General Election advocated some kind of representation for women. There were whole districts, especially in Yorkshire and in the North of England, in which every candidate was in favour of some form of Women's Suffrage. In Sheffield, for instance, one candidate only was opposed to it. In Cumberland and Westmorland, in Cambridge and Cambridgeshire, the same remark applies. In speaking later, Miss Rathbone will lay before you the evidence gathered during the General Election of the large amount of support which our movement receives in the country.

A SECOND READING.

With regard to the Bill introduced by Mr. Shackleton into the House of Commons, it appeals very strongly to, and has received the support of, all the Women's Suffrage Societies. It is quite true it does not give us all that we have asked for, but it is a reasonable compromise. It does not give us all that we sought, but it removes the disqualification of women, and if it were carried, sex would no longer be treated like lunacy or crime as an absolute disqualification for the exercise of the Parliamentary vote. Women's Suffrage occupies a peculiar position. It cuts across all party lines. We have friends and enemies in all parties. Our main request to you this morning is to allow the newly elected House of Commons an opportunity of recording its views upon the question of Women's Suffrage. We believe that we have a very large majority in Parliament who are pledged to various forms of Women's Suffrage. We cannot, of course, tell how far these pledges will stand, but, if we may judge from the attitude displayed when the Bill was introduced, the omens seem favourable. Those who had before declared their implacable opposition to the Bill, and had threatened to divide the House against it at every stage, when they perceived the attitude of the House of Commons on the afternoon of June 14th declined to "face the music"—they did not challenge a division. They probably took this course because they perceived they were in a very small minority.

[Mr. Asquith: You should not attribute too much importance to that. It is very unusual to oppose a first reading.]

Mr. Asquith, in preferring our main request for a second reading of Mr. Shackleton's Bill, we have the unusual advantage of being able to quote your own words in support of what we are asking for. You said at your meeting in the Albert Hall on December 10th, after

defining afresh the attitude of your party towards the question, "The Government has no desire or disposition to burke this question. It is clearly an issue upon which the new House of Commons ought to be given the opportunity of expressing its opinion." When a man in so powerful a position as yourself says that the new House of Commons ought to have an opportunity of expressing its opinion, we feel that this is almost a promise that that opportunity shall be given. The life of Parliaments is uncertain, and of this Parliament perhaps particularly uncertain, and we do not know whether such an opportunity may occur again. You have the opportunity now of allowing this Parliament to record its opinion on the enfranchisement of women. But this opportunity may not recur. We ask you to do it now.

FURTHER FACILITIES.

The second part of our request is that in the event of the House of Commons being favourable to the Bill, in the event of its obtaining a substantial majority, that you should also promise us that facilities shall be given in the House of Commons for carrying the matter forward. This is the very earnest request which I have to put before you as representative of the Societies belonging to the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. We feel that the members of the Representative Chamber, the representatives of the people, should have the opportunity of expressing their views upon such a question as that embodied in the Bill, not merely on the second reading, but on all subsequent stages. I have been told in some quarters that this is an unreasonable request, that there is no time, or rather that the discussion of this Bill in its stages subsequent to the second reading would occupy a fortnight—that is, ten days of Parliamentary time. But the expenditure of this amount of time does not seem to me very serious. Some of us have spent forty years of our lives in working in this movement—there is more than one lady here who has worked for this object for more than forty years. At one time we stood almost alone; but lately we have had an ever-increasing following of young and vigorous men and women who are working by our side. We look forward with the utmost confidence to the future of this question. We old stagers can very well die and go away leaving the question to those who are following us. Our demand is rooted in equity, and is perfectly certain to prevail as I believe in the near future. I have only one word more to say. Great hopes have been raised by this Bill, and I know well that great disappointment, that great anger, will ensue if these hopes are doomed to disappointment. If nothing is done now that Parliament has the opportunity of taking action, I am afraid there will be a very undesirable outbreak of feeling amongst others whom I do not represent, and I think we none of us desire that. A Women's Suffrage Bill has reached a second reading time after time, and I feel that none of us will be satisfied if all that is done is to give us once more a barren second reading. You have the matter in your power, and I do most earnestly beg you to use your power by giving to the House of Commons an opportunity of embodying in an Act its views on the subject of Women's Suffrage. One cannot tell what will happen "in another place"; but at any rate the representatives of the people will have declared what they desire to see done. We do not expect more than that. I earnestly appeal to you to put an end to this long struggle. Let your party have the credit of having helped on this great advance in human freedom."

THE OPPOSITION OF CRANKS.

COUNCILLOR ELEANOR RATHBONE remarked that the opponents of our claim said that the majority of men and women were opposed to it; six months ago we had only our general impression to go upon; now our experience with the Electors' Petition had convinced us that the majority of the electors, at least in the North of England and in Scotland, were in favour. The number of signatures (nearly 300,000) gave no indication of the extent of the support, because it had been impossible to approach more than a mere fraction of the electors; but in some constituencies in the West Riding of Yorkshire,

there was a vast majority in favour. In her own city of Liverpool, which she selected because she knew it and because it was considered to be one of the most Conservative towns, a house-to-house canvass of electors showed in the Kirkdale division three out of four in favour; in the East Toxteth division two out of three; in the Abercromby about 50 per cent.; here, as elsewhere, the results were worst among the business offices of the very wealthy or among the squalidly poor, but in any respectable working-class quarter they could have obtained the signatures of two-thirds of the electors if there had been sufficient time. "Household Suffrage has a very strong hold upon these," said Miss Rathbone, "and if you grant facilities for this Bill, your Government stands to lose nothing but the support of a very small minority of cranks." If the average man did not make much noise about it, it was because "it is not the way of the average man to feel very acutely an injustice which only affects others."

SUFFRAGE AND ANTI-SUFFRAGE PETITIONS.

Miss Rathbone gave the figures collected by the Reading Society not long ago when, out of 1,730 women householders (the total in the town) 1,575 were visited and requested to fill up a form stating that they wished for the Parliamentary vote; of these 1,047 signed, 467 refused to sign, and 60 were opposed to it. In the Tradeston division of Glasgow out of 2,080 canvassed, 1,462 were in favour, 442 were neutral, and 176 were against. In Manchester where, recently, the Anti-Suffragists stated they had canvassed six wards and found 682 women householders to sign their petition and only 192 supporters of the Suffrage, a personal canvass had been carried out by Suffrage Societies during four days, in two only of these same wards, and 402 Suffragists were found. They met with repeated evidence that the large number of signatures received by the Anti-Suffragist Societies were given as protests against militant methods and not against the principle. It would be easy to collect a petition for the Suffrage of one million in six weeks, but the Union held that they had done enough work of that kind, and that enormous masses of miscellaneous signatures were of dubious value; it seemed to them that "heads should be weighed as well as counted." "It is beyond doubt that an overwhelming proportion of women who are doing public work, whether paid or unpaid, for the good of the community consider the Suffrage necessary in the interests of women and desirable for the good of the State. We ask you to give facilities for passing this measure."

A TRADE-UNIONIST'S VIEW.

Mrs. COOPER (Nelson) spoke as one who had been a textile worker for eighteen years and a trade-unionist for seventeen, and she maintained that demand for the Suffrage was strong among the women trade-unionists of Lancashire and Yorkshire. The rank and file of the trade-unionists were supporting Shackleton's Bill because they could understand it and they said it was right and just. In her town of Clitheroe there were over 1,000 women municipal voters, and they were mostly working women. "As a working woman it seems to me that every person ought to wish to look after her own business." "A trade-union without votes is like an army without guns," and she mentioned a recent ballot in her union concerning the shortening of the hours of labour; "we have given our ballot," she said, "but we shall hear no more, because we haven't got the Parliamentary vote."

MR. W. S. B. McLAREN, M.P., said that he spoke as one of the oldest members of the National Union.

THE REQUEST FOR TIME.

They asked for time for the Bill to make progress. What would follow must necessarily depend on the nature of the division on the second reading, and if this were as good as they hoped, they would ask for more. It would not be fair to ask the Prime Minister to make any further declaration until he had seen the division list. The Albert Hall declaration referred of course to the possibility of a Reform Bill, and circumstances had

made that impossible. They only asked that the House of Commons should be allowed to come to a decision on this Bill. To say that there was no time was "to make a statement that the common-sense of the country would not admit; there is plenty of time." There never had been a period when there was such an abundance of available time. Last year the House of Commons willingly sat as long as the Government wished.

MR. ASQUITH, interjecting: They are all the less disposed to repeat it! What effect would the Bill have? How many would it add to the register?

MR. McLAREN: Roughly, a little over a million.

MR. ASQUITH: It would exclude all women lodgers and freeholders, and 90 per cent. of married women?

MR. McLAREN: Yes; but it would remove the disability of marriage.

MR. ASQUITH: I believe it would in effect enfranchise ten per cent. of the married women. The title of the Bill ("to extend the Parliamentary Franchise to Women Occupiers") is purposely so framed that it could not be amended in Committee so as to include any other categories of women?"

MR. McLAREN: That is so, and it is a strong point in our favour as regards time, for we might avoid the Report stage altogether.

REMOVE THE VETO.

"We ask you to remove the veto on discussion and restore the freedom of the House to discuss this question. As one of your strongest supporters I ask you, without committing yourself for or against it, to give time for a measure which is exciting more interest in the country than any other question outside the main issues of party politics."

Mrs. HASLAM said a few words for Ireland.

THE WOMEN'S LIBERAL FEDERATION.

The representatives of the Women's Liberal Federation then spoke, Lady McLaren introducing them, and assuring Mr. Asquith that the Women's Liberal Associations would lose heart if they were discouraged. Lady Bamford Slack reminded him that a class franchise caused class legislation, and a sex franchise caused sex legislation. They were "organised, earnest, and impatient." Mrs. Eva McLaren said she would not speak of the disappointment, but of the heart that would be put into them by the granting of the vote. "We have had supporters; what we want is a friend in the Government."

THE PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY.

MR. ASQUITH then replied: "I had the great pleasure during the lifetime of the last Parliament of receiving more than one deputation on this subject. I was exposed to a good deal of misunderstanding, because I would not consent to receive more, under conditions to which I do not wish now to refer, but I was very glad at the opening of a new Parliament, and with a new Bill—not only glad, but I felt that I was under an obligation as the head of the Government,—to listen to the opinions and wishes of so representative a body as that which has done me the honour to come here to-day.

I thank all the speakers for the extreme lucidity and persuasiveness with which they have addressed themselves to their respective tasks. I have felt for a long time that this question of Women's Suffrage, exciting as it does, as no one can deny, an ever-increasing amount of interest, even passion, stands in a position of its own from the political and still more from the Parliamentary point of view. It has been pointed out by more than one of the speakers here that opinion on the general question—not on a particular measure—of whether or not sex should continue to be a disqualification for the franchise does not follow strictly the lines of party division. There are people in both parties, people exercising considerable authority and influence in both parties, even close colleagues, who upon that question hold diametrically opposite opinions. The result is that it has never been in the power, and it does not look as if it ever would be in the power, of any Government of the day, of whatever party constituted, to bring forward on Governmental responsibility and as its own measure any proposal for the political enfranchisement of women. I think that is

a great hardship, because it means that this question, around which is gathering every year a greater amount of political interest on one side and on the other—an interest certainly upon which I do not for a moment express an opinion,—is left to the haphazard of the ballot.

Any Bill introduced must be a private member's Bill, and under our existing Parliamentary arrangements the prospects of such a measure passing through all its stages in the House of Commons, or even of being submitted to the ordeal of all the stages through which it must pass, are extremely remote. In that respect the question stands on a footing of its own. I adhere entirely to a remark of mine, which was quoted by Mrs. Fawcett from a speech made at the Albert Hall, that whatever my personal opinion about the merits or demerits of the question the new House of Commons ought to have the opportunity of expressing an opinion upon it. I am strongly of that opinion—as strongly as I ever was. To that extent I go entirely with you. The question is one simply of times, seasons, opportunities, and political exigencies, some of which none of us then or later could possibly foresee. All I am going to say to you to-day is this, that I have listened most respectfully, and from many points of view sympathetically, to the arguments presented, and I shall submit them to my colleagues, for this is a matter that does not rest on my decision. I have always had reason to think that on the general merits of the question I am in a comparatively small minority amongst them. But at any rate this is a matter of so much importance and probably so momentous in its consequences, that I think it is very fit for a Cabinet decision, and whatever announcements are made on the problem, whatever is the determination of the Government, it is only right and respectful that it should be made in the House of Commons in the first instance. I shall endeavour faithfully to convey to my colleagues the representations you have made to me to-day, and I thank you for the care, skill, and moderation with which you have presented your case, and I hope without any undue delay to announce the decision of the Cabinet upon it." (Cheers.)

Miss MASON thanked the Prime Minister for the patience with which he had listened to the deputation, which then withdrew.

The Anti-Suffrage Deputation.

After the deputation from the National Union had withdrawn, Mr. Asquith received the Anti-Suffrage deputation, which consisted of Countess Jersey, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Mrs. Burgwin, Lady Sheffield, the Duchess of Montrose, Mrs. Wilton Phipps, Lady Wantage, Mrs. Arnold Toynbee, Mrs. Max Muller, Mrs. Austen Leigh, Lord Haversham, Mr. John Massie, Sir Alfred Lyall, Mr. Heber Hart, Mr. St. Loe Strachey, Mr. Godfrey Benson, Lord Edmund Talbot, and Lord Ronaldshay.

Lord Cromer, Sir Edward Clarke, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain could not be present.

The only important addition which Mr. Asquith made in his reply to them was a suggestion that he doubted whether this particular measure could be called democratic.

In Parliament.

A Married Woman's Income.

On Wednesday, in reply to legal points that had been raised, Sir Rufus Isaacs (Solicitor-General) referred to the difficulty which seemed to be anticipated of a husband ascertaining from his wife what her income was. He did not think the Commissioners would have any difficulty over this point. If they learned from the husband that he could not ascertain his wife's income, they would ask the wife to make a return to them. It would then be easy to ascertain from the two returns whether the couple were liable to the super-tax.

Mr. Shackleton's Bill.**A Second Reading Secured.**

In reply to Mr. Shackleton, Mr. Asquith said on Thursday: "The Government have considered this matter, and recognise that the circumstances of the case are exceptional from the fact that under the conditions which govern private members' proposals the House of Commons has never had an adequate opportunity of discussing so momentous a change. They are therefore prepared to give time before the close of the session for a full debate and a division on the second reading of the Bill which has been introduced. (Cheers.) In view of the exigencies of other Parliamentary business and their own announced decision not to prosecute contentious legislation, they cannot afford any further facilities to the Bill this session. The Government recognise that the House ought to have opportunities, if that is their deliberate desire, for effectively dealing with the whole question, and the course of the debate may be expected to throw instructive light on Parliamentary opinion both in regard to this Bill and to other proposals."

Later on, in reply to a question from Mr. Snowden as to whether the second reading would be taken at an early date, Mr. Asquith replied, "No."

The Time of the House.

On Tuesday, 21st, the House adjourned at 11.5 p.m.; on Wednesday, 22nd, at 9.45 p.m.; on Thursday, 23rd, at 11 p.m.; and on Friday, 24th, at 1.45 p.m.

The House of Lords.**Midwives Bill.**

The Midwives Bill was withdrawn. Earl Beauchamp (Lord President of the Council) stated that a new Bill would be introduced in a form which he hoped would secure its passing during the present session.

Manchester Liberal Federation.

A meeting of the General Council of the Manchester Liberal Federation, held at the Reform Club, on June

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 Dimock. **President:** Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D. **Hon. Treasurer:** Miss Bertha Mason (Pro Tem).
Miss Bertha Mason (Parliamentary).
Telegrams: "Voiceless, London." **Secretary:** Miss T. G. Whitehead, M.A. **Telephone:** 1900 Victoria.
Offices: Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Executive Committee.

At the Special Committee meeting held on Saturday afternoon the following notice was drafted for circulation in the Press:—

The Executive Committee of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies met on Saturday for the first time after the statement made by the Prime Minister on the 23rd inst. with regard to the Government's decision as to the treatment to be accorded to the Women's Suffrage Bill. The Committee welcomes Mr. Asquith's declaration that the House of Commons "ought to have opportunities, if that is their deliberate desire, of effectively dealing with the whole question." This desire can only be fulfilled by the Government giving facilities for the Bill to be carried through all its stages in the event of its passing the second reading. The Committee will not rest satisfied with anything less than this. Women's Suffrage Bills of larger scope than the present measure have been fully discussed and have passed their second reading on five occasions by large majorities. The Committee is therefore resolved to press upon the Government the importance of giving facilities for this Bill to be carried.

They further directed that every Society be asked to send the letter given below to all friends, especially electors:—

Dear.....1910.

Please write at once to your Member of Parliament (friendly to Mr. Shackleton's Bill), and ask everyone else to do so also. Pressure must be put on the Prime Minister

27, discussed the question of the electoral enfranchisement of women. Mr. C. P. Scott was in the chair.

Mr. G. G. Armstrong moved the following resolution: "This Council cordially welcomes the decision of His Majesty's Government to allot time for the full discussion upon the second reading of the Bill for conferring the Parliamentary franchise upon women householders, and respectfully expresses the hope that facilities may be given during the present session for the taking of the remaining stages of the Bill should the second reading be carried." An amendment was proposed and discussed, but was defeated, and the resolution was carried by 42 votes to 35.

It is to be hoped that, as a result of this meeting, the Manchester Liberal Federation will take steps to press forward the Bill.

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.

immediately if our Bill is to be saved.—Believe me, yours faithfully,

.....Hon. Sec. of

The.....Society.

The following draft letter is suggested as suitable for the purpose:—

Sir,—In view of what we believe to be the large majority in the House of Commons in favour of the Bill for Women's Suffrage introduced by Mr. Shackleton on June 14, and the assurance made by the Prime Minister on the 23rd that the House of Commons ought to have opportunities of dealing effectively with the whole subject of Women's Suffrage, we strongly urge you to do your utmost to press upon the Prime Minister to grant an early day for the second reading of Mr. Shackleton's Bill so as to allow time for its subsequent stages, without which any "effective dealing" with the subject is impossible in the present session.—I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

The Committee also decided to organise a large open-air demonstration in London in support of the Bill. July 9th seems a likely date for this demonstration, but no definite arrangements have yet been made.

The Committee considered the position of the candidates for East Dorset, and decided to do education work, as neither candidate had put the subject in his election address. Colonel Nicholson has, however, given his agent authority to state that he is prepared to support the Bill now before Parliament, "which gives those ladies

who are on Division 3 the right of voting in a Parliamentary election." Major Guest would give no written pledge or promise on the subject, his agent said, because he had not considered the question at all, and was too young a politician to take any interest in the subject.
EDITH DIMOCK.

Treasurer's Notes.

I hope to have "adequate time" allowed me on Friday next to place before the Council at Bristol a full statement of our receipts and expenditure since the annual meeting in March. Meanwhile the pressing need of the hour is funds as well as workers. Schemes for supporting the Bill now before Parliament will be before the Council. These cannot be carried out without additional funds. Much depends now upon the speedy re-filling of our war chest.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

June 18th to June 25th, 1910.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	1,583	17	7
Subscriptions:—			
Miss Collet	1	1	0
Miss Cornish	0	1	0
Mrs. Moss-Cockle	1	1	0
Mrs. Allan Bright	1	1	0
Mr. D. Turnbull (per Mrs. Meyer)	0	2	6
Miss Tilly (per Mrs. Meyer)	0	1	0
Miss M. Coutts (per Mrs. Meyer)	0	1	0
Mrs. Kinch (per Mrs. Meyer)	0	1	0
Miss Whittingham (per Mrs. Meyer)	0	1	0
Mrs. J. C. P. Thompson (per Mrs. Meyer)	0	1	0
Donations:—			
Miss I. T. Hardie	1	0	0
Mrs. Rackham	20	0	0
Mrs. J. C. P. Thompson (per Mrs. Meyer)	1	0	0
Affiliation Fees:—			
Rugby W.S.S.	0	15	0
Colwyn Bay W.S.S.	0	10	0
Bury W.S.S.	0	10	6
Wolverhampton W.S.S.	1	5	0
Election Fund:—			
Miss S. R. Courtauld (Self-denial)	5	0	0
Miss Esther Hatten	0	7	6
Mrs. Walter Cohen (per Mrs. Aubrey Dowson)	2	2	0
	£1,619	19	1

MILLION SHILLING FUND.

	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	1,055	0
"First Fruits"	2	0
Mrs. Helen B. Taylor	5	0
Lady McLaren (Sale of Women's Charter)	5	6
Tunbridge Wells W.S.S. (per Miss Bertha Mason, in return for lecture)	31	6
Tunbridge Wells W.S.S. (collected by Committee)	53	0
	1,152	0

BERTHA MASON, Treasurer.

The Parliamentary Situation.

During the week two events of momentous importance to advocates of Women's Suffrage, for which they have every reason to be thankful, have taken place.

On Tuesday, June 21st, a deputation of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, in support of the Women's Suffrage Bill now before Parliament, was received by the Prime Minister, who promised to place the request of the deputation for facilities for the speedy passage of the Bill through the House of Commons before the Cabinet, and to announce their decision without undue delay.

On Thursday, June 23rd, the Prime Minister announced to the House that "the Government were prepared to give time before the close of the session for a full debate and a division on the second reading of the Bill which had been introduced on June 14th."

While stating that "the Government could not afford further facilities for the Bill this session," the Prime Minister added that "the Government recognise that the House ought to have opportunities, if it is their deliberate desire, of effectively dealing with the whole question" (the italics are mine). The importance of these concluding words cannot be overestimated.

As the "Manchester Guardian" clearly points out in its able and statesmanlike article of to-day, June 24th,

"to deal effectively with the whole question" does not mean merely reading the Bill a second time, dividing upon it, and then burying it; "dealing effectively" means carrying the Bill through its further stages so that it may become law without further delay. To our supporters in the House is given the opportunity of "dealing effectively" with this great question.

In view of the support which has been given to the Bill by all parties and sections of men and women we cannot believe that the majority of the House will shirk the responsibility which now rests upon them, and deliberately throw away this golden opportunity of granting justice to women.

So much for Parliament. A word now to the duty of the friends and supporters of Women's Suffrage in the country. Pending the decision of the Executive Committee, I can only urge, broadly speaking, that the immediate duty of all Suffragists is to urge (1) that the second reading shall not be unduly postponed, and (2) to use every constitutional and peaceful means to secure a great majority of the House for the second reading.

The fate of the Bill mainly depends on Members of Parliament supporting by their influence and their vote the second reading of the Bill. That vote will indicate whether the 400 supporters of Women's Suffrage in the House really wish to "deal effectively" with the question. Upon that vote will depend in no small measure the future action of the Government and the future action of the women.

The clear and immediate duty, then, of all Suffragists is to concentrate on the work of securing the large vote of the House for the Bill on its second reading.

Let us then ever bear in mind that in calmness and confidence lies our strength, redouble our efforts, and leave no legitimate method untried during the short time at our disposal to secure the attainment of this object.

BERTHA MASON,
Parliamentary Secretary.

By-elections.**EAST DORSET.**

Polling Day: Thursday, June 30.

Candidates: COLONEL J. S. NICHOLSON (U.).
MAJOR THE HON. C. H. GUEST (L.).

I arrived at Poole on Thursday afternoon, to find the town buzzing with excitement and election fever in the air.

The local chief at the Constabulary Station was most kind and courteous, and although he told me, with a twinkle in his eye, I should be breaking the law, besides running great personal risk, if I held open-air meetings, when I pointed out that all the candidates' friends were as guilty as I should be, and that I was prepared to take the risk, he very kindly gave me a list of the best pitches.

At my first meeting so much sympathy was evinced by the crowd that an ardent Liberal wanted me to support his candidate there and then, which I explained was impossible, as Major Guest had not expressed himself in favour of our cause. As he was very rude and contradicted me I told him I had a letter on the subject, and, as he insisted, I read it. There was huge merriment in the crowd over the declaration that Mr. Guest was "too young a politician to take any interest in the subject." I did not fail to point the moral that men, who declare themselves too young to take an interest in a question that vitally concerns the interests of the majority of the population, are not considered too young to be selected as candidates for the Parliament that makes the laws to govern the lives of these uninteresting people.

I have been called upon by countless newspaper reporters since the incident, and both parties clamour for my support at the meetings.

We have a very nice little shop opposite the "town pump," which is arousing great interest, and everyone seems pleased that we have come.

Five dozen copies of "The Common Cause" were sold at my meeting last night.

C. MERIVALE MAYER.

HARTLEPOOL.

Polling Day—June 20.

RESULT.

Mr. S. W. Furness (L.) 6,159
Mr. W. G. H. Gritten (C.) 5,993

Liberal majority 166

We are pleased to be able to record the victory of Mr. Stephen Furness, who expressed himself strongly in favour of our reform. Mr. Furness has promised to vote for the Representation of the People Bill, 1910.

Great Demonstration of the National Union and the London Society.

A great meeting was held in the Queen's Hall on June 28. The resolution ran as follows: "That this meeting welcomes the Prime Minister's declaration that the House of Commons ought to have an opportunity of effectively dealing with the question of Women's Suffrage, and calls upon the Government to give effect to this declaration by fixing an early date for the second reading of Mr. Shackleton's Bill. Further, that this meeting calls upon all friends and supporters of Women's Suffrage to do their utmost to secure the passing of the Bill through the House of Commons this session." As Lady Frances Balfour from the chair read these words, the spirit of that great meeting, so largely composed of women, gave vent in cheers, and throughout the evening, the same cheers greeted every declaration that we had had enough of academic debates, and intended to get our Bill or to know the reason why. Many apologies for absence were read. Then Lady Frances, saying there was now no question of failure, called upon us to keep our heads cool and our hearts warm to further the desirable end. She introduced Mrs. Fawcett, who met with a splendid reception, the audience standing and cheering continuously. Mrs. Fawcett thanked her hearers for this, and said she knew it meant they were prepared to throw enthusiasm into making our work successful. We were in a better position than ever before; people were beginning to leave off saying women didn't want it. Who had done this great thing? She was not going to say 'alone I did it.' All Societies that had worked with devotion had contributed. She thanked the Conciliation Committee especially for the work they had done. They had Mr. McLaren and Lord Lytton on the platform, and she particularly desired to single out Mr. Brailsford, (cheers loud and long)—to whom the conception was due, for all the labour and sacrifice he had given. The Anti-Suffragists were as well aware as we of the approaching victory, and they showed signs of panic. They were like the priests of Baal, cutting themselves with knives and shrieking out for the signatures of boys and girls of sixteen. Even the highly moral spectator was trying to induce members to go back on their word. The Conciliation Bill was giving women opportunity of showing they were united. All Societies working honestly for Women's Suffrage supported the Bill. She scoffed at the excuses that the Bill was not democratic, and that there was not time. If we are courageous, firm, and show we mean to get it, and combine these with prudence, forethought, and common-sense, we have every prospect of success. She maintained that to give a barren second reading was not to deal effectively. We must have something more. "Mr. Asquith is a man of his word; he has left the door ajar, and he knows it. It is for us to throw ourselves against the door—(cheers)—a heavy door—(laughter)—and its hinges are rusty with prejudice and cant. We must use all our strength and all our sense; we must press for an early day and further facilities. We hope the Lords will not idle for another forty years; if they throw out the Bill there is one comforting piece of humour in thinking Mr. Asquith will be in the good old Tory position of saying: 'Thank God there is a House of Lords.' Press on with all earnestness and force, moral force. We rely on you to make our great demonstration of July 9th a great and signal testimony of the strength of our movement."

Lord Lytton, who was enthusiastically greeted, spoke also of the critical nature of the situation, and of the urgency of redoubled efforts to insist upon an early date. He showed how the plot of taking only an academic debate would ruin the Bill, and drew a parallel between it and the Sovereign Declaration Bill, which aimed at removing insult from one section of the community which had inherited it from past generations. They asked the Government to allow the House to give effect to the pious opinions they had been expressing for forty years. Mr. Asquith was still trimming, and said the House ought to have an opportunity of dealing effectively with the Bill, but "I am not going to give it." If within the next fortnight the second reading was fixed, there would be time. The Conciliation Committee accept this as Mr. Asquith's last word. They would work in the House; the women must work outside.

Miss Sterling made an eloquent appeal for funds, asking that money should be forthcoming for sudden and great demonstrations. "We have worked as hard as we know, and we are going to work harder; we must stand by each other as never before. Besides comradeship and sympathy we want sinews of war."

Miss Corbett made a spirited appeal to young women to show their gratitude for the work of their predecessors in securing their education and freedom.

Mr. McLaren believed the Prime Minister would not put off the second reading till too late. He said no other question except the one great one had loomed so large in the country last General Election, no other had so many meetings or commanded such a majority in the House. Mr. Asquith himself put it before the country in his Albert Hall speech. He asked for the resolution to take down to the House that night; it was taken by a standing vote, unani- mously and with acclamation, and as a parting word we heard that fifteen hundred pounds had been raised.

Federation Notes.

Scottish.

Offices: 2, St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh. The Federation is working now in two different districts. Miss Lamond, as the readers of "The Common Cause" know, is touring in Orkney and Shetland, and intends to work her way south by way of the Wick Burgh, where meetings are being arranged for her. Miss Hilliard has gone into East Lothian, Mr. Haldane's constituency, where she is following up the work done by the Edinburgh Society during the general election. There are many warm supporters in Haddington, Dunbar, Prestonpans, and North Berwick, and we hope soon that strong societies will be formed in all these places.

If a demonstration were needed of the wisdom of the National Union in forming federations, such a demonstration occurred in Edinburgh on Friday evening. The Edinburgh Society received a telegram from Mr. Brailsford, hon. secretary of the Conciliation Committee, a telegram which covered six telegraph forms, explaining the action of the committee in getting up the memorial signed by members of Parliament, urging the Government to pass into law this session the Suffrage Bill now before Parliament. The telegram asked for help, and was obviously meant for all Scotland. Thanks to the new organisation, it was easy to get into communication with the Scottish societies. Work began at the office at 9 p.m.—the Edinburgh Office, will generous Suffragists please notice, for it is so much better equipped with duplicators, etc., than the Federation Office as yet—and by midnight every Federated Scottish Society and the Inverness Burghs had had sent to them the news and a copy of the telegram. Every Scottish member of Parliament who had not already signed the memorial—fifty-three in number—had an urgent letter begging him to sign, in which was enclosed a stamped and addressed envelope for reply. With practically no delay, thanks to the new organisation, the energy of the Edinburgh Office, and the willing help of voluntary workers, every Scottish Society was roused to action. No better example could be given of how well the scheme, passed at the last Council meeting, is working. E. M. INGLIS.

Work in Orkney.

At every meeting I have held in Orkney so far our resolution in favour of the Bill—praying the Government to give facilities for its passing into law because this extension of the franchise is for the benefit of women and for the benefit of the country—has been passed without a dissentient voice. At Holm there had been a busy day for the fishermen, and nothing would persuade them to come to the hall without donning their sabbath clothes. So we went round the village announcing an open-air meeting instead, and soon had a good group at the pier-head. Dr. McNeill took the chair, and we had an excellent meeting.

At Westray I was greeted with a stuffed image bearing the legend, "Votes for Women." It acted as a first-rate advertisement, and at the evening meeting in the school-house there was a very fair gathering, and some new members as a result.

It is really worth while to work up the islands in Orkney. The people, if not enthusiastic, are steady thinkers, and not such blind worshippers at the shrine of their member as to refuse to see the force of our arguments. The only objections I have met with are the Shakespeare and Milton one—(poor poets, the Anti-Suffragists can't let you sleep in peace!)—and the statement that "the sweated industries won't bear legislation." I thought the idea a little mixed. Ought it not to be "good legislation won't bear the sweated industries"? W. H. LAMOND.

Haddingtonshire.

The Scottish Federation work in Haddingtonshire has opened very hopefully, Haddington, Prestonpans, and Dunbar welcoming the idea of completing societies well started in the spring. Prestonpans, by the kindness of Mrs. White, will begin its campaign with a garden party in the first week of July, and Dunbar, where I am at present working, has arranged a drawing-room meeting in the Bellevue Hotel, a large room having been placed at our disposal by Mrs. Fleck, and between fifty and sixty invitations sent out.

Canvassing in the outlying districts involves long, dusty tramps (motors being very much in evidence), but the kindly welcomes and very hearty interest one receives help to lighten the labour, while offers of help urge one on to renewed effort. Even those who will not say "For" are emphatic in their declaration of not being "Against." The smile which always greets my hope of receiving a "For" on my next visit certainly encourages that hope. I am sure Haddingtonshire is good ground, and will yield a rich harvest. FLORENCE HILLIARD.

Surrey, Sussex, and Hants.

During the first twelve days of June our organizer was working in the Basingstoke or North Division of Hampshire for the Fleet Society. The time was spent canvassing and visiting at Yatley, Church Crookham, and in the village of Eversley. At Yatley and Church Crookham good public meetings were held. Colonel Pennycook was in the chair at

Yately, and Mrs. Baker at Church Crookham. At Yatley, too, a good opportunity was given for talking Suffrage at a garden party given by a friendly hostess, and we expect a Suffrage society to be formed here.

On June 14 propaganda should have begun in Sussex. But the work planned during many days by the Brighton Society was slightly altered, for Miss Duncan had to speak at meetings in our area to support the Conciliation Committee's Bill. This she did at Camberley, Southampton, and Godalming. Brighton has had the resolution passed at many meetings. Miss Sterling was the speaker at a garden meeting at Southwick, and the same evening she spoke to a full meeting at Hove Town Hall. She spoke splendidly, obtained ten new members at Southwick, and carried the resolution with one dissentient at the evening meeting. The next afternoon, at a garden meeting for all classes, where Miss Sterling and Miss Duncan spoke, the resolution was passed without a dissentient. Canvassing has been done and meetings arranged in Patcham, Southwick, Henfield, Steyning, and Beeding.

Other meetings have been held in support of the Bill by Mrs. Stanbury at New Milton, by Miss Margery Corbett at Guildford, and by Mrs. Uniacke at Woking.

Portsmouth has had Mrs. Swanwick and Mr. Clayton. Southampton has held open-air meetings, at which Dr. Stancombe, Miss Norah O'Shea, Mr. Newport, and Mr. Perryman spoke.

Last Wednesday a successful garden fête was held at Redhill.

Finding What You Look For.

On June 9 the officers and two members of the Executive Committee of the Manchester Branch of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League sent to the papers (including "The Times") a sort of manifesto, in which they "assure these gentlemen" (the Men's League for Women's Suffrage) "that as far as the women municipal voters are concerned, their zeal is not appreciated." What were their grounds for this statement? They gave them as follows:—They recently canvassed six wards in Manchester—namely, St. Clement's, All Saints', Withington, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Levenshulme (North and South), and found: Total number of women municipal voters, 2,175; number not interviewed owing to absence, etc., 716. Out of 1,459 interviewed, 682 signed the petition against Women's Suffrage, 585 were "not interested," while only 192 were Suffragists (including "half-sympathizers").

These results interested Manchester Suffragists, who determined to make a rough test of two of the wards; they were anxious to get out some results before the deputation to Mr. Asquith, so they only had four days for the work. In the two wards of Withington and All Saints' they took round the following declaration: "I, a woman municipal voter, believe that I ought also to have the right to vote for Members of Parliament." This was signed by 187 women in Withington and 215 in All Saints', making 402 declared Suffragists in two of the six wards where the Anti-Suffragists had only found 192 (including half-sympathizers).

Those who collected the signatures point out that "one cannot, of course, assume that the proportion in the other four wards would have been exactly the same as in the two tested, but it is worth noting that, should it prove so, there would be 1,200 Suffragists in the area covered by the Anti-Suffragists, instead of the 192 they found."

Is it possible that the 716 "not seen" were all Suffragists? It will interest our readers to know that "The Times," which found room to publish the Anti-Suffragists' manifesto in full, has not yet published the much shorter statement of the numbers found by the Suffragists, although these were sent and signed. "The columns of the public press," says Mrs. Ward, "are always open to women."

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.

The annual reception of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association is taking place next Friday, July 1, at the Wharnclyffe Rooms, 3-30 p.m. to 5-30 p.m. The Countess of Selborne (president) will be in the chair, and Lady Willoughby de Eresby will receive the guests. Amongst the speakers will be the Lady Betty Balfour, the Lady Knightley of Fawsley, Mrs. Percy Boulnois, Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., and the Hon. W. Ormsby Gore. A few cards of invitation can still be obtained on application to Mrs. Gilbert Samuel, 48, Dover Street, Piccadilly, W.

KENSINGTON BRANCH.

The first annual meeting of the Kensington Branch of this Association was held on Thursday, June 23, at 19, Phillimore Gardens, W., by kind invitation of Miss Chadwick, vice-chairman of the Branch. In moving the adoption of the annual report, Miss Chadwick referred to the great progress made by the Branch since its formation, a little more than a year ago. During that time its membership has been nearly trebled, a great many very successful meetings have been held, and a number of new and enthusiastic workers interested in the cause of Women's Suffrage. Most interesting addresses were given by Mrs. Percy Boulnois, the Rev. Hugh Chapman,

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and others, and an appeal made by the chairman for a fund to provide the salary of a paid assistant, necessitated by the enormous increase in the work of the Branch, resulted in the greater part of the money being given or promised by those present. The last of the committee's informal social evenings took place on Friday, 24th, when Miss Keeling, Miss Muriel Thompson, and Miss Graham spoke. An interesting discussion followed on the political situation.

The Actresses' Franchise League.

The performance of "Press Cuttings," given on Tuesday, 21st, at the Kingsway Theatre by this League, was the best we have yet seen. The part of Mrs. Farrell was played by Miss Agnes Thomas, who delighted us all on the occasion of the first performance in London last summer. Mr. Rigby had the most perfect Cockney accent and manner as the Orderly; Mr. Leslie Faber played the General with glorious conviction and a truly heroic rasp, and Mr. Frederick Lloyd vacillated engagingly as the Prime Minister. As General Bones made his famous pronouncement upon public opinion, we were irresistibly reminded of that quaint weekly which still academically argues the case for physical force. Here are the parallel passages:—

The Spectator (June 18, 1910): "The present possessors of the sovereignty are the persons on the Parliamentary register. They are also the possessors of the physical force which makes sovereignty a reality. They are, finally, the persons on whom the duty of protecting the sovereignty against foreign aggression or civil insurrection can alone be enforced. Therefore, they and they alone ought to decide whether the transfer should take place."

General Bones: "There's no such thing as public opinion. . . . There are certain persons who entertain certain opinions. Well, shoot them down. When you have shot them down, there are no longer any persons entertaining those opinions alive; consequently there is no longer any more of the public opinion you are so much afraid of. Grasp that fact, my dear Johnston, and you have grasped the secret of government. Public opinion is mind. Mind is inseparable from matter. Shoot down the matter and you kill the mind."

People sometimes complain of the extravagance of Mr. Shaw's writing, but it is almost possible to caricature the "Spectator."

"Press Cuttings" was preceded by a lively performance of "How the Vote was Won," and Mrs. Forbes Robertson recited a poem by Charlotte Perkins Gilman which, we under-

stood her to say, came from a volume entitled "The world we live in." It should be recited to all Anti-Suffragists as a most effective piece of banter.

The performance was in aid of the National Union, and the programme contained portraits of Mrs. Fawcett and Mrs. Forbes Robertson.

The New Union for Men and Women.

(52, Maddox Street, Hanover Square, W.)

This Union has been remarkably successful in drawing large and most appreciative audiences in Hyde Park every Sunday afternoon since Easter. On their platform many of the well-known speakers of all the Suffrage societies meet. A considerable number of the members and friends marched in the procession on June 18 under their cerise-and-blue banner, "New Union for Men and Women who mean to get Women's Enfranchisement Now," and were most heartily cheered all the way to the Albert Hall. On June 21 Mr. E. Duval gave his lecture, at above address, on Mary Astell, a famous writer and Suffragist, who flourished in the early part of the seventeenth century.

The Federation of University Women and the Bill.

At the annual meeting of delegates of the Federation of University Women held at Sheffield on June 18, a resolution was passed in support of the Conciliation Bill urging Mr. Asquith to grant facilities during the present session, and it has been sent to the Prime Minister.

IDA SMEDLEY
(Hon. Sec. Federation of University Women).

Foreign News.

ITALY.

The National Council of Italian women has charged Mme. Montini to organize the work, social and educational, in connection with the women and girls condemned to Houses of Correction or to prison. It is proposed to substitute a scientific method for the empirical one now in force in Italy. The utility of segregation has been recognized, and an attempt is to be made to give these women a thorough training in some trade or profession, so that they may gain an economic independence and resume their place in social life in a natural manner, with plenty of interests and occupation, that they may not be tempted through misery to fall back into evil ways.

A carefully selected committee of ladies has been appointed to meet the women as they leave prison, and to act as their moral guardians—probation officers, in fact. It is a scheme one would like to see followed in every country, but one should also go a step further back and, as far as possible, remove the causes of the misery which so often leads to crime.

UNITED STATES.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, the veteran woman Suffragist, celebrated on May 27th the 91st anniversary of her birth. She still takes an active interest and even sometimes an active part in the women's movement, and she is held in great esteem by all who know her.

NORWAY.

The wider basis for the municipal franchise for women will probably have a further-reaching effect than appears on the surface. The Parliamentary vote granted in 1907 was based on the municipal register, therefore by making municipal Suffrage universal, the Parliamentary Suffrage ought logically to become universal also at no distant date. The present change is due mainly to the active work of Norwegian women, who for the past three years have worked incessantly for this broader basis.

FRANCE.

A most successful meeting of the French W.S.A. was held recently at Montmartre, Paris. The hall of the "Université Populaire" was crowded with a very sympathetic working-class audience. Madame Schmahl spoke of the progress in places where Woman Suffrage obtains, notably in Colorado; Mile, Bonneval spoke from a general and philosophic point of view; M. Buisson reminded his hearers that the Bill for municipal Suffrage for women must be taken up by at least twenty Deputies in the coming season, or it would fail, and urged them to continue to work for it.

That French women are aware of the importance of this is shown by a resolution passed at a meeting of delegates from all the feminist societies in Paris on May 27th. It is to be sent to all the Deputies, and urges them to support the Bill.

AUSTRIA.

It is good to read that according to a law just passed girls and women are to be admitted to the State Technical and Continuation Schools. The Ministers express themselves

entirely in favour of co-education, and consider it important that girls should be granted the same opportunities for training as boys.

A protest meeting has been held in Vienna against the enforced celibacy of women State officials. It was pointed out that such a prohibition was contrary to the rights of the individual, the family, and the State. Frau Ida Meyer, president of the Union of Postal Female Employees, explained that henceforth State service could only be considered as a temporary means of subsistence, where one awaited the refuge of marriage. The employees, therefore, could not bring to their work that interest and zeal which they would were their position secure; this constituted a social danger.

Several meetings have also been held to protest against a paragraph in the law relating to associations, in which women, foreigners, and minors are prohibited from joining political associations. Resolutions were passed unanimously urging the suppression of the word "women." Perhaps foreigners and minors are better company than paupers and criminals, but no wonder Austrian women object to be put on the same footing with them. It is equally humiliating and unjust.

SWEDEN.

A Bill dealing with taxes has lately been introduced into the Swedish Parliament, and Mr. J. Ostberg put forward an amendment, innocent on the surface, to exempt married women with an income of less than 200 kroner from taxation. This roused a storm of indignation among women interested in social reform, and the N.W.S.A. immediately called a meeting of protest, at which the following resolution was passed unanimously and sent to all members of Parliament:—

"Men and women, invited to a meeting in Stockholm on May 27 by the N.W.S.A., an organization that represents 164 local branches with over 11,000 members, protest against a Bill introduced in the First Chamber by Mr. J. Ostberg, and proposing that an income not amounting to 200 kroner should not in any case be taxed. They protest because this Bill would, if accepted by Parliament, reduce to a great extent the right of the married women to be taxed for an income of their own and thereby obtain municipal suffrage and eligibility, a right so new that it has not yet been put into practice. And this happens at the same time as the women in our neighbouring country Norway have obtained universal municipal suffrage!

"The meeting addresses an urgent appeal to Parliament not to disavow its own resolution, prompted by the Government, and not to pass the Bill of Mr. J. Ostberg, inasmuch as it entails a totally uncalculated raising of the qualification for municipal Suffrage, a raising that must affect the poorest and be a direct violation of the rights of the married women."

The Bill was unanimously rejected in the Second Chamber, amended and passed in the First Chamber, but subsequently rejected in the joint session of the Chambers, thus showing that the Swedes are really anxious to do justice to their women, and not only to give but to guard their rights.

BOSNIA.

On May 28 the women of Bosnia voted for the first time for members of Parliament. The majority of the voters are Mahometans—Moslem women possessing more property rights than Christians.

HOLLAND.

Carrying out the resolution passed at the last International W.S. Conference, the Dutch W.S.A. has drawn up a list of laws, Royal decrees, and ministerial ordinances which place women at a disadvantage socially, legally, and morally. They formulate no scheme for amendment, since women differ as to the best methods, but all are agreed that they should have the ballot as a means of expression and protection. A deputation from the Dutch W.S.A. was received by the Queen, and a petition was presented, with an extract from the objectionable laws urging upon her Majesty the desirability of the speedy enfranchisement of women. A similar petition was sent to the Second Chamber and to the principal newspapers, which published it.

The Women's Liberal Federation Council Meetings.

By a "CHARTIST" DELEGATE.

Women's Suffrage and women's interests generally were given more attention than usual by Liberal women at the Council meetings held last week in London.

On the first day—the day of the introduction of the Conciliation Bill—an urgency resolution in support of the Bill was moved by the treasurer, Mrs. Eva McLaren, and seconded by Mrs. Stewart Brown, on behalf of the Executive Committee. The suggestion that the Council should demonstrate peacefully by walking in a body to Westminster was strongly discouraged by the chair, who spoke mysteriously of "comings and goings" between herself and the Government. It was at last agreed that the resolution should be carried to the Prime Minister by the three officers, the presi-

dent signing the covering letter, but refusing to go herself, "for reasons which could not be revealed to the Council."

Later the question of Adult Suffrage brought about another characteristic incident. Mrs. F. D. Acland and the Hon. Mrs. Bertrand Russell introduced the resolution, "This Council is of opinion that the franchise should be based on citizenship, not property." Miss Kilgour and Miss Ransom added a rider to the effect that first the sex disabilities should be removed. Difficulties of various kind were made by the chair, who objected to the form and wording of the rider, and urged Miss Kilgour to content herself with speaking against the motion. But Miss Kilgour refused to vote against a cause in which she believed, and stuck to her addition, which the Council rejected.

In the afternoon it was announced that the Prime Minister had consented to receive a deputation of six members of the Women's Liberal Federation.

The following morning the president commented on the first reading of the Bill in a speech, in which the Government was assured that whatever the fate of women's interests, Liberal women would continue to hew wood and draw water. She described the difficulties in the Cabinet's way of granting facilities, and exhorted the Council, whatever the fate of the Bill, "to be loyal to the party whom we are bound, in my opinion, to serve." Some delegates would have preferred the Prime Minister to be left to find his own excuses.

The Women's Charter was given one day by the Council, and aroused opposition of a remarkable kind. After stirring scenes and heated speeches, the Council passed the Croydon resolution by a majority of 47. This resolution, as finally passed, objected to the Charter on purely suffrage grounds. To those delegates who had struggled unavailingly to rouse enthusiasm for Suffrage in the Federation at former Councils, and who deplored the president's instruction to the associations to put party before Suffrage, the ardent Suffrage speeches in support of the Croydon resolution came as a pleasant surprise. Mrs. Eva McLaren, while assuring the Council that she was moved by no personal feelings, objected to Lady McLaren's proposals, because nothing but the vote would cure women's grievances and safeguard their interests. She urged the associations to concentrate their energies on the Suffrage. It was a remarkable speech, admirably delivered, and every Suffragist in the hall heartily endorsed every word of it.

Miss Florence Balmorne, in seconding, spoke at length about the "great soul of womanhood," and vehemently condemned the "audacity and insolence" of any attempt to foist legislation on the unenfranchised.

Lady McLaren, in moving the previous question, replied that the Charter proposed to remove sex disabilities before the law. If passed, the Bills embodying these reforms would not only enfranchise women, but raise them economically and socially; if the Bills were not passed, their introduction and discussion were the best way of refuting the Anti-Suffragists' argument that woman was the "petted darling of the law."

The discussion was very greatly prolonged and grew heated, the chairman intervening repeatedly with long speeches, and finally vacating the chair in order to appeal to the delegates. Mrs. Stewart Brown seconded the motion for the previous question, while Mrs. Bonwick and Lady Pearson urged the Federation to concentrate on Suffrage, and Mrs. Heron Maxwell urged them to set aside their own petty grievances and devote themselves to questions of "national importance."

Mrs. Hamilton said that the point to be decided was whether the Charter did or did not side-track the Suffrage. She believed that the discussion of the Bills was to the best possible advantage of the woman's cause. Miss Corbett maintained that the time of the Council had been allotted in just proportion, two days being given to general political questions affecting the joint well-being of men and women, and one day to women's special interests, on which the Council could bring expert knowledge to bear. The discussion was closed by Lady Cecilia Roberts, and Mrs. Eva McLaren summed up, many other speakers having sent in their names.

When the Council adjourned, it had spent the day allotted to the Women's Charter in perfunctorily discussing five out of the twenty-four resolutions on the agenda.

An amusing scene occurred on the third day, when Mrs. Eva McLaren moved the annual resolution condemning the State regulation of vice. Lady McLaren supported it with enthusiasm, since the Federation existed to promote just legislation for women, and this, like every other claim for legal justice, must accompany the demand for the vote.

The rest of the time was spent in passing unanimous resolutions on the Lords' veto, licensing, armaments, Free Trade, etc., on which there was no difference of opinion.

It is to be hoped that in the coming year Liberal women will take to heart the appeal of the treasurer, and concentrate their energies on their own enfranchisement.

[We regret that this report had to be held over from last week.]

The Women's Charter.

A good deal of interest, some of it friendly some not, has been excited by the appearance of the Women's Charter. The excellence of its provisions will not be disputed. Here and there points of difference may occur, but to those united in the common cause it will, in the main, appeal as being an

able summary of the ends they have in view. Controversy has arisen as to the advantage of putting forward the demands of women in this particular form, and at this particular time. Is the form of the Women's Charter in itself good apart from the actual demands it makes? Will it forward the measures it advocates by thus grouping them together? And how will it affect the all-important question of Suffrage? Let us look at the question fairly. The Women's Charter formulates briefly the legislation demanded by women to free them from the political, social, and economic disadvantages under which they labour. In the form of nine Bills this has been introduced in Parliament, not, of course, with any idea that they will in the near future become law, but to give the thing shape and afford opportunity for discussion. As a piece of tactics this is criticised in some quarters. "Quot homines, tot sententiae," is perhaps never so true as when applied to questions of tactics, and, moreover, people are scarcely more tenacious of their most cherished principles than of their own pet method of promoting them. So to any scheme of this kind there must inevitably be a certain amount of opposition arising from no real difference of opinion, but due to the inevitable dispute that must arise as to the means of securing a certain end among those who are all united in desiring the end. So it will be well in considering these proposals to carefully dissociate from valid objections to the scheme itself all criticism that arises merely from sectional differences of opinion.

As far as I have been able to follow the discussion on the Charter, the objections are either to the grouping of a large number of proposals into one comprehensive measure or are due to the fear that by devoting their energies to the pressing in of legislation on these lines women may help to divert attention from the one question, the satisfactory settlement of which is the key to all the others—i.e., the Suffrage. We will deal with the first. It is urged on the one hand that any scheme such as that set forth by Lady McLaren is overloading the ship; in the attempt to achieve everything, nothing is done thoroughly. Any resulting legislation will be incomplete, ill-considered, and faulty in detail. Much better to do one thing at a time and do it well. In direct opposition to this is the view that the fault of the Charter is in its incompleteness; there are many other matters, entirely ignored, in which women are equally interested. The Charter, which, it is said, aims at finality, is condemned by its failure to achieve its primary object. These two criticisms obviously do not hang together; they are mutually contradictory. If one is right the other is of necessity wrong. But it does not in the least follow that either view is necessarily right. As a matter of fact, they are both wrong. The first is based on a misconception of the purpose and method of the charter; to act on the second would mean the giving up of all attempts at social legislation. To refrain from advocating one reform because everything cannot be done at once is both illogical and suicidal, and need not be further discussed here. The other theory is superficially more attractive, but women have little cause to love the "overloading" arguments. In the special circumstances of the case it is exactly the policy, keeping in view the purpose of the Charter, I should advocate. It must be remembered that it is not the intention of the promoters to include all these proposals in one Bill. They have already been placed before the House of Commons by Sir Charles McLaren in nine separate Bills. But it is the intention to keep them before the public as one coherent policy, and for a very good reason, based on sound psychological grounds. It is a commonplace to toxicologists that the deadliness of certain poisons is due to their cumulative effect. One dose by itself is comparatively harmless, but with each added draught the evil increases, until it becomes a menace to life itself. Scarcely one of the grievances indicated in the Women's Charter would be of itself intolerable. Together they form a burden well nigh unbearable. It is the last straw that breaks the camel's back, but the former straws have been gradually straining it to breaking point, and each plays its part in the final catastrophe.

Hence the value of a document such as the Charter. It will come as a shock to many complacent souls who, while admitting that here and there exists a grievance, have taken refuge in the thought that on the whole the privileges of a woman's position outweigh the drawbacks. In face of the case made out, it is impossible to deny that law and convention press on them hardly at many points; without such a comprehensive statement the case would lose much of its force.

This consideration seems to me a complete justification of the Charter. To the plea that it is almost impossible to carry effective legislation of this omnibus character the answer is simple—the Charter has been introduced as nine separate Bills, not as one. The whole point of grouping them together is to achieve the object which has in part already been compassed, of educating public opinion to the gravity of the position.

Another objection is that it ill becomes women to concentrate on their own special interests; their point of view in politics should be not sectional, but the good of the community as a whole. This may have some sentimental value, but it is not practical politics. It ignores the fact that nearly all political and social reforms are carried through the importunity of sections, who make the inclusion of their

particular aims in their party's programme the price of their support. Would the Welsh support the Liberal Party if Welsh Disestablishment were not a plank in the platform, or the Nonconformists if the present Government accepted the present educational question as final? On what support could Mr. Balfour count in his defence of the policy of his party? If women do not look after their own interests it is quite certain no one else will do it effectually. Besides, are we not continually asserting that the improvement of the status and position of women must react beneficially on the State as a whole. There remains the question of the relation of the Charter to the vote. Is it a valid argument to say that because no legislation affecting women can be considered final and satisfactory unless women have a share in its formulation, that therefore women should not press for such legislation? I think one example will suffice to show the shortsightedness of such an attitude.

The admission of women to the ranks of Borough and County Councillors has greatly strengthened the argument for the extension to them of the privileges of the franchise, and yet on the theory we are considering this should have been deferred until the question of the vote was itself settled. Social legislation can always be amended and improved, and even though we admit that here again women's voice in the matter is essential, it is surely foolish to refuse the half-loaf to-day because there is a chance of the full measure of bread on the morrow. Nor can it be contended that the passing of Acts of Parliament dealing with the grievances of women will in any way weaken the argument for the Suffrage; to argue this denotes failure to grasp the essence of the Suffrage argument—namely, that it is a good thing in itself, and not desirable merely as a means of remedying this or that disability. But, apart from the question of argument, would the passage into law of any or all of these Bills tend to weaken the position of those who are working for the vote? I think not, because with each improvement in the legal condition of women, with each extension of their freedom, the denial of the common right of citizenship becomes less defensible.

On these grounds, then, it seems to me idle to deny that those responsible for the Women's Charter have performed a service of great value to the women's movement. Its educational value has been immense, and as suggested by a resolution passed at the meeting of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance in London last year, the publication of such a document in every country must have a salutary effect on public opinion. It seems to me clearly the duty of any organization of Progressive women to take this Charter as a basis, and by consideration, discussion, and amendment, to give it the weight of their authority, and, if possible, to evolve from it an even more complete statement of the evils resulting from the non-representation of women in the government of the country.

HORACE CRAWFURD.

University News.

The following women have attained first-class in the Cambridge Triposes:—*Moral Sciences, Part I.*: K. E. C. Costelloe (Newn.) *Economics, Part I.*: N. A. Elkin (Newn.) *Medieval and Modern Languages*: E. M. Butler, Newnham; M. M. Cook, Newnham; M. S. Dismorr, Newnham; D. A. Fox, Newnham; M. L. Harvey, Girton; M. W. Hughes, Newnham; A. M. Kinross, Girton; C. Morrison, Girton; M. J. Powell, Newnham; M. E. Seaton, Girton. *Natural Sciences, Part I.*: K. Haddon (Newn.), D. Jordan Lloyd (Newn.), K. E. Maris (Newn.) *Part II.*: E. M. M. Hume (Newn.) *Mathematical, Part I.*: I. Thwaites (Girton.) *Part II., New Regulations*: A. B. D. Finney (Girton.)

Reviews.

SUFFRAGE SONGS.

We have received three Suffrage songs, written by Mrs. Will Hawksley and Miss O'Shea. They are set to the tunes of the "March of the Men of Harlech," "Comin' thro' the Rye," and the Austrian National Hymn, and can be procured, post free, prepaid, from Mrs. W. Hawksley, Church Lodge, Portsmouth, at 3s. per 100, 2s. 9d. per 100 for not less than 500, and 2s. 6d. per 100 for not less than 1,000. Profits will go to the Portsmouth Society.

SUFFRAGE LITERATURE.

THE BEST PAMPHLET FOR THE MOMENT.

We heartily commend to our readers a most admirable pamphlet issued at the ridiculous price of one penny by the Men's League for Women's Suffrage (40, Museum Street, W.C.). It is called an "Open Letter to the Prime Minister," and sets forth with wit, and with brevity, and with precision the nature and extent of the progress made lately by the movement for Women's Suffrage. It gives succinctly a list of

societies and an accurate description of their work, and a statement of the Parliamentary situation, and it concludes by asking Mr. Asquith to "endorse the policy that the will of the Commons shall prevail. Our simple request is that this Bill in all its stages shall receive the full consideration of the House of Commons."

Every Suffrage society should distribute this pamphlet as widely as possible.

Correspondence.

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

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

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—In her article on "Woman Suffrage" in "The Times" of June 4, Mrs. Humphry Ward pleads for "a strong Local Government movement amongst women, wholly dissociated from the franchise movement and opposed to it." Such a movement would assuredly meet with the cordial approval of all the suffrage societies, as it would inevitably strengthen their hands and bring to light fresh facts in support of their demands.

The majority of those women who throw themselves into the work of local government are driven, sooner or later, to realize the necessity for political enfranchisement. Firstly, because the social conditions with which they have to deal bring this need clearly before their eyes, and secondly because of the obstacles which their disfranchisement places in the way of their election.

It is a deplorable fact that the elections for local bodies are more and more run on purely party lines. Unless, therefore, the woman candidate has some quite exceptional qualification she must, necessarily, be heavily handicapped.

The political organizations which control these elections naturally prefer the man who has got the Parliamentary vote to the woman who has not got it, however competent and experienced she may be.

If a woman candidate is not adopted by one of the political associations she has small chance of success. Not only are her election expenses very heavy, but she has to fight single-handed against these powerful party organizations.

PARIS MODELS

OWING to the mourning for our late King, our usual sale of Paris Models did not take place.

The whole of these, together with our surplus stock of Summer goods, will be offered at great reductions during Sale, which commences Monday next, June 20th.

AT HALF COST

Illustrated Catalogue post free on request.

WILLIAM OWEN
WESTBOURNE GROVE, W.

THE ETHICS OF WAR.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—Would you kindly allow me space in "The Common Cause" to express an opinion on the critical situation of the constitutional Suffragists? I am not a militant Suffragist, and by nature I am opposed to such tactics. At the same time, I consider war as a last resource is inevitable. If the constitutionalists maintain that force is completely wrong in our struggle for the vote, they land themselves in a dilemma. Would they dare to declare that, if a foreign army had actually taken possession of our shores, no man's hand should be raised against it? To oppose it under any circumstance would be a violation of justice. Yet where is the difference between an invasion on the rights of a sex and an invasion on the rights of a nation, except that the former is more insidious?—Yours,
GERTRUDE MAGEE.

June 24th, 1910, 8, Glasgow Street, Rock Ferry.
[We allude to this subject in the "News of the Week."—Ed. "C. C."]

Miss Margaret Mein writes with enthusiasm of Mrs. Fawcett's speech at the White City; it "voices our feelings" exactly. "We have thrown ourselves heart and soul into working for the Conciliation Bill, and if that is denied us, then we will seek rougher and harsher methods." We are determined that the Bill shall go through. No road is too rough, no sacrifice too great. But delay or defeat are equally intolerable. The National Union must prove to the Government and to the country their equal determination with the other societies, and we await that declaration at the Queen's Hall meeting.

Miss Evelyn Mitford writes reminding the Anti-Suffragists that they on their side have not always conducted debates with that courtesy which they recommend to others, and quotes the occurrences at a debate arranged between the Anti-Suffrage League and the London Society at the Kensington Town Hall.

Mr. Charles B. Mabon (Glasgow) writes saying that now the Conciliation Bill has been approved by all the Suffrage Societies he would consider himself an "obscurantist" if he were to disapprove of the enfranchisement of a large section of women because other sections equally entitled were not at the same time enfranchised. Should Mr. Asquith's reply, however, be unfavourable, he urges Suffragists to treat the Conciliation Bill as "non-existent."

Miss A. B. Wallis Chapman writes to much the same effect.

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. (The following were unavoidably held over from last week.)

MACCLESFIELD.

The quarterly meeting was held on Wednesday, June 15th, at the Y.M.C.A. A few friends as well as members were invited. The resolution asking the Government to give facilities for the passing into law of "The Representation of the People Bill" was moved by Mr. Henry Seddon, Chapel-en-le-Frith, who not only spoke well of the Bill, but as a strong advocate of Women's Suffrage on the same terms as men. He has already done faithful work for the movement. Mrs. Walter Greg seconded the resolution. Mrs. Russell, from the chair, and others supported it, and it was carried unanimously, with acclamation. The first annual meeting was fixed for some time in October.

SEVENOAKS.

A public meeting was held at Sevenoaks on June 14th in support of the Representation of the People Bill (1910). Mrs. Stanbury gave an interesting and amusing address. The chair was taken by Mr. Okey. Resolutions in favour of the Bill were passed and copies were sent to the Prime Minister and to Mr. H. W. Forster, the local member.

This is the true story of the failure of many women candidates during the last borough council elections.

I believe that the co-operation of women in local government will be an inestimable blessing to the country, not only on account of the work which they can do on these bodies, but because a fresh spirit of interest and inquiry is thereby roused among whole classes, which have hitherto been content to leave the management of their affairs in the hands of small and irresponsible cliques.

This can, however, only be hoped for on any considerable scale if women can enter the field on the same terms as men, unhampered by political disabilities.—Yours,
MARION CHADWICK.

19, Phillimore Gardens, June 7, 1910.

MAKING WOMEN PAUPERS.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—I confess that I hesitate to write in answer to the letter of your correspondent, M.D., published in your issue of June 2, as I fear that I may be walking into the trap of a practical joker, for the letter is so extraordinarily silly that it seems almost inconceivable that it can have been written in any seriousness.

The argument of your correspondent, put shortly, amounts to this: That no married couple should have children unless they have sufficient capital in hand to meet all emergencies at the time of the wife's confinement and a sufficient yearly income to enable them to bring up the child in a decent and adequate manner.

We already deny, or do our best to deny, the rights of parentage to the unmarried, but to extend this ban to the honest, healthy agricultural labourer, and, in fact, to the majority of manual workers, is really a ludicrous proposal. The poorer classes may not, as a class, be what we might call "political philosophers," but when it is a question of children or no children they know where they are. Such a restrictive measure could only be brought about by Act of Parliament, and any party or class which advocated such a measure would never get as far as Westminster.

Again, from the point of view of eugenics, the economic test is, broadly speaking, a worthless one. The rural population on its 12s. or 13s. a week is, as a whole, a considerably more healthy one than the city dweller with his larger income, to say nothing of a considerable proportion of the rich with their diseases and their intellects dulled by surfeit. What is wrong with the poor is not their want of restraint, which is unfortunately a common failing amongst all classes, but their poverty. They are poor through no fault of their own. Give them more money and they will bring up their children quite as well as anyone else. Till, by an extension of collective ownership you do this the State must, in self-defence, pay for doctors' bills and other things besides.

This being the case, it is much less likely to deteriorate the recipient, if you make this public provision through the public health authority, rather than through the Poor Law, with its stigma of pauperism.—Yours,
CLEMENT GAME.

8, Primrose Hill Studios, London, N.W.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—I have read the letter signed "St. John G. Irvine," and I would like to say that I am sure he would lose his wager.

He calls it "a fool's game to visit the sins of the father upon the children." It is most amusing to find anyone so sure that he knows better than the old world fact that these sins are visited upon the children to the third and fourth generation, and he won't be able to prevent them, however clever he may be. Really, the sentimentality and silliness one reads of in the grievances of would-be reformers, such as Mrs. Sydney Webb and St. John G. Irvine, is amusing.—Yours,
EMILY A. COOKE.

Burmoor, Sutton, June 11, 1910.

PENSION-ASSURANCES FOR WOMEN.

EDUCATED WOMEN

who are enjoying independence and comfort during the active years of life **SHOULD PROVIDE FOR THEIR OLD AGE.** This may be done by means of a policy securing **AN ANNUITY TO COMMENCE AT AGE 55 OR A LUMP SUM AT THAT AGE.** The scheme also makes provision for the contingencies of death or marriage.

Write for an explanatory leaflet to **Miss Ellen Walshe**, Office of "The Common Cause," 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester, Agent for the

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SHROPSHIRE.

As soon as we had instructions from headquarters, we set to work to do our best for the Bill. We circularized our members, and at a meeting on the 10th urged them to impress on their men folk the necessity of writing to their M.P.s, as well as the Prime Minister. Copies of such letters as should be sent were kept in our shop for those who wished to make use of them. As a consequence our Shrewsbury member, Sir Clement Hill, who is very weak and wobbly on our question, has had a full post bag from his constituents. The Co-operative Women's Guild passed the National Union resolution, and the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants passed a similar one, which has been forwarded by their Secretary to Mr. Asquith. In addition, the resolution has been passed at four meetings organized by this Society.

SHROPSHIRE—OSWESTRY.

A very successful meeting was held in the Masonic Hall on Tuesday, the 14th inst. Mr. Spaul, J.P., was in the chair. Councillor Margaret Ashton made an eloquent and impassioned speech, arousing the interest of her audience from the beginning of her address. The National Union resolution concerning the new Bill was passed unanimously. "Common Causes" and badges sold well.

In the evening an open-air meeting was held, when Miss Ashton was again the speaker, and attracted what for Oswestry was quite a crowd.

The Oswestry Society is now considered by its mother Society—Shropshire—strong enough to stand alone, and so it will be affiliated straightway to the National Union.

SOUTHAMPTON.

Our Committee decided to hold five meetings between June 13th and June 18th to pass the resolution recommended by the National Union in support of the Conciliation Committee's Bill. On June 14th Dr. and Mrs. Welsh kindly lent their garden for a meeting. Miss Duncan and Dr. Stancomb were the speakers. There were three open-air meetings held, at which the speakers were Miss Duncan, Miss Perryman, Miss Newport, Miss Boswell, Mr. Howard, Dr. Stancomb, and Miss O'Shea. On June 17th, another garden meeting was held under the auspices of Mr. and Mrs. Pordage. Miss Edwards and the Rev. H. Garwood were the speakers. All these meetings have been well attended, and on each occasion the resolution, urging the Government to give facilities for the passing of the Bill, was put and carried.

THREE TOWNS AND DISTRICT.

Owing to there being a deficit in the funds of the Society, a garden party and sale of work was organized. Mrs. Williams, Fernleigh Road, very kindly lent her charming garden. Everything was so well arranged, even the day and the weather, that it turned out to be a great success, and about £6 10s. was raised thereby. Mrs. Sealing, palmist, very kindly gave her services, and thereby added to the attraction of the afternoon. Most of her clients went away marvelling at her powers. Mrs. Elgar made a splendid saleswoman, and through her efforts most of the goods were sold.

Dr. Ramsay, supported by Miss Jenkin, explained the Bill which was introduced on June 14th, and a resolution was unanimously passed asking the Government to grant facilities for its passage.

A vote of thanks was accorded to Mrs. Williams for a thoroughly pleasant afternoon's enjoyment. "Common Causes" were sold, and the start was made towards a Guarantee Fund for the Organizer for Tun and Cornwall, which we hope to get later on.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS.

In connection with the Conciliation Bill an ingenious scheme was instituted by one of the most active of our members. Post cards were printed, embodying the resolution as drafted by the National Union, addressed to Capt. Spender Clay, M.P., at the House of Commons, and headed: "From an Elector of the Tonbridge Division." Nothing remained for the individual electors to do but to sign and date the cards, which were then despatched to our Member, the Society standing the postage. Capt. Spender Clay sent a telegram declaring that he certainly should not oppose the Bill.

On June 18th a public meeting was held, Madame Sarah Grand (president) in the chair, at which Miss Bertha Mason gave her most attractive lecture on "The History of Women's Suffrage." Miss Mason's great kindness in coming to us now, in the midst of her strenuous work in connection with the Parliamentary campaign, was greatly appreciated.

At the close of the lecture Madame Grand referred to the courteous and friendly treatment which had been accorded to the workers for the petition at election time, and expressed her satisfaction at having an opportunity to publicly thank our men friends for their support. She also drew attention to the proposed local Men's League, which she earnestly hoped would become a fact.

The resolution as drafted by the National Union was put to the meeting and carried. Copies were forwarded to the Prime Minister and to Capt. Spender Clay.

A final Committee meeting will take place, before vacation, on June 22nd, work being resumed in September.

WALLASEY AND WIRRAL.

During the last week we have been working hard getting resolutions passed in favour of the Bill. The Society held a meeting in West Kirby on the 15th inst., one at Moreton on the 16th, and one at New Brighton on the 17th. At all of these the resolution was passed unanimously. The British Women's Temperance Association (Wallasey, New Brighton, and Poulton branches), the Co-operative Guild, Women's Labour League, have also sent similar resolutions to Mr. Asquith. Many members are also getting memorials signed by members of different professions, writing to the Member for Wirral, urging him to support the Bill, and asking Liberal workers to write to Mr. Asquith. In addition to this we have been advertising the Liverpool Demonstration of June 18th by distributing handbills.

WARRINGTON.

On Tuesday, June 14th, there was a meeting outside Dollain Forge. On Thursday, June 16th, there were two meetings outside Monks, Hall and Co.'s works. These were well attended, and the audiences were most attentive. At the first meeting the resolution was carried unanimously; at the second there was one dissentient. The discussion which followed the opposition was most lively. On Friday, June 17th, there was a meeting at Bridge Foot. A large

crowd assembled and seemed most interested. The resolution was carried without a dissentient. Mrs. Ransome was in the chair, and Mr. Ball and Miss Broadbent were the chief speakers.

WARWICK AND LEAMINGTON.

A meeting of the above Society was held in Leamington on June 15th, when the following resolution was carried unanimously and sent to the Prime Minister and the local Member of Parliament: "That this meeting urgently urges the Government to grant facilities for passing into law 'The Representation of the People Bill (1910),' introduced by Mr. Shackleton on the 14th inst., believing it to be, as a non-party compromise for the Enfranchisement of Women, the best solution of this difficult question." Mrs. Julian Osler (Birmingham) explained the Bill in an interesting speech. The Chairman read a letter from the Member for Leamington, promising to support the Bill. The Committee has, with much success, been urging electors to write to the Prime Minister and to Members of Parliament, urging them to grant facilities for the passing of the Bill.

WEYBRIDGE AND DISTRICT.

At a special committee meeting it was resolved to utilise the draft letter of Lady Betty Balfour, and to invite influential constituents to ask Mr. Macmaster to support the Conciliation Bill in Parliament. This has accordingly been done. A prominent member of our branch received last January, at the time of the election, a special message from Mr. Macmaster, through the election agent, that he is in favour of such a measure of enfranchisement as is embodied in the present Bill.

WHITBY.

A large open-air meeting held here on June 17th in the Station Square passed a resolution urging the Government to give facilities for the passing of Mr. Shackleton's Bill, by an overwhelming majority, only four persons voting against it. The speakers were Miss Wiseman and Miss Pringle. Mr. James W. Garbutt presided. Miss Wiseman also explained the Bill at a temperance meeting on the previous evening, and a unanimous resolution in its support was passed.

WOLVERHAMPTON.

During the last fortnight a very vigorous campaign has been conducted in this district by Mrs. Mayer. The chief subject discussed at the meetings was Mr. Shackleton's Bill. At the open-air meetings Mrs. Mayer, by her sound logic and thorough command of her subject, easily gained the attention of thoughtful audiences whose interest was manifestly maintained throughout. Seven open-air meetings were held in all. In addition to this, three drawing-room meetings were held, and three small afternoon meetings in Blakenhall, Willenhall, and Tettenhall Wood. The campaign terminated in the annual meeting of the Society, at which a letter was read from Mr. Bird, M.P. for West Wolverhampton, which stated that he was in favour of the Women's Conciliation Bill, and would aid its passage. A very large quantity of literature was distributed all over the district at the fourteen meetings, which is the total number held throughout the district during the fortnight. The Society considered itself very fortunate in having secured the services of so able a speaker as Mrs. Mayer. Her success was most conspicuous at the open-air meetings, since from the outset she commanded the respect and keen interest of her audience.

WORCESTER.

A meeting was held at 34, Firegate Street, by kind permission of Mr. and Mrs. Carleton Rea. A resolution was passed in support of the Suffrage Bill presented by Mr. Shackleton on June 14th. There were two dissentients, who, while strongly in favour of Women's Franchise, were unwilling to acquiesce in anything less comprehensive than Mr. Stanger's Bill. The chair was taken by the Rev. W. J. Worster, and copies of the resolution were sent up to the Prime Minister and Mr. Goulding, M.P., who is a member of the Conciliation Committee.

SCOTLAND—LEVEN.

Leven is anxious to form a Society and join the National Union and the Scottish Federation. This is a bad time of the year for hall meetings, but a garden party would be possible, and would bring in many new members. No Committee has yet been formed, but Mrs. Watson and Miss Effie Cole are trying to arrange this, and also to increase the membership by canvassing. They will be only too glad to hear of sympathizers and helpers.

NEWBURGH SOCIETY.

On Wednesday, June 8th, a meeting of the members of the Newburgh Society was held in the Town Hall, Newburgh, to elect officers and a Committee. Miss Matthew consented to be president. Miss Morison hon. treasurer, and Mrs. Harry Spears hon. secretary. A Committee was also elected, and it was decided unanimously that Miss Chrystal Macmillan should be asked to be Hon. President of the newly formed Society. Affiliation to the National Union and Scottish Federation was then discussed and approved. It was decided to hold a garden party. Miss Lamond spoke briefly on the Bill brought forward by the Conciliation Committee, and a resolution was passed unanimously, praying the Government to give facilities for its passing into law.

PERTH.

By kind invitation of the Misses Newlands a garden party was held on the afternoon of the 10th inst. at Tayside Villa. After tea an address was given by Mrs. Scott, Edinburgh.

Mrs. Scott Murray, in introducing the speaker, contrasted the lukewarm manner in which the large body of women took up the Suffrage question with the wholehearted manner in which, locally, they supported such institutions as the Day Nursery and "Pound Day" at Hillside Home. Mrs. Scott Murray, while fully realizing the good work done by these "Homes," said she could not help feeling that more lasting good would be done by getting at the causes which made those institutions necessary.

Mrs. Scott, in her address, dealt with various laws, the reform of which women felt they were particularly fitted to deal with. Mrs. Scott also explained the principal points in Mr. Shackleton's Bill, and at the conclusion of Mrs. Scott's address the Secretary put the resolution recommended by the National Union, which was unanimously adopted.

BIRMINGHAM—EAST.

On June 25th Mr. Steel-Maitland, M.P., received a deputation of the electors of East Birmingham and a few others, who came to urge him not to oppose the Representation of the People Bill. The

deputation was introduced by Mr. S. W. Coombs, of Saitley College, and included the Hon. the Rev. James Adderley, Alderman Bishop, Mr. Tunstall (headmaster of Alms Rock Road School), Rev. E. Smith, Dr. Colemore, Mr. Withington (Unionist Secretary), and others. Apologies were received from Alderman Sayer, Mr. R. Beckett, Lady Smith, Dr. De Vall, Rev. Benjamin Love, Mr. A. Rogers (hon. secretary Liberal Unionist Association for Saitley Ward), Councillor Herriek, Mr. Kelsall, and Rev. Lambert Baker.

Mr. Coombs, in introducing the deputation, pointed out the importance of women in education. He urged Mr. Maitland, who had said that some day he was going to investigate the results in the Colonies, to wait until he had made his inquiries before opposing the Bill, which was a very moderate measure.

Mr. Steel-Maitland replied at some length. He admitted the good work done by women on local bodies, but said that he would rather see women in Parliament than as electors. He would really have no objection to that. As electors they would be drawn into party politics and so lose the unbiased mind with which they approached politics at present. The new Bill was the thin end of the wedge that must eventually lead to Adult Suffrage, which most of those present did not themselves desire. As he was convinced that the Bill, if passed, would not be for the good of the country, he didn't see how he could conscientiously abstain from voting against it.

Mr. Coombs and Mr. Tunstall returned a vote of thanks to Mr. Steel-Maitland for having given up so much time to the deputation, and for having treated the matter so seriously and so courteously.

The Birmingham Society would like to thank those gentlemen who took part in the deputation—in particular Mr. Coombs and Mr. Adderley, without whose help it would not have been possible.

BIRMINGHAM—ERDINGTON.

By the kindness of Mr. Wilton and Mr. Locker a very successful outdoor meeting was held at the corner of Chester Road and Sutton Road on June 22nd. A large audience assembled and listened to Miss McHardy and Miss Gardner with the greatest attention for over an hour and a half. They were apparently too much convinced to ask questions at the end, but several arguments arose afterwards, and many "Common Causes" were sold.

BOURNEMOUTH.

On June 24th Mrs. Stanbury, of London, spoke to a crowded meeting in the Prince's Hall. Her address was well received. The Rev. Baldwin Pinney took the chair. Miss Mary Jeremy, M.B., proposed a combined vote of thanks and made a short speech. Miss Chiddell seconded the vote of thanks, and the audience responded enthusiastically. This closed the monthly meetings for the season.

On Tuesday afternoon, June 28th, the last weekly At Home of the session will be held in the Assembly Rooms, Town Hall Avenue, from three to six o'clock. Speaker: Miss Mary Jeremy, M.B. These weekly meetings have been very successful.

BRIGHTON AND HOVE.

Two outdoor village meetings have been held this week—one at Patcham, the other at Southwick. At Patcham, where Miss Merfield presided, Miss Barbara Duncan and Miss Woodhead, a member of the Brighton Committee, addressed an audience of about seventy. The people of Patcham are evidently unused to voting on resolutions, for no hands were held up, either in favour or against. But as there were requests to "come again," and flowers were bestowed on Miss Duncan, we hope that a good impression was made.

Miss Agnes McGlade and Miss Duncan spoke at Southwick, followed by Mr. Adrian Brunel, hon. secretary Sussex Men's League. The chair was taken by Mrs. Grune, of Southwick, who only the week before had joined our Society. The resolution in favour of every endeavour being made to secure an overwhelming majority for the second reading of the Bill was carried. Free literature was distributed with good effect.

BRADFORD.

At the request of the National Union the local members have been approached and asked to lend their support to the Conciliation Bill and to sign the memorial which is being promoted by the Conciliation Committee for presentation to the Prime Minister.

Sir George Scott Robertson, M.P., has replied to all who wrote him asking him to be in his place in the House and vote for the Bill, saying that he would comply with the request.

BRISTOL.

Three more meetings have been held in support of the Bill, making thirteen in all, from which a total of sixty-nine resolutions have been sent to the local M.P.'s Mr. Asquith, and Mr. Shackleton.

On the 20th a drawing-room meeting was held by the kind invitation of the Misses Clifford and the Misses Williams. Miss Mary Clifford was in the chair, and Miss Norma Smith spoke. She made a strong appeal on behalf of the National Union, and several new members joined.

On the 21st the Misses Sturge gave a garden meeting at Heathlands, Leigh Woods, in the North Somerset Division. Miss Elizabeth Sturge presided, and Miss Bancroft, B.A., and Miss Norma Smith spoke. The resolution sent up to Mr. King, M.P., has been cordially received and approved by him.

On the 22nd a meeting was held in the Thornbury Division at the Misses Tanner's. Mr. W. C. H. Cross presided, and Miss Norma Smith spoke. Mr. Langlands and Councillor A. P. T. Cotterell also spoke. A resolution was sent to Mr. Athelstan Rendall, M.P. for the division, who is a member of the Conciliation Committee, as well as to Sir W. Howell Davies, M.P. for Bristol South.

BRISTOL—BISHOPSWORTH.

A meeting was held at Bishopsworth, Bristol, on June 22nd, of those ladies who had given in their names at the meeting held the previous week as "interested." A small Society was formed and a Committee and officers were appointed. Mrs. Priddle was elected hon. secretary, and Mrs. Pobjoy hon. treasurer. A garden meeting, to be held later, was discussed and arranged. Mrs. Priddle kindly offering her garden. The Society is very enthusiastic and has hopes of soon doubling its membership. "The Common Cause" is being sold in good numbers at Bishopsworth.

BURY.

Mrs. Maddox and Mrs. A. F. Bentley were At Home to all the teachers of the town and the members of the Society on Monday, the 20th. Miss Robertson addressed the meeting, and a resolution

was passed *nem. con.* urging the Government to give facilities for the passing into law of the Representation of the People Bill, introduced by Mr. Shackleton.

Miss Robertson's earnest and thoughtful address met with a most encouraging response. All agreed with the justice and reasonableness of the women's demand for the vote, and the few who, fearing the unknown consequences of a new heavy responsibility of full citizenship, were not fully converted showed themselves to be earnest inquirers. A number of new members joined. Mrs. Maddox proposed that a canvass of all the women householders in Bury should be made, and steps were taken to carry this into effect.

CAMBRIDGE.

There could be no mistaking the earnestness and determination of the meeting held by this Society on the 22nd inst. in the grounds of Southaers (kindly lent by Mr. and Mrs. Lothar de Bunsen). There was a large attendance of members and their friends, and everyone put up a hand to vote for a resolution asking the Government to give facilities for the passing into law of the Representation of the People Bill. Copies of the resolution were sent immediately to the Prime Minister and the Parliamentary representatives of the borough, university, and county. Mrs. Heidland took the chair, and excellent speeches were delivered by Mrs. Rackham, Mrs. Bethune Baker, Mrs. Bateson, Mr. Baynes, and the Rev. C. J. N. Child, headmaster of the Cambridge County Boys' School. The feeling was strongly expressed that the meeting would be wholly dissatisfied with a mere second reading of the Bill, and absolutely demanded that a measure so moderate as the present one should be given every facility by the Government for passing through all its stages. The meeting took place, it will be noted, on the eve of Mr. Asquith's declaration in the House of Commons.

The Cambridge Association held a public meeting in Peterborough, the first of the kind there, on May 26th, in the large Assembly Room of the Grand Hotel. Dr. Glaisher, F.R.S., of Trinity College, took the chair, and Mrs. Rackham, Miss Margery Corbett, and Mrs. James Ward spoke. Though the meeting was small, it was distinctly successful. The audience of between seventy and eighty persons, of both sexes, was most orderly and attentive and showed much interest and sympathy. At the close, several of those present put down their names as willing to join a Society, should one be formed. There is every hope that before long there will be a branch of the National Union in Peterborough.

CHELMSFORD AND DISTRICT.

Our Society held a meeting at the Shire Hall, Chelmsford, on Monday, June 20th. The Rev. Canon Lake took the chair. Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson explained the Conciliation Committee's Bill; Mrs. Stanbury spoke on the position of Women's Suffrage at the present time; Miss Vernon Harcourt and Miss Margaret Tabor also spoke. A resolution urging the Government to give facilities for the Bill was passed unanimously, and also one asking the members for Mid-Essex and Maldon divisions to support it. These resolutions have been sent.

By Appointment.

LADIES,

HAVE YOU TRIED

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DERBY.

A large gathering of about two hundred people was held by kind permission of Mrs. Boden in the grounds of The Friary, Derby, on June 23rd. Mrs. Swanwick was unavoidably detained, but her place was kindly taken, at very short notice, by Miss Margaret Robertson, the second speaker being Mr. Towers-Settle, of the Middle Temple. Lady Onslow was in the chair, and began by reading aloud a telegram just received from Mrs. Swanwick, to the effect that Mr. Asquith had granted facilities for a second reading of the Bill. There was a good deal of hopeful enthusiasm in the air, which was admirably fomented by Miss Robertson in her eloquent speech. Miss Robertson dwelt with much effect upon Lady Jersey's recent statement, that the leaders of the Anti-Suffrage League did not themselves require the vote and were not wishful to see it conceded to other women. She contrasted it with Mrs. Cooper's opinion, backed by nearly the whole of the industrial workers of our country, that "a trades union without votes was like an army without guns." Miss Robertson said that the Anti-Suffragists speak of the number of women earning their living in our country as an "inconsiderable section," the truth of the matter is that these women number half of our entire female population. Miss Robertson concluded her stirring speech with an effective appeal to the apathetic.

Mr. Towers-Settle followed with a clever propaganda speech, laying stress on the want of any sort of consistency in the arguments brought forward by our opponents, and exciting a good deal of amusement by his reference to Sir Edward Clarke and the guardsman episode. He said it was a most hopeful sign that our cleverest opponents should be reduced to such arguments.

A resolution supporting the Conciliation Bill was passed without a single dissentient, and was sent to the Prime Minister. A collection of £5 was taken, a number of "Common Causes" were sold, and membership forms were either signed then and there or carried away to be "considered" by many people.

Strongly worded letters have been sent to our members of Parliament, urging them to support the Bill by every means in their power.

EDINBURGH.

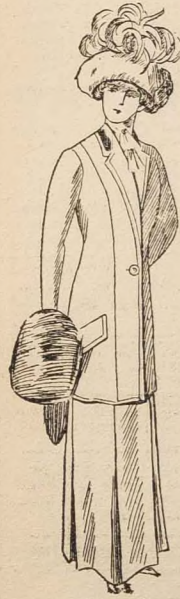
Dr. Elsie Inglis addressed a large crowd of engineers and shipbuilders at Ramage's Works, Leith, on Tuesday last, and we had the pleasure of forwarding a resolution in favour of the Bill to Mr. Munro Ferguson, member for Leith Burghs. His reply ended with the words, "Mr. Ferguson is sorry he is not able to give support to the Bill." We wish that Mr. Ferguson could be made to feel very sorry indeed. Over three thousand of his electors signed our petition at the general election.

On Thursday we spent the day in the neighbourhood of West Calder, Midlothian, calling on members and finding out whether a meeting would be advisable at present or not. We decided that we should probably do better in September than in the light summer evenings.

Our last At Home of the season was very well attended, and great interest was shown in Miss Mair's description of the deputation to the Prime Minister. The audience was fired with enthusiasm when Miss Mair told them that whatever happened to this present Bill nothing would stop us. She said our policy must now be to put up Suffrage candidates. The Rev. C. W. Scott Moncrieff spoke extremely well. He pointed out what a world-wide and significant movement ours was, and how it was a sign of the evolution of humanity, and that it must not and would not fail. He said that all reformers had to bear rebuffs and hardships.

LONDON—HIGHGATE.

June proved a busy month; before we were tired of inventing novel methods of self-denial, the advent of the Conciliation Bill brought the necessity for sending Mr. Asquith constant reminders of our interest in it. In addition to the resolutions in its favour passed at our open-air meetings, others were forwarded from indoor gatherings, and letters were sent to the Prime Minister by our Committee and also by numerous men friends. Two successful Suffrage Teas were held—one by the kind invitation of Miss Toop, when Mr. and Mrs. Dowes and Miss Janet Thomson, B.A., were the speakers; and another, thanks to the hospitality of the Misses Sharpe, at Siblewren.



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GLASGOW.

There Miss Janet Thomson and Miss Cullis, D.Sc., kindly spoke on the Conciliation Bill. Mrs. Seekings, a member of the Society of Friends, made an interesting speech, in which she said the Friends were asked to contribute their experience to the Divorce Commission, but found it very difficult to do so, divorce among them being almost unknown. In Mrs. Seekings' opinion this was largely due to the position of equality held by women in their community for many generations.

LONDON—HIGHGATE AND NORTH ST. PANCRAS.

In following our habit of changing the place of open-air meetings each month, we have for June selected a corner of Highgate Hill, near the Archway Tavern, where we have caught on Saturday nights a considerable number of the marketing crowd issuing from the district known as Highgate New Town, which is notoriously a rough quarter. This has affected the character of the meetings, which have been more noisy and hostile than those we are usually accustomed to. However, we have held on and in some measure gained the respect of the crowds if we did not succeed in converting them. We have naturally been concentrating our energies in explaining the Conciliation Bill. We are greatly indebted to Miss Cogle for special help during this month; also to Miss Rinder, who ably held the meeting against a noisy opposing crowd of men on June 25th. From now onwards during the summer months, we propose holding our weekly meetings in Parliament Hill Fields, where the attendance and help of all our local members will be essential to secure good results. The pitch is near the refreshment house on the Highgate Road side.

LONDON—S. KENSINGTON.

A drawing-room meeting was held by the South Kensington Committee of the London Society last Friday evening at 4, Marloes Road, by kind permission of Mrs. Curteis. The speakers were Miss Hooper, M.A., Miss O'Malley, and Miss Geraldine Fitzgerald (in the chair). Miss Hooper spoke at some length on the historical aspect of the Women's Suffrage movement. Miss O'Malley made an able and interesting maiden speech, touching on the increased opportunities for really effective social work which the possession of the political franchise will open up to women. The meeting was very well attended, and the speeches gave rise to some interesting discussion.

LONDON—N. WIMBLEDON.

On Wednesday evening, June 22nd, a garden meeting was held at Holmhurst, Wimbledon, by kind permission of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Holland. About 150 people were present. The speakers were Miss Cicely Corbett and Mr. Laurence Housman. The chair was taken by Mr. Cotton Minchin, who made special reference to the Conciliation Bill.

Mr. Laurence Housman quoted the achievements of Queen Victoria, Queen Elizabeth and others to show that women had the same functions as men, and could perform them with the same intelligence and vigour. Though proving the special fitness of woman to rule, Queen Victoria was opposed to Women's Suffrage. Mr. Housman said many legislators opposed Women's Suffrage on the ground that "the Empire was made by men and must be maintained by men." He contended that the Empire sprang as much from motherhood as from fatherhood. The speaker pointed out that the arguments brought by Anti-Suffragists had been brought before against the Married Women's Property Act.

Miss Cicely Corbett then spoke. She affirmed that women needed the vote to gain the attention of members of Parliament. Miss Corbett was sure that the enfranchisement of women would not affect Adult Suffrage either one way or the other. At the close of her speech she proposed: "That this meeting of the inhabitants of the Wimbledon Division records its approval of the Conciliation Committee's Suffrage Bill, now before Parliament, and urges the Government to grant facilities for that Bill to be passed into law." The Chairman seconded the resolution and put it to the meeting, and it was carried unanimously.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

The next sewing party will meet at 7.30 on Friday, July 1st. Hostess: Mrs. Wilkinson, 6, Grosvenor Place. The names of those who are willing to have the meetings at their houses during the summer months will be gladly received by Miss Weddell, 11, Devonshire Place.

NORTH OF ENGLAND.

The rally last week was held—for the first time—in the Flat Iron Market. As usual we were at first regarded with suspicion, and shop after shop refused the loan of a chair to stand on the lurry. We found a friend at last in a delightful woman in charge of a show on the other side of the market. She lent us two chairs and a stool, for which she would take no payment at all. The meeting was exceptionally "worth while." A large crowd assembled, mostly intelligent working-men, and when Mr. Bruton made the sporting offer that he would send a copy of John Stuart Mill's "Subjection of Women" to any man interested who would send up his name and address, sixteen men wrote their names and addresses on slips of paper and passed them up. An opponent, to whom we gave five minutes on the lurry to put forward his case, did us excellent service. When he set out as the reason that he would not vote for Women's Suffrage the fact that many men were indifferent and did not appreciate their power, the audience cried, "Why, then, give the women a chance!" This pitch will see us again.

NORTH HERTFORDSHIRE.

A well-attended meeting was held in the Village Hall, Kimpton, on June 23rd, and its success was somewhat of a surprise, considering that only four days have been available for making it known. The chair was taken by Mrs. Smithson, one of the hon. secretaries, and very interesting and educational addresses were given by Mrs. Wathen and Miss Gordon, organizer of the N.U.W.S.S. The audience, which included a number of men, was unusually lively and responsive, though quite orderly, and evidently enjoyed putting questions to Miss Gordon, though listening attentively to her pointed and effective replies. The resolution in favour of the Bill for enfranchising women householders, now before Parliament, was carried without a dissentient, its provisions having previously been explained by the Chairman. Miss Gordon is devoting the three weeks of her visit to spade work for the Suffrage in those parts of the division where the subject has hardly been broached hitherto, and we are much gratified by the result at Kimpton.

OXFORD.

A meeting was held on Monday, June 20th, to discuss the best means of securing support in Oxford for Mr. Shackleton's Bill. Mrs. Margolionth took the chair, and the speaker was Mr. Hugh Law, M.P., a member of the Conciliation Committee. Mr. Hugh Law's speech was specially interesting in that, by pointing out that it may be years before such an opportunity as the present for discussing Women's Suffrage in the House of Commons again presents itself, he showed us clearly that in the eyes of even our most devoted friends in the House of Commons we cannot reasonably expect our claims to be seriously considered when any other question of real importance is before the House.

On June 21st we sent a memorial to the Prime Minister urging him to afford facilities for the discussion and divisions necessary to the passage of Mr. Shackleton's Bill through the House of Commons. The memorial was signed by the Vice-Chancellor and two other heads of houses, by six professors, and by forty-five eminent members of the university; also by the Mayor of Oxford, by six aldermen and seven councillors, and by many of the leading tradesmen. Further meetings are to be held, and we are doing our utmost to support the Bill.

REDHILL, REIGATE AND DISTRICT.

Mr. and Mrs. Julius Auerbach, of Hethersted, Reigate, lent their extensive grounds on June 22nd for a garden fête, in aid of the Redhill, Reigate and District Women's Suffrage Society. The fête was well attended. Flowers, plants, fancy work, and refreshments were on sale. In the afternoon a charming little entertainment was given, the programme being provided by Miss Esme Hubbard, Miss Winifred Mayo, Miss Motion, and Mr. A. Brunel. After the concert, the audience was addressed by Miss Barbara Duncan and Mr. A. Brunel, who both spoke on the Conciliation Committee's Bill. In the evening there was dancing on the bowling green, and towards dusk the grounds were illuminated by fairy lamps.

WALLASEY AND WIRRAL.

Our open-air meeting on the shore at Egremont on Thursday evening, June 23rd, was very successful. Miss E. P. McPherson took the chair, Miss Rhodes and the Rev. G. A. Parkinson being the speakers. The resolution in favour of Mr. Shackleton's Bill was passed with two dissentients.

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Norwood—Garden Meeting—Miss Abadam. 3.30
London (Paddington, N.)—Paddington Town Hall—Social Gathering—Miss M. Hodge (Australia), Mr. Ed. Smith. 8.0
Shrewsbury—Mrs. Harold Cook's Garden Meeting—Miss Eleanor Rathbone.
Leeds—Potternewton Park—Members' Tea, 5.30—Open-air Meeting. 7.30
- JULY 1.
Bristol—Victoria Rooms, Clifton—Council Meeting. 10.30
Bristol—Public Meeting—Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Snowden. 8.0
London (St. Pancras)—Mrs. Eve's Drawing-room Meeting—Mr. Cholmeley. 5.0
Basingstoke—Mrs. Conran's Garden Meeting—Miss Dorothy Edwards. 3.15
- JULY 2.
Hindhead—Treenways—Garden Fête—Mr. Forbes Robertson. 3.0
Norwood—Rummage Sale.
London (Highgate)—Parliament Hill—Miss Agnes Dawson, Miss Mildred Ransom.
Shrewsbury—Mrs. Matthews' At Home.
- JULY 5.
Leeds—Mrs. Thornton's Drawing-room Meeting—Miss Fielden. 3.30
London (Hampstead)—Mrs. Park's Drawing-room Meeting. 4.0
Basingstoke—Market Place—Rev. J. Ivory Cripps. 8.0
- JULY 6.
Bradford—Rev. H. and Mrs. McLachlan's Garden Meeting—Mrs. Gray Head.
Basingstoke—Martyr's Tree—Rev. J. Ivory Cripps. 1.15
- 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. 8.30
London (S. Kensington)—Mrs. Dodd's Drawing-room Meeting—Mrs. Grant Richards. 8.30
Leeds—Institute—Miss Fielden. 3.30
- JULY 8.
Bradford—Miss Gregson's and Miss Rendell's Meeting—Mrs. Gray Head.

JULY 9.

London (Highgate)—Parliament Hill—Miss Margaret Hodge, Miss Janet Thomson.

JULY 11.

Leeds—Gildersome—Open-air Meeting—Miss Fielden. 7.30

JULY 12.

Leeds—Mrs. Grosvenor Talbot's Garden Meeting—Miss Fielden. 7.30

JULY 14.

London (N. Hackney)—Garden Party—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

JULY 15.

Birmingham—Botanical Gardens, Edgbaston—Pastoral Plays. 3.30

JULY 16.

Birmingham—Solihull—Morris Dances and Folk Songs. 3.30

JULY 19.

Farnham—Annual General Meeting.

JULY 20.

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

JULY 25.

London (Windsor)—At Home—Mrs. B. Everett.

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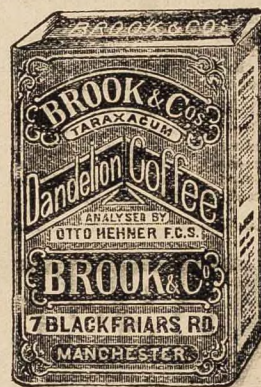
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