

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE THE COMMON CAUSE OF HUMANITY.

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NON-PARTY.

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*"Now press the clarion to thy woman's lip,
And blow all class walls level as Jericho's.
Past Jordan,—crying from the top of souls,
To souls, that, here assembled on earth's flats,*

*They get them to some purer eminence
Than any hitherto beheld for clouds!
What height we know not,—but the way we
know.*

—E. B. BROWNING.

ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES (NUMBER OF SOCIETIES IN THE UNION 469).

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies is a great association of men and women banded together for the single purpose of obtaining Votes for Women. It was founded in 1867, and now numbers over 45,000 annually-subscribing members, organized into 469 Societies, under the presidency of Mrs. Henry Fawcett. The colours of the Union are SCARLET, WHITE, and GREEN. Among its members are people of all parties, and people of none. The cause that unites them is the cause of Women's Suffrage, and they work for victory by peaceful methods only. They use neither violence nor intimidation, but rely on political pressure and the education of public opinion. WILL YOU JOIN? (Membership form on p. 767.)

The Liberal Women's Suffrage Union

Chairman of Committee: Mrs. EVA McLAREN.

Vice-Chairman of Committee: The LADY ABERCONWAY.

IT is only through Parliament that women can eventually obtain their emancipation. Liberal Women, bind yourselves together in the great Common Cause and **Sign the Pledge of the Union.**

Pledge yourself to refrain from assisting anti-suffrage candidates until after the next General Election.

Make your influence felt so that your emancipation **must** be part of the programme of the next Liberal Government.

Secure a strong Liberal Suffrage majority in the next House of Commons.

SUFFRAGE IS A LIBERAL PRINCIPLE.

Join hands with those who are working to strengthen their Liberal friends and to defeat their enemies.

Whether you belong to other Suffrage Societies or not
JOIN THE UNION.

APPLY NOW FOR MEMBERSHIP FORM TO THE SECRETARY:

29, DENISON HOUSE, 296, VAUXHALL BRIDGE ROAD, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.

Women's Suffrage Meeting

THE CAXTON HALL,
WESTMINSTER,

Wednesday, January 21st, at 8 o'clock.

Mrs. ST. CLAIR STOBART will speak on

"The Women Convoy Corps Hospital organised by her at Kirk Kilisse in the Balkan War."

Miss E. ROPER, B.A., and Miss GORE-BOOTH

will speak on "The Present Industrial Situation."

Mrs. Bedford Fenwick.

ADMISSION FREE.

RESERVED TICKETS 2/6 & 1/6.

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Miss Esther Roper, 33, Fitzroy Square, W.

THE CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT COMMITTEE

Has arranged a Series of Six Lectures by Experts on Social Problems, for WOMEN ONLY.
The Lectures will be held on alternate Thursdays at 5.30, beginning January 22nd, at the Kingsway Hall (Lecture Hall).
The First Lecture on January 22nd will be on "The Civic Responsibility of Women," by Miss Cicely Hamilton.
Other Subjects dealt with will include: The Moral and Physical Effects of Tolerated Vice, Slum Life, Assaults on Children, and the Rising Moral Standard.
Lecturers: Miss Cicely Hamilton, Miss L. Martindale, M.D., Miss Wakefield, Miss Margaret McMillan, Mrs. Colonel Fisher, S.A., and Miss L. Eckenstein.
For Syllabus and Tickets (2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d.) apply to The Secretary, C.L.A. Committee, 19, Tothill Street, S.W.

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ON THURSDAY EVENINGS IN FEBRUARY:

Feb. 5th, at 8-15 p.m.—"Sex and Social Evolution."

.. 12th, at 8-15 p.m.—"Psychological Aspects of the Struggle for the Franchise."

.. 19th, at 8-15 p.m.—"The Genesis of the New Woman."

.. 26th, at 8-15 p.m.—"Feminist Politics and the State."

TICKETS 1/-, 2/6 and 5/- To be obtained at the Box-office, Queen's Hall, or The International Suffrage Shop, 11, Adam Street, Strand, W.C., or by letter, containing remittance, from Miss Schartau, 170, Piccadilly, W.

THE WOMEN'S TAX-RESISTANCE LEAGUE

ANNOUNCES A
DEBATE on the INSURANCE ACT

CAXTON HALL, Westminster,
On Monday, January 19th, 1914, at 8 p.m.

"That this Meeting declares that The Insurance Act is undemocratic in character and unjust in operation, and that its hardships press most heavily on women."

Proposer: Miss MARGARET DOUGLAS.

Opposer: Sir VICTOR HORSLEY.

Chairman: Sir EDWARD BUSK.

Tickets from the Office, 10, Talbot House, 98, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

THE SUFFRAGE CLUB,

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For MEN and WOMEN interested in the Suffrage Movement.

Subscriptions £1 1s. 6d. Apply Secretary.

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Inexpensive bedrooms for lady members.

Notes and Comments.

The Albert Hall Demonstration.

The Albert Hall Demonstration on February 14th promises to be one of the most striking demonstrations that have yet been organised in favour of Women's Suffrage. We have, for many years, been accustomed to great meetings of the general public in the Albert Hall. The significant feature of this demonstration will be the attendance of large numbers of men who have come to show that the electors of the country demand a Government measure for the enfranchisement of women. Besides the hundreds who will attend in their individual capacity, there will be the significant figures of those who represent the vast mass of organised labour in the country—the delegates of the Trade Unions and other societies of men who will attend in their representative capacity.

"Suffrage First."

We publish in our correspondence columns an interesting letter from Mr. H. G. Barclay, appealing to our men supporters to put Suffrage before party at the next General Election. While anxious to enrol as Friends of Women's Suffrage all who approve of the principle of the enfranchisement of women, we fully agree that the "Suffrage First" supporter is the one who will turn the scale at elections. There is an increasing feeling among men Suffragists that such support is now due to a question on which politicians have so disreputable a record as this one. Last month a letter appeared in the *Scotsman* (December 20th), from a former President of the East Edinburgh Liberal Association—Mr. John Michael—in which the writer "questioned very much if any Liberal Association in Scotland, if a candidate had to be chosen to contest a seat for Parliament, would select one who was against Women's Suffrage." He added:—"I am certain, at any rate, of this, that the fact of one being against Women's Suffrage would limit his chance of being adopted." More recently, Dr. Thielton Mark wrote to us urging the enrolment of Liberal electors who will decline to vote for an Anti-suffrage candidate, "however good his Liberalism may be in other counts." He is prepared to do this himself, and believes, as we do ourselves, that if electors will make their intention on this point clear *beforehand*, they will probably relieve themselves from a difficult situation.

Mr. McKenna No Time to Think of Workers' Health.

Mr. McKenna has declared himself unable to receive a deputation from the Women's Industrial Council to explain the reasons why the Government should adopt the Underground Workrooms Bill, which was introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Salisbury, with the amendments suggested by the Home Office, and was there passed in all its stages. Unfortunately, all attempts to get it passed by the Commons last session proved vain. Mr. McKenna promised to give time for its discussion if he could be assured that the Bill would be unopposed; but the determined opposition of Sir Frederick Banbury made this impossible, and the Bill was dropped. The chances of a private member's Bill are, of course, very small, and many societies and organisations are uniting to urge the necessity for a Government measure. Sir Frederick Banbury's attitude towards Women's Suffrage is, needless to say, exactly like his attitude towards this Bill to protect women's health.

The Plumage Bill.

We earnestly hope that the proposed Bill, to prohibit the importation of the plumage of all wild birds except ostriches and eider-ducks, will become law. Opposition to it has never been raised by the women against whom public indignation is now excited. It has invariably come from the traders, who make money out of the traffic. London is now the headquarters of the feather trade, and the Bill is strenuously opposed by those financially interested. From women its promoters have nothing to fear. On the other hand, it is the demand that creates the supply, and though we hold it no worse to kill a bird in order to wear its feathers and think them beautiful, than to kill one for the fun of the thing and call it sport, we urge all women to be sure their hands are clean in this matter. Ignorance, where knowledge may be had, is a sin, and so is the silliness once regarded as an engaging feminine charm. We have no defence to offer for the fatuousness of women who have heard that ospreys involve cruelty, and relieve their consciences by asking the shop-assistant whether the coveted ornament is "real" or not. Of course, it is never "real"—when you ask the question.

Daughters' Allowances.

An interesting point in law has been established by an action before Judge Parry, in the Bromley (Kent) County Court (*Daily Telegraph*, January 10th). His Honour decided that, if a man did not make his daughters, living at home, an allowance, he was responsible for debts incurred by them for "right and reasonable" requirements. The result of the decision has been that the father in question has now hastened to make his daughters an allowance! We hope others will follow suit. It has been one of the most odious of the minor disabilities inflicted on women that they have in the past so often not been allowed the control of money, and so have lost a most valuable and necessary training.

Women's Wits and Men's.

In the case of the little boy of six who was recently knocked down and injured by a motor-bus, adverse comment has been justly directed against an arrangement by which an epileptic child of that age was committed to an industrial school nearly three miles' walk from his home. We think the (unintentional) cruelty, which was surely great, is almost equalled by the solemn absurdity of putting the child under the care of another child of the advanced age of eleven. What mother of sons would have imagined that a London urchin of eleven could always be equal to this responsibility and never for an instant forget it in the excitement of London streets?

Consistency.

An almost consistent Anti-suffragist has written to the Press to announce her withdrawal of both service and subscription from political work, owing to "the action of the Suffragettes, non-militant, as well as militant." Quite consistent, it is clear she has not been, since she was once "a leader of the Primrose League"; still, she "always endeavoured to lead under masculine direction and control," and it was devotion to one man (her brother), and obedience to another (her friend) which brought her into political life at all; so we must not blame her too harshly. We would like, however, to put to Mrs. Milner one question, of the deepest interest to all Suffragists: How has she contrived (as she declares she has) to "reserve her woman's privilege of absolute supremacy in the home," seeing that the law has reserved this absolute supremacy for man? He is, in law, the head of the household, the sole parent of the children, and the proprietor of his wife's person. He alone (again by law) decides where his family shall live, how they shall be educated, and with what religious views they shall be imbued. How then has Mrs. Milner reserved to herself all these rights? We cannot guess, but we shall await with the most earnest attention her explanation.

A Reduced Sentence.

We protest with indignation against the reduction to three months of the sentence of one year's imprisonment passed on an employer for indecent assault on a girl apprentice. According to the *Times*, the Lord Chief Justice decided that "there were no indications of indecency in the case," and it must therefore be dealt with as one of "common assault." The nature of the assault is described in the *Times*, and such a comment shows an almost incredible degree of ignorance of sex-psychology. It might be arguable that the offender required segregation rather than punishment, but it is not arguable that the case was one of "common assault." Such decisions as these inspire the demand for women in public life—and especially in the law-courts—with an intensity of purpose which cannot now be denied.

The "Reason Behind" the Suffrage Movement.

After the trial of a case of criminal assault on a young girl, which resulted in a verdict of "Not Proven," a demonstration took place, in which the crowd loudly cheered the verdict. The Sheriff, however, in passing sentence (for the lighter offence of indecent assault with which the accused was charged) animadverted severely on the levity with which some of the witnesses looked upon the charge. He further remarked "that it was when cases of such a nature as that before him occurred, that one became conscious of the reason that lay behind the agitation amongst the women of our land for a voice in the management of its affairs." We record with appreciation this statement by Sheriff George Campbell, of Dornoch. It shows a true understanding of a demand which is still to some people "merely a political agitation."

ACTION OF NATIONAL UNION IN N.W. DURHAM.

When rumours of Mr. Atherley Jones's preferment were in the air some months ago, the National Union and the Labour Party held a joint campaign during the autumn in N.W. Durham, in preparation for an election, and as soon as Mr. Atherley Jones's resignation was announced, Mr. Stuart was adopted as the Labour candidate. Mr. Stuart answered all the N.U. questions about Women's Suffrage satisfactorily, and the National Union decided to support him. We have every reason to believe that, if returned, Mr. Stuart will prove a firm and loyal friend to our Cause, and our only regret is, that in supporting him, we find ourselves in opposition to Mr. Aneurin Williams, who is a member of the National Union, and has in many ways proved his attachment to our Cause.

In our decision we are carrying out the policy laid down by the N.U. Council nearly two years ago; which declared that in all elections we must consider not only the attitude of the individual candidate, but also the attitude of the party to which he belongs. At present the Labour Party is the only party which has made Women's Suffrage a plank in its platform; it follows, therefore, that the National Union must under ordinary circumstances support the Labour candidate, provided that he is personally satisfactory on the Women's Suffrage question. An exception was made to the effect "that no candidate who is a 'tried friend,' and who answers all the National Union questions in the affirmative, shall be opposed," but in February of last year the Council further decided "that when a Labour candidate is first in the field, the N.U. shall not necessarily cease to support him if a 'tried friend' is subsequently put forward to contest the seat." We were prepared to support a suitable Labour candidate in N.W. Durham last autumn, and had already worked in co-operation with the local Labour Party; if, on Mr. Aneurin Williams coming forward last week we had withdrawn from the contest, the Labour Party might justly have accused us of breaking faith with them.

There are a certain number of tried friends of Women's Suffrage now in Parliament who have the right to expect that we shall not support Labour candidates in their constituencies; in refraining from doing this, we are keeping faith with them in the same way as we are keeping faith with Mr. Stuart in N.W. Durham. It is obvious, moreover, that Suffragists cannot regard the selection of Liberal Suffragists as candidates in constituencies where Labour candidates are probable, as of substantial service to our Cause, so long as the Liberals are putting forward Anti-suffragist candidates in constituencies where three-cornered contests are at present impracticable. While the Liberal Whips refuse to regard Anti-suffragist views as a bar to candidature, it is clear that the Liberal Party is not taking Women's Suffrage seriously, and that the private member, however sincere, is powerless to obtain legislation on Women's Suffrage.

We should stultify our policy, therefore, and weaken our demand for a Government measure, if we were to withdraw from the support of a Labour candidate whenever the Liberals choose to put forward a Suffragist for a three-cornered contest.

ALICE CLARK.

(Hon. Parliamentary Secretary, N.U.W.S.S., *pro tem.*)

ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE WOMEN'S LABOUR LEAGUE.

The first annual conference of the Women's Labour League will be opened in Glasgow on Monday, January 26th. Resolutions will be discussed dealing with Women's Suffrage, Baby Clinics, Housing, Homes for the Aged, and many other questions. A paper on "The Working Woman in Politics" will be read by Mrs. Simms, and followed by discussion.

At the Labour Party Conference, to be held on the four succeeding days, the following resolution in the name of the Women's Labour League will be submitted:—

"That this Conference reiterates its demand that the Labour Party in Parliament shall oppose any Franchise Bill which does not include women, and reminds the Government of their promise to introduce and take through all its stages in this Parliament, a Reform Bill in which proposals to enfranchise women might be included. It further declares that the Government can only redeem this pledge by bringing in a Bill to enfranchise both men and women, and requests the Parliamentary Labour Party, in view of the unsatisfactory statements of members of the Cabinet, that Woman's Suffrage cannot be dealt with in this Parliament, to raise the question of their enfranchisement at the earliest opportunity next Session."

VOTES AND WAGES.

Anti-suffrage humourists are fond of pointing out that the Fair Wages Clause which ensures a standard wage to Government employees, applies to women as well as men. So it does—nominally. For its practical effect we commend inquirers to an article in this month's *Women's Industrial News* on women employed in brush-making. In this industry wages of workers of "normal skill and average speed" amount to 1½d. or 2d. an hour. It is useless to declare that in such cases legislation is powerless, now that the Trade Boards Act has shown us what can be done. But legislation is governed by votes, and the brush-workers have not got any. In their case, of course, the need is particularly clear, because the work done is Government work, and the power of the voter is all the greater.

TRADE UNIONISM IN THE HOME.

Better Conditions for Domestic Servants.

A Domestic Workers' Union has been formed with a view to putting the duties of domestic service on a more definite basis. Among the demands of the Union are:—

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| A 12-hour day. | Compulsory character note. |
| Set meal hours. | Abolition of Registries. |
| Provision of uniform. | All public holidays. |
| Half-holiday weekly. | One week's holiday in three months. |
| Wages fortnightly. | Sanitary bedrooms. |
| Two free hours daily. | |

An article by Miss Jessie Stephens in the *Labour Woman* brings out facts in connection with the last demand that would be startling to the average employer, and that show how unsafe it is for a good mistress to judge of the domestic service problem only by her own experience. Unfortunately also the good employers too often refuse to consider how helpless is the position of a young girl who is in a bad place. When domestic servants can speak for themselves, through their own Union, the "servant question" is likely to be better understood, and therefore nearer to solution than it is at present.

BRITAIN'S FIRST BABY CLINIC.

Second Year's Record.

The second annual report of the Baby Clinic established in North Kensington as a memorial to Margaret Macdonald and Mary Middleton shows how greatly such an enterprise is appreciated, and how badly similar schemes are needed all over the country. Only Kensington residents may use the Clinic, but the attendances during the year have numbered 5,382. It is calculated that thirty-three out of every hundred cases require some kind of surgical attention—from the opening of an abscess, the setting of a bone, or stitching a split lip, to the removal of tonsils or adenoids. The medical cases consist of rickets, skin diseases, diarrhoea, bronchitis, eye or ear trouble, and "the beginnings of every disease under the sun." The fact that prevention is better than cure is one which, to judge by evidence, is more obvious to voteless women than to voting men.

PETITION FOR MRS. ANNIE WILLIAMS.

Mr. Henry Stanhope Bedding, who is organising a petition for the release of Mrs. Williams, desires to acknowledge the sums of 2s. 6d. from Mrs. Comper Fields, and 6d. from Miss Lucy Mason, towards expenses which are rather heavy. Petition forms may be had from him at 195, Northdown Road, Cliftonville, Margate, and may also be signed at THE COMMON CAUSE Office.

OBITUARY.

MRS. ASHTON AND HON. MRS. COLBORNE.

In the death of Mrs. Ashton, widow of Mr. Thomas Ashton, and mother of Councillor Margaret Ashton, Manchester has sustained the loss of one whose activities in the pioneer work of organising district nursing have been of the greatest value to the city. All members of the National Union will feel deep sympathy with her family, especially with one so universally loved and respected as Miss Ashton.

Suffragists will learn with great regret of the death of the Hon. Mrs. Colborne at the close of last year. Mrs. Colborne belonged to the "original N.U.W.S.S." for nearly thirty years, and, as a leading member of the London Society, gave much active service to the Suffrage cause. She was for twenty-two years Directress of Needlework under the Board of Education, and keenly interested in all questions affecting Women's welfare.

WOMAN'S KINGDOM.

I want to thank everybody who has responded—and they have all responded generously—to my appeal in last week's paper. To date, I have heard from about half-a-dozen people who have volunteered for the Commissionaires' and Assistants' Corps, from one member of the London Society who will offer hospitality, and I have received £9 6s. 6d. towards the minimum £200 Advertising Fund.

I am grateful—but I want more—much more of everything, and I want it NOW! I want to advertise on the motor-buses. Unless I can sign a contract this month it will be too late. Please remember the old saying that she who gives quickly gives twice. The adequate advertising of our Exhibition depends on your donations—everything else has been covered by estimated receipts, covered again by guarantees from the National Union and twenty-three individual Suffragists. In these days the success of any enterprise depends far more on the publicity it gets than on its intrinsic merits or its organisation. Do, please, enable me to arrange for the proper advertising of Woman's Kingdom so that the special effort made may influence as wide a sphere as possible.

V. C. C. COLLUM.

ADVERTISEMENT DONATIONS RECEIVED, JANUARY 13th.

£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
Anonymous	1 0	Miss E. Kenyon	1 0 0
Miss Frances Alston	5 0	Mrs. Luff	2 6
Miss A. Barraud	6	Miss D. Mason	1 6
Mrs. Boulnois	10 0	Miss A. Miller	1 6
Deaconess E. Bowden	6	Mrs. Muller	1 6
Mrs. T. G. Gather	10 0	Miss E. F. Naylor	1 0
Mrs. Darlshire	10 0	Mrs. Ramsay	7 6
Miss Bertha Dunnell	1 0 0	Miss E. Raleigh	1 8
Miss M. E. Dalby	1 0 0	Miss M. Stedman	1 6
Mrs. Garrett Anderson	2 2 0	Mrs. Swanwick	1 0 0
Miss K. Jones	6	Miss A. B. Weir	6
Miss M. Hoc	10 0		

WHAT WOMEN ARE DOING.

NEW YORK—A WOMAN COMMISSIONER OF CORRECTION.

Dr. Katherine Bement Davis has been appointed Chief Commissioner of Correction for the City of New York. She has already held the post of Superintendent of the Bedford Reformatory, and is "a born Suffragist." She will now be chief of all the prison police in New York—a unique position for a woman, and one which will enable New York Suffragists to disregard the old taunt that women "cannot serve in the police."

AUSTRALIA'S CAPITAL DESIGNED BY A WOMAN.

A woman has designed the Federal capital of Australia. Mr. Griffin, the architect of Canberra, has declared in public that his wife is practically the planner and designer of all the works which have emanated from their house. "My wife is the genius. I am only the business man," said Mr. Griffin, who is returning shortly to America to bring out to Australia his genius.—*Western Mail* (Western Australia), Dec. 5th, 1913.

HONOUR TO AN ITALIAN GIRL ARTIST.

The works of young Italian artists, submitted in competition for the prize of the "Pensionato Artistico Nazionale," have just been judged at Rome. An unusual interest has attached to the competition this year, from the fact that for the first time in the history of the "Pensionato" a girl, Signorina Mathilde Festa, has taken part in it—her work being of so high a standard that the daily papers of Rome and other cities commented freely on its marvellous strength and originality. Some of the art critics made no secret of their opinion that she would carry off the prize.

For greater honours Miss Festa can afford to wait. She is only twenty-two years old. That a girl of this age should attain to such power of artistic expression is even a bigger thing in Italy than it would be in our country. Tradition still hampers the Italian woman much more than it does the English-speaking one, and it is difficult for her to devote her life to a profession.

A WOMAN SCULPTOR.

In competition with the foremost sculptors in America, Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney has won the commission to design a memorial to the victims of the "Titanic" disaster. It will be erected in Washington, D.C.

MISS CICELY HAMILTON'S "PHYL."

In response to criticisms of her story, Miss Hamilton writes: "From the days of David, and before, it has been instilled into us from childhood, that if you choose the highest and finest—if, in short, you attempt to live up to your religion—you have got to do without the good things of this world, which go to the less fine and less scrupulous. Yet as soon as you write this catechismal axiom in any other form, the people who are occupied in teaching it rise up and call you cursed!"

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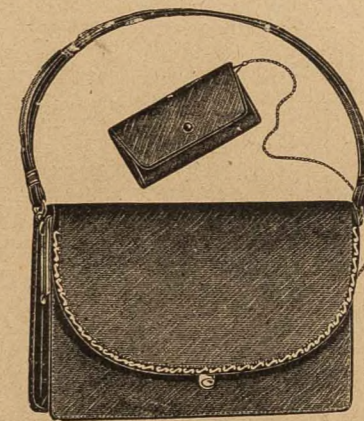
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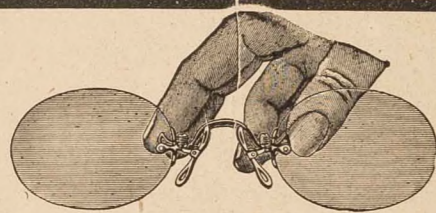
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The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies being a body which exists solely to obtain the enfranchisement of women, holds no official view upon any other topic. Opinions expressed upon other subjects must not be regarded as necessarily those of the Union.

Motherhood.

"The mark
God sets on woman, signifying so
She should—shall peradventure—be divine."
Browning, "The Ring and the Book."

The educational campaign organised by the National Union this winter has aroused intense interest in people not before attracted to the Suffrage movement. They have been moved and interested, largely because the first subject dealt with was that of "The Child and the State." They have felt, as most of us do now, that to work hopefully you must "begin with the child," and seeing that a desire for the better care of childhood is one of the strongest forces behind the demand for the vote, they have become Suffragists also. But our study of the needs and sufferings of children is incomplete; it needs to go further back. To "begin with the child" is not enough, unless we interpret the saying in the light of another—that "the time to begin a child's education is twenty-five years before it is born." The needs and the sufferings of motherhood are as vitally important to children as they are to women, and we propose now to consider the way in which these needs have been supplied by our modern State.

There is no subject on which more sentimental cant has been talked than that of motherhood. It is one on which the most brutal of men and the silliest of women can converse with equally enjoyable emotion. Its mere mention excites the House of Commons—probably the most sentimental body in existence—to hysterical enthusiasm, and a prophecy of the complete ruin of widows' investments is used as an argument alike against Chinese labour in the Transvaal and the Licensing Act at home—without effect, it is true, but not without an orgy of emotion on the part of those who use, and those who listen to it. On Anti-suffrage platforms the sentimental cult of maternity finds its complete expression. It is there that one learns that to be a mother is so supremely the duty of every woman that no one who is not a mother has any right to an opinion at all. The pronouncements of the most educated, the wisest, in the country are discounted with instant effect if it can be shown (or suggested) that some of them are spinsters. The whole demand for the vote is held to be of no account if those who make it are unarmed with (at least) one husband and one child.

Moreover, motherhood is described as in itself so vast a responsibility as to be enough for any woman and all women. Nothing further, it is argued, must be, or can be, required of them than this one tremendous work. It would, indeed, be unjust to ask for more, for motherhood is necessarily so absorbing in its interests and duties that women who fulfil it properly can have no time and no strength for anything else at all. Their ignorance of public affairs, says Mrs. Humphry Ward, is "fundamental and unalterable." They can have no knowledge of, or interest in, anything else than their children. And though this may sometimes seem a little hard on individual women, yet the sacrifice (we are assured) may well be demanded in the interests of the race itself. Nothing in the world can make up for inadequate mothering. The race is made in the home, and the mothers are all-important to all.

Let it be so. We Suffragists yield to no one in our reverence

for motherhood. Yet we arraign the Anti-suffragist who talks like this for gross and most disastrous sentimentality. Is it not sentimental—hypocritical—unreal—to speak in words of motherhood as a holy and a vital thing, and to leave it in fact as unprotected and unreverenced as it is to-day?

We are told that to be a mother is a tremendous responsibility. Surely, to bring a child—a body and a soul—into the world is rightly so described. But for this responsibility we find that no training and no knowledge are thought needful. A girl is not only not trained for her high duty; she is deliberately untrained for it. She is kept in ignorance of her own body and of the world she lives in. She is given the most sacred charge in nature, and everyone in the world is better trained than she. The soldier, the doctor, the priest, the lawyer—nay, the jeweller, the cabinet-maker, the book-binder, the engineer—driver—all men are trained for their work; even women, when the work is other than motherhood. But any ignorant girl is wise enough to be charged with the great and awful responsibility of motherhood, with the difficult and fine business of training a human being.

Motherhood, we are told, absorbs the whole of a woman. She must not, and cannot, find time for public affairs, because this one duty, properly performed, will take up all she has. Yet, when she has performed it, she is taunted with the fact that she is a "bankrupt citizen," a natural pauper, a person who has done nothing for the State, and can only receive with abject gratitude what men give to her in charity. What Anti-suffragist has repudiated with indignation the assertion of Sir Almroth Wright that, although women are, in the vast majority of cases, mothers, and therefore bound to an all-absorbing duty to which everything must be sacrificed, yet when it is done it is so little a thing that they may justly be called bankrupts, for they give nothing to the State, and can claim nothing from it? Not one has protested! Not one is so short of matter for an argument that he cannot in a breath declare that motherhood is the most sacred and exacting of all responsibilities, yet worth so little as to leave the mother without a claim or a right except such as charity bestows! Men may claim the vote because some few men are soldiers, and of those some may even be called upon to fight, and so great a service may justly be held to enfranchise the whole sex. But women vote because nearly all women are mothers? Preposterous claim! So large a reward for so trifling a service? Only a Suffragist would have dared to suggest it.

Motherhood, we are told, is so important to the State that women must not complain if their individual rights are sometimes sacrificed to it. But the State has singularly little regard for mothers. No creature in the world is less protected from violence than a wife. The magistrate, in a difficulty between exposing her to the brutality of her husband because he is at large, or starving her because he is in prison, generally chooses the first course in despair. What can he do? Laws are not made to put mothers in a safe position, and he really cannot help it! One hears of doctors who refuse help to women in the pains of child-birth. Well, they cannot always be expected to work for nothing, and who is to guarantee their fee? Certainly not the State. Is the sanctity or the pain of motherhood its affair? To be sure, doctors are paid to look after the wounded in battle; but mothers bringing children into the world—that is another matter. No protection is given for such a service as that. More wonderful still—a woman may be infected, by the fault of her husband, with a disease which makes motherhood hideous, or altogether impossible. In a word, she may be robbed of her vocation, of that supreme duty and honour which is her all, and the law neither forbids this outrage, nor punishes the offender, nor offers reparation. Is there any right of which one may be robbed more sacred than this right? Is there any wrong, of all the wrongs that go unpunished, more grievous than this wrong? It is no answer to say that most men are infinitely better than the law. The law is not made for the good, but for the bad; and while the status of motherhood and wifehood is what it is in the law, women will demand the right to alter that law, and bring it into harmony, not with the worst, but with the best ideals of their generation.

The Education Campaign, II. & III.
What to Read.

[In compiling a bibliography for the remaining sections of the Educational Campaign, it was found impossible to separate Parts 2 and 3, dealing respectively with the "Disabilities of Wives and Mothers" and the "Disabilities of Professional and

Industrial Women." The problem of the married working woman, employed for a wage outside the home, made strict differentiation under the two headings impossible.]

As was the case with those books recommended for use in connection with the first part of our Educational Campaign, the books selected for Parts 2 and 3 can be classified under two heads—those largely statistical in nature and close in substance, and those aiming more at appealing to the writer's imagination, by painting a picture with the aid of words rather than of figures.

Books and pamphlets dealing with the legal disabilities of women refer chiefly to the wife and mother. And here we take the opportunity of reminding our readers that the under-mentioned books deal with English law only, and must not be taken to refer equally to Scotland, which is often in advance of England in its treatment of women. It would appear to be generally recognised among feminist thinkers that the married woman, just as much as the industrial worker, is greatly in need of additions and alterations in the laws immediately affecting her own welfare. "The Woman's Charter of Rights and Liberties," by the Lady Aberconway* (Grant Richards), needs no introduction. "Better and Happier," by the same author (Fisher Unwin), forcibly exposes the so-called legal "privileges," as well as the legal disabilities, of women. It contains a strong indictment of the restricting of the woman's field of labour, and demands economic independence—and the vote. "The Mother and Social Reform," by Anna Martin (published by the N.U.), is an extraordinarily vivid picture of the hard struggle of the married working woman against conditions that could be alleviated to a great extent by the raising of the legal position of the wife, and, above all, by giving her a legal claim upon a certain proportion of her husband's earnings. A Fabian pamphlet, "The Endowment of Motherhood," tabulates clearly and concisely the reasons for or against State endowment, whilst insisting throughout that we are where we are because of the "poverty of the poor."

Among the more technical books dealing with the legal position of women, are the pamphlet by Jaques, "Women and the Unfair Position which they Occupy at the Present Time," stocked by the N.U.; a useful little leaflet of the C.U.W.F.A., "The Unjust Laws of England as they Affect Women"; and an admirable summary of the Divorce Commission (P. S. King), "Woman's Position in the Laws of the Nations" (International Council of Women) is particularly useful as a summary, and as a book of reference in connection with the international aspect of woman under the law.

In turning to women in industry and economics, the reader is overwhelmed with a flood of literature of all kinds and dealing with all aspects of the working woman's life. Nor does the attention directed at the present moment to the industrial woman seem excessive, when it is remembered that every year there are in the United Kingdom an ever-growing number of women earning their own living—and, often enough, the living of others dependent on them. "Industrial Democracy," by Mr. and Mrs. Webb (Longmans), is an exhaustive work upon the theoretical and historical aspects of Trade Unionism, and throws strong light upon the subject of "parasitic" industries, kept alive in our midst largely through the under-payment of women. The authors put in a strong plea for the organising of men and women into the same Trade Unions, in order to keep up wages, skill, and efficiency. "The Living Wage," by Philip Snowden (Hodder & Stoughton), although not dealing individually with the woman worker, nevertheless helps to solve a problem peculiarly hers in showing why the "dearness of cheap labour" is no paradox. "At the Works," by Lady Bell (Nelson), and "Round about £1 a Week," by Mrs. Pember Reeves (Bell), are two books that should be read by everyone, as showing without the aid of rhetoric or emotionalism, the "daily round, the common task" of the average working man's wife. "Into the wife's hands, sometimes strong and capable, often weak and uncertain, the future of her husband is committed, the burden of the family life is thrust. . . . The pivot of the whole situation is the woman, the wife of the working man, and the mother of his children."

Supplementary to these are "The Married Working Woman," by Anna Martin, stocked by the N.U.; "Wage-Earning Mothers," (Women's Labour League); and a Fabian pamphlet, "The Working Life of Women," which forcibly exposes the anomalous position of the widowed woman—the head of a family, unable to earn a family wage.

* Formerly Lady McLaren. This pamphlet (price 6d.) would be admirable for study-circle purposes. Many of its proposals are controversial, and would lead to interesting debate.

The case of the sweated worker is dealt with exhaustively in the following books:—"Makers of Our Clothes," by Meyer & Black (Duckworth); "Sweated Industry," by Black (Duckworth); "Women in Industry from Seven Points of View," (Duckworth); "Women's Work and Wages," by Cadbury, Matheson, and Shann (Fisher Unwin); "The Worker's Handbook," by Tuckwell and Smith (Duckworth). "The Educated Working Woman," by Clara Collet (P. S. King), dealing with the professional woman, puts the pith of the whole matter in one sentence: "There is no hardship for women in working for a living; the hardship lies in not getting a living when they work for it."

For wider study of the position of the industrial and professional woman, the reader is referred to the complete bibliography drawn up for the use of societies in connection with this section of the campaign. (N.U. Enquiry Bureau.)

Women under the Poor Law forms interesting reading when studied in conjunction with the foregoing books. The Majority and Minority Reports—for those bold enough to tackle them—are indeed exhaustive. We refer those less bold to the various publications of the National Committee for the Prevention of Destitution; and to "The Poor Law Report of 1909," by Mrs. Bosanquet (Macmillan), whilst reminding them that the latter was written before the institution of the National Labour Exchanges. "Working Women Under the Poor Law" (Women's Industrial Council) deals concisely with the causes of pauperism among women, the provisions made for the pauper woman, and their cruel unsuitability in the case of the distressed working woman coming on the rates through no fault of her own, but because of desertion, widowhood, or sickness.

Under the useful heading of "General" may be classed "Where shall she Live?" by Mrs. Higgs (P. S. King), exposing the terrible lack of lodging accommodation in our big towns for the homeless woman, and the inevitable abuses to which such a state gives rise. "Woman, Marriage, and Motherhood," by Mrs. Sloan Chesser (Cassells), and "The Future of the Women's Movement," by Mrs. Swanwick (Bell) have already been reviewed in previous numbers of THE COMMON CAUSE.

As a commentary on the whole should be added, on the one hand, such Acts as the Married Women's Property Act, the Summary Jurisdiction (Married Women) Act, wrung from Parliament after years of strenuous work on the part of women, and on the other hand, such Acts as the Deceased Wife's Sister Act—a more one-sided absurdity than which was never concocted. Need we add that in New Zealand, where women vote, the year 1900 saw the passing of the Deceased Husband's Brother Act?

It is hoped that the foregoing books will be regarded merely as a rough outline of one course only open to the seeker after information under these heads. The true status of the woman worker, within and without the home, in this country is too large a subject to be read exhaustively, or to be "got by heart." Yet, of late years, so much has been written at all lengths, and in all styles, that no one need be put off by an inability to find a "readable" book upon any one aspect of either section.

B. M. P.

"FRIENDS OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE."

Work in Country Districts.

It is a source of wonderment to those who are working the Friends of Women's Suffrage scheme, and reaping its attendant benefits, that all the Societies in the Union have not adopted it. I am told there is a prevalent idea that, though possibly useful in towns, the scheme is no good in country districts. It is to those who think this that I address myself.

My experience has been gained in Berkshire, a difficult county in which to work Women's Suffrage, and my experience has made me an enthusiastic believer in the merits of the "Friends" scheme for rural districts. Of the three county constituencies of North, South, and East Berks, the two latter are putting the scheme into practice. So also is the Society in the neighbouring Borough of Reading, but with that I am not here concerned. There are eight societies in South and East Berks, and they give it as their unanimous opinion that the scheme has been of great assistance to them in their work generally. Nowhere is its value more evident than when fresh ground is being broken. We find that when we go into a village for the first time to work and to hold a meeting, we seldom get members straight away, but we do get "Friends," and in considerable numbers. This means that we have formed a nucleus for future work, and that

when we return we have our sympathisers ready to hand. We have an example of this in a village in South Berks, where a meeting was held in the autumn and thirty-three "Friends" were enrolled, but no members. In a small town in the same constituency, work during the summer and early autumn produced ninety "Friends." A subsequent meeting converted twenty-eight of these "Friends" into members, and a Society has been formed.

It may be urged, why not have enrolled them as members at once; but that is just what we could not have done. It is only when one works this scheme that one realises all the many and various reasons that prevent people joining the National Union, and this applies to both sexes and all classes of the community. Some want more time to think, or more knowledge of the subject, or of the National Union. Many have private reasons, family reasons, reasons connected with trade or profession. These people will, however, often enrol themselves as "Friends," with the result that we can keep in touch with them, and gain them as members if and when the reason that held them back ceases to exist.

It is sometimes urged that the scheme requires much organisation and a large staff of workers; but I would suggest that it is a mistake to hold back from the scheme because you cannot start it with all the workers and the organisation that you would like to have. A small beginning is better than none at all. It is wonderful how this work fits itself into all the other work that is being done, and how gradually all concerned in the Society's work busy themselves with the enrolling of "Friends."

Quarterly meetings and visits are much to be desired for educational purposes, but they are not indispensable. The essential thing is that one visit shall be paid to the home of the "Friend" after enrolment, that the signature shall be verified, and that it shall be ascertained that "Friends" clearly understand what it is they have promised to be friendly to. There is now a Quarterly issued for the Friends of Women's Suffrage, which will be found very helpful, especially where other means of education cannot be arranged.

I will conclude by saying that, in my opinion, those Societies that are not availing themselves of this method of work are neglecting a valuable asset in the fight for Women's Suffrage.

J. UNACKE.

E.F.F. DEMONSTRATION AT ACCRINGTON, January 11th, 1914.

A demonstration under the joint auspices of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and the Labour Party, was held in the Grand Theatre, Accrington, on Sunday, 11th January. Mr. Robert Smillie, President of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, proposed the resolution, "that this meeting demands a Government measure for the enfranchisement of women."

He observed that this was a measure of justice which had been too long delayed. He always put in the forefront of his advocacy of Women's Suffrage that if women were required to obey the laws passed by the Government, they should have a voice in the appointment of men who made the laws. He wanted women to have the vote, so that men could have the practical assistance of women in securing the passage of reforms desirable for the improved condition of the poverty-stricken workers of this country. He felt convinced that if they had women on their side, they would make more progress in the future than they could hope to do without the help of women. Women had shown by their work during the past few years that they were capable and intelligent enough to take their place alongside the best of men. Mr. Smillie reminded the audience that the Liberal member for Accrington—Mr. Harold Baker—had voted against the Minimum Wage Bills for both the miners and the railway men. After that, Mr. Baker could hardly pretend to represent the views of the working-men of the Accrington Division.

Miss Margaret Robertson, in a very able and brilliant speech, seconded the resolution, which was supported by Mr. McGurk, the Lancashire Miners' agent, and carried unanimously. The chair was taken by Mr. J. E. Barnes, Joint Hon. Sec. of the Accrington I.L.P., and there was a large and representative platform. The Blackburn I.L.P. choir kindly gave selections during the evening, which were much enjoyed by the audience. At the close of the meeting a large number of copies of THE COMMON CAUSE were sold, and many Friends of Women's Suffrage cards signed. A substantial amount was raised by the sale of tickets and by a collection towards the expenses of the meeting.

NORTH-WEST DURHAM BY-ELECTION.

Candidates: G. H. Stuart, Labour.
Aneurin Williams, Liberal.
J. Ogden Hardicker, Conservative.
Liberal Majority at last election, 4,171.

Organiser in Charge: Miss C. M. Gordon, M.A.
Central Committee Rooms: 013, Front Street, Consett. Telephone: 94
Consett.

Speakers and Workers: Miss Margaret Robertson, Miss Pressley-Smith, Mrs. Cooper, Mrs. Chew, Miss Dring, Miss St. John, Miss Sheard, Miss Beaver, Dr. Ethel Williams, Miss Ella Westwood, Miss Armstrong, Miss Edie Westwood, Mr. and Mrs. Oldham, Miss Howarth, Miss A. Robson, the Misses Johnson, and other local helpers.

Only two meetings a night have been held so far, as the past week has been devoted largely to organisation. It culminated in a splendid meeting of 300 workers (who gathered in Consett from all parts of the constituency) on Saturday night. Mr. Tom Richardson, M.P., took the chair, and Mr. Arthur Peters, Election agent, and Miss C. M. Gordon spoke. Over eighty joint meetings have already been arranged, at every one of which a National Union speaker will be present. The Labour Party have adopted as their colours, red, white and green, already well-known in Durham.

ALL THREE CANDIDATES SUFFRAGISTS.

The three candidates are all avowed Suffragists. When the by-election was foreshadowed last November, Mr. Stuart visited the constituency, and gave promptly an unqualified assent to all our questions. A week ago Mr. Aneurin Williams telegraphed to Mrs. Fawcett asking for the support of the Union. Our election campaign, in support of Mr. Stuart, was already in full swing, but Dr. Ethel Williams, Chairman of the North-Eastern Federation, Miss Peile, President of the Local Women's Liberal Association, Miss Beaver, and Miss Westwood waited upon Mr. Williams by appointment in order to make clear our position. He first asked if there were any chance of our throwing over Mr. Stuart, and transferring our support to him. Learning that this was a vain hope, he refused to have any further dealings with the deputation. He has, however, been freely questioned on Women's Suffrage at his meetings, and to the electors has avowed his support of Women's Suffrage so long as no woman is allowed to benefit by the present registration laws, which allow many men to have several votes.

COLD COMFORT FOR "ANTIS."

Mr. Hardicker was formally adopted on Saturday. He was immediately interviewed by Mr. Samuels and Mr. Goodwin, on behalf of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, but gave them cold comfort, as he avowed himself a Suffragist, desirous of giving a vote to women householders. The Anti-suffrage League, therefore, being unable to support any candidate, is devoting the time and energy of its workers to "checkmating the Suffragists." They are endeavouring to persuade the electors that Women's Suffrage is "not an issue at this Election," but there does not seem much likelihood of their propaganda being successful.

Mr. Stuart has had an excellent reception. Practically the whole of the electorate is working-class, composed of miners and iron-workers. Hitherto at every election it has been customary for the branches, at their lodge meetings, to endorse by resolution the candidature of the Liberal nominee. This time the endorsement is for Mr. Stuart, the Executive of the Durham Miners' Association leading the way, and circularising all their branches asking them to follow suit.

At a Liberal meeting at Quebec three nights ago the vote of confidence in Mr. Williams was lost by a large majority. This reverse is attributed by the Labour Party to the propaganda work done during the summer by the Mid-Durham Council, under the direction of Miss Dring. The explanation given by the Liberals is that a number of men in the audience did not vote either way, and Suffragists are irresistibly reminded

of the Anti-suffragist statement that all women who are not members of a Suffrage society are of necessity Anti-suffragists.

NO CHANCE FOR CONSERVATIVE.

Considerable discontent reigns in the Liberal camp over the method adopted of selecting their candidate. It is contended that the representation at the Selection Conference was not typical of the constituency, as Consett, with little over half the voting strength of Stanley, had twice as many delegates present, and Esh, Langley Park, Medomsley, and other places were very inadequately represented. We are accustomed to hear much of the political foolishness shown by the Labour Party in running Labour candidates, who must inevitably withdraw votes from the Liberal nominee, and, by "splitting the progressive vote," give the Conservative candidate an additional chance. But on this occasion, at any rate, this cry cannot be brought forward. Mr. Stuart was adopted in December, before Mr. Williams was even heard of, so any "split in the progressive vote" is due not to the Labour Party, but to the Liberals, who subsequently put their candidate in the field. But even with two opponents, Mr. Hardicker stands no chance. At the last Election he polled only 4,827 votes. Even were he to get as many as 5,000 on this occasion, he could not head the poll, as the new register contains some 20,000 names—an increase of nearly 2,000 since last Election. The increased interest, due to a three-cornered fight, will result inevitably in a heavy poll. In the recent by-election at South Lanark eighty-nine per cent. of the very scattered electorate voted, and even if only 17,000 poll on this occasion the Conservative, with his 5,000 votes, stands no chance.

MONEY AND HELPERS WANTED.

The area of the constituency which we have to cover varies from densely populated towns, each almost forming part of its neighbour, to wild, hilly districts with sparsely populated villages, comprising among them only a few hundred votes. These last are only accessible by motor, and should the snow continue, will not be accessible at all.

There have been rumours of the promotion of Mr. Atherley Jones for years, and hence the Labour Party have done an immense amount of propaganda in N.W. Durham. We have a splendid candidate, good organisation, and every chance of returning Mr. Stuart at the head of the poll. We ask for help in money and in workers to enable us to achieve victory, and to demonstrate to the House of Commons, when it reassembles next month, that while the Liberal Party refuses to be true to its own principles, its candidates will inevitably lose

votes at by-elections.

SOUTH BUCKS BY-ELECTION.

Candidates: Mr. Baring du Pre, Unionist.
Mr. Tonman Mosley, Liberal.

Organiser in Charge: Miss Dora Mason, Post Office, High Wycombe.

It is still uncertain when the contest is to begin, but it is generally expected that the week after next will see both candidates taking the field. Mr. Mosley, who has been adopted as Liberal candidate, on the withdrawal of Col. Hobart, is said to be a good Suffragist. Mr. du Pre's views are unknown. Both candidates are being asked to receive deputations from the N.U.

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